Conversations on Transatlanticism and Europe

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General Introduction

This e-volume is the product of a collective effort by students and for students. It explores transatlantic relations in an output of two-year collaboration project between the Centre of European Studies of the University of Leuven (Belgium) and the European Union Center at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign (United States). **Conversation on Transatlanticism and Europe (CEURO)** is a Jean Monnet Project under the Erasmus Plus Programme (grant agreement 2017-2780/001-001) of the European Commission.

The CEURO project has fostered a bottom-up student exchange across the Atlantic while also allowing a space for multidisciplinary debate on historic issues of transatlantic relations and its current trends. The e-book brings co-authored and single authored contributions from masters-level students enrolled in the CEURO course from both universities. This course was co-organized by the partner centres and benefited from the input of professors from both sides of the Atlantic via live video conference link.

The CEURO project is unique because it facilitates a transatlantic dialogue on diverse policy areas ranging from foreign policy and external action, to internal policy and social welfare systems. Students have considered topics beyond institutional and political affairs, and have delved into phenomena common to both Europe and North America, such as the rise of populism and disinformation. In essence, this e-Book covers some of the challenges of our time from the perspective of our students and with guidance of the teaching staff of KU Leuven and the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, from disciplinary voices as varied as political science, history, linguistics, and ethnomusicology. It explores how transatlantic issues are often rooted in transoceanic history that underpin modern divergences and convergences in policy and political action.

This e-Book is divided into two parts. The first part offers chapters which are co-authored by students from masters programmes in European Studies. These chapters cover broad challenges and phenomena and the interlinkages and disconnects between both sides of the Atlantic. Contemporary issues such as security and defence policy, social protection systems, the rise of populism, and the erosion of multilateralism encapsulate how different approaches have risen. Ultimately, this allows for transfers of 'best-practices' as well as a deeper understanding of each other's cultures and heritage and its present-day influence. The final products found in this section can truly be seen as transatlantic collaboration: they were

conceived, researched, written, and edited jointly by the students, who present balanced analysis and perspective.

The second part of this e-Book contains 'transatlantic radars', which act as profiles and comparative analyses of European and North American key figures and events throughout history. Essentially, these profiles of figures and events show how influences crossed the Atlantic through economic, social and political means. This part includes profiles of Woodrow Wilson and Willy Brandt, as well as European involvement in the American War of Independence, and the influence of the US in the decline of British colonial power during the Suez Crisis. On the one hand, the radars map the interactions of both European nation-states and the early decades of the United States. On the other hand, the radars enable a comparative analysis how leadership and critical junctures shaped the interconnections between Europe and North America.

Part I - Perspectives on Transatlantic Relations

CHAPTER 1

Comparative Federalism in the United States and the European Union

Can the United States' Federalization Experience Serve as a Template to the European Union?

Alberto M. Burgos-Rivera & Yurii Chipko

I. Introduction

It is all but impossible to discuss the historical dimension of transatlanticism without mentioning the idea behind the powers on both sides of the Atlantic. Federalism - the concept of a balance of powers between the lower and higher levels of governance that provides a fair representation for the states that comprise a federation but give enough power to a central government so that it can maintain such order - is such an idea (Knuepling, 2016). Federalism is a product of the Enlightenment, the idea that was first successfully realized in America and a number of European states in the 18th and 19th century and became an irreplaceable component of those states' political identities (ibid.). These historical origins make it necessary to analyse the development of federalism through comparing and contrasting both European and American experiences.

Those experiences with federalism have both similarities (some aspects of the EU were clearly modelled on the US, such as the role of the ECJ) and differences (for instance, different general competences of the central governments). It is, therefore, crucial to understand the way Europe and the United States deal with the evolving idea of federalism if we want to understand the underlying political trends of the transatlantic relations.

This chapter will analyse the trajectories of the federalist developments in the EU and the US, as well as focus on discussing and comparing how political changes impacted the parallel levels of understanding of federalism in Europe and the United States. We will do so in different parts: first, we will provide an analysis of the key literature on the developments of federalism in Europe and/or the United States. Examining different authors' perspectives on federalism helps to understand the dominant view on it in the discipline of political science. Second, we will focus on the historical developments in the United States that trace the

evolution of federalism in practice in that country. Similarly, the third section of this chapter is devoted to the historical developments in the European Union that are different in timeline but parallel in the gradual change of the federal ideas. Next, we will discuss the findings of the previous sections and analyse the differences and similarities between the EU and the US regarding federalism. Finally, we will conclude the chapter by summarizing all of our findings in regard to the subject.

II. Literature Review on Federalism and Federalization in the US and the EU

Literature on federalism as well as the federalization of both the US and the EU is not at all new. Despite the EU's recent creation, its increased political competencies through the passage of subsequent treaties has led academics to establish comparisons with the US's federalization experience and whether or not is serves as a viable template for the EU to follow suit (e.g. Glencross, 2009a; 2009b; Young, 2017).

In his contributing chapter on federalism in America, Europe, and Africa, Broscheck bases his definition of federalism as a particular species in which neither the federal nor the constitutional units of government are constitutionally subordinate to one another, each has sovereign powers derived from the constitution rather than another form of government (Broschek, 2016: 23; as cited in Watts, 2008: 9). In his conceptualization of federalism, Broschek argues that federalism is oftentimes seen as an alternative to unitary states (Broschek, 2016). The main difference between unitary and federal states, however, lie within each states' different conceptions of sovereignty. Whereas sovereignty is assumed to be indivisible within unitary states; sovereignty is considered to be divided within federal states (Broschek, 2016). Despite the differences between the two types of governments, Broschek explains the reason as to why there are so few federal governments. The reason for the dearth in federal states is due because federalization produces a profound authority shift within a polity in which previously independent territorial units become tied in a constitutionally entrenched relationship (Glencross, 2009b). It is within the established relationship between the national and federal units that comes the balance between autonomy and interdependence.

Although the US's federal experience has been used as a template for the EU's "federalization", Young provides an inverse instance on how EU integration may foreshadow American federalism (Young, 2017). As in most of the literature, Young also ponders about whether the EU is federal or intergovernmental in nature. Like Glencross (2009), Young also establishes distinctions between different types of federal government (Young, 2017). Unlike Glencross (2009a), Young defines cooperative federalism as federalism in which both levels of governments share responsibility even the most regulatory subjects (Young, 2017). In his

article, he attempts to answer "why does the EU remain so much less centralized than the US?". Young argues that the reason the EU does not centralize further is due to three factors: 1) the EU's capacity to make decisions independent of the member states is much more limited than Congress's; 2) it has much less money to spend and raise when compared to the American federal government; and 3) the EU depends on member states to almost completely implement EU law (Young, 2017). The following sections provide a background on the core periods of both the US and the EU's federalization.

III. Background on the Core Periods of US Federalization

From its Constitutional Ratification in 1789 through the Civil War (1861-1865)

Emerging as an alternative to the Articles of Confederation, the US's Constitutional Ratification in 1789 provided the nation's current federal mechanism we all know today. We can observe, however, how during the early years of the American Republic the federal government gradually gained an increased political role vis-à-vis those of the states in the Union. This increasing role mostly came as a result of Supreme Court rulings, such as Marbury v. Madison (1803) and McCulloch v. Maryland (1819), as well as the popularization of the electoral vote throughout the states during the Jacksonian era (Glencross, 2009a).

The framing of the Constitution had a series of ambiguities with no clear allocation of political jurisdiction between the federal and the state governments. This issue was resolved in McCulloch v. Maryland in which the US Supreme Court decided the scope of Congress's legislative power and how it relates to the state legislatures (Glencross, 2009b). In regards to the concept of political sovereignty, most conflicts occurred in Southern states of which, for example, the states of Kentucky and Virginia openly challenged federal legislation arguing that federal legislation infringed upon their state sovereignty. Another example occurred in South Carolina, in which it protested the imposition of a US-wide tariffs, arguing that it greatly affected its economy due to its high dependence on imports (Glencross, 2009b).

In addition, there was also no clear concept of political sovereignty between both levels of government in the drafting of the Constitution. On the other hand, the Founding Fathers were wary of populist democracies, hence the reason for the implementation of the electoral college (Tortarolo, 2005). This detail also brought another point of contention, which was the issue of slavery. Knowing slaves were not citizens in the young Republic, the three-fifths compromise was reached as a means for Southern, or slave, states to obtain numerical representation in Congress. The Southern states often relied on the concept of sovereignty, in this case, "states' rights" as a means to defend, expand, and maintain the institution of slavery.

It was in the attempts at maintaining this institution that eventually led to their secession in what later became the Civil War.

Despite the gradual increase of the federal government's jurisdictions vis-à-vis state governments, it must also be emphasized that US government affairs eventually became much more democratized. Such an example can be best presented with President Andrew Jackson and the subsequent Jacksonian era (Glencross, 2009). It was during Jackson's presidency that statewide universal suffrage for white males over the age of 21 was granted at the state level of government. Despite this expansion of voting rights, like the issue on slavery, such a reform was carried out at the state level of government with no intervention of the federal government (ibid.).

From the Reconstruction to the establishment of FDR's New Deal

The end of the Civil War in 1865 effectively settled the underlying issue of the states' rights – central government divide – slavery. Immediately after the Lincoln assassination, the federal powers underwent a significant boost due to the way the readmission of the seceding states was conducted. The decade after the War, known as the Reconstruction Era, is significant for the understanding of American federalism since it was the period when the debate about it shifted from "who should have more power, the states or the federal government?" to "how much power should the federal government further acquire?" (Hofstadter and Hofstadter, 1982).

This, however, became evident only in retrospect. In fact, the central government's positions were continuously challenged. First, with the negotiated end of Reconstruction in 1877 the federal troops were forced to withdraw from the former seceding states. This was significant because the presence of those troops enforced a post-War integration of African Americans into Southern society; once the troops were withdrawn, the states were able to impose various segregationist policies that were practically uncontrollable by the federal government and delayed federal patronage of the Civil Rights for almost a century (Tortarolo, 2005). Second, the authority of the president was significantly diminished after the Lincoln assassination (Patterson, 1976, p. 47). With the Johnson and Grant administrations plagued by scandals, their successors were not able to dominate Washington's political life. Instead, with the increased role of Congress, the American federal system was exceptionally functioning without a strong chief executive – a state of affairs that is more common for the EU than the US.

Meanwhile, most of the country was experiencing the period known as the Gilded Age, whose governmental reforms then led to its Progressive Era. At the societal and economic level

the Gilded Age was characterized by increased European immigration, the rise of industries throughout the nation, as well as the creation and growth of new cities and historical urban centers (Mashaw, 2010). However, given the rise in the nation's industrialization, this historical period was characterized by increased government corruption which eventually led to the passage of the Pendleton Civil Service Act in 1883. As a means of preventing political clientelism within the federal confines of the government, the Pendleton Civil Service Act reversed the practices of the Jacksonian era, provided the selection of employees based on competitive exams and prohibited the banning and firing of employees based on their political affiliations (Mashaw, 2010). On top of that, during the Progressive Era the federal government decided to actively combat monopolies of the big industries and implemented the seventeenth amendment which granted popular elections to federal senators (Mashaw, 2010).

From the New Deal to the present

American federalism received another push in light of Franklin Roosevelt's rise to the presidency. Even though, unlike the Civil War, the Great Depression was an economic crisis, the president requested the emergency powers similar to those he would receive in an event of war (Dallek, 2018). His New Deal programs expanded competencies of different governmental departments and further infringed upon the diminishing powers of states' rights. Roosevelt solidified an unmistakable feature of modern American federalism – a strong chief executive at the head of a strong federal government which was included in the concept of the "imperial presidency" (Schlesinger, 1973).

Similarly, Lyndon Johnson in the 1960s made the most significant contributions to further strengthening the US federal government after Roosevelt. The variety of his programs, known collectively as the Great Society, inserted the government into the fields of the Civil Rights, environmental protection, gun control, and housing (Lawson, 2006). These increases of the federal presence and importance in citizens' lives in the 1930s – 1960s produced backlash from figures like Ronald Reagan, who claimed that "the government is the problem" (Kerry, 2018). However, after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the Bush administration received expanded powers in the field of national security; with those powers still largely intact nowadays, scholars are talking about the return of the "imperial presidency" (Rudalevige, 2006). This state of affairs confirms the fact that the postbellum idea of American federalism has been usually tied to the strong powers of the central government and gradually decreasing powers of the states.

IV. Background on the Core Periods of EU "Federalization"

Pre-EEC: From 1945 to the failure of the European Defense Community in 1954

Before the Second World War, the ideas of European unification, though plentiful in variation, did not achieve the desired effect of peace and stability (Pasture, 2015). After the defeat of Nazi Germany, however, the European powers faced both substantive and formative challenges in the way of unifying the war-torn nations. In terms of substance, it was not originally clear precisely what sort of organization will lead the process of European integration (ibid.). On the security side, there was, among others, NATO that could potentially serve as a stepping stone for a united Europe. On the cultural side, the Council of Europe proved to be of major importance in strengthening the European ties. Only with the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951 it became clear that federalization on the European level would take place in economics first (Patel and Calligaro, 2017).

In parallel to those structural challenges, the proponents of federalization faced a formative challenge that intensified with the signing of the Paris Treaty in 1951. In essence, there were two prisms through which the advocates of integration saw Europe: first, the federalist sought to establish a unified European state, the "United States of Europe"; second, the group that similarly viewed a united Europe as vital to the continent's stability but disagreed about the importance of establishing a federation, arguing instead that Europe should be united in a form of an international organization (Caporaso, 2005).

The federalists' high point came with the proposal of the European Political Community – an entity that would feature strong all-European legislative and executive branches. That proposal, however, was short lived and its failure, combined with the fiasco of the European Defence Community (EDC) in 1954, signalled the end of a decisive move towards federalism and start of a limited "sectoral" integration (Gilbert, 2005).

The establishment of the Treaty of Rome 1957 to the Single European Act in 1986

The first significant step towards the eventual establishment of the European Union was taken with the signing of the Treaty of Rome. After the failure of the EDC, the foreign ministers of "the Six", France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, West Germany, and Italy proposed an economic customs union (Phinnemore, 2016). These negotiations led to the establishment of the European Economic Community (EEC), and the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC) in 1957 which came to be known as the Treaty of Rome (Phinnemore, 2016). In addition to the customs union, the Treaty of Rome also proposed the adoption of common commercial, agricultural and transport policies and the establishment of a common market. Moreover, it saw the rise of supranational institutions - the European Commission, the European Parliament, the Court of Justice, and the Council of Ministers. Through the lens of the EEC, this pitted "the Six" with the rest of the Western Europe who themselves established

the European Free Trade Association. The regional integration among "the Six" was initially implemented through a gradual process of tariff reduction and the eventual establishment of a common market through established deadlines (Phinnemore, 2016).

The 60s showed signs of the growth of the EEC, and for many an integrationist it would seem that the EEC was to achieve to goal of fully establishing a customs union and common market among its member states (Phinnemore, 2016). During the 1970s the EEC experienced its first enlargement with the inclusion of Ireland, Denmark, and the United Kingdom in 1973 as well as the creation of structural funds - the European Regional Development Funds (ERDF) and the European Social Fund (ESF) (Phinnemore, 2016). On the other hand, the European integration process went through a period of 'Eurosclerosis' (Phinnemore, 2016). Despite this stretch of low integration, support towards the establishment of a European Union still continued with the introduction of direct suffrage of the European Parliament in 1979, Greece joining in 1981 and an increase in support towards the removal of trade barriers (Phinnemore, 2016).

The Single European Act and the Establishment of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992

A key event for the European federalization came with the passage of the Single European Act (SEA). It became perhaps the greatest transformation of the European Community since 1957. The then Commission President Jacques Delors set a goal of uniting the whole of the EC under a single, unified, market by 1992 (Bache, 1998). Aware that such reform would negatively impact its new members of Greece, Spain, and Portugal, the SEA gave them, along the wealthier member states, the opportunity to lobby for regional funds (Marks, et al., 1996). This brought an instance in which the Commission became an actor in the provision of regional development funds. However, it was not until the structural funds reform of 1988 in which the EU began to resemble a federal entity as it established the concept of Partnership Agreements (Baun and Marek, 2014). Not only did this reform change the way in which regional development funds would be negotiated and implemented, it also included regional governments as active players in EU political affairs. The inclusion of the regional, or subnational, levels of government meant that states with no regionalist tradition, such as Greece, Ireland, and Portugal, had to implement measures of political decentralization as a means to comply with a more efficient distribution of regional funds (Bache, 2008). The result of this regionalization brought along a new theory of European integration known as Multilevel Governance (Marks, et al., 1996).

While the 1988 reform on structural policy brought about federal-like characteristics to the European Union, the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 went even further. Aside from officially

establishing the European Union, the Treaty brought along further regionalization of the EU. For instance, the Maastricht Treaty brought along the inclusion of member state regional ministers into the Council of Ministers as well as establishing the creation of the Committee of the Regions (Hooghe and Marks, 1996). The creation of the former was explicitly intended to be an institution for regional governments. Unlike the Parliament or the Council of Ministers, the Committee of the Regions' and the European Economic and Social Committee roles in EU policy-making is to serve as advisory institutions. Because regional governments in Europe were granted the means towards political mobilization, the idea of a "Europe of the Regions" quickly took hold (Hooghe and Marks, 1996).

The establishment of the Maastricht Treaty to its failed constitutional referendum in 2005

The period between the signing of the Maastricht Treaty and finalizing the Constitutional Treaty saw a resurgence of the classical federalist mood. The enthusiasm that followed Maastricht was widespread, with some scholars debating not whether the EU would become a federal entity, but how (Trechsel, 2006). From the standpoint of federalization, two things in this period of time are of crucial importance. First, the implementation of two new treaties, Amsterdam and Nice, and second, the Big Bang enlargement of the EU that introduced a large number of mainly Eastern European states to the Union. In terms of the former, the Union saw a continuing transfer of power from national governments to the EU institutions, in the fields such as immigration and security policy. This expansion upon the Maastricht political order took place with the ratification of the Treaty of Amsterdam and solidified a perception that Europe could function as a multilevel federation (Keating, 2017). The Treaty of Nice, similarly, focused on preparing the European Union for further expansion, with changes made in the composition and competences of the Parliament, the Commission, and the ECJ (Sbragia, 2005). The Big Bang enlargement of 2004-2007 created the need for further institutional strengthening that, even though it was never presented that way, would equally slow federalization (Borriello and Crespy, 2015).

Significantly, the Maastricht and Nice treaties were under threat early in the process of their ratification when respectively Denmark and Ireland rejected them as a result of referendums (Gilbert, 2005). In a sense the failure of the treaties' ratification proved that the EU was resembling a federation that has a system of checks and balances that includes the influence of ordinary citizens. However, the EU leaders shot themselves in the foot when they effectively decided to ignore the results of the referendum, pay lip service to adjusting the treaties and moving along with their implementation.

The Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe, drafted in 2004, was an ambitious proposal of both enforcing the powers of the EU and clearly establishing the role of the member states. As Mark Gilbert put it, the Treaty would eventually transform the Union into a "federation of nation-states" (2005). However, even though the Treaty created great excitement among the proponents of federalism, it failed to be ratified after the unsuccessful referendums in France and the Netherlands. The halted ratification of the Treaty signalled the end of the hopeful post-Cold War integration period, but it also did not erase the need for the EU to be reformed.

From the Lisbon treaty (2007) to the present

For many a Eurosceptic it has been argued that the most recent Treaty of Lisbon has served as a cover-up for the failed Constitutional Treaty (Church and Phinnemore, 2016). After its failure, many EU heads of states, including Sarkozy and Merkel, were determined to establish a much-needed EU reform treaty (ibid.). Unlike past EU treaties, what has made the Lisbon Treaty unique is its synthetization of the treaty into 7 distinct Articles, 13 Protocols, an Annex, a Final Act, and 65 Declarations. Despite the treaty's synthetized content, the fact of the matter is that it does contain a number of provisions concerning national parliaments, subsidiarity and the Eurogroup, among others, that were proposed during the Constitutional Treaty (Church and Phinnemore, 2016).

Like the failed Constitutional Treaty, the ratification of the Treaty of Lisbon was met with resistance from a number of member states, entering into force a year after it was originally proposed. While most member states ratified the Lisbon Treaty through their national parliaments, the greatest gridlock came when it became Ireland's turn to ratify whose voters rejected it with a majority of 53.4 percent against it (Church and Phinnemore, 2016). This incident, however, did not deter other member states to ratify the treaty albeit through opt-outs from certain sections; as in the case of Poland and the UK who negotiated an opt-out protocol[1] from the Charter of Fundamental Rights.

Although the Treaty of Lisbon presented yet another instance in which the EU increased its political competencies vis-à-vis the member states, the fact of the matter is that, unlike past EU treaties, the Lisbon Treaty still provided the member states with the right of opt-outs as well as the possibility of seceding from the Union. Although it has taken numerous elements of the failed Constitutional Treaty, Church and Phinnemore argue that the reason the Lisbon Treaty is not considered to be an incarnation of the Constitutional Treaty is due to the fact that

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[1] This opt-out protocol was effectively rendered ineffective by the ECJ, see Steve Peers, Human Rights Law Review, Volume 12, Issue 2, June 2012, Pages 375–389, https://doi.org/10.1093/hrlr/ngs008.

it neither contains constitutional vocabulary nor does it render past treaties obsolete (Church and Phinnemore, 2016).

V. Discussion

When analyzing federalism in Europe and America, it is useful to look at not only how federalism shaped the United States and the European Union, but also at how political developments in the European member states and America transformed the idea of federalism itself. In the case of the United States, it is most clearly visible with the case of the antebellum federalism and the gradual reduction of the role of "states' rights" (Fossum, 2017). While the Founders were ambiguous about the distribution of the roles between the federal and state governments, the Civil War created a new reality in which ,even though considerable amount of powers were left to the states, they were never considered to be of a superior or equal authority to the federal government again (Hofstadter and Hofstadter, 1982). Therefore, federalism in the US became increasingly centralized, as evidenced by the rise of the "imperial presidency", among other things (Schlesinger, 1973).

In the case of the EU, federalism initially implied a centralization of powers, as well as creation of a new state entity, but since the 1950s, when European leaders chose to make Europe an international organization and not a state, federalist ideas have been in a flux, with some scholars arguing that federalization in the EU should imply de-centralization (Fossum and Jachtenfuchs, 2017). Because of the reluctance of modern EU leaders to embrace federalism, the political system of the EU has been generally more open to interpretation (Borriello and Crespy, 2015). There is a consensus, however, that the member states should preserve significant authority over the national affairs (Keating, 2017). And while it is tempting to portray the United States' "federal government – states' rights" dispute as analogous to what Europe is going through, there is no question that the member states have significantly more competences than the US states ever had. While the US saw federalism become a single overpowering idea, the EU went through this process backwards, with federalism now being more open to different interpretations.

Another aspect to take into consideration is both entities' founding documents. Unlike the United States, the EU has frequently updated its treaties taking into consideration current trends (Young, 2017). This means that although member states are given considerable leeway in treaty interpretation, constant treaty revisions have made sure the EU has kept updated in current global trends. Because of its centuries-old ratification and its unamendable nature, the US Constitution, on the other hand, has caused officials to apply interpretations applicable to present-day challenges (ibid.). However, with the passage of every EU treaty, one can notice

how member states embed their political and fiscal sovereignty to both the EU and subnational level of governments. Such examples have been the creation of the Committee of the Regions, as well as the establishment of an explicit "no-bailout" clause for its member states (*see* article 198 of the Maastricht Treaty, 1992; *see also* article 125 of the Lisbon Treaty, 2009). On the other hand, despite the perceived sacrifice of political and fiscal sovereignty from the part of the member states, the Lisbon Treaty granted member states their right to secede from the EU (*see* article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty, 2009). Such similarity is quite congruent with that of antebellum USA, in which Southern states, under the pretext of defending states' rights, seceded from the Union. However, it needs to be taken into consideration that during the antebellum period the states' economies were hardly integrated and the political influence of the US federal government was quite minimal. The fact that member states in the EU are given the right to secede from the bloc has caused enough controversy with the greatest example being the current Brexit debacle. Despite the member states' maintaining of considerable political sovereignty, their economic integration to the bloc has made their secession an arduous process with no established precedent.

VII. Conclusion

In the famous "Federalist" No. 45, James Madison notes that "the powers delegated by the proposed Constitution to the Federal Government, are few and defined. Those which are to remain in the State Governments are numerous and indefinite." (2003). This clear division of federal powers held true for quite some time in both the EU and the US. Only gradually did the status quo begin to change in America after the Civil War, and in Europe that process of change is still ongoing.

This chapter's aim was to analyse and compare the historical processes the United States and the European Union have gone through with respect to federalism. Indeed, the federalist experience of both is similar in many ways, and yet they differ in many more. For the founders of the European project the US' experience served as a logical template. The question of how many elements of American federalism they succeeded in implementing has been an underlying question of this chapter. It is clear that, no matter the differences between American and European federalism, one cannot ignore comparing the two when analysing broader transatlantic relations, because the idea of federalism is one of the factors that explain its strategic importance.

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CHAPTER 2

Transatlantic Perspectives on Security and Defense

Arthur Maximilian John & Kasey Golding

I. Introduction:

The Transatlantic security alliance (most clearly demonstrated in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)) has long been considered the pinnacle of transnational security cooperation. Created in 1949, the NATO alliance was part of a broader effort to serve three key purposes: "deterring Soviet expansionism, forbidding the revival of nationalist militarism in Europe through a strong North American presence, and encouraging European political integration" (NATO Public Diplomacy Division, 2012: 1). Though the integration progress was gradual, initially taking hold in Western Europe before slowly expanding eastward, this alliance rehabilitated the European confidence in security and facilitated a forum for European states to implement projects of greater military cooperation. It grew alongside the European Union and solidified the North American relationship with the European continent. Throughout its history, the alliance utilized its flexibility to suit the needs of the time.

> "In the 1950s, the Alliance was a purely defensive organization. In the 1960s, NATO became a political instrument for détente. In the 1990s, the Alliance was a tool for the stabilization of Eastern Europe and Central Asia through the incorporation of new Partners and Allies" (NATO   Public Diplomacy Division, 2012: 8).

Transatlantic security cooperation transformed from a static deterrent of Soviet aggression to an active enforcer of European peace— and this transformation served as a catalyst for the continent of Europe to re-visit discussions on its role in international security. Today, transatlantic security relations sit at a tipping point. Faced with new global threats and the rise of anti-establishment populism, a strong and cooperative Euro-Atlantic partnership is more important now than ever before. From the ongoing crisis in Syria and the large influx of migrants to the contestation of international organizations and the unpredictability of some of

the world's most powerful figures, commitment to a cohesive transatlantic security and defense approach is uncertain.

Still, whilst not without its imperfections, the North American-European security partnership has dominated the global political system for decades. Oscillating between periods of cooperation and crisis, the Euro-Atlantic security system is crucial in maintaining the West's hegemonic status in the international sphere. However, in spite of the shared interests and values underscoring the transatlantic relationship, the North American and European perspectives differ tremendously in the field of security and defense policy. These core differences have a tremendous effect on relations in the transatlantic sphere, and contribute to the ever-changing dynamics of the transatlantic security relationship.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the differing security and defense perspectives of Europe and North America through the lens of a key contrasting theme: North America as a coercive power— deriving its foreign influence from the strength of its military capabilities and its utilization of 'power projection'— vs. Europe as a normative power with a harsh historical memory and a need for strong security policies. By shaping this argument through the use of historical context and the changing security landscape, this chapter will seek to understand the current state of transatlantic security cooperation and how these key differences will shape the future of the Euro-Atlantic relationship on security and defense.

II. The European Perspective:

The European perspective on security and defense is complex, multidimensional, and in some cases, fragmented. When one analyzes Europe today, it is often through the lens of the European Union— a unique actor in the global sphere. Though it enjoys many of its own exclusive competences, the EU is ultimately composed of 28 distinct perspectives on highly sensitive political matters. Thus, unlike many international actors, the EU does not have the luxury of crafting or implementing unilateral measures in this policy field. Its perspective is shaped by institutional constraints and individual member state perspectives— both of which have played a large role in the formation of Europe's approach to security and defense. Still, Europe is a complex continent and these factors only tell part of the story.

More specifically, when it comes to Europe, it is always important to shape policy perspectives through a historical analysis. Europe's unique approach to security and defense can best be understood in relation to the historic memories of the various member states. For example, the traumatic experiences of the World Wars are evident in the German, Austrian, and French approaches to security and defense. On one hand, the atrocities committed by the Nazi Regime under Hitler have ingrained a deep sense of historic guilt into the national

identities of Germany and Austria , particularly as a result of the denazification policy pursued by the allied forces after WWII. This opposition to militaristic jingoism has led to a unique post-war approach to security and defense. France, on the other hand, was a country that suffered considerably at the hand of the Germans in both World Wars. Thus, it has been highly wary of German remilitarization in the aftermath of WWII. These reservations have started to be overcome through increased European integration efforts and a friendlier Franco-German relationship— but they have yet to be completely erased from historical memory.

In addition to this historical lens, the European perspective on security and defense can also be understood in relation to how the EU has operationalized European integration efforts. With the foundation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952, the six signatory states integrated two industries that would create the resources needed for the backbone of a strong security and defense policy. Since the formation of the ECSC, the EU's security and defense policy has slowly started to materialize. Through the use of both supranational integration efforts such as the formation of the European Defense Agency (EDA) and the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO), and intergovernmental integration efforts, clearly seen in the newly signed Aachen Treaty, the EU has worked to complement its political integration with crucial security frameworks. Today, the core security framework of the EU is the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP)— which forms an "integral part of the Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)" (Legrand, 2018). Though the CSDP does not provide the Union with a military force, it has the potential to "[shape] the post-hegemonic international security order that is likely to arise in coming decades" (Merlingen, 2012: 3) and some have even claimed the EU to be "the world's pre-eminent civilian power, and its second military power" (Moravcsik, 2009: 403). Furthermore, the Helsinki Headline Goal of 1999 also reflects the integrationist nature of the CSDP, stating that "new political and military bodies and structures will be established within the Council to enable the Union to ensure the necessary political guidance and strategic direction to such operations, while respecting the single institutional framework" (Strategic Communications, 2016).

Whilst externally, a united security and defense policy at the EU-level could "transform the EU into a military superpower", internally, initiatives such as PESCO have the potential to accelerate integration efforts at an exponential rate (McCormick, 2008: 194). This is due to the fact that these internal initiatives represent a way for European states to continue playing a powerful role in an increasingly multipolar global sphere. However, differing approaches to security and defense have also created discord amongst European states— resulting in a deceleration of the integration process in this particular policy field. This has been especially apparent in the UK's preference for intergovernmental cooperation, which has resulted in the

"United Kingdom's reluctance to become part of the integration project" (George, 1988). The UK has also traditionally been the most prominent EU member state (in addition to the Netherlands, and many Eastern European countries) to champion the 'Atlanticist' school of thought, which "[emphasized] the importance of the security relationship with the United States, and [loathed] to do anything that could be interpreted as undermining or replacing the transatlantic security relationship" (McCormick, 2008: 195).

Conversely, the 'Europeanists' of Europe— such as France, Italy, Spain, and increasingly Germany— "look more towards European independence, and believe that the EU should reduce its reliance on the American defensive shield" (McCormick, 2008: 195). During the Cold War, the Atlanticist approach enjoyed more popularity as the Soviet Union was perceived to be a threat only averted by a realist transatlantic security relationship under the leadership of a world superpower like the US. However, the post-Cold War era has become fueled by the contestation of the transatlantic relationship and a growing divide in the EU's security and defense policy. Ultimately, this divide is "negatively [affecting] the European Union's defense integration" (Buras and Janning, 2019). In other words, the new nature of the transatlantic relationship, in combination with other emerging challenges to the global liberal order, have the potential to either accelerate or decelerate the European integration process, and it is currently unknown how resilient (or united) the EU's security and defense policy will be in light of such contestations.

Although European states have employed their approach to security and defense for a number of reasons, what stands out is the fact that many of these policies have ultimately been pursued out of sheer necessity. A security and defense approach out of necessity is of particular relevance to Europe due to its geopolitical proximity to longstanding potential sources of conflict and hostility such as Russia and the Middle East. The most prominent example of a necessity driven security and defense policy is NATO, which has been particularly vital for geopolitically vulnerable actors such as the Baltic states who "view Russia's bellicose behavior as an existential threat" (Coffey and Kochis: 2015, 2).

In spite of this need, a cohesive security and defense framework at the EU-level has long been a politically controversial policy area, and many member states continue to hold "independent opinions and priorities" (McCormick, 2008). To many pro-US member states, an integrated European security and defense policy is viewed as complicating NATO functioning. Some have even argued that the "EU's CSDP seemed to pose a risk of confusion" (Hunter, 2002: 74). External actors have often tried to play on this fear and have vocally opposed a prominent CSDP and this has prompted more Europeanist member states to defend their security platform. Germany's Chancellor Angela Merkel has even argued that a European army "is not an army against NATO [but]... a good complement to NATO" (Merkel, 2018).

This fragmentation has complicated the recent push for a more cohesive European security policy and it is currently unclear whether this new approach will compete with or complement the transatlantic security cooperation.

Still, many EU member states continue to have powerful defense capabilities of their own. Whether this strength manifests itself in a well-trained, well equipped armed forces (UK and France) or a well-developed arms manufacturing industry (Germany), Europe's military capabilities are not solely determined at the EU-level. However, it is also increasingly recognized that even for the most powerful security and defense actors in Europe, increased cooperation is necessary in order to resist the tide of antagonistic players. This is all the more relevant for smaller and less powerful member states, like the Baltic states, as NATO is increasingly called into question by the Trump administration (Santora, 2018). As a result of this, Angela Merkel has argued that "the times when we could rely on others are over" (De La Baume and Herszenhorn, 2018). Although it is uncertain how permanent the weakening of transatlantic relations will be, agreements such as the 2019 Aachen Treaty, in which any acknowledgement of the centrality of NATO for collective defense is absent, demonstrates the dimension of necessity in European security and defense (Perot, 2019: 2).

A key example of the EU's modern challenges in the arena of security and defense is the eventual departure of the UK from the EU. The United Kingdom is the EU's most powerful armed forces division (Guzelytė, 2016: 8). Although some have argued that "the security and defense policy component of the relationship...should represent the most straightforward aspect of the future EU-UK relationship", the strained nature of future UK-EU relations could necessitate further intra-EU cooperation on security and defense policies (Whitman, 2016: 49). This is due to the fact that without the UK, the EU will be required to strengthen its security and defense cooperation in order to continue playing a relevant role on the global stage as "most of the remaining member states are close to insignificant compared to the UK when it comes to security and defense capacity…" (Jacobs & Vanhoonacker, 2018: 2).

In any case, both the developments in Westminster and in Washington have solidified the fact that European security and defense is founded on necessity rather than choice. This necessity is symptomatic of the multidimensional nature of the EU's security and defense policies. More realist considerations, such as the Aachen Treaty, are already underway, but it remains to be seen how European security and defense — as it continues to be shaped by intra-EU integration efforts, its historic memories, and geopolitical necessity — will impact transnational, transatlantic, and trans-regional relations in the future.

III. The North American Perspective:

The North American perspective on security and defense is unique and largely dominated by the military prowess of the United States. The US in particular prides itself on its invested interest in security affairs. This pride is a common thread throughout the young nation's historical memory and it forms the core of the American political psyche. However, while this prioritization of security and defense is not a new perspective for the North American continent, its emphasis on the transatlantic link didn't reach its peak until the mid-20th century.

Following the end of WWII, the US sought to build upon its growing superpower status and re-establish its presence in Europe. Turning its back on its traditional policy of diplomatic isolationism, the US provided aid through policies such as the Marshall Plan to foster a degree of economic stabilization in a decimated Western Europe (NATO Public Diplomacy Division, 2012: 1). The North American presence— largely led by the United States— not only helped to create economic and political stability in Europe, but it also established a security umbrella that eventually transformed into NATO. Though the signing of this collective security agreement was designed to deter the looming Soviet threat, it was also a strategic investment for the United States to capitalize on a pivotal moment in history. By building a strong security relationship with Europe, the United States was able further a core national interest and solidify the West's hegemonic military status.

Unlike many of its allies, the American perspective on security and defense is shaped by its coercive power and its affinity towards a military approach. Understanding the mentality of exceptionalism that underscores the American school of thought is crucial to understanding the overall American approach to international affairs. For the United States, its perceived strength in the arena of security and defense is a point of both national interest and national pride. The strategic culture of the US is "shaped by free security and imbued with a sentiment of exceptionalism" (Klein, 1988). It is the strategic culture of a country that enjoys geographic isolation— surrounded by two oceans and two countries, Canada and Mexico, that have never posed a serious military threat— and always goes to war 'over there' (Klein, 1988: 136). Additionally, it is the strategic culture of a country whose rise to global involvement was largely unaccompanied by any classical balance of power considerations (Klein, 1988: 137). The United States has never had to exhaust itself by waging war against its neighbors. Thus, the US has been able to craft its strategic culture and military approach around the concept of 'power projection'. According to Bradley Klein, this refers to "the ability of the United States to extend its military forces well beyond its national borders" (Klein, 1988: 136). Successful power protection affords the US with the means to deliver enormous, yet meticulously controlled, destruction abroad, while enabling the populace to "remain thoroughly, indeed morally, convinced of its overwhelmingly defensive nature" (Klein, 1988: 136).

To the United States, safeguarding its national security means protecting its physical territory, its institutions, and its propensity for economic prosperity. Not unlike its European partners, national security for the US encompasses the protection of its "fundamental values and core interests necessary to the continued existence and vitality of the state" (Jordan et al., 2009: 4). One particular American school of thought that rose to prominence in US foreign and security policy in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries is neo-conservatism. Neoconservatives hold many of the same thoughts as realists. They place power at the center of their analysis and see it as the responsibility of the great powers— or, more precisely, the United States— to manage world affairs and provide attainable levels of peace and security (Jordan et al., 2009: 9). More than anything, neoconservatives are skeptical of the international community and question the value of international law and international institutions. Still, in spite of the commonalities shared with the realist school of thought, neo-conservatism also incorporates strands of liberal thought into its approach. According to the authors of *American National Security*, "the US power should always be guided by moral values and should be used to promote democracy, free markets, [and] respect for liberty" (Jordan et al., 2009: 9). The best way to support US interests is to promote and support US values abroad; however, neoconservatives argue that it is US power, rather than structures of global governance, that is the key to championing these values. The theory of neo-conservatism is not one of the enduring theories of international relations theory and it is often challenged by both realist and liberals alike. Still, it is clear that the values of neo-conservatism continue to underline much of the American perspective on national security politics and its theoretical framework offers an explanation as to why the US has continued to approach international institutions with a level of skepticism that is not always matched by its allies.

Today, the United States maintains this skepticism in the international order while also maintaining its staunch commitment to national security. This commitment is clearly demonstrated in its annual defense budget and military presence abroad. For the fiscal year of 2019, the Department of Defense budget is $686 billion— which also includes funding for Overseas Contingency Operations (OCO) (Office of the Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller), 2018). This figure represents approximately 3.5% of the country's total GDP and is an increase from the fiscal year of 2018 (BBC News, 2018). Additionally, the United States continues to maintain hundreds of military bases in more than 70 countries and territories abroad (Vine, 2015).

In regard to its commitment to NATO and transatlantic security cooperation, the United States funds approximately 22% of the NATO Common Funded budgets— which translated to nearly $685 million out of NATO's $2.8 billion budget in 2016 (U.S. Mission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 2019). The United States also contributes to certain multinational

projects that develop collective capabilities to support critical NATO operational requirements such as the NATO Ballistic Missile Defense and the Alliance Ground Surveillance (AGS) system (U.S. Mission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 2019). However, this domestic sentiment is not uncontested. Though the US remains a system heavily dominated by its military strength and national security interests, some of the more outspoken members of the congressional minority are opposed to the excessive amount of money and time the US invests in its foreign involvement. Politicians such as former senator Tom Daschle (D-SD) have argued that, "people were concerned about national security, and that precluded us from having the opportunity to break through on the issues that we cared more about— the economy, education, and healthcare" (King et al., 2002). Still, in spite of this contestation, opposition to the US military complex remains largely rhetorical and thus it is unlikely that change will be made anytime soon.

Outside of the United States, the North American perspective is also shaped by the Canadian approach to security and defense. The US is Canada's closest security partner and defense ally (House of Commons Canada, 2017: 2). Therefore, it is critical that the Canadian government aligns its security interests with its strongest security guarantor. Canada is a strong proponent of continental security through trilateral defense cooperation with the United States and Mexico. Through enhanced synchronization in areas of mutual concern, such as humanitarian assistance and disaster-relief, Canada has been a crucial advocate for strengthening hemispheric defense capabilities (Prime Minister of Canada, 2016). Moreover, Canada, the United States, and Mexico all share a commitment to international peace and security, and support the important contributions United Nations peace operations make in fragile and conflict-affected states (Prime Minister of Canada, 2016). Canada in particular has been a strong force in UN peacekeeping missions and a fierce advocate for the use of the North American Caucus, a consultative mechanism, to advance trilateral peacekeeping cooperation (Prime Minister of Canada, 2016).

In summary, the North American perspective on security and defense has always been shaped by the military dominance of the United States. Thus, it is deeply imbedded with the notions of security as a point of strength and security as a point of national pride. As Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo, has stated, "we must protect the very things that make America so special— most certainly including our civil liberties… But we cannot do so without strong national security". Though Canada and Mexico both have their own individualized approaches to security and defense, the United States forms the cornerstone of this side's role in transatlantic security cooperation. Its sphere of influence in the military arena is vast and

uncontested, and thus affords the US with a privileged position in the debates over the transatlantic security relationship.

IV. Conclusion:

Transatlantic security cooperation is "not a mission of choice, but of necessity" (NATO Public Diplomacy Division, 2012: 8). Though the core North American and European perspectives on security and defense might differ, the formation and continued support for NATO highlights the Atlantic belief that "only a vigorously coordinated international response can address the threats of the 21st century" (NATO Public Diplomacy Division, 2012: 8). Nevertheless, these deeply imbedded, and largely contrasting, perspectives on security and defense are beginning to test the strength of the transatlantic partnership.

Since the election of President Trump, the United States has reverted back to its isolationist approach to global politics. Though the US still prides itself on its military capabilities and coercive power, it no longer wishes to do this through the established multilateral channels— at least according to the actions of the Trump administration. By unilaterally pulling out of the Syrian conflict and forging bilateral security relationships with European Union member states, the US is continuing to create waves in the international sphere.

Additionally, President Trump's rhetoric has made it clear that the US and Europe have diverging security interests. Not unlike his predecessors, Trump has expressed his discontent and frustration with NATO member countries for not spending more of their domestic budgets on defense. However, this constant push for increased spending, in combination with the international actions of the United States, have not been well-received in Europe. While the US is calling on Europe to pull its weight within NATO, Europe is re-visiting the conversation about the importance of having their own internal security and defense capabilities. With the looming departure of the United Kingdom— the EU's most prominent security and defense actor— French President Emmanuel Macron is hoping to solidify European integration efforts by implementing a stronger and more cohesive European defense project that would subvert the European reliance on North American security guarantees. This European call to action is a direct response to the growing distrust in US participation in transatlantic security cooperation, and is troubling for the future of multilateral security organizations like NATO.

Still, there is always hope for the transatlantic partnership— especially in the high political arena of security and defense. The partnership has been underlined by a constant ebb and flow, but it has never faltered in times of crisis. In spite of the political rhetoric and domestic contestation, the diplomatic ties remain strong. North America and Europe face a

world of volatility, uncertainty, and complexity. Though it might experience a period of change under the current leaders in power, transatlantic security cooperation remains the cornerstone of international security.

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CHAPTER 3

European and North American Perspectives on Refugees

Rihards Steins & Francesca Robinson

Introduction

According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), we are currently "witnessing the highest levels of displacement on record" with 30 people being displaced every minute.[2] In total, there are 28.5 million refugees and asylum seekers in the world and another 40 million people that are internally displaced[3]. The brunt of this burden is carried by poor and fragile states[4] that are incapable of providing adequate support for the people who are themselves destitute and traumatized. Of these 68.5 million people, only 4.6 million (6.7%) have found shelter in Europe or North America.[5]

While refugees hail from various regions all over the globe, the most renowned case remains the Syrian refugee crisis of 2015-2016, spurred by the country's brutal civil war. As millions of people fled or were displaced, the aggravating humanitarian crisis caught the eye of the empathetic public. This event was also followed with profound unease by policy-makers in Europe and North America, anxious about the implications this increasingly internationalized civil war would have for the region and the globe.

The most recent data from the UNHCR shows that over 5.6 million people have fled Syria looking for asylum in the neighbouring countries, while another 6.6 million are displaced within Syria.[6] Of these 12.2 million Syrians, only a fraction made it to Europe and North America. Nonetheless, the political and ideological ramifications have been profound. The transatlantic area has historically been defined by an exchange of people – both voluntary and forced – with the "New World" being the primary recipient of the Old Continent's poor, huddled, and persecuted masses. Indeed, the United States itself was founded by European

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[4] "Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2017". UNHCR Website. Accessed on 1 May, 2019. https://www.unhcr.org/5b27be547.pdf p. 65-67.

[5] "Global Appeal: 2019 Update". UNHCR Website. Accessed on 1 May, 2019. http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/ga2019/pdf/Global_Appeal_2019_full_lowres.pdf

[6] "Syria Emergency". UNHCR Website. Accessed on 1 May, 2019. https://www.unhcr.org/syria-emergency.html

refugees yearning to be free. With historical tides changing, the affluent and peaceful Western countries are now being forced to reassess their human rights credentials and policy practices while coming to grips with the remoulding of the identities of their fractured societies.

This chapter will show the contemporary perspectives on refugees on both sides of the Atlantic through a careful analysis of the "Syrian Refugee Crisis." The authors will start by providing a brief literature review which will be followed by an analysis of both the American and European perspectives vis-à-vis the recent refugee crisis. The conclusion will seek to outline some of the similarities and differences in these perspectives.

Literature review

The refugee question had been somewhat neglected academically until the late 20th century. Prior to the 1980s the academic debate on refugees was primarily focused on the international organizations and the legal-institutional setting in which refugees had to operate; afterwards, with the emergence of the field of refugee studies, country or case oriented works predominated.[7] As Pertti Ahonen argues, historical contextualization of present day crises are impossible due to a dearth of historical analyses on the refugee question, while the relatively recent field of refugee studies has been dominated by "presentist preoccupations."[8] This idea has also been echoed by Peter Gatrell who explains this perplexing shortage in scholarly works by a disproportionate focus on the nation state as well as the relative invisibility of the refugees' narratives in the past.[9]

One can find the roots of the European perspective in the landmark account of the refugee predicament by Hannah Arendt in her 1943 article "We Refugees." In it she highlights the precariousness and, indeed, the disdain felt against refugees in their recipient countries, regardless of their efforts and attempts to integrate.[10] This Arendtian view presents the catch-22 of being trapped in the inherent contradictions between universal human rights and the principle of national sovereignty leading them to suffer from what Marieke Borren has called "public invisibility in Europe."[11] European reluctance towards refugees is also highlighted by

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[7] For a more detailed insight see: Jérôme, E. (2014) "Histories of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies", in Loescher, G., Long, K. (et al.) (eds) The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies. Oxford University Press, 2014. P. 23.

[8] Ahonen, P. (2018) Europe and refugees: 1938 and 2015–16, Patterns of Prejudice, 52:2-3, p. 137.

[9] Gatrell, P (2016) "Refugees—What's Wrong with History?" Journal of Refugee Studies Vol. 30, No. 2, p. 175-176; see also Marfleet, P. "Refugees and History: Why We Must Adress the Past." Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol. 26, Issue 3. Pp. 136-148.

[10] Arendt, H. (1943) "We Refugees". Menorah Journal 31, no. 1 (January 1943): pp. 69-77. English Translation Accessed on 1 May, 2019. https://amroali.com/2017/04/refugees-essay-hannah-arendt/

[11] Borren, M. (2008). "Towards an Arendtian politics of in/visibility: On stateless refugees and undocumented aliens". Ethical Perspectives: Journal of the European Ethics Network 15, no. 2 (2008). P. 215-218

Jean-Pierre Poussou[12], Dan Stone[13], Gregory Goalwin[14] and a number of other scholars who have recently sought to reinvigorate the historical debate on refugees in Europe.

In the light of the recent "refugee crisis" the number of books and articles on refugees has exploded yet all, in one way or another, seem to indicate a single overarching trend - European failure to come to terms with their continent being one of immigration not, as in past, emigration.[15] The recent literature presents these European attitudes from a variety of perspectives - as European insecurities about race, ethnicity, and nation[16]; as a clash between liberal/multicultural and conservative/nationalist narratives[17]; and as a struggle between supranational and national actors, as well as between different states and regions within the EU[18].

The refugee question remains a divisive issue in the academic literature across the Atlantic. The academic works surrounding refugees reflect regional, cultural, and political divisions that demonstrate the clash between trying to respect human rights while also upholding feelings of national identity. Most of this literature focuses on the reluctance of American foreign policy makers to accept refugees as willingly as other actors around the world. This literature also mainly takes a political science or policy based approach. For example, Diven and Immerfall emphasize that American refugee policy is shaped by current political trends and interests.[19] These authors use sociology and political science literature to shape their argument and compare the reasons why actors like the U.S. and Germany have had different responses the refugee crisis. Additionally, Diven and Immerfall also explain how policies in the United States are shaped by public opinion, not just by political current events.

Furthermore, the North American perspective also focuses on the human rights of refugees. Joseph Bazirake uses an international legal framework to explain the global refugee

[12] Poussou, J.-P. (2008) "Les Réfugiés dans l'histoire de l'Europe à l'époque moderne", in O. Forcade, O., Nivet, P. (eds.), Les Réfugiés en Europe du XVIe au XXe siècle. Paris: Éditions Nouveau Monde. Pp. 31–71.

[13] Stone, D. (2018) "On neighbours and those knocking at the door: Holocaust memory and Europe's refugee crisis". Patterns of Prejudice, 52:2-3, pp. 231-243.

[14] Goalwin, G. J. (2018) Population exchange and the politics of ethnoreligious fear: the EU–Turkey agreement on Syrian refugees in historical perspective. Patterns of Prejudice, 52:2-3, pp. 121-134.

[15] Bank, R. (2014) "Forced Migration in Europe", in Loescher, G., Long, K. (et al.) (eds) The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies. Oxford University Press, 2014. P. 690.

[16] Loftsdóttir,K., Smith, A. L., Hipfl, B. (eds.) (2018) Messy Europe: crisis, race, and nation-state in a postcolonial world. New York: Berghahn Books.

[17] Dzenovska, D. Coherent Selves, Viable States: Eastern Europe and the "Migration/Refugee Crisis". Slavic Review 76, no. 2 (Summer 2017), pp. 297-306.; Stone, D. (2018) "On neighbours and those knocking at the door: Holocaust memory and Europe's refugee crisis". Patterns of Prejudice, 52:2-3, pp. 231-243.

[18] Porta, D. (ed.) "Solidarity Mobilizations in the 'Refugee Crisis': Contentious Moves". Springer International Publishing, Cham; 2018.; Bialasiewicz, L., Maessen, E. (2018) "Scaling rights: the 'Turkey deal' and the divided geographies of European responsibility". Patterns of Prejudice, 52:2-3, pp. 210-230.

[19] Diven and Immerfall (2018). "Hospitality or Hostility?: Explaining the German and U.S. Responses to the Syrian Refugee Crisis." Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 189-209.

crisis and international conventions that are supposed to protect refugees like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.[20] Despite the emphasis on human rights as a democratic norm, the divergence between human rights and political sovereignty is prominent in North American academic literature as well as in the media. This schism also represents the divergence between individuals within North America. Many citizens willingly accept refugees into society, while many others believe that refugees represent a security threat and do not want to allow refugees to fully integrate.

It is also noteworthy that in the North American academic debate, the narratives of the United States overshadow those of its neighbours. Nevertheless, providing a uniform North American perspective is difficult, as in the literature Canada is placed in opposition to the U.S. and Mexico, which shows how the refugee affair causes not just global tensions, but regional partitions as well. Scholars like Dan Stone, Michaela Hynie, and prominent media outlets also demonstrate this divide.

The following analysis of the perspectives of the recent Refugee Crisis in Europe will show how all of the aforementioned themes are visible in the public discourses about refugees on both sides of the Atlantic.

The Refugee Crisis

European perspective

The reverberations of the refugee crisis can still be felt across Europe. Short of claiming outright electoral victories across Europe, far right parties have often prevailed in the war of ideas,[21] incrementally but decisively bringing their mainstream opponents and the general political discourse to the right.[22] This is particularly striking considering Europe's prosperity and stability, its self-proclaimed core values, and alleged adherence to human rights and the rule of law. Finally, as mentioned before, it is hardly a continent unaccustomed to immense people displacements, making it more suited to deal with these challenges than most others.

After World War II the number of refugee arrivals to Europe remained low up until the 1980s when it saw an upwards trend with distinct periodic fluctuations corresponding to global crises.[23] Nevertheless, it was in the early 2010s when the refugee flows to Europe exploded as

[20] Bazirake, J. (2017) "The Contemporary Global Refugee Crisis." Peace Review Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 61-67.

[21] Schultheis, E. (2018) "Sweden's Far Right Has Won the War of Ideas". Foreign Policy. Accessed on 1 May, 2019. https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/09/10/swedens-nazi-offspring-won-the-war-of-ideas/

[22] Traub, J. (2017) "The Geert Wilders Effect". Foreign Policy. Accessed on 1 May, 2019. https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/03/13/the-geert-wilders-effect/

[23] See Figure 1 in the fact sheet

the perfect storm of American withdrawal from the Middle East, civil war in Syria, and the collapse of the Gaddafi regime unfolded.[24]

Contrary to the appeals by the German Chancellor Angela Merkel[25] and the EU Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker[26] to uphold European values, respect human rights and dignity, and work together to help those in need, opposition to refugees was present almost from the outset. Andreas Steinmayr's study for instance suggests a positive causal relationship between the number of arriving refugees and support for far-right parties in Austria, Germany, and Sweden.[27] The actions of volunteers and the general public welcoming and aiding refugees were to an equal measure countered by inflammatory rhetoric, protests, and even violence.[28]

These internal ideological clashes came to define European politics and societies with the liberally minded people increasingly yielding ground to the rising anti-migrant sentiments across societies and polities.[29] Their influence on the mainstream politics and the public discourse, buried the debate on refugees and their rights and brought discussions about mass immigration, multiculturalism, and religion to the fore in countries across the EU.[30] Political forces willing to exploit these contentious issues were not far off with the Alternative for Germany (AfD)[31] and other far right parties rattling the political scene in mainland Europe and the UK Independence Party (UKIP) using fear mongering and demonization of refugees in advance of the Brexit Referendum.[32]

The refugee crisis also illuminated fissures between the EU's component parts. First and puzzlingly to many, the German exclusive, blood-based regime proved to be the open one while the historically global and multicultural states like the UK and France shut their doors.[33] Sweden proved to be a paragon of openness while its neighbour Finland still opposes any

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[24] Lucassen, L. (2018) "Peeling an onion: the "refugee crisis" from a historical perspective." Ethnic and Racial Studies, 41:3, p. 385-387

[25] Goebel, N. (2015) "Germany must 'lead the way' in refugee crisis". Deutsche Welle. Accessed on 1 May, 2019. https://www.dw.com/en/germany-must-lead-the-way-in-refugee-crisis/a-18702937

[26] Juncker, J.C. (2015) "State of the Union 2015: Time for Honesty, Unity and Solidarity". European Commission. Accessed on 1 May, 2019. http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-15-5614_en.htm

[27] Steinmayr, A. (2017) "Did the Refugee Crisis Contribute to the Recent Rise of Far-Right Parties in Europe?". DICE Report 4/2017, December Volume 15. P. 25.

[28] Haberlen, J. C. (2016) "Making Friends: Refugees and Volunteers in Germany". German Politics and Society, Issue 120 Vol. 34, No.3. (Autumn 2016). P. 72-73.

[29] Sigona, N. (2017) "The contested politics of naming in Europe's "refugee crisis"." Ethnic and Racial Studies, 41:3. P. 458.

[30] Gattinara, P. C. (2018) "Europeans, Shut the Borders! Anti-refugee Mobilisation in Italy and France" in Porta, D. (ed.) "Solidarity Mobilizations in the 'Refugee Crisis': Contentious Moves". Springer International Publishing, Cham; 2018. P. 291-292.

[31] Valiant, J. (2016) Éditorial. La crise des réfugiés bouscule le paysage politique en Allemagne. Allemagne d'aujourd'hui, 2016, Vol.N° 217(3), p.

[32] Ahonen, P. (2018) Europe and refugees… p. 144.

[33] Porta, D. (2018) "Contentious Moves: Some Conclusions" in Porta, D. (ed.) "Solidarity Mobilizations in the 'Refugee Crisis': Contentious Moves". Springer International Publishing, Cham; 2018. P. 330.

attempts at refugee relocation. Denmark went to great lengths to dissuade refugee arrival through reduced benefits and a self-smear campaign in Lebanese newspapers.[34]

No divide, however, has been so often discussed as that between the Visegrad countries and the remainder of the EU. Many a western politician have fallen upon the Visegrad four, and Hungary in particular, for being illiberal, intolerant, and xenophobic; hypocritically benefitting from the EU but failing to contribute anything.[35] The Hungarian government justified its actions by claiming to defend the borders of the European Christian culture.[36] The toxic, anti-Muslim line was kept by the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Poland – all countries that opposed relocation and were willing to contemplate accepting only Christian refugees.[37]

Although criticisms directed at the Visegrad group are justified, they warrant two comments. First, it is true that all Visegrad states have themselves sent tens of thousands of refugees westward during the Cold War.[38] But, as Dace Dzenovska argues, their opposition to refugees finds its roots in their political and historical thought, seeing how the very *raison d'être* and source of legitimacy of these states have been the existence and preservation of a historically and linguistically defined nation state.[39] The Baltic States present another complex conundrum– while not as uncompromising as the Visegrad four, their stance towards refugees remains critical. All three boast significant global diasporas, of whom most were refugees, but Estonia and Latvia are still far from integrating the hundreds of thousands of immigrants who arrived during the years of the Soviet occupation while notions of relocation schemes imposed by a distant political entity have negative connotations.

Second, as Dan Stone argues, solely condemning the East of its treatment of refugees and asylum seekers seems hypocritical; the West itself hardly has a clear conscience.[40] With the pre-crisis, the EU was more preoccupied with keeping out refugees and countries as varied as Finland, France, the UK, and Denmark were doing the utmost to dissuade people from

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[34] Karolewski, I. P., Benedikter, R. (2018) "Europe's Refugee and Migrant Crisis: Political responses and asymmetrical pressures". Politique européenne, 2018, Vol.60(2). P. 112; "Denmark advertises how bad the country is to refugees" (2015). Euractiv. Accessed on 1 May, 2019. https://www.euractiv.com/section/justice-home-affairs/news/denmark-advertises-how-bad-the-country-is-to-refugees/

[35] Stone, D. (2018) "On neighbours and those knocking at the door... p. 234; Haraszti, M. (2015). "Behind Viktor Orbán's War on Refugees in Hungary". New Perspectives Quarterly, October 2015, Vol.32(4), p. 37-40.; Tallis, B., Simecka, M. (2015) "Fighting the wrong battle: Central Europe's crisis is one of liberal democracy, not migration". Open Democracy Website. Accessed on 1 May, 2019. https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/michal-simecka-benjamin-tallis/fighting-wrong-battle-central-europe%E2%80%99s-crisis-is-o

[36] Nagy, T. (2018) At the Southeastern End of Schengen. Accepting Refugees in Hungary in 2015's refugees' wave. Belvedere Meridionale vol. 30. no. 4. p. 70.

[37] Ahonen, P. (2018) Europe and refugees... p. 146; Karolewski, I. P., Benedikter, R. (2018) "Europe's Refugee and Migrant Crisis... P. 103.

[38] Lucassen, L. (2018) "Peeling an onion... p. 385.

[39] Dzenovska, D. Coherent Selves, Viable States: Eastern Europe and the "Migration/Refugee Crisis". Slavic Review 76, no. 2 (Summer 2017), p. 300-301.

[40] Stone, D. (2018) "On neighbours and those knocking at the door... p. 241.

coming and helping them as little as possible. It is quite clear that "this is not an Eastern European crisis of shame, it is a European crisis of shame."[41]

As the literature review outlined, the recent refugee crisis is not an outlier but in line with the norm. Pertti Ahonen draws attention to how the public discourse today resembles that of the hateful and racially charged public discussions of the late 1930s.[42] In terms of rhetoric and underlying sentiments, the 2016 EU deal with Turkey is eerily similar to a deal crafted in 1923 between Greek, Turkish, and European leaders – both extolling the cooperation between Europe and Turkey but both also removing unwanted populations and addressing the underlying religious and ethnic fears[43]. More recently, the paragon of Willkommenskultur itself saw rise in anti-refugee sentiment when hundreds of thousands of ethnic Germans from the East made it to Germany after the collapse of the USSR.[44] Donatella della Porta takes a more systematic approach by pointing to the "failure of the neoliberal migration regime in a moment in which the forced migration of many individuals interacted with the long-lasting consequences of the financial crisis."[45]

Leo Lucassen provides a comprehensive and credible account, claiming that it was an interaction of (1) unprecedented scale, (2) failure of past integration efforts, (3) disillusionment with globalization, (4) Islam and the persistent fear of terrorism, (5) rise of right-wing populist parties, and (6) the liberalized EU visa regime.[46] Dzenovska affirms the issue of "too many"[47] while a number of other studies point to unease about religion, ethnicity, and gender imbalances as the culprits[48]. The interplay between religion, race, and a crisis was also at the heart of the recent book by Kristin Loftsdottir and Brigitte Hipfl. The authors point to how the recent refugee crisis in conjunction with economic stagnation brought forth a reinforced narrative of whiteness in the continent's anti-immigrant discourses revealing the remnants of its colonial past and persistent racism.[49]

The North American perspective

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[41] Ibid.

[42] Ahonen, P. (2018) Europe and refugees... p. 148.

[43] Goalwin, G. J. (2018) Population exchange and the politics of ethnoreligious fear... p. 133.

[44] Lucassen, L. (2018) "Peeling an onion... p. 402-403.

[45] Porta, D. (2018) "Contentious Moves: Some Conclusions"... p. 326.

[46] Lucassen, L. (2018) "Peeling an onion... p. 404-405.

[47] Dzenovska, D. Coherent Selves, Viable States... p. 301-306.

[48] Liebe U, Meyerhoff J, Kroesen M, Chorus C, Glenk K (2018) From welcome culture to welcome limits? Uncovering preference changes over time for sheltering refugees in Germany. PLoS ONE, vol. 13(8). p. 10; Bansak, K., Heinmueller, J., Hangartner, D. (2016) "How economic, humanitarian, and religious concerns shape European attitudes toward asylum seekers." Science, Oct 14, 2016, Vol.354(6309), pp. 217-222.

[49] Loftsdóttir,K., Smith, A. L., Hipfl, B. (eds.) (2018) Messy Europe... p. 7-13.

The division in Europe is mirrored in North America. The United States, in particular, has faced much contention about what policies should be in place to help migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers while also protecting U.S. citizens and borders.

While countries like Germany have opened their borders to refugees, the U.S. has been more reluctant. Canada has taken more than five times the amount of refugees that the U.S. has taken.[50] By January of 2017, Germany had taken 480,000 refugees from Syria, while the U.S. had only allowed about 10,000 Syrian refugees to enter.[51] The U.S. has prided itself on being a country founded by immigrants in the past, which leaves one to ask why the United States is not living up to its ideology and doing more to take in more refugees and asylum seekers.

There are different factors that have contributed to the United States' seeming anti-refugee policies. One of the main factors is the role of public opinion coupled with public concerns about national security. The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 led to a rise in xenophobia in the United States that was mainly directed towards people of Islamic origin. The U.S. refugee policies are greatly affected by political pressures, and "not embedded in international institutional norms" the same way the policies may be for European countries, especially those within the EU.[52]

At face value, it may seem as if the amount of refugees that come to the U.S. may be lower than other regions like Europe or the Middle East simply because of proximity. Syrian refugees would have to cross the Atlantic Ocean to reach the United States. It would be much more convenient to travel to a nearby country such as Jordan or cross the Mediterranean to Europe than to flee to the U.S. However, proximity is not the main factor that influences the amount of Syrian refugees in the United States. Historically, the U.S. has taken refugees from all over the world. Following World War II, the U.S. took European refugees. After the Vietnam war, the U.S. took in about 1.2 million Vietnamese and 200,000 Cambodian refugees.[53] Throughout the Cold War, the U.S. took refugees from communist regimes in Eastern Europe, China, and Cuba.[54]

Following the influx of refugees from the Cold War and the fall of South Vietnam, the U.S. government decided to implement a more permanent system into place that would establish the definition of a refugee and establish criteria that asylum seekers would have to meet in order to be granted entry into the United States.[55] Thus, the 1980 US Refugee Act was

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[50] Diven and Immerfall (2018). "Hospitality or Hostility?..."
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid, p. 198.
[53] Diven and Immerfall. (2018) "Hospitality or Hostility?...".
[54] Felter, C. and McBride, J. (2018). "How Does the U.S. Refugee System Work?" Council on Foreign Relations. Accessed on 25 March, 2019. https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/how-does-us-refugee-system-work
[55] Ibid.

created. This Act establishes that any person who is not a U.S. citizen may apply for asylum. They will then be given an asylum officer that will determine whether the individual is being persecuted and should be given asylum. In 2001, the Refugee Act was revamped and became the Patriot Act, which amended refugee policy legislation and broadened the criteria for people who are deportable and/or ineligible for admission into the U.S. This legislation was changed to help anti-terrorist efforts.[56] However, this legislation has also been used to defend modern day attitudes towards keeping migrants out of the U.S., especially when it comes to anti-terrorist sentiments. Refugees increasingly have been linked to terrorism in the United States following the 9/11 terrorist attacks. However, "out of the more than three million refugees accepted by the United States over the past four decades, a handful have been implicated in terrorist plots."[57] Despite this fact, public opinion continues to play a significant role in politics and policy in the United States.

A November 2015 poll showed that 56% of Americans did not want to increase the number of Syrian refugees accepted by the United States.[58] Many people believe that migrants pose a danger to national security. Momin also explains different reasons for why a country may not wish to allow refugees into their country. One rationale is the national security argument in which governments wish to protect their citizens by restricting the numbers of refugees allowed into the state. Governments may wish to reduce the number of migrants because they believe migrants can contribute to crime or be involved in terrorist acts. The United States has a very intensive security screening process to prevent terrorism and crime.[59] In order for a migrant to be considered a refugee they have to demonstrate that they "were persecuted or fear persecution due to race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group."[60]security rationale is one of many arguments against migration in the United States. However, another reason for anti-immigration sentiments in the United States may come from those who believe in a particular U.S. national identity and do not believe that migrants can integrate or fit into this identity. These nationalist sentiments have been transferred to the political sphere as well and are also used to justify U.S. foreign policy.

Another prominent issue regarding migration in North America derives from the asylum seekers coming from Latin America. Migrants come from countries like El Salvador,

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[56] Diven and Immerfall. (2018) "Hospitality or Hostility?..."
[57] Felter, C. and McBride, J. (2018) "How Does the U.S. Refugee System Work?"
[58] Diven and Immerfall (2018) "Hospitality or .Hostility?..."
[59] Momin, S. (2017) "A Human Rights Based Approach to Refugees: A Look at the Syrian Refugee Crisis and the Responses from Germany and the United States." Duke Forum for Law and Social Change Vol. 9., pp. 55-79.
[60] U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (2017) "Learn about the Refugee Application Process." USCIS. Accessed on 28 March, 2019. https://www.uscis.gov/humanitarian/refugees-asylum/refugees

Guatemala, Honduras, and Venezuela, which have been named as some of the most dangerous countries in the world.[61] Latin America suffers 33% of the world's homicides.[62] The increasing violence and poverty in Latin American countries has led to the inflation of migrants trying to enter the U.S. and other North American countries like Mexico. The status of these migrants has caused major political divisions in the United States and Mexico. Neither the U.S. or Mexico recognizes Central American migrants as refugees. The U.S. government typically argues that Central American migrants are economic migrants and should not be considered refugees.[63] Mexico has also not signed the UN convention on refugees, and has a more restrictive migration policy that leaves migrants without much protection.[64] However, part of the reason for these restrictions is more economic than political, as Mexico has some economic troubles and does not have the resources to have more open immigration policies. In the U.S., partisan divisions about how to handle the migrants have also led to increased political tensions. In both the U.S. and Mexico there are tensions between the political right and left. Many leftist parties want to accept refugees as asylum seekers, while rightist parties want to create new policies to deter these migrants.[65]

Furthermore, although most of the media attention on the refugee crisis has been focused mainly on the United States, it is also important to examine the impact of refugees on other regional actors like Canada. Canada has been a strong advocate for the acceptance of refugees, with the Prime Minister Justin Trudeau openly using social media platforms like Twitter to welcome refugees.[66] The world typically has recognized Canada as a refugee haven, opposing the seeming anti-immigration sentiment expressed by the United States media. Between November of 2015 and February 2017, "more than 40,000 Syrians resettled across Canada, in over 350 communities."[67] The large number of refugees taken into Canada has been made possible by a sponsorship program in which citizens or private donors like non-governmental organizations can sponsor asylum seekers and try to help integrate them into

[61] Smith, R. (2018) "Venezuela Named World's Most Dangerous Country." CNN. Accessed on 7 April, 2019. https://www.cnn.com/2018/06/08/world/gallup-venezuela-most-dangerous-country-intl/index.html; Labrador, R. and Renwick, D. (2018) "Central America's Violent Northern Triangle." Council on Foreign Relations. Accessed 7 April, 2019. https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/central-americas-violent-northern-triangle
[62] Phillips, T. (2018). "'Breathtaking Homicidal Violence': Latin America in Grip of Murder Crisis." The Guardian. Accessed 7 April, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/26/latin-america-murder-crisis-violence-homicide-report
[63] Ferris, E. (2017) "The Politics of Asylum: Mexico and the Central American Refugees." Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Vol. 26, No.3, pp. 357-384.
[64] Ibid... p. 358.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Samuel, S. (2018). "'There's a Perception that Canada is Being Invaded.'" The Atlantic. Accessed 20 April, 2019. https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/05/theres-a-perception-that-canada-is-being-invaded/561032
[67] Hynie, M. (2018) "Canada's Syrian Refugee Program, Intergroup Relationships and Identities." Canadian Ethnic Studies, Vol. 50, No. 2, p.2.

Canadian society.[68] Hynie explains that many Canadian citizens believe that helping these refugees is a reflection of Canadian identity and does not take away from Canada's national identity, but instead contributes to it. This idea is different from other concepts of national identity that have been seen in other regions, and is reflected in Canada's more liberal migration policies.

Conclusion

Despite their different pasts, both sides of the Atlantic seem to be converging in their contemporary perspectives on refugees. The stance, however, is far from coherent or morally legitimate. Countries across the transatlantic space are marked by political, social, and cultural divides in their approach to refugees. While Europe is trying to come to grips with its periodic surges in nationalism and xenophobia, reminiscent of allegedly bygone eras, the change in American attitudes towards refugees is worrying. Despite its morally chequered past, the U.S. has always stood up for the oppressed and downtrodden - both in rhetoric and in actions. Americas as a whole, from the cold and damp Tierra del Fuego in the south up until the Canadian Tundra in the north, have historically served as havens both for refugees and those seeking a better life. Now, thirty years from the day Ronald Reagan proudly shared his vision of the U.S. as a "shining city upon a hill"[69], the talk is of walls and deportations. Likewise, over 75 years ago since Hannah Arendt wrote her essay "We Refugees", the attitudes of disdain and exclusion remain prevalent. While mass movements of people have always brought about some degree of xenophobia and resentment, it is up to global leaders and policy makers to learn from the past experiences and react effectively to these trends rather than be acted upon by them.

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Bansak, K., Heinmueller, J., Hangartner, D. (2016) "How economic, humanitarian, and religious concerns shape European attitudes toward asylum seekers." Science, Oct 14, 2016, Vol.354(6309), pp. 217-222.

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[68] Ibid.

[69] Reagan Library. "President Ronald Reagan's Farewell Address to the Nation. January 11, 1989." Online video clip. YouTube, 25 April, 2016. Accessed on 07 May, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FjECSv8KFN4

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CHAPTER 4

Transatlanticity and Contemporary Populism: European and American Perspectives

Léa Gaudron & Allison Wheeler

I.   Introduction

This chapter proposes an analysis of populism on both sides of the Atlantic. In order to do so, finding a clear definition of populism was crucial. While the term tends to be used frequently and at liberty in today's politics, Cas Mudde has managed to draft a definition.

According to this scholar, populism is "a thin-centered ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic camps, 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite', and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people" (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2017). "Thin-centered ideology" refers to the notion that while a regular ideology (or "thick-centered") would carry a definite set of norms and values, populism's shape-shifting nature allows it to adapt to and event assimilate with another ideology.

The idea that the people has one general will, where a majority of the public would overwhelmingly share an opinion, opposed to that of the elite, or establishment, consequently disregards pluralism and threatens individual and minority rights (Mounk, 2018). The opposition of the pure people versus the corrupt elite is central to that definition, and to the analyses that will follow.

First, the historical roots of populism on both sides of the Atlantic will be discussed, from the 19th Century Agrarian parties to current U.S. President Donald Trump. The causes of the recent re-emergence of populism will then be analysed, based on the works of Cas Mudde and Yascha Mounk. Later, the European and American will consecutively be investigated, with a focus on the themes of populism in both continents. Finally, the conclusion will reflect on the two perspectives, and their potential implications for the future of transatlantic relations.

II.   Historical roots

The origins of populism can be traced back to the end of the 19th Century. At that time, agrarian parties emerged in Russia and in the United States, promoting the virtues of rural society over the vices of urban life (Baldini, 2016). Later, elements of populism could be found in the communist and fascist movements, although their elitist structure does not allow them to fall under the current understanding of populism, where the pure people is opposed to the

corrupt elite (Mudde, 2016). Throughout the post-war era in Europe, a series of parties containing populist characteristics appeared. Up until the 1960's, those parties were all on the right side of the political spectrum (Mudde, 2004).

In the 1960's, Europe underwent a series of structural shifts in politics and society. From that decade onwards, populism was not only present in the right-, but also in the left-wing, with the militant students of 1968, the social movements of the seventies, and the green parties in the early eighties (*ibid*). However, in spite of the emergence of those populist phenomena, there was a broad consensus in Europe on a series of key issues – the benefits of a strong welfare state, support for the US in the Cold War, stronger political integration – that left little to no room for more "extreme" ideas, that were thus marginalized (Mudde, 2016).

In the 1980's, growing unemployment in France, alongside fear in the face of migration, lead to the creation of far-right party National Front (*Front National*). According to Mudde, this decade also marked the beginning of the long-lasting influence of populism on European politics (2004). According to Gratius and Rivero, however, the new era of populism started in 1998, with Hugo Chávez in Venezuela arriving to power at the same time as Viktor Orbán in Hungary (2018).

Often, the idea of populism in Europe is tied to right-wing ideologies, in contrast to Latin America's left-wing populism (Baldini, 2017; Gratius and Rivero, 2018). It was indeed generally the case, until a series of event lead to the current state of populism, where both right- and left-wing ideologies are simultaneously relevant.

Populism in the United States, however, took on a different trajectory from European populism through the 20th century. As mentioned, populism in the U.S. was born out of the agrarian societies in the late 19th century and early 20th century (Mudde, 2017). As a revolution of infrastructure modernization swept across the country, People's Parties sprung up and saw success on the regional level of governments, voicing the concerns of "the people" at the time, meaning farmers, primarily, against the elite banking class of the Northeast (2017).

In the aftermath of World War I and the Great Depression, populism re-emerged under one key figure in the 1930s. Huey Long, who spoke out against the Roosevelt administration's close ties with J.P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller and heavily promoted funding of social programs. The pop-up success of Long, though, demonstrates the short-lived excitement surrounding American populism. Once the 1960s and the anti-communist McCarthyism era hit the U.S., populism shifted from a predominantly progressive, left-wing approach, to right-wing in the interest of the "true" Americans.

From the 1960s and into the turn of the 21st century, the most successful populist movements were championed by male, republican middle-America politicians. From George

Wallace's campaign in the 1960s to Ross Perot of the 1990s did not give them the U.S. presidencies, the right-wing approach to populism stuck with the people (2017).

Populism has shifted in the 21st century in the U.S., however, to include rises in populist leaders on both sides of the political spectrum. Major events in the shaping of U.S. history and politics, like the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 and the housing market crash that created the Great Recession in 2008, created considerable space for competing populist movements to emerge from both the left and the right.

III. Causes of the current surge in populism

Over the past 20 years, populist parties in Europe have more than tripled their support, gaining a position in the government of 11 countries, and challenging the status quo in the whole continent (Barr et al., 2018). In the U.S., the presidential campaign of 2016 propelled right- and left-wing populists at the core of the race. But then, what could have caused such an important change in the political landscape?

According to Mudde, there are two main elements that propelled populism in the last couple of decades. First, there are the threats to security. There is anxiety around immigration, especially since the migration crisis in 2015. This is emphasized by the fear of terrorist attacks, after the dark series of events in France, Belgium, Germany, Spain, etc. that have happened since 2015. These worries, coupled with the feeling that the European Union (EU) is not capable of helping its citizens, but would rather welcome refugees in spite of the threats, have created a fertile soil for populists, especially on the right-wing side (Mudde, 2016). In America, this islamophobia was amplified by the 2001 terrorist attacks, and still has repercussions today, such as the Muslim Ban signed by Trump shortly after he took office (The White House, 2018). In addition, the rejection of migration in the U.S. is not only focussed on Muslims, but also on Latin American citizens, due to the geographic realities of the country.

Then, there are the threats to economic stability. The 2008 financial crisis that hit both continents lead to a lost decade of economic growth, austerity, growing inequality, and vast public debt. (Funke et al., 2018). The combination of the eurozone sovereign debt crisis and of the following austerity measures are a major factor in the surge of populism in Europe. It is namely the Greek and Spanish left-wing populism that arose as a consequence, according to Mudde (2016), while it is the right-wing parties who benefited the most, according to a Foreign Affairs article (Funke et al., 2018).

In his book "The People vs. Democracy", Yascha Mounk identifies three main factors that have forged today's democratic crisis, where populist leaders challenge our liberal democracies, both in the United States and in Europe.

The first factor is economic stagnation. In periods of democratic stability, citizens have always experienced an improvement in their living standards and an increase in income. As we have seen with the previous point, this is no longer the case. For example, in the typical American household, the income has steadily increased between 1935 and 1985. However, since then, that development has stopped (Mounk, 2018).

The second factor is ethnicity. In Europe, many countries were founded on one nation, with a monoethnic basis. In countries where immigrants could formerly not be true members of the nation, such as Germany or Sweden, second generations now identify as full citizens. In the U.S., Mounk notes that during the periods of democratic stability, one racial or ethnic group was in a dominant position over the others. Nowadays, this racial hierarchy is in decline, although racism and privilege are not done for (Mounk, 2018). While these inclusive ideas are not challenged by parts of the population, others feel threatened. This results in a rebellion against pluralism, that could also be related to Mudde's "threat to security" argument.

The third factor, not mentioned in Mudde's articles, but very much relevant to this topic, is communication. Up until the last century, mass communication was a one-way-street, where political and financial elites were the only ones who had the technological and financial means to broadcast to a large audience. This resulted in the marginalization of extreme ideas and to a relative political consensus (Mounk, 2018). However, with the current evolution in communication technologies, anyone can share ideas, political opinions, and potentially fake news, to any user of social media or internet. Consequently, instability and troublemakers have now a new advantage over the forces of order (*ibid.)*.

IV.   Themes of populism: a European perspective

Due to its thin-centred nature, populism needs to attach to other ideologies (Mudde, 2004). Therefore, there is a certain range of issues that are mentioned by populists, depending on their allegiance: populism adapts to its environment. According to Paul Taggart, populism in Europe, and especially Western Europe, tends to focus primarily on four issues, as a result of the national context in which it emerged: immigration, regionalism, corruption, and Euroscepticism (Taggart, 2017). All the themes of European populism will not be addressed in this chapter, due to their wide variety and to the limitation of this research. However, key elements that define populist narratives will be developed.

The theme of immigration is the most widespread among right-wing populists, and the ties between immigration rejection and populist radical right parties are exemplified by the longevity and current success of the French National Front, rebranded today as *Rassemblement National* (Taggart, 2017). One of the core preoccupations that brought the party to life is the preservation of French culture in the face of the alleged challenges that immigration poses.

Although Le Pen tries to "de-demonize" the image of the party, there is still to this day a strong emphasis on the opposition to multiculturalism, and the emphasis on French identity (*ibid.*).

In the Netherlands, immigration is also an issue picked up by populist leaders, but with a different take. It was Pim Fortuyn, a gay sociology professor, who started to raise the issue of Islamic immigration, arguing that it would clash with the social liberal nature of the Dutch country. Nowadays, since Geert Wilders has decided to take on the fight against immigration in the Netherlands, the discourse has shifted more to the right, but the defence of liberalism remains (*ibid.*). Therefore, where Le Pen is championing a non-pluralist France, Fortuyn was warning his compatriots of the dangers of such lack of pluralism.

Furthermore, Mounk attributes the anti-immigration discourses of populist leaders to the need to blame someone. Indeed, one of the characteristics of the populists according to him, whether they are European or American, is that they claim that the answers to the problems of our times are far simpler than what the establishment wants us to believe. One way to then cope with the fact that reality is actually complicated is to find somebody to blame. In the European case, the scapegoat is the outsider: the immigrant (Mounk, 2018). Additionally, this vision sees the establishment as an accomplice to this issue.

In Europe, mistrust in the establishment can be found at the national level, where traditional parties are being challenged, and at the European level, where the EU's democratic legitimacy is questioned. This rejection of the political elites can be found in both sides of populist ideologies, with Podemos' leader Iglesias wishing to defeat the political cast, Le Pen's fight against an "EU Oligarchy", or Grillo's similar discourse on self-interested elites (Mounk, 2018). The European Union is perceived as more and more technocratic and undemocratic, and national governments as less and less responsive to their concerns – often rejecting the fault on EU policies (Schmit, 2015). This growing Euroscepticism will be particularly relevant for the upcoming European elections, where Eurosceptics plan on gaining seats and therefore leverage within the EU.

On the subject of migration and the EU, it is crucial to note that the issue of intra-EU immigration is also an issue in some countries. Freedom of movement has played a major role in the debates preceding the Brexit vote (Chryssogelos, 2016). The idea that workers from countries with a lower average income could come and "steal" another citizen's job has fuelled anti-EU discourses from the beginning.

Identity is also a major topic for populist leaders. However, once more on the old continent, this issue is not defined in a European-wide manner, but rather nationally. Even more, there are many instances of subnational parties claiming to protect their regional identity over an overwhelming national identity, such as the Flemish Block in Belgium (*Vlaams Belang*) or the Northern League in Italy (*Lega Nord*). These populist actors are emblematic of

the proliferation of regional parties and subnational parties who reject the central authority (Taggart, 2017). They use the same sort of anti-establishment arguments, coupled with a rejection of the status quo and an emphasis on culture, in order to support their claim to autonomy. Taggart, in "Populism in Western Europe", notes that while the Flemish Block has built its rhetoric on an established historical identity, the Northern League focuses on a formerly crystallized new entity, Padania (*ibid.*). These cases illustrate that identity can be used as a tool, whether it is constructed or not.

Another key element in the European populist discourse is that politics are a necessary evil. Populist leaders tend to have this ambivalent vision of the political world, where corruption is an almost inevitable consequence of being involved in politics (Taggart, 2017). This vision also applies to the institutions, who grow undemocratic and technocratic, in order to serve their own interests as well (Mounk, 2018). This results in two problems: using public office for private gain, and clientelism. It is also understood, in the populist narrative, as a process of deterioration of anyone who has been a politician for a certain amount of time (Taggart, 2017).

V.   The state of populism in America

The 2016 United States presidential campaign was a pivotal event in American political culture for the revival of populism from its sparse roots in the 20th century. Two key figures have stood out amongst the ranks of the republican and democratic candidates. The Republican Party presidential nominee, Donald Trump, and the democratic senator from Vermont, Bernie Sanders, have been regarded as populists of the right and the left, respectively. Since populism has re-emerged within modern politics, it has been more popularly associated it with the radical right-wing and nationalism, as it has in Europe (Mudde, 2017). The U.S. perspective offers valuable insight to just how populism is truly a thinly-centered political ideal that can be molded to fit more concrete political ideologies, like that of Donald Trump's Tea Party conservatism and Senator Bernie Sanders' democratic socialism.

Right-wing populism in the U.S. has re-emerged strongly under the current President of the U.S., Donald Trump. The 45th President of the United States brought shockwaves to the 2016 election campaigns with an far-right-wing rhetoric that established himself as a charismatic entrepreneurial leader (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2017) determined to represent the "true" American people via the Republican party. Given the U.S.'s long history of populism, his win was and still is significant, as no other populist party leader had been voted into the presidency in the U.S. (Judis, 2016).

After years of dormancy in the U.S., Senator Bernie Sanders, brought the ideals of left-wing populism to the forefront of politics once more. Though Sanders was not the

democratic nominee for the Presidency in 2016, losing out to Hillary Clinton, the narrative he created for his campaign, born out of the Occupy Wallstreet movement in 2011, catered to "the 99%" of true American people who are financially and socially suffering at the hands of "the 1%" that own a vast majority of the U.S.'s wealth (2016).

Trump and Sanders' ideologically oppose one another. Trump's Tea Party conservatism and Sanders' self-proclaimed social democratism have created a divided America in which there are two definitions of the "true people" and the "corrupt elite", thus shedding light on the diversity of populism within the United States itself and creating an even greater question on the behavior of populism in comparing U.S. populism to European populism.

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VI. Themes of populism: an American perspective

While all the facets of American populism cannot be discussed within this scope, there are several that stand out that are not only the major themes in the United States today but also have broader implications for populism when compared in the transatlantic context. The idea of preserving the "American identity", immigration, and the state of the U.S. economy have pushed through as major topics that build populist narratives on both sides today.

Protection of the "American identity", or the American way-of life has become a prominent aspect of populist rhetoric today, particularly from the right wing. The true American people, from Trump's perspective, are the middle class, blue collar, white, and Christian citizens. While the United States is a secular country, there is no denying the infiltration of Christianity within the national symbols; i.e, "One Nation Under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance; "In God we Trust", the American motto printed on the currency. As such, protection of American values, regardless of what the definition of them may be, is set within the protection of "the people" and their ways of life. This kind of nationalist centered version of populism has been represented by Donald Trump most predominantly (Judis, 2016). This has become a particular topic that is embraced with anger and fear, due the perception of it being threatened by phenomena like globalization, terrorism, and immigration.

Immigration, or more aptly, anti-immigration rhetoric has been a major point of contention within the U.S and has been exacerbated from the far-right in the current populist narrative. The push for immigration legislation reform has been manifested by the creation of immigration "crisis" in the U.S. that has most notably targeted Mexicans and undocumented migrants residing in the U.S. (Judis 2016), with Trump's administration-defining pushes for the infamous the U.S.-Mexico border wall, repeal of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrival (DACA) legislation (The Whitehouse, 2017), and travel bans into the U.S. from predominantly Muslim countries (The Whitehouse, 2018). The cited rationale for the hardline immigration reform has been for the protection of American workers as well as "common sense" national

security measures (2018). The left-wing Bernie Sanders has offered remarks on immigration legislation reform for the U.S., though has condemned Trump's actions (OnTheIssues, 2019). While immigration has been put on the forefront of political issues in the United States, the core of the left-wing populist agenda is rooted in social and economic issues. According to John Judis, the concept of "the immigrant threat" aligns more closely with the right-wing, under the theory that it exists as a triadic entity, posing the people versus the elite of course, (as the dyadic left-wing populism is), but adds in a third groups that harms the people- consisting of immigrants, as is prominent today (Judis, 2016).

The economy is also a major theme for American populists historically (Judis, 2016) and contemporarily to take up within their rhetoric because of how centralizing it can be for their overall message of bringing the government back to "the people" from the corrupt establishment. The 2008 housing market crash in the U.S. , or the "Great Recession" of the 21st century, left politicians on both the left and the right side of the aisle scrambling to place the blame on one group or another. For Sanders, corruption lies almost entirely from within Wall Street, whereas Trump places blame on the corrupt Democratic establishment in power at the time of the crash. The mistrust placed within the U.S. cannot go anywhere above the national government. Blame then is placed at the federal level or below; a breaking point from the European populism, that has a supranational actor to blame as well.

While the U.S. economy was used as a vehicle to show the variance in definitions for the establishment from both sides, it is also a vehicle for the rare instance of left and right populist policy cohesion. For example, both leaders oppose the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), as well as a number of other foreign trade and economic agreements (ISideWith, 2019), in an effort to bring jobs and economic opportunity for the American people. This brings out the anti-globalist fundamental of populism, showing, albite a small way, that the basic components of this phenomenon can transcend both sides of the political spectrum.

VII.   Analysis and Conclusions

Populism has become a well-known part of political culture within Europe as well as the U.S. over the past several years. While populism has become the new political buzzword (much like that of globalization) in recent years, both the U.S. and Europe have had it woven into their political tapestries for over a century from both the left and right. Known as a "thinly-centered ideology", it has taken many forms within both regions and has been attached to far-right wing as well as far-left wing ideologies over the years. As history has shown, populism of the left and of the right have not typically coexisted in the same region and time frame; however, the

causes of populism today have created enough space for both to have a seat at the table in national politics.

By using Cas Mudde's definition of populism, both authors of this chapter were able to analyze contemporary populism as it exists on both sides of the Atlantic. From the European perspective, populism exists today most predominantly from the right. With the right-wing dominating the narratives, major themes being contested include immigration, regionalism, corruption, Euroscepticism, and identity. American populism today has exhibited a strong showing from both the left and right wing of populism, as personified through Sanders and Trump. Within the battle of ideologies in the U.S., major themes include immigration, identity protection, as well as corruption and mistrust of the establishment, as driven through the U.S. economy. As we look at Europe and the U.S. separately under the context of populism, we are able to more clearly see the areas where they compare and contrast in this revived era of populism. For example, right-wing populists from both sides of the Atlantic are using immigration as major components of their party platforms, as well as corruption and mistrust and scepticism towards the establishment.

Should we chalk the areas of congruence of American and European populism up to coincidence, or are we being pointed toward a new way of seeing the Transatlantic partnership? The U.S. and the EU have been highly influential of one anothers' economic and cultural trends, and this brief analysis of contemporary populism has perhaps brought together a new perspective on political influence in this partnership as well. Considering the major themes for populism on both sides of the Atlantic, there is no denying that we are both facing similar challenges within populism over the past several years. Each theme discussed though, takes on its own identities between the two states, given the different sensitivities each actor faces. We hope that the analysis of populism given from a transatlantic viewpoint provides the grounds for further thought on new perspectives on the transatlantic relationship.

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CHAPTER 5

Transatlantic Perspectives on the Welfare System

Tristan Beyens & Ewout van der Kleij

Introduction

This chapter will explore and compare the European[70] and North-American welfare states. It will elaborate on the different types of welfare state regimes that exist on both sides of the Atlantic as well as explain some of the most important variables behind the evolution of the distinctive regimes. After a short and general introduction on the welfare state, this chapter will provide an analysis in which American, Canadian and European welfare state models will be evaluated. Thereafter, the circumstances behind the different systems will be observed and the most central explanations for the development toward the current models will be highlighted. Throughout the whole chapter, an interdisciplinary approach will be retained: it will make use of economic, sociological, historical and other perspectives to provide a wide view on the different welfare states.

For this chapter, we adhere to a broad, practical and institutional definition of the welfare state. It is seen as the system that aims to protect and promote the economic and social well-being of its citizens. The following definition suffices:

> "The welfare state consists of a number of programs through which the government pursues the goal of social protection on behalf of citizens against certain categories of risk, of social assistance for the needy, and of encouraging the consumption of certain services such as education, housing and child care."[71]

The provision of welfare can be complemented by social spending of a more private nature. In this chapter, we also take this private social spending in account when comparing different welfare state systems.

There is broad consensus that it was under the 19th century's pressures of rising capitalism, urbanization, secularization, population growth, democratization, industrialization

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[70] This e-book chapter will limit itself to the welfare states of the European Union to enhance its comprehensibility.
[71] Pestieau, *The Welfare State in the European Union. Economic and Social Perspectives*, (2006) 4..

and the (following) deep societal, economic and political transformations of this century that the modern welfare state was born. The prominent emergence of the social question linked to the growing role of the state and its increasing availability of resources facilitated the growth of social legislation.[72] Most notable was the emergence of advanced factory legislation in Britain and the development of social security laws in Bismarck's Germany. Essential for the emergence of this type of legislation was the transformation of the attitude towards poverty and the rise of the idea that people should be protected against social contingencies and the rigidity of the market. Poverty was no longer merely seen as an 'individual responsibility or incapacity but as a social maladjustment'.[73] This new attitude and its interplay with the democratization of society and the strengthened voice of the working class generated a rise in collective solutions to social problems.

Another inherent feature of the emergence of the welfare state is its strong link with capitalism. The way in which the welfare state helps securing social rights has proved indispensable for the flowering of capitalism in Western societies. Furthermore, from the 1880's onwards, welfare policies also proved its role for state leaders in confining the appeal of communism.[74] From a more power-oriented perspective, the welfare state provided an instrument for state leaders at the end of the 19th century to keep the working class appeased.[75]

During the interbellum, many Western democratic countries took up the role as a provider and protector of social rights. Overall, welfare policies were developed and expanded: welfare services came to be seen 'as a fundamental element of citizenship rights'[76]. In the following decades, an overall increase in the scope and range of the various welfare states can be identified and government spending on social policies multiplied significantly until around 1975. From then on, fuelled by economic crises, the rapid rise of welfare state spending all over the West seemed to have slackened.[77] Although the origins of the first welfare states are rather clear, very diverging systems have eventually evolved.

There exist several different forms of conceptualization and typologies to examine the various welfare state models.[78] The first categorization attempt in comparative welfare state

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[72] Castles, Leibfried, Lewis, Obinger & Pierson, 'Introduction', in: Castles, Leibfried, Lewis, Obinger & Pierson (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State* (2012) 1-5; Kuhnle & Sander, 'The Emergence of the Western Welfare State', in: Castles, Leibfried, Lewis, Obinger & Pierson (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State* (2012) 63-65.

[73] Asa Briggs, 'The welfare state in Historical Perspective', in: Pierson & Castles (ed.), *The Welfare State Reader* (2016) 23-25.

[74] Cantillon & Buysse, *De Staat van de Welvaartsstaat* (2016) 135; Asa Briggs, 'The welfare state in Historical Perspective', 21.

[75] Asa Briggs, 'The welfare state in Historical Perspective', 21.

[76] Alber, 'Continuities and Changes in the Idea of the Welfare State', *Politics & Society* 16 (1988) 454.

[77] Alber, 'Continuities and Changes in the Idea of the Welfare State', 444-448.

[78] Kuitto, *Post-Communist Welfare States in European Context. Patterns of Welfare Policies in Central and Eastern Europe* (2016) 44; Wilensky & Lebeaux, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare* (1958).

research was the distinction between Bismarckian and Beveridgean models of welfare.[79] Subsequently, the classical typology of contemporary welfare state was developed by Esping-Andersen. In its classification, three ideal-typical welfare state regimes can be identified: a liberal, a conservative and a social-democratic welfare state. This welfare regime categorization is explained along distinctive factors: the historical legacy of regime institutionalization but also the degree of *decommodification*[80] and the form of *stratification*[81] are taken into account.[82] Also mentionable, especially for the European case, is the more dynamic typology from Castles that bases its 'families of nations' according to history, culture and geography.[83] In the following pages, these models are consistently used to describe the various welfare states. However, it is important to note these ideal models must be understood as means to an end. They are means to classify and explain cross-national variations of the different welfare state's models rather than to create immovable clusters between different ideal types of welfare states.[84] Esping-Andersen represents a milestone approach of welfare states categorization that inspired subsequent analyses of welfare policies. Since then, typologies have been subject to nuance and critiques. Thus, it should be consistently realized that they are a simplification of reality. This is particularly relevant in the case of Europe were a range of different approaches to the development of welfare exist.

The Different Models of Welfare States

Over the past century, Europeans have built large welfare states. However, each of these different European welfare regimes have followed singular evolutions, developing their own specificities. Consequently, they differ largely in terms of the organization of their funding and also regarding the structure of their social expenditure. Nevertheless, it is possible to analyse European welfare regime by aggregating them into five different clusters: the *conservative welfare model*, the *liberal welfare model*, the *social-democratic* model, the *Southern European model* and finally the emerging *Central and Eastern Europe model.* In the context of the present analysis, we will limit ourselves to the case of a few EU member states to assess the differences and similarities between the different welfare regimes within Europe.

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[79] Kuitto, *Post-Communist Welfare States in European Context, 45.*
[80] 'Degree to which individuals, or families, can uphold a socially acceptable standard of living independently of market participation', from: Esping-Andersen *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (1990) 37.
[81] Whether and how welfare states reproduce or adjust existing social inequalities, from: Esping-Andersen *The Three Worlds of Welfare,* 58.
[82] Kuitto, *Post-Communist Welfare States in European Context,* 46.
[83] Castles & Obinger, 'Social expenditure and the politics of redistribution', *Journal of European Social Policy* 17 (3) 206-222.
[84] Arts & Gelissen, 'Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism or more? A State-of-the-Art Report', *Journal of European Social Policy* (2002) 140.

In addition to this, we will consider the impact of EU integration on European domestic welfare states.

The Conservative Model (Continental)

The conservative (or corporatist) model includes Austria, France, Germany, Belgium, and Luxembourg. Because it is based on 'the preservation of status differentials', social provisions tend to be attached to class and status.[85] The model relies on social contribution and the creation of mandatory social insurance funds instead of income taxes. Welfare programmes are thus dependent on the presence of the beneficiaries on the labour market. Occupation and status based social insurance schemes supplant the market in the provision of social security.[86] This welfare system is thus very much based on the principle of security and risk sharing across classes in ensuring that the benefit recipients are supported by the people currently employed.[87] However, as the role of the market is marginalized due to the rigid approach of this welfare system, providing extensive employment protection and regulations, these countries often face relatively higher level of unemployment.

Conservative welfare states provide generous income-replacing provisions for the working population as well as for pensioners based on individualized contribution accumulation. On the other hand, the spending on social services is moderate with expenditures in social services playing a subordinate role.[88] In turn, these welfare states have a moderate or high decommodifying potential. They also have very high public social spending as % of their GDP: France is the highest on the social spending ladder and other 'conservative countries' like Belgium and Germany are largely above the EU-average.[89] Finally, we also see that most of these countries, such as France or Austria, direct more of their welfare spending to the more well-off due to the system based on employment-related eligibility to social rights.[90]

The Liberal Model (Anglo-Saxon)

The Anglo-Saxon welfare social model, as seen in the United Kingdom and Ireland, relies heavily on tax-financing.[91] It is deemed to be among the most efficient, egalitarian and comprehensive ones.[92] Similarly to the case of North-American welfare models, the UK and Ireland welfare states embody individualism.[93] This liberal model promotes the dominance of

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[85] Esping-Andersen *The Three Worlds of Welfare,* 27.
[86] Kuitto, *Post-Communist Welfare States in European Context,* 49.
[87] Sensage, 'Social welfare systems across Europe', https://www.easpd.eu/sites/default/files/sites/default/files/SensAge/d4-social_welfare_systems_across_europe.pdf (last accessed 08-05-2019) 9.
[88] Figure 4 Annex.
[89] Figure 1 Annex.
[90] Figure 5 Annex
[91] Kuitto, *Post-Communist Welfare States in European Context,* 72.
[92] Sensage, 'Social welfare systems across Europe', 9.
[93] Ib idem, 49

the market, making the employment rate higher than the EU-average. However, the Anglo-Saxon model also faces a high level of inequality with higher income dispersion, more low-wage employments and the neglecting of the protection of the most vulnerable groups. Nonetheless, the health systems in the UK and Ireland are national, mainly funded from general taxation.

Overall, the liberal system should make welfare more sustainable from an economical point of view, by guaranteeing only a minimum and by subsidizing private welfare schemes.[94] And indeed, the model is characterized by a low level of expenditure on social protection based on 'means-tested assistance, modest universal transfers, or modest social insurance plans.[95] As a consequence, the decommodifying potential of these countries is very low. Besides the important amount of private social spending, the United Kingdom (20.6% GDP) and Ireland (14.4% GDP) overall public social expenditures are below EU-average, Ireland even being the lowest-ranked overall.[96] Important remarks are nevertheless to be made. Both countries appear far less stingy when considering yearly public spending per capita.[97] Furthermore, it is remarkable to note that UK public social benefits are mainly attributed to the low-incomes, whereas this is different in Ireland.[98] Finally, because of the nature of the systems, public social expenditure in services is superior the expenditures in cash benefits.[99]

The Social Democratic Model (Nordic)

The social democratic (or Nordic model) includes the northern European countries Denmark, Finland and Sweden. This social model is founded on the principle of 'egalitarianism' according to which the social benefits are distributed between all the members of society on the base of equality.[100] This universalist approach of social protection relies on a high level of solidarity and is supportive towards the most vulnerable groups. In terms of welfare supply, this results in a high degree of income redistribution and high reliance on tax-financing.[101] Their redistributive approach allows for a much more progressive tax system compared to conservative welfare states. The Nordic model aims to be a strong counterbalance against the free market forces, enhancing social cohesion and protecting the economic and social welfare of their citizens.[102]

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[94] Eikemo, Bambra, Joyce & Dahl, 'Welfare state regimes and income-related health inequalities: a comparison of 23 European countries', *European Journal of Public Health* 18:6 (2008) 594.
[95] Esping-Andersen *The Three Worlds of Welfare,* 26; (kuitto 73).
[96] Figure 1 Annex.
[97] Figure 2 Annex.
[98] Figure 5 Annex.
[99] Figure 4 Annex.
[100] Sensage, 'Social welfare systems across Europe', 7.
[101] Kuitto, *Post-Communist Welfare States in European Context,* 72.
[102] Sensage, 'Social welfare systems across Europe', 7.

The Nordic countries provide high standards of living including equal access to social and health services, education and culture. These are mostly publicly financed by taxation. It is therefore characterized by a high decommodifying potential due to generous welfare entitlements for both social insurance and low-income social assistance cash benefits. Consequently, these countries provide high level of spending on social services.[103] The Swedish welfare state is the archetypal Nordic welfare system. This is reflected in its level of public welfare spending, at 26,1% of GDP with Denmark and Finland being even higher. However, private social spending, such as private pension payments in Denmark are still worth a relatively important percentage of GDP compared to EU-average.[104]

The Southern European Model

The southern European (or Mediterranean) welfare states are Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal. Being relatively similar to the conservative model, these welfare regimes are highly reliant on social contributions to provide high spending on income-replacement (especially generous pensions), on the basis of individualized contribution accumulation.[105] However, the level of social assistance and services is much lower than in other countries and henceforth, the family takes a large role to provide social care.[106] Despite of this, southern European welfare states ensure the provision of public health services. Moreover, the market is rather inflexible due to employment protectionism.[107] The fragmented and inefficient occupational-status-based social security institutions lead to the existence of an important irregular or non-institutional labour market.[108] In this context, the level of decommodification is relatively low. The larger part of the public social spending of these countries are transfer-centred rather than directed at services. One could see this in the example of Spain.[109] Overall, the public social spending as percentage of GDP of these southern European welfare states are above EU-average.[110] Nevertheless, this is not the case per capita due to their poorer economic status.[111]

The Central and Eastern European Model

Despite the fact most Central and Eastern European countries (CEE) share common Soviet policy legacies, they do not constitute a unitary and coherent cluster of welfare states.[112] Instead, we witness the emergence of very hybrid models of welfare across these countries including. In terms of the organizational principles of welfare provision, the large majority of

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[103] Figure 4 Annex; Kuitto, *Post-Communist Welfare States in European Context, 72.*
[104] Figure 3 Annex.
[105] Kuitto, *Post-Communist Welfare States in European Context,* 73.
[106] Kuitto, *Post-Communist Welfare States in European Context,* 52.
[107] (SensAge 10)
[108] Kuitto, *Post-Communist Welfare States in European Context,* 52.
[109] Figure 4 Annex.
[110] Figure 1 Annex.
[111] Figure 2 Annex.
[112] Cousins, *European Welfare States. Comparative Perspectives* (2007) 123.

CEE rely heavily, though to different degrees, on social contributions.[113] Although the welfare efforts of most CEE countries are lower than of Western European States, some (i.e. Poland and Slovenia) increased their welfare efforts significantly.

Regarding the provision of welfare benefits and services, these countries are characterized by a high emphasis on redistribution including old-age cash benefits and limited social services apart from public health care.[114] Nonetheless, we can see that countries such as Czech Republic differ from the other CEE countries due to their higher investment in working age cash benefits (3.8% GDP) and the higher importance of social services (7.1% GDP).[115] As a consequence, the diverse level of generosity and eligibility among the CEE countries, especially with regard to income-replacing benefits for pensions and unemployment[116], makes it difficult to assess one comprehensive pattern of decommodifying potential. Overall, these CEE countries are characterized by a high degree of universalism despite their lower generosity and limited welfare policies due to the restricted financial volume of these welfare states.[117] Nevertheless, this CEE welfare cluster is far from homogeneous.

Impact of European Integration

The European Union has played a substantive role in the evolution of the welfare systems of its different Member States. On the one hand, the European integration has conferred extensive power to the ECJ to define unrestricted access to welfare benefits for EU citizens. This relies on the fundamental principle of the freedom of movement at the root of the common market's completion. On the other hand, the Union has launched an 'Europeanisation process' in contributing to framing and guiding national reforms towards the Europeanisation of national welfare state systems.

The construction of the European common market has been founded on negative integration which implies the prohibition of all types of restriction on free movement.[118] This approach has conferred extensive power to the Court which assumed a quasi-legislative role to ensure the protection of the free movement of workers and of the fundamental status of the Union citizenship.[119] Consequently, the Court has been proactive in extending the reach of EU law and therefore the access of EU citizens to the welfare system of other Member States. In so doing, ECJ case law has extended member states' obligation to enable access to welfare

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[113] Figure 6 Annex.
[114] Kuitto, *Post-Communist Welfare States in European Context, 163.*
[115] Figure 4 Annex.
[116] Figure 4 Annex.
[117] Kuitto, *Post-Communist Welfare States in European Context*, 162-165.
[118] ECJ 11th of July 1974, C-8/74 Dassonville, ECLI:EU:C:1974:82.
[119] Blauberger & Schmidt, 'Free movement, the welfare state, and the European Union's over-constitutionalization: Administrating contradictions', *Public Administration* 95 (2017) 438.

benefits to workers[120] and also to economically inactive citizens from other member states.[121] This 'judicial activism' of the EU Court has led to very broad interpretation of the Treaties provisions, often outreaching the scope of secondary law. However, considering the severe crises the EU is currently facing, the Court has started to become more permissive towards member state limits on welfare benefit access that would subsequently restrict the reach of EU citizenship rights, arguably reversing its previous case-law.[122]

Moreover, despite the absence of an integrated welfare system and the minimal competence of the EU in this field, the European Union has contributed largely to the reform process of the welfare system of its Member States.[123] For national states, the European Union is an important variable to take into account in order to understand domestic reforms. The absence of harmonization of social protection within the EU did indeed not preclude a tendency towards convergence in spending levels.[124] Europe unarguably contributed to the progressive incorporation of norms and ideas defined at the EU level into the national policy process. However, the Europeanisation of social protection system reforms was variably impactful in Member State, depending on national historical and institutional contexts and it is unclear whether the disparity between welfare and social insurance systems will erode over time.[125] Until today, this 'Europeanisation process' mostly influenced the reforms of social protection of the national welfare systems by making them more 'employment-friendly'.[126] But there is a risk economic integration and mobility contributes to the generalization of welfare system that provide earnings-related benefits at the expense of minimum standards of social protection. In term, this could lead to the demand for the EU to step in order to ensure this redistributive function social spending.[127]

The North-American Welfare States: Canada & the US

The history of the North-American welfare state systems differs from the story we saw in section 1.2 of this chapter. Whereas that section mainly shows the origins of the very first welfare states, North-American welfare systems didn't develop extensively in the 19th century. In both Canada as the US, the 1930's marked an important start in the elaboration of

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[120] For examples see the following cases: Case C-66/85, Lawrie-Blum (1986); Case C-53/81, Levin (1982); Case C-139/85, Kempf (1986); Case C-224/98, D'Hoop (2002); Case C-212/05, Hartmann (2007).
[121] Blauberger & Schmidt, 'Free movement, the welfare state, and the European Union's over-constitutionalization: Administrating contradictions', 441; For examples see the following cases: Case C-85/96, Martinez Sala (1996); Case C-184/99, Grzelczyk (2001).
[122] For examples see the following cases: Case C-333/13, Dano (2014); Case C-308/14, Commission vs UK (2015).
[123] Graziano, Jacquot & Palier, 'Usages et européanisation. De l'influence multiforme de l'Union européenne sur les réformes des systèmes nationaux de protection sociale', *Politique Européenne* 40 (2014) 96.
[124] Pestieau, *The Welfare State in the European Union. Economic and Social Perspectives*, 148.
[125] Graziano, Jacquot & Palier, 'Usages et européanisation. De l'influence multiforme de l'Union européenne sur les réformes des systèmes nationaux de protection sociale',94, 105.
[126] Ib idem, 94.
[127] Pestieau, *The Welfare State in the European Union. Economic and Social Perspectives*, 148.

substantial and comprehensive welfare regimes. In the US, during the Great Depression of the 1930's, the real fundaments for American social policy were put in place. During this time, known as the period of Roosevelt's New Deal, the foundations for an American social security system were put in place. A second important period for the US welfare evolution was the 'War on Poverty' in the 1960's. During the Johnson presidency the US welfare system expanded by providing more benefits and engaging federal government in a wide variety of projects and activities at local level. [128] For Canada the reforms initiated in 1930's really materialized in the period following World War II. From this time, several social programs were progressively expanded and centralized under the authority of the federal state.[129] However, despite these developments, the North-American welfare systems has always stayed apart from the average European welfare state. This section will characterize the current organization of the North-American welfare systems and tries to explain the distribution of welfare.

United States Welfare System

The, earlier mentioned, typology of Esping-Andersen characterizes the American welfare state as a 'liberal regime'. Although this typology is sometimes contested, general consensus prevails about the rightful characterization of the American welfare state as being a liberal one.[130] Consequently, the US welfare system ascribes a central role to market forces and emphasizes private social spending and individuality.[131] The US welfare regime is considered to have a weak system of social rights, a low decommodification rate and scores rather low in promoting equality.[132] Its preference for private provision and a non-corporatist regulation of the labor market are key characteristics.[133] By regulating a much bigger portion of its social support through private instead of governmental agencies, the US' welfare state is unusually reliant on the private market to produce public social goods. At the same time, this mix between private and publicly regulated social spending makes the American welfare state more unclear than its European counterparts and the functioning of the system and the role of the central government remains vaguer.[134] This is enhanced by the fact that part of the American welfare system is 'hidden' in the chaotic world of an unbridled amount of tax benefits. Sometimes

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[128] Spicker, 'Typologies & Methods. Liberal welfare states', in: Greve (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of the Welfare State* (2013) 199.
[129] Cox, 'Typologies & Methods. Welfare States in North America: Social citizenship in the United States, Canada, and Mexico', in: Greve (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of the Welfare State* (2013) 217.
[130] Béland, Howard & Morgan, 'The Fragmented American Welfare State: Putting the Pieces Together' in: Béland, Howard and Morgan *(ed.) The Oxford Handbook for U.S. Social Policy* (2015) 6; Lynch, 'A Cross National Perspective on the American Welfare State' in: *The Oxford Handbook for U.S. Social Policy* (2015) 113; Spicker, 'Typologies & Methods. Liberal welfare states', 199.
[131] Béland, Howard & Morgan, 'The Fragmented American Welfare State: Putting the Pieces Together', 6.
[132] Gensler, *American Welfare System. Origins, Structure, and Effects* (1996) 202-215.
[133] Castles, 'Established Welfare States: the English-Speaking Countries' in: Castles, Leibfried, Lewis, Obinger & Pierson (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State* (2012) 632.
[134] Gensler, *American Welfare System. Origins, Structure, and Effects* 199-201.

dubbed the 'hidden welfare state' of the US.[135] In general, the US welfare regime can be described as complex, fragmented and decentralized as a consequence of the American ideas and values as well as its specific political structures.[136] Another distinct feature of the American welfare state is that it is relatively occupied with giving benefits towards the elderly, rather than children and working-age adults. This could possibly be explained by the US' insistence on deservingness when obtaining social benefits: US welfare benefits tend to be more merit-based than in other welfare systems. The American welfare system is reluctant to granting universal social rights: one of the reasons that health insurance is not considered to be a universal good and there are millions of US-citizens without any coverage. The main rationale is that social benefits shouldn't be granted but earned.[137] This often means that one can only be entitled to certain social benefits after having 'contributed to the nation' by working, paying premiums or serving the military.[138]

Expenditures – How does the money flow?

Looking at the spending figures, one might expect that the total social spending in percentage of GDP and per capita would be relatively low. However, this is not the case. In fact, the US has very high social spending. A scan of the figures shows that the US public social spending in percentage of GDP is not shockingly lower than the EU average with 18.7% against 22.4%. Furthermore, the United States moves up even further to the right, up to the 9th place, when looking at public social spending per capita. It gets even more confound when also taking the private social spending of the US in account. Private social spending accounts for 12.5% of total GDP, which is significantly higher than the 2.4% average of the EU and the 4.7% of Canada.[139] Adding up the money that the US spends on welfare on total, the US system turns out to be highly costly: it is the second-most spending country after France. This is mostly due to the high expenses of the two prominent social insurance programs Medicare and Social security and the vast sums of money going to education.[140]

So, on the one hand, the US has a small welfare state in which reliance on the state is kept relatively low. However, on the other hand, the costs of this small welfare state are actually very high and the system turns out to be quite inefficient. The US welfare regime is small in redistributive force but big in total spending. Giving an all-encompassing explanation to this paradox proves to be difficult. It is not completely clear what the decisive factors for this

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[135] Béland, Howard & Morgan, 'The Fragmented American Welfare State: Putting the Pieces Together', 15.
[136] Ib idem, 8; Lynch, 'A Cross National Perspective on the American Welfare State', 113.
[137] Cox, 'Typologies & Methods. Welfare States in North America: Social citizenship in the United States, Canada, and Mexico', 216.
[138] Béland, Howard & Morgan, 'The Fragmented American Welfare State: Putting the Pieces Together', 11-13 ; Lynch, 'A Cross National Perspective on the American Welfare State', 112-115.
[139] Figure 3 Annex.
[140] Béland, Howard & Morgan, 'The Fragmented American Welfare State: Putting the Pieces Together', 5.

situation are. However, it does seem that the market-oriented approach to welfare does not seem to yield the most efficient results. Also, the US system of tax breaks amounts for a huge part of the (indirect) social spending with only marginal redistributive results. Conclusively, although the US seems to strive for a small welfare state out of cost-efficiency, ideology and political preferences, it still has the weakness of being very costly.

Canadian Welfare State System

Structure - How is the Canadian Welfare State Organized?

Canada is another archetypical example of a liberal welfare regime characterized with limited state provision of welfare. As a liberal welfare state, Canada is oriented towards the dominance of the market. The occupational and fiscal welfare approach is founded on a system where access to social benefit is dependent on employment. Despite the fact the Canadian welfare state is more favorable to disadvantaged groups, this liberal welfare system results in low rate of decommodification and relatively high level of inequality within the state as a number of vulnerable groups remain excluded from social benefits.[141]

However, Canada differentiates from the classical liberal United States as its social programs are more generous. In this sense, one can argue the Canadian welfare state conforms to a more social form of liberalism.[142] Under this approach, the states carry the responsibility of ensuring the basic social rights 'by establishing the conditions to help citizens better enjoy those rights, such as providing for basic needs of health, income, and housing'.[143] While providing the basic welfare needs to its population, Canada's social programs remain modest and rely heavily on additional private provision of welfare services to fill in the gap between a minimum and a more generous level of support. Nonetheless, private social spending remains much larger in the United States.[144]

Expenditures – How does the money flow?

Nowadays, Canada has several major social programs including Social Assistance, the Canada Child Tax Benefit, Old Age Security and the Guaranteed Income Supplement, Employment Insurance, the Canada and Quebec Pension Plan, Workers' Compensation. These are based principally on transfer payments and (universal) cash-benefits, but also on social services such as public education, medicare or social housing. The programs are funded and delivered by the federal but also provincial and municipal governments.[145]

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[141] Castles, 'Established Welfare States: the English-Speaking Countries', 632.
[142] Cox, 'Typologies & Methods. Welfare States in North America: Social citizenship in the United States, Canada, and Mexico', 218.
[143] Ib idem, 218.
[144] See Figure 3 Annex.
[145] Ib idem, 218; Figure 3 Annex.

The Canadian welfare system is characterized by a low level of expenditure on social protection. While it is more progressive than the US and some of its European counterparts in serving low-income Canadians, welfare is still relatively limited in Canada. In addition to a publicly funded universal social services including most typically the Canadian health care system, taxpayer financed social services and income support programs are often modest and only provided to means-tested beneficiaries on the ground of strict entitlement criteria.[146] As a result, we can see that Canada allocates a relatively small amount of public social spending (17.3% of GDP) compared to other OECD countries.[147] However,

if we consider the share of private social spending, Canada appears to be more in an average of social spending. It is striking to see that the US consistently spends a larger share of GDP on welfare than Canada.[148] This can partially be explained by the small 'net tax effect' and the fact Canada distributes more of its welfare spending to the poor relying on the idea of a universal, though limited, social safety net.

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[146] Ib idem, 217.
[147] Figure 1 Annex.
[148] Figures 1,2 & 3 Annex.

Welfare Regime Clusters

	Liberal	**Conservative**	**Social-Democratic**	**Southern**	**Central-Eastern**
Ideological Inspiration Welfare Provision	Liberty & Individual right - Market	Solidarity & Security - State and enterprises	Universality & Equality - State	Solidarity & Traditionality - State and family	Solidarity - State and enterprises
Structure of funding	High reliance on tax-financing	High reliance on social contributions	High reliance on tax-financing	High reliance on social contributions	Reliance on social contributions
Social Expenditure	Needs-based -Low spendings (including Public health care except for the US) - Tax breaks (US)	Employment-related - High spendings on income-replacement cash benefits -Low to medium spendings on social services	Universal and Redistributive - High spendings on both income replacement cash benefits and social assistance	Employment-related, needs-based and family - High spendings on income-replacement cash benefits - Low spendings on social services	Employment related -Medium to high spendings on income-replacement cash benefits (pensions) - Low spendings on social services
Decommodification	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium to High
Countries	US, Canada, UK	France, Germany, Belgium	Sweden, Denmark	Italy, Spain	Czech Republic, Poland, Slovenia

Own Design, 'Different Welfare Regimes as Covered in the Text'. Table Inspired by: Kuitto, Post-Communist Welfare States in European Context. Patterns of Welfare Policies in Central and Eastern Europe (2016).

What's Behind?

Explaining Some of the Historical, Political & Societal Variables Underneath

It is difficult to give all-encompassing explanations for the current states of the above-mentioned welfare states. However, the following sections will bring forward some of the most prominent clarifications for what is behind the development of the various welfare states. It will do this by looking at a wide set of historical, political and societal variables.

Europe

From section 1.2 of this chapter, it became clear that the first welfare state grew out of the particular (western) European, 19th century circumstances. Because of these origins, the European welfare states could develop on strong foundations in the 20th century. Another, well-pronounced historical explanation for the enhancement of the strongly developed European welfare systems is the regime competition between the two European blocs during the Cold War. The argument states that both sides of the Iron Curtain expanded their welfare systems to make their regime look more attractive.[149] One could also look to the strong presence of Christian Democrats and left-wing parties in the Western-European democracies. The Christian Democrats supported the expansion of the welfare state significantly in the post-war period out of their backing of the idea of 'social capitalism'.[150]

Speaking of the general European attitude towards the welfare state is difficult since its wide variations across the continent. Nevertheless, the European Social Survey shows that public support for government intervention is rather high across all European countries: almost all countries score between 7-9 on a 0 to 10 scale. There is only a slight East-West divide since support for government intervention is higher in eastern European and southern European countries than in the richer western Europe.[151] Europeans' support for government intervention stands in line with its general support to a generous welfare state. Compared to the US, support for social policies is much bigger. This could be explained by the societal views of Europeans compared to Americans. Where 60% of the Europeans believe that the poor are trapped in

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[149] Obinger & Schmitt, 'Guns and Butter? Regime Competition and the Welfare State during the Cold War', *World Politics* 63:2 (2011) 265.

[150] K. van Kersbergen, *Social Capitalism. A Study of Christian Democracy and the welfare state* (1995) 1-30.

[151] Svallfors, *Welfare attitudes in Europe: Topline Results from Round 4 of the European Social Survey* (2012) 9.

poverty, only 29% of the Americans think the same. Furthermore, were 60% percent of the Americans believe that the poor are lazy, only 26% of the Europeans tend to believe this.[152]

America

The literature suggests a myriad of reasons for the current American welfare regime. This section will highlight some of the most convincing ideas. It seems that the non-redistributive nature of the US welfare regime can best be explained by the peculiar American political, societal and ideological variables. A lot of the key characteristics of the American welfare regime are often attributed to the complex political situation of the US. Its federalism leads to hard conditions for creating a comprehensive and cost controlling welfare system.[153] Furthermore, the competition between states and the general anti-tax sentiment have led to a political focus on conserving low taxes, this makes the development of social programs difficult.

US politics have also been right-wing oriented, this is partly ascribed to the two-party political system and the lack of political representation in US politics. Hence, there has always been a lack of a strong and lasting political left wing which led to a certain reluctancy towards the development of a more redistributive welfare state.[154] Furthermore, the strong support for neo-liberalism since the 1970's combined with the already existing uneasiness towards big government has led to a relatively big preference for private solutions to social problems.[155] Although this section will not give the all-embracing answer for the US' typical right-wing orientation, the mere ascertainment of the orientation and that this had its effects for the development of the welfare state suffices.[156]

In another category, hostility towards the welfare state is attributed to the racial tensions in American society. The American resistance towards redistribution 'derives in part from the fact that welfare spending in the US goes disproportionally to minorities'.[157] The racial heterogeneity of the US is thus considered to be detrimental for support for redistributive policies (as well as for the general development of socialism).[158] Another interesting variable is that Americans tend to have a different attitude towards poverty. Where Europeans tend to

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[152] Alesina & Glaeser, 'Why are welfare states in the US and Europe so different? What do we learn?', 55.

[153] Béland, Howard & Morgan, 'The Fragmented American Welfare State: Putting the Pieces Together', 6-9.

[154] Béland, Howard & Morgan, 'The Fragmented American Welfare State: Putting the Pieces Together', 11-15; Alesina, Glaeser & Sacerdote, 'Why Doesn't the United States Have a European-Style Welfare State?', *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity 2* (2001) 61-65.

[155] Béland, Howard & Morgan, 'The Fragmented American Welfare State: Putting the Pieces Together', 11;

[156] One could go as far back as 1906: Sombart, *Why is there no Socialism in the United States?* (1976): English Translation of 1905 original by Hocking and Husbands.

[157] Alesina, Glaeser & Sacerdote, 'Why Doesn't the United States Have a European-Style Welfare State?', 61-65.

[158] Alesina & Glaeser, 'Why are welfare states in the US and Europe so different? What do we learn?' *Horizons Stratégiques* 2 (2006) 7-8; Fullerton & Dixon, 'Racialization, asymmetry, and the context of welfare attitudes in the American states', *Journal of Political & Military Sociology* 37: (2009) 95–120; Luttmer, 'Group loyalty and the taste for redistribution', *Journal of Political Economy* 109 (2001) 500–528; Gilens, *Why Americans Hate Welfare* (1999).

see a low socio-economic status partly as ill-luck, Americans would focus more on individual responsibility. The conviction that society is open and fair and that your socio-economic status is predominantly based on merit, results in less support for redistribution.[159]

Canada

In the Canadian liberal approach, welfare is also mainly conceived in terms of individual rights, rather than social responsibility. But contrary to the U.S., the liberal welfare regime of Canada leans towards the equality of persons in the sense of a universal provision of welfare to offer a 'level playing field' for the operation of the market provision.[160] In general, the existence of social policies and in particular social assistance policies for the low-incomes have found substantial support.[161] Nevertheless, while most Canadians are widely in favor of the existence of a social safety net, the ideas of federal universal assistance have found resistance, mostly by conservatives on ideological grounds, and by French-speaking Québécois on sovereignty grounds.[162]

Conclusion

This chapter has given an insight on the various welfare systems on both sides of the Atlantic. Despite the existing singularity of every welfare state, this chapter has managed to give a broad picture of the different welfare regimes that exist in the Transatlantic area. Aided by the already established typologies, several clusters of welfare regimes have been explained. For Europe, there proved to be five different groups of welfare models which all have their distinct characteristics. The only European states belonging in the same cluster as the North-American states are the United Kingdom and Ireland. Section 2.1.7 explained the role that European integration has had on the various welfare states. The strong role of the ECJ and the 'Europeanization process' have had a converging effect on European welfare regimes. However, it remains to be seen how this effect will evolve in the future.

Although it is hard to generalize the myriad of European systems, a universal feature of the varying regimes is that they tend to be rather developed when compared to the North-American systems. Moreover, the North-American picture proved to be somewhat more coherent with the predominance of the liberal welfare regime. A market-oriented approach with an emphasis on individual responsibility, merit-based provisions and a mix of both private and

[159] Alesina, Glaeser & Sacerdote, 'Why Doesn't the United States Have a European-Style Welfare State?', 61.
[160] Spicker, 'Typologies & Methods. Liberal welfare states', 198.
[161] Institute for Research on Public Policy, 'Is welfare a dirty word? Canadian public opinion on social assistance policies' https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/canadas-working-poor/is-welfare-a-dirty-word-canadian-public-opinion-on-social-assistance-policies/ (accessed 6th of May , 2019).
[162] Cox, 'Typologies & Methods. Welfare States in North America: Social citizenship in the United States, Canada, and Mexico', 217.

social spending characterizes the Canadian and American system. Nevertheless, the Canadian system tends to be a bit more social and egalitarian since their social safety net is more universal than in its American counterpart. Another surprising observation was that, despite the nature of the system, America's social spending was unexpectedly high when both private and public spending were combined.

The last part of this chapter enlightened some of the most prominent clarifications for what is behind the development of the various welfare states by looking at a wide set of historical, political and societal variables. Europe proved to have had some specific historical circumstances that enhanced the development of the welfare state: it fostered the specific circumstances for the birth of the very first welfare states due to its specific circumstances and the Cold War dichotomy between East and West bolstered the development of social programs. Politically, the strong presence of Christian democrats and the existence of a left-wing political block helped the expansion of the welfare regimes as well. At last, there is the fact that Europeans seem to have a significantly different attitude towards social contingencies and low socio-economic status compared to the American attitudes. Europeans seem less focused on individual responsibility and more receptive to the argument that people are subject to hard-to-control societal and market forces.

For the United States, the federal nature of the country made it difficult to create a comprehensive and controllable welfare system. Furthermore, the competition between states and the anti-tax sentiment have hampered the development of social programs. Moreover, the US' particular political arrangements have made it difficult for a political left wing to develop because of which redistributive policies were scarcely developed. The support for neo-liberalism and the uneasiness towards big government also led to a preference for private solutions to social problems. At last, the racial heterogeneity of the US seems detrimental for the support for redistributive policies and the earlier-mentioned attitude towards social contingencies and socio-economic status is also to be mentioned. In Canada, most Canadians are in favour of the existence of a social safety net, but the ideas of federal universal assistance have also found their resistance.

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Annex: Figures
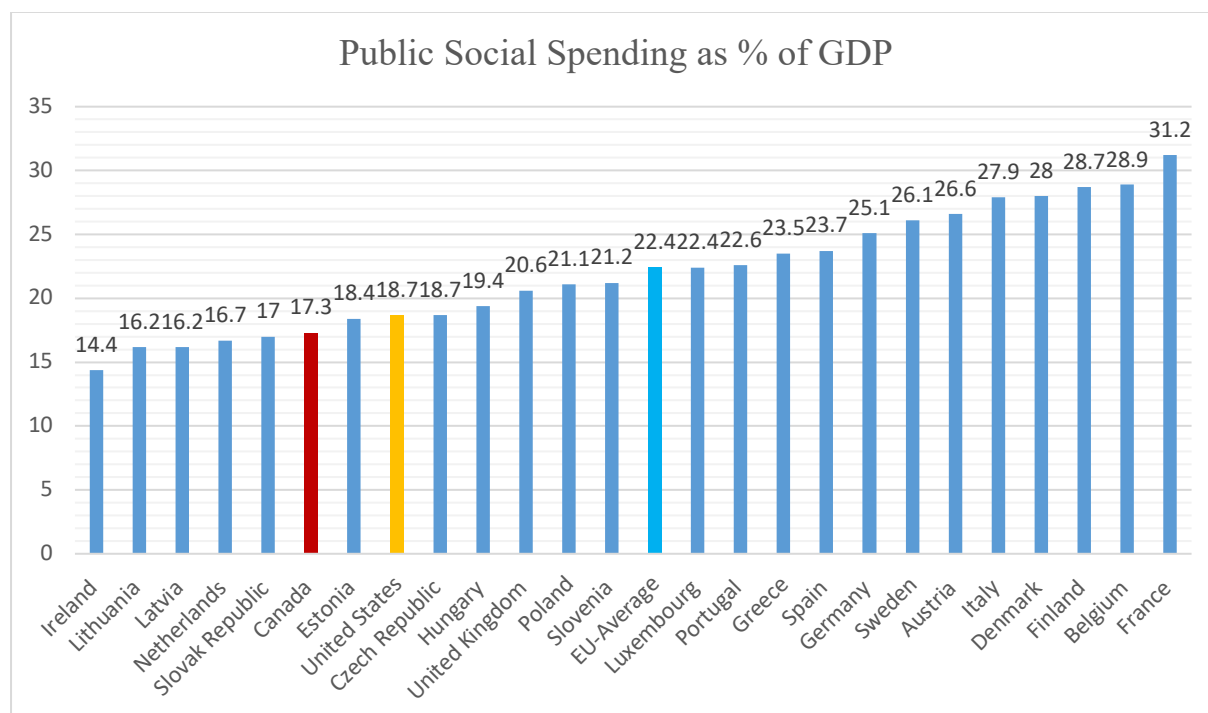
Figure 1, Own design. Year: 2018 or latest available. Data: OECD (2019), Social spending, https://data.oecd.org/socialexp/social-spending.htm (Accessed on 05 May 2019)
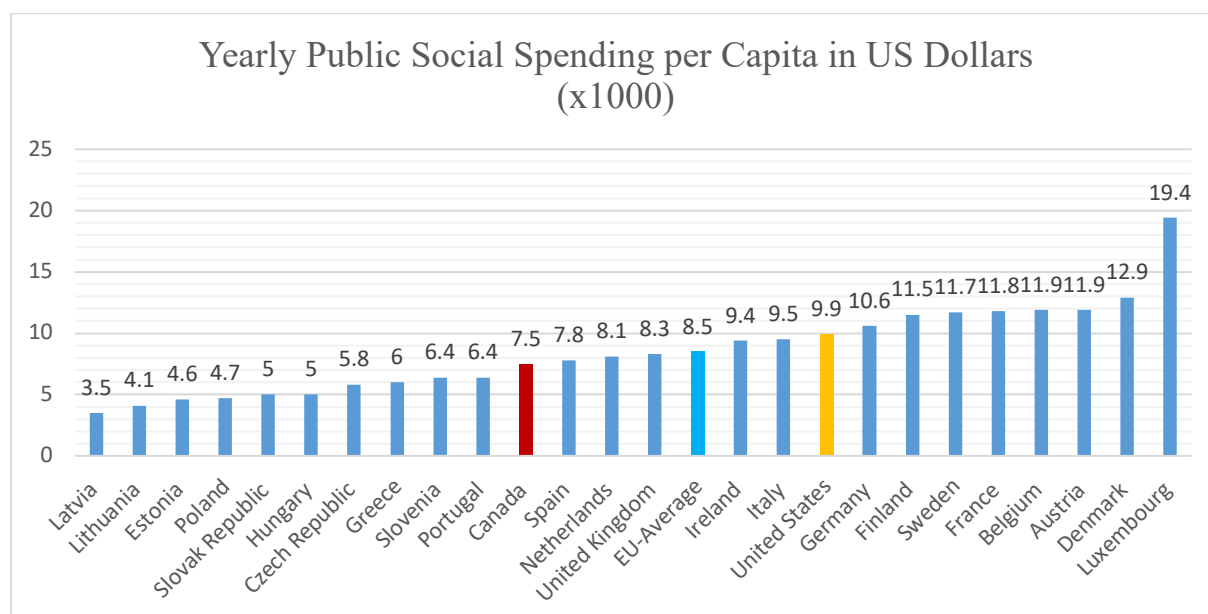
Figure 2, Own design. Year: 2018 or latest available. Data: OECD (2019), Social spending, https://data.oecd.org/socialexp/social-spending.htm (Accessed on 05 May 2019)

Public and Private Social Spending as % of GDP

Values (bottom labels): Ireland 14.4, Lithuania 16.2, Latvia 16.2, Netherlands 16.7, Slovak Republic 17, Canada 17.3, Estonia 18.4, United States 18.7, Czech Republic 18.7, Hungary 19.4, United Kingdom 20.6, Poland 21.1, Slovenia 21.2, EU-Average 22.4, Luxembourg 22.4, Portugal 22.6, Greece 23.5, Spain 23.7, Germany 25.1, Sweden 26.1, Austria 26.6, Italy 27.9, Denmark 28, Finland 28.7, Belgium 28.9, France 31.2
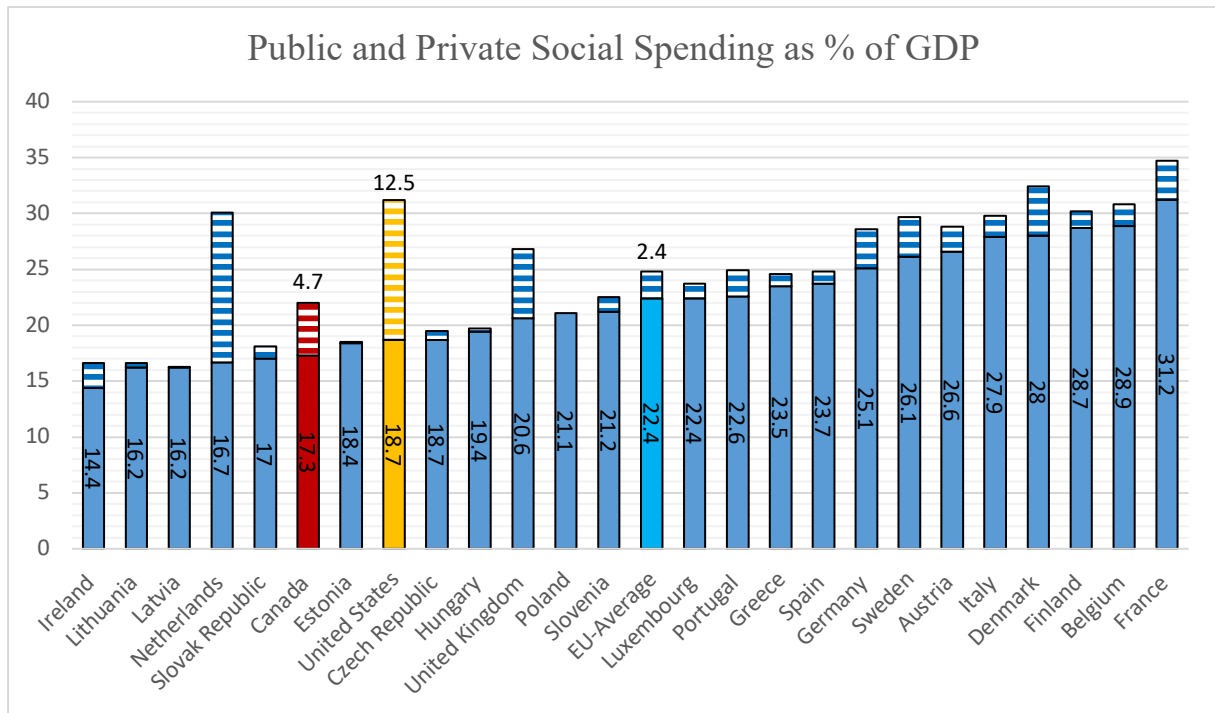
Canada 4.7 · United States 12.5 · EU-Average 2.4

Figure 3. Own design. Year: 2018 or latest available. Data: OECD (2019), Social spending, https://data.oecd.org/socialexp/social-spending.htm (Accessed on 05 May 2019)

Public Social Expenditure by Broad Social Policy Area in % of GDP

Cash benefits / **Services**

Country	Cash: Income support	Cash: Pensions	Services: Health	Services: All social services except health
France (32.0)	5.4	13.9	8.8	2.8
Finland (30.4)	6.6	11.4	5.7	5.6
Belgium (29.2)	7.5	10.7	7.9	2.3
Denmark (29)	5.6	8.1	6.7	6.6
Italy (28.5)	4.1	16.2	6.7	1.0
Austria (27.7)	5.1	13.3	6.5	2.1
Sweden (26.3)	4.0	7.2	6.3	7.6
Greece (25.4)	3.3	16.9	4.8	0.2
Germany (24.9)	3.5	10.1	8.1	2.6
Norway (24.7)	5.9	6.6	6.4	5.3
Spain (24.7)	4.9	11.0	6.5	1.7
Portugal (24)	3.6	13.3	5.9	0.6
Slovenia (22.6)	4.0	11.1	6.1	1.1
Luxembourg (22.1)	5.6	8.4	5.1	2.3
Japan (21.9)	1.8	9.4	7.7	2.9
United Kingdom (21.6)	4.0	6.2	7.7	3.4
Hungary (20.9)	3.6	9.2	4.8	2.4
OECD-36 (20.5)	4.0	8.0	5.7	2.3
Poland (20.3)	3.2	11.1	4.4	1.1
Czech Republic (19.4)	3.8	8.1	6.0	1.1
New Zealand (18.9)	4.2	4.9	7.3	2.2
United States (18.9)	1.9	7.2	8.5	1.3
Australia (17.8)	4.3	4.2	6.3	2.8
Slovak Republic (17.8)	3.7	7.3	5.5	1.1
Netherlands (17.7)	6.0	5.4	2.7	2.8
Estonia (17.7)	4.4	7.0	4.8	1.3
Canada (17.6)	4.6	4.7	7.3	0.9
Israel (16)	4.1	4.8	4.6	2.3
Switzerland (15.9)	4.1	6.5	3.0	1.7
Lithuania (15.8)	3.0	6.7	4.3	1.5
Latvia (15.7)	3.6	7.0	3.3	1.7
Ireland (15.5)	4.6	3.6	5.3	1.5
Iceland (15.5)	4.1	2.1	5.0	4.2
Turkey (12.5)	0.8	7.7	3.4	0.6
Chile (10.9)	1.8	2.8	4.2	2.1
Korea (10.6)	1.2	3.0	4.3	1.7
Mexico (7.5)	0.9	2.3	2.9	1.5

Legend (Cash benefits): Pensions (old age and survivors); Income support to the working age population

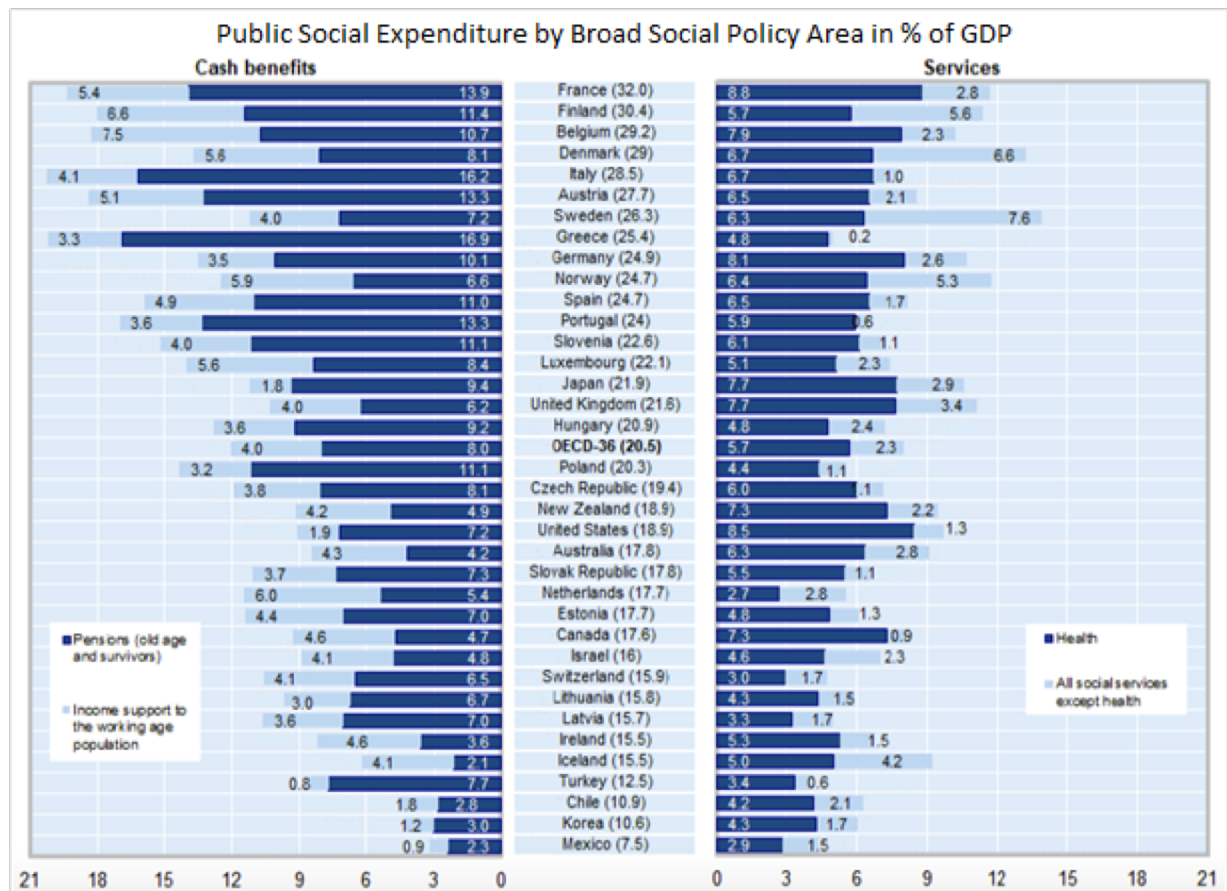Legend (Services): Health; All social services except health

Figure 4. Year: 2015/2017, or latest year available. Public Social Expenditure by Broad Social Policy Area in % of GDP. Source: OECD, 'Social Expenditure Update 2019. Public social spending is high in many OECD countries' (2019): http://www.oecd.org/social/expenditure.htm
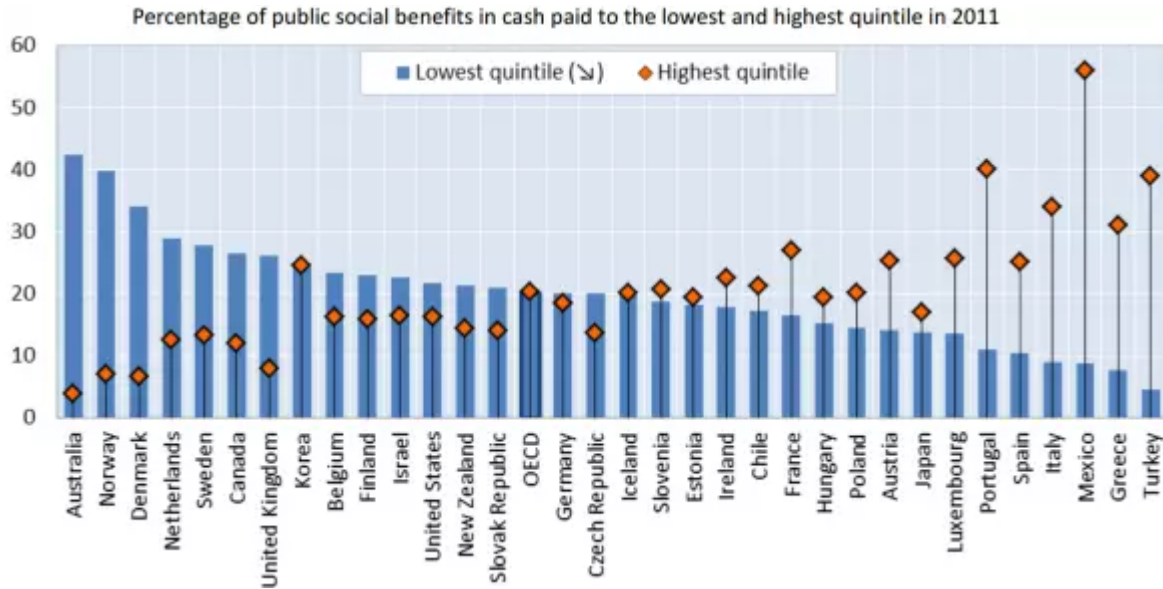
Figure 5. Year: 2015/2017, or latest year available. Public Social Expenditure by Broad Social Policy Area in % of GDP. Source: OECD, 'Social Expenditure Update 2019. Public social spending is high in many OECD countries' (2019): http://www.oecd.org/social/expenditure.htm
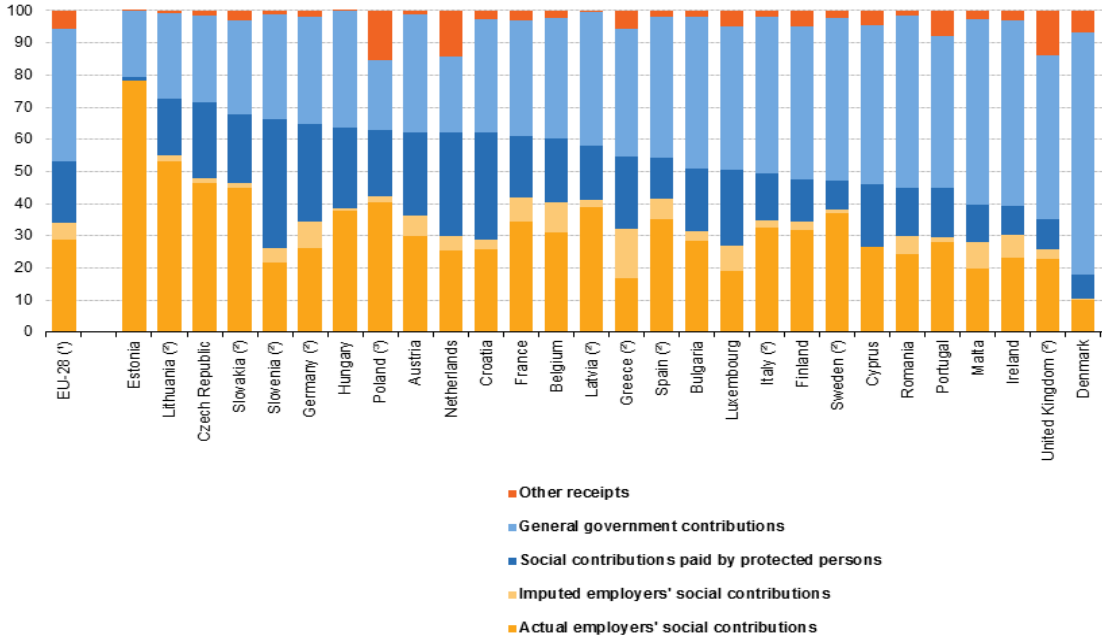

Figure 6. Social Protection Receipts. Data: Eurostat ESSPROS, 'Social protection statistics' (2015):https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-xplained/index.php?title=Social_protection_statistics&fbclid=IwAR0i2NBTIYaOnFoSuKIOsu_6a1j-cSBiYDg7ry1PEam67Uuhc
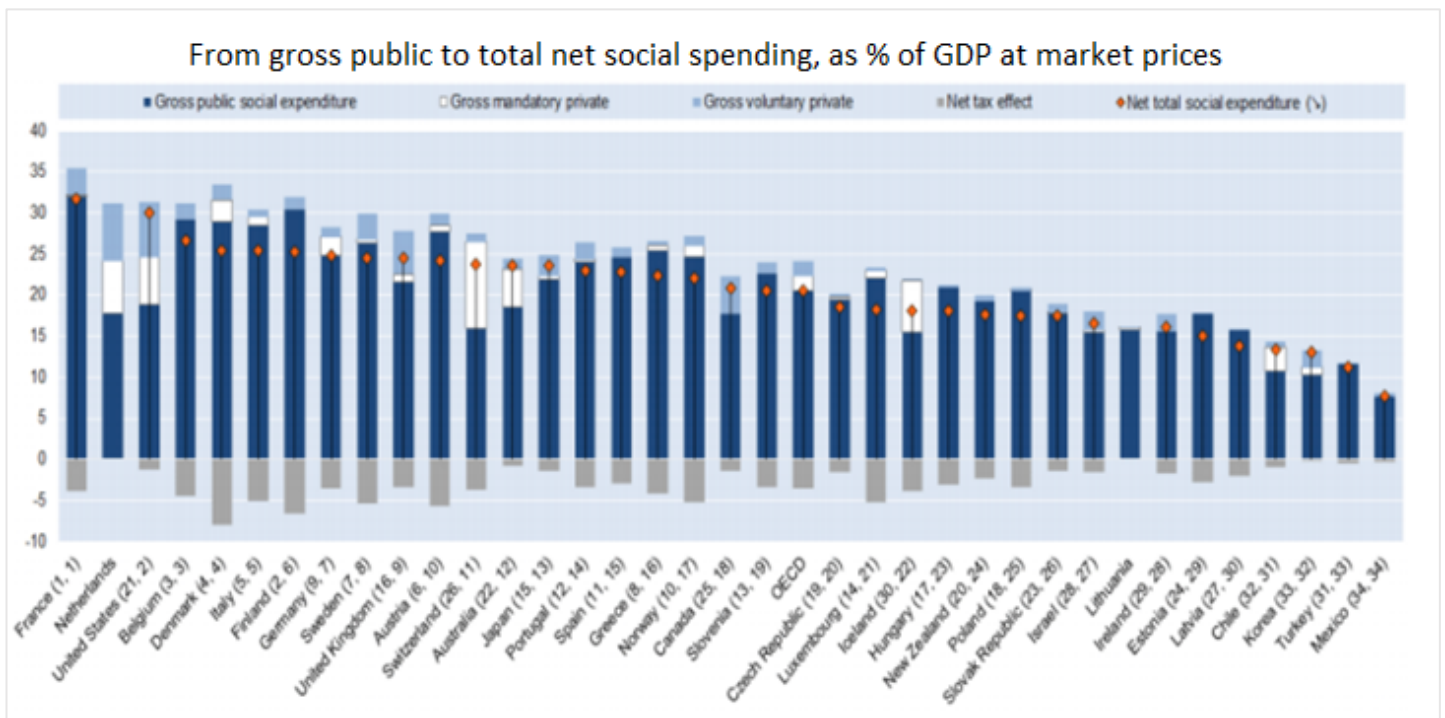
Figure 7. Year: 2015, or latest year available. Figure 4. From gross public to total net social spending, as a percent of GDP at market prices. Source: OECD, 'Social Expenditure Update 2019. Public social spending is high in many OECD countries' (2019): http://www.oecd.org/social/expenditure.htm

Part II - Transatlantic Radar

NATO Burden Sharing Through the Lens of Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower

Mitchell Wilkinson

"Trump's NATO heresy was Eisenhower's wisdom" read one article in the USA Today in October of 2016.[163] Many claimed that a political rift had emerged in the US after Trump proclaimed that the Europeans were not honoring their end of the bargain and paying their fair share when it comes to the security and defense of the NATO alliance. President Trump during his 2016 campaign had repeatedly asserted that NATO was "costing us a fortune" and that the US had been taken advantage of by European policymakers' reluctance to spend on defense for too long.[164] President Barack Obama when in office had also echoed similar sentiment, complaining about "free riders" and stated that "Europe has been complacent about its own defense".[165] In fact, the debate on NATO burden sharing has proven to be one of the few things where Democrats and Republicans have achieved bipartisanship. But this debate on both sides of the Atlantic is hardly new, with its roots going back to the 1950s under the Dwight D. Eisenhower administration—whom was in power from 1953 to 1961. Eisenhower said at the time of NATO's creation in 1949 that "if NATO is still needed in ten years, it will have failed in its mission."[166]

Eisenhower, born on October 14, 1890, was a five-star general during the Second World War who would later serve as the 34th president of the United States. During the war, he oversaw the invasion of North Africa in Operation Torch in 1942, and the successful invasion of Nazi-occupied France in 1944, gaining the allies a foothold on the Western Front, which eventually allowed the allied-invasion of Germany. Born David Dwight Eisenhower in Denison, Texas, he was raised in Kansas by a large family of mostly Pennsylvania Dutch ancestry.[167] After WWII, he served as the first Supreme Commander of NATO from 1951 to

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[163] Robbins, J. S. (2016, October 03). Trump's NATO heresy was Eisenhower's wisdom: James Robbins. Retrieved May 14, 2018, from https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/10/03/trumps-nato-heresy-eisenhowers-wisdom-james-robbins-column/91282406/

[164] Mattelaer, A. (2016). Revisiting the Principles of NATO Burden-Sharing. Retrieved May 15, 2018, from https://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/parameters/issues/Spring_2016/6_Mattelaer.pdf

[165] ibid.

[166] Howorth, J. (2017, May 03). The Futures of NATO. Retrieved May 14, 2018, from https://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/futures-nato

[167] Texas Historical Commission. (n.d.). Eisenhower Birthplace History. Retrieved May 14, 2018, from http://www.thc.texas.gov/historic-sites/eisenhower-birthplace/eisenhower-birthplace-history

1952. In 1952, Eisenhower ran a presidential campaign as a Republican; he won both the 1952 and 1956 elections in landslides, defeating his opponent Adlai Stevenson II.[168] He became the first Republican elected president since 1928.

The broader problem for the Eisenhower administration during the '50s was the question as to how Washington could pressure its allies to accept a much larger share of the common defense burden, thus "reducing the enormous costs being borne by the Americans".[169] According to former US Ambassador Steven Sestanovich, when Eisenhower entered office in 1953, he brought with him a foreign policy that promised a "retrenchment from what Sestanovich labeled the 'maximalist' or expansively ambitious policies of Harry Truman".[170] At the beginning of his presidency, the overarching agenda of the administration's defense policy was to get the Europeans to take more responsibility for their own security and defense, with the ultimate goal of withdrawing most US troops from the continent. And for the time being, this strategy was mostly dependent upon the European allies building up their ground forces and capabilities, to create the necessary strength to fend off an immediate invasion.[171] In the early 1950s, the direct defense of Europe was a serious priority, with many US policymakers in fear of a third world war emerging against the Soviet superpower. And to be adequately prepared for a possible Soviet invasion, the Europeans building up those ground forces and developing the defense capabilities needed for such a war was one of the primary concerns of the new administration. In January of 1951, Eisenhower embarked on a tour of the European capitals to help raise post-war morale and convince the 'war weary countries' that bolstering their defenses was of utmost importance.[172] Following the tour, Eisenhower delivered a speech to the US congress in which he conveyed that the US was not going to be "solely responsible for defending Europe nor would it cost an excessive amount of money or troops to do so."[173]

Eisenhower felt that it was the responsibility of the Europeans to provide the bulk of the ground forces that would be needed to implement the defense strategy of NATO. In response to some critics, he reassured in late 1954 that his administration had no intention of "allowing Europe to be overrun", and would push back when any critics suggested that it was

[168] H. (2016, November 07). Eisenhower's Campaign and the Election of 1952. Retrieved May 14, 2018, from http://vanderbilthistoricalreview.com/eisenhowers-campaign/
[169] Leffler, M. P., & Westad, O. A. (2011). *The Cambridge history of the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pg. 298.
[170] https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14751798.2015.1126970?src=recsys&
[171] Trachtenberg, M. (1999). *A constructed peace: The making of the European settlement, 1945-1963*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Pg. 152.
[172] https://www.nato.int/cps/su/natohq/declassified_137961.htm
[173] https://www.nato.int/cps/su/natohq/declassified_137961.htm

their goal to "strip ourselves naked of all military capabilities except the nuclear."[174] He claimed that it was "ridiculous to imagine anything of this sort.[175]" And perhaps most revealing to the ultimate goal of US officials, he said that the US would be the "central keep behind the forward forces. US military power would be concentrated within the United States as a kind of mobile reserve."[176]

This agenda was outlined in the 'New Look', which was the military strategy that the administration adopted in 1955 shortly after it took office. The strategy reflected their concern for creating a balance between the Cold War military commitments of the US and the financial means through which the nation could carry out these commitments.[177] The instrument that would be used to have an effective NATO military strategy was to be nuclear weapons, which they saw as the best means of deterring potential threats from the Soviets and their Warsaw Pact allies. This then meant that the nuclearization of the European allies seemed to be an inevitable outcome. An essential piece of the New Look policy was the movement towards a 'redeployment' of American troops back to the continental US.[178] "From his earlier days in the Oval Office, Eisenhower made clear his determination to withdraw US troops from Europe as quickly as possible by persuading Europeans to accept the principal responsibility for their own defense."[179] And this sentiment was echoed before he became president; as NATO supreme allied commander (SACEUR), he was always of the opinion that the stationing of US ground forces on European soil was "merely a temporary expedient", a similar opinion held by President Truman who preceded Eisenhower.[180] He perceived America as being trapped in Europe, because the longer their presence lasted, the more there was the danger of it becoming permanent, and subsequently a real shift in policy would become more and more difficult to actualize. Even late in his tenure, Eisenhower was complaining about the US government's "unwillingness to put the matter squarely to the Europeans"; and as a result, the problem had now "become extremely difficult."[181] The period during the 1950s was for many countries in the West a period of rapid growth and prosperity, so as Eisenhower saw it, there was no reason as to why the Europeans could not bear a larger portion of the defense burden. "We are carrying practically the whole weight of the strategic deterrent force, also conducting space activities,

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[174] Trachtenberg, M. (1999). *A constructed peace: The making of the European settlement, 1945-1963*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Pg. 152.
[175] Ibid.
[176] ibid.
[177] ibid.
[178] ibid.
[179] Leffler, M. P., & Westad, O. A. (2011). *The Cambridge history of the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pg. 298.
[180] ibid.
[181] Trachtenberg, M. (1999). *A constructed peace: The making of the European settlement, 1945-1963*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Pg. 152.

and atomic programs. We paid for most of the infrastructure, and maintain large air and naval forces as well as six divisions."[182] If the Europeans refused to go along with this transformation, and if "responsibility for defending the world is to be imposed upon us, then perhaps we had better rule the world", he said half-jokingly.[183]

The debate of pulling troops out of Europe and the Europeans building up their own defensive capabilities was not, however, without growing tensions. The tensions on the European side of the Atlantic were not only directed at their overdependence on US military capabilities, but also the worry that any American-Soviet military confrontation would be likely fought out on European soil. There was also another growing concern of the Western European powers: the spectre of nuclear annihilation. As then Secretary of State John F. Dulles said to the US National Security Council on December 10, 1953: "While we regarded atomic weapons as one of the great new sources of defensive strength, many of our allies regarded the atomic capability as the gateway of annihilation."[184]

The essential purpose of the New Look, was then, to solve what the Eisenhower administration felt was an over-extension of American military engagement. As Dulles outlined in 1957, the strategy was that the Americans "would do the big stuff", meaning large-scale retaliatory attack in the case of an invasion, while the Allies were expected to deal with local hostilities on the ground within Europe. Eisenhower agreed, pointing out that "our policy should be that our friends and allies supply the means for local defense on the ground and that the United States should come into the act with air and naval forces alone".[185] Towards the end of the Eisenhower period especially, US officials complained repeatedly about Europeans' failure to bear their 'fair share' of the common defense commitment, and began increasing pressure for them to meet these commitments. Interestingly, there was quite a bit of divide within the administration itself on the basic question of burden sharing. Secretary of State Dulles in particular held conflicting opinions with Eisenhower on the matter. From the beginning, Dulles thought that America had to be very cautious when approaching the subject of 'redeployment'. "A US withdrawal might well be interpreted as implying a return to isolationism and a 'Fortress America' mentality. It might bring about a collapse of European morale…to a breakdown of the western alliance, and eventually to the loss of all of Europe."[186] Eisenhower said that the NATO allies "became almost psychopathic" whenever any US official

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[182] ibid.
[183] ibid.
[184] Leffler, M. P., & Westad, O. A. (2011). *The Cambridge history of the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pg. 299.
[185] Trachtenberg, M. (1999). *A constructed peace: The making of the European settlement, 1945-1963*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Pg. 152.
[186] ibid.

brought up the possibility of US troop withdrawal[187] Because of this, he claimed, for years they had given their allies "misleading assurances about America's intention to stay in Europe"; although there had been opposing sentiments that came from the Pentagon occasionally during that period.

The European Defense Community (EDC) initiative, an unratified treaty originally signed on May 27, 1952, would have created a pan-European defensive force, comprising six continental countries: France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. The Eisenhower administration turned to an all-out diplomatic campaign to have the EDC initiative brought into effect. In January of 1953, Dulles ignited the effort to pressure Europe into EDC ratification by threatening that if there was not allied support for it, it would be "necessary to give a little rethinking to America's own foreign policy in relation to Western Europe."[188] US pressure intensified, with Dulles in October of 1953 threatening that the US might "explore new alternatives" in its security relationship with Europe.[189] By December of 1953, US concern was sufficient enough for Dulles to deliver his infamous remarks to NATO leaders, declaring that the failure to develop the EDC would "compel an agonizing reappraisal of basic United States policy."[190] The treaty, however, failed to be ratified by the French parliament, and therefore never entered into effect. Since the end of Truman administration, the initiative offered the best hope for the US in their eyes for an expansion of its NATO allies' military capabilities. Therefore, its rejection by the French National Assembly in 1954 was a big blow, delivering the "agonizing reappraisal" of US goals. The allies therefore turned to the plan of arming West Germany—an idea proposed by the British—which would also help to assimilate Germany into the European defense structure. Interestingly, under the terms of the EDC—if it were to have been ratified—it would have meant that the six members of the agreement would report military operations to their national governments, except West Germany, whom would report directly to the EDC.[191] This was to combat the fear of Germany returning to a state of militarism, and therefore the decision was to prevent the Germans from having control over their military altogether.

However, because of the rejection of the initiative, the allies ended up agreeing to allow the West German government to have control over its military in its drive towards its armament to defend against any potential Soviet threat. It was clear that when the EDC was rejected by

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[187] ibid.

[188] Driver, D. (2016). Burden sharing and the future of NATO: Wandering between two worlds. *Defense & Security Analysis, 32*(1). doi:10.1080/14751798.2015.1126970

[189] ibid.

[190] ibid.

[191] Leffler, M. P., & Westad, O. A. (2011). *The Cambridge history of the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pg. 298.

the French parliament, Washington's threats had not worked. "Europe called the bluff", and the US "did not follow through on 'reappraisal' threats".[192] The ultimate outcome was the US reluctantly turning to a US-led NATO coalition rather than a "European centric EDC as the integrating mechanism for German forces in 1955".[193] But the overarching picture of burden sharing during this period was more complex:

> "Largely, but not exclusively, because of the Korean War, US defense spending rose markedly, going from 4.7% of GDP in fiscal year 1949–1950 to 17.8% of GDP in 1952–1953. Similar increases can be seen for key European Allies, with Great Britain rising from 5.7% of GDP in 1949–1950 to 9.9% of GDP in 1952–1953 and France increasing defense spending in 1952–1953 to 10.1% of GDP from 6.5% in 1949–1950. These increases were substantial, resulting in an aggregate Alliance increase, in constant 2011 US dollars, from $185 billion in 1949 to over $527 billion in 1952. The numbers were impressive, but because the defense spending was led disproportionately by the USA, the share of NATO defense burden that belonged to the US rose from 67% in 1949 to 76% in 1952. The Eisenhower Administration's defense spending retrenchment and 'sit back and relax' mood regarding the transatlantic relationship soon reversed both of these trends. Between 1952 and 1960, aggregate Alliance defense spending slid from $527 to $509 billion, with a US reduction of around $60 billion leading the way.[194]

Again, each year that passed it became more apparent that the only comprehensive solution for an adequate European defense structure was to be the nuclearization of the allied powers. Under the impression that the Europeans were "making a sucker out of Uncle Sam", as he once put it, Eisenhower decided early in his second term that the only way to get Europeans to assume more responsibility for their own defense was to "grant them de facto control over tactical nuclear weapons".[195] This concept proved to be very controversial, with various US defense planners in strong disagreement over the security and longevity of the possibility of arming their NATO partners, especially West Germany, with nuclear weapons. But this debate ended up remaining unresolved by the time Eisenhower's tenure in office came

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[192] Driver, D. (2016). Burden sharing and the future of NATO: Wandering between two worlds. *Defense & Security Analysis, 32*(1). doi:10.1080/14751798.2015.1126970
[193] ibid.
[194] ibid.
[195] Leffler, M. P., & Westad, O. A. (2011). *The Cambridge history of the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pg. 299.

to an end; but the general trend by the time he left office was the gravitation towards the development of an allied nuclear force. In the end, none of the administration's various initiatives had "brought the goal of a US troop withdrawal from Europe's any closer to realization, leaving a cornerstone element of Eisenhower's New Look strategy unfulfilled."[196]

Today, the debate on NATO burden sharing remains intact, with the US still bearing the largest burden of defense spending within the alliance:

Defense Expenditures and NATO
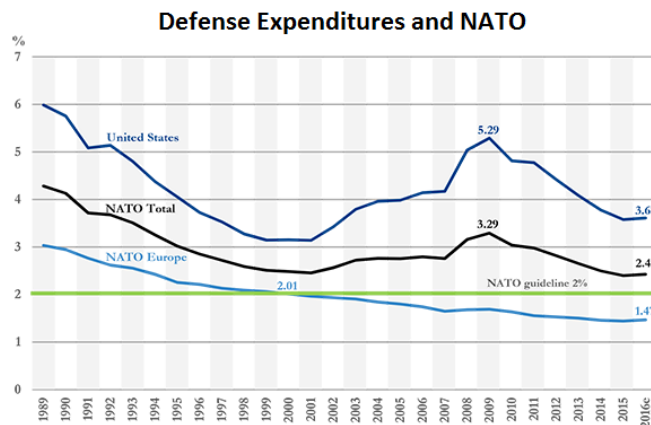
In June 2016, the European Union published the European Global Strategy, outlining its objective to achieve "strategic autonomy", while at the same time deepening its relationship with NATO. But the implementation of these two objective seems to be, in some sense, at odds with one another. Jolyon Howorth, Jean Monnet Professor of European Politics at the University of Bath, argues that the way ahead for Europe is clear: Europe does not need two rival security apparatuses in its "relatively limited geographic space"; EU-NATO cooperation, in his view, should lead over the next decade to the "Europeanization of NATO".[197] This way, Europe could achieve strategic autonomy through its leadership in NATO, and the US could "reduce its footprint in the alliance and concentrate on strategic challenges elsewhere".[198] Nevertheless, it is an issue that needs to be addressed if NATO members want a secure and effective defense strategy in Europe, one that will bring to fruition the initial vision of the alliance's founding fathers.

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[196] ibid.
[197] Howorth, J. (2017, May 03). The Futures of NATO. Retrieved May 14, 2018, from https://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/futures-nato
[198] ibid.

RADAR 2

The Suez Canal Crisis: Leadership Dimension

Matthieu Panarotto

This part of the transatlantic radar aims at analyzing the leadership dimension of one particular transatlantic actor who played a prominent role in the Suez Canal crisis of July 1956. Our analysis will attempt to understand how transatlantic relations were undermined during this crisis and what effect it had on the supposed strong links that tied the United States of then president Dwight Eisenhower and his influential Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to Britain.

Anthony Eden: feats of arm and contextualization

Anthony Eden was born in 1897, the year of the diamond jubilee of Queen Victoria, event symbolizing the might of the British Empire at its height[199]. As Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1955 to 1957, he was an obvious key player during the events analyzed in this radar. Previously, he had been elected as a Conservative member of parliament in the House of Commons at the age of 26 and then served as Foreign Secretary in 1935. He famously resigned in 1938 as he disagreed substantially with Neville Chamberlain's appeasement policy towards Mussolini and Hitler. During the Second World War, Eden was the right arm and *protégé* of then Prime Minister Winston Churchill and continued to serve as Foreign Secretary from 1951 until he took over after Churchill departed. As skillful as Eden was in the diplomatic field with his long career in the foreign office, several sources argue that the Eton educated man had difficulties with getting accustomed with the noisy and complicated House of Commons as well as the oratory demands that went with it. [200] He was in constant need for reassurance and felt a strong will to control everything around him.[201]

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[199] https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/anthony-eden-the-decline-of-britain/ retrieved on 9th of May 2018

[200] Sir Anthony Eden and the Suez Crisis of 1956 The Anatomy of a Flawed Personality, Eamon Hamilton, p22, University of Birmingham, 2015

[201] idem

As Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser decided to nationalize the Suez Canal in July 1956, through which two thirds of Western Europe oil supplies passed [202], Eden saw this provocative act as illegal and immediately thought force should be used to depose Nasser and take control back of this crucial canal[203]. Eden had always viewed Nasser as an 'Arab Mussolini'[204] and he feared this nationalization could cause jurisprudence for other Arab oil supply countries, thereby undermining British authority in the region[205]. With this bold initiative, Nasser gained huge popularity in the Arab world and he became a hero figure for many who fought against imperialistic endeavours, most notably the French who were mired in the Algerian War at the time.

Eden and his relations with the United States

Among the contested and misunderstood decisions Eden took during this crisis, which made him regularly elected by the British people as the worst Prime Minister since the end of World War II[206], was his unwillingness to divulgate his thoughts or even to cooperate with his US counterparts on the issue is maybe the most surprising one. It is equally revealing his lack of lucidity and understanding of the change operated in international affairs after the Second World War. As *The Times* put it "he was the last Prime Minister to believe Britain was a great power and the first to confront a crisis which proved she was not."[207] As someone who had lived during the golden hours of the British Empire, Eden looked back with nostalgia on those years and acted as if he was conducting a great power into a rapid and victorious war, which was everything but reality. With hindsight, Eden had always seen the United States as an ally with whom close cooperation was primordial but trust and confidence unimaginable.

In order to better comprehend this enduring sentiment of hostility, it is crucial to analyze Eden's relations with the US officials he had to deal with before and during the Suez Canal crisis. John Foster Dulles was arguably the most important US official with whom Eden had to work with during this period. The first time Anthony Eden got in contact with John Foster Dulles was in 1952 when the former was Foreign Secretary and the latter Harry Truman's

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[202] Anthony Eden and the Suez Crisis". History Today. Retrieved 7th of May 2018

[203] Sir Anthony Eden and the Suez Crisis of 1956 The Anatomy of a Flawed Personality, Eamon Hamilton, p2, University of Birmingham, 2015

[204] Dyer, Clare, "Clare Dyer: Legality of the war in Iraq". *The Guardian*, 9 March 2004, London. Retrieved 7th of May

[205] Whitman, Alden, "Career Built on Style and Dash Ended with Invasion of Egypt", 15 January 1977, *The New York Times*. Retrieved 8th of May

[206] Sir Anthony Eden and the Suez Crisis of 1956 The Anatomy of a Flawed Personality, p3, Eamon Hamilton, University of Birmingham, 2015

[207] 4 http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/magazine/4757181.stm retrieved on 7th of May 2018

special envoy to Japan.[208] Already then, tension was palpable between both as Dulles took an important decision with regard to the recognition of China without telling Eden, leaving the British incredulous and wary. As if it was not enough, another diplomatic incident occurred when the British sank the American attempt to rescue the then besieged French Dien Bien Phu by not taking any part in the US led expedition. Eden and Dulles had both very different approaches to diplomacy and quite antagonistic views on questions of colonialism for example. It is therefore unsurprisingly that both collided once again during the Suez crisis: one of the biggest challenges to the 'Special relationship'.

With president Dwight Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Dulles, Eden had had many contacts before and during the crisis but never did he fully realize the hardness with which the Americans were fighting against colonialist or imperialist ideas. The US saw themselves as the leading defenders of state independence and did not want to be assimilated in any way with an ancient great power in its colonial endeavours. Nor did Eden understand how much attachment Eisenhower and Dulles accorded to resolving peacefully the conflict in the framework of the United Nations. Contrary to Eden, Dulles did not see much evil in Nasser. The Secretary of State was nonetheless balanced as he did not really know what to do with the Egyptian revolutionary leader. Both were strong personalities and it needs to be remembered the US policy towards the Middle East and North Africa was, at the time, only depended on possible Soviet treats in the region. The US, to the contrary of its transatlantic allies, had no long historical ties with the region and thus did not feel any obligation to go further than a United Nations based solution. As Eden knew pertinently well that convergence of view with Dulles was practically impossible on the question, he, more than once, cabled the US president directly in order to display his views and persuade Eisenhower of the Soviet influence that was rising under Nasser's regime in Egypt.[209]

An interesting feature of Eden's leadership and public persona image that has been analyzed at many occasions is linked with the health issues he had to live with during his mandate as Prime Minister. In effect, contrary to the image of a bold, confident and principled man he aimed to construct, plenty of witnesses have argued he spent a lot of time under treatment, took hazardous drugs and was overall a very weak person. [210] His unstable health in addition to the particularly difficult situation he was put in when Nasser nationalized the Canal, made Eden as tempestuous and sometime irrational in his decision making as he could possibly

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[208]   https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1960/04/suez-in-retrospect-anthony-edens-memoirs/305585/ retrieved on 9th of May 2018
[209] http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2006/0709/matt/matthews_suez.html retrieved on 9th of May 2018
[210] Sir Anthony Eden and the Suez Crisis of 1956 The Anatomy of a Flawed Personality, Eamon Hamilton, p6, University of Birmingham, 2015

be. From someone that was at the core of the agreement that saw British troops evacuate the Nile not even two years earlier, during his time as Churchill's Foreign Secretary, it was strikingly worrisome to observe his sudden change of view on his peace plans for Egypt. To continue in this argument, Eden was also involved in the efforts put together with his US counterpart John Foster Dulles, for once they agreed on something, to finance the Aswan Dam project, thereby fostering peaceful relations with Egypt.[211] In the end and to the great despair of Eden, Nasser declined the offer as the US demanded Egypt would not receive any fundings from any Communist country. [212] A condition too far-fetched to be accepted by the Egyptian leader.

When analyzing Eden's personal diary he kept during his several mandates as Foreign Secretary, it is fascinating to perceive his jealousy for the US' emerging power and control over the world while in the meantime Britain was relegated to the status of a post-colonial middle power in the making. He was fully aware of the necessity of strong Anglo-American cooperation but was not able to get used to the idea that Britain had been replaced by the United States as a superpower.

> "Under all the circumstances I have laid before you, a greater responsibility now develops upon the United States. We have shown, so that none can doubt, our dedication to the principle that force shall not be used internationally for any aggressive purpose and that the integrity and independence of the nations of the Middle East should be inviolate. Seldom in history has a nation's dedication to principle been tested as severely as ours during recent weeks."[213]

As widely portrayed in this excerpt of the US president's discourse to the Congress in January 1957, the United States now endorsed a new role as safeguards of the world's nations' integrity and independence. A role that was for the first time legitimated by the hardest manner as the Franco-British exuberant imperial invasion attempt was met with a US-run United Nations General Assembly vote which fully discredited the disguised invasion effort in the end of November. Coming from its supposed closest ally, the American initiative came as a shock for Eden and its French counterparts. It signified the clear end of British and French leadership in the region and for Anthony Eden a personal defeat he and history were not ready to forget.

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[211] Eisenhower, Eden and the Anglo-American 'Special Relationship' During the Suez Crisis, p 4, Jeremy J. Rothwell Washington College on 8th of May 2018
[212] idem
[213] Department of State Bulletin, XXXVI, No. 917 (January 21, 1957) p. 83-87. Retrieved from Eisenhower, Eden and the Anglo-American 'Special Relationship' During the Suez Crisis Jeremy J. Rothwell Washington College on 8th of May 2018

Eden' leadership dimension during the crisis

As already said earlier in this contribution, Eden had served in several governments as Foreign Secretary and had, over the years, gained quite a reputation in this domain. Thus, he began his mandate as Prime Minister with high hopes and received full confidence of the British public opinion. As, on the 26th of July Nasser nationalized the Canal, Eden immediately organized a meeting with several of its ministers, opposition leaders as well as the French and US ambassadors in London, thereby underlining his crucial role and leadership in the upcoming crisis. [214] To the contrary of what some might have said about Eden, he did not exclude the Americans from the first stage negotiations and was eager to hear some advice as to how to deal with Nasser's fad. But misinterpretations and blatant Anglophobia from notably the US under Secretary of State Herbert Jr. Hoover finished at an early stage to tarnish Eden's hope of strong US assistance in this crisis management.[215] On the domestic side, Eden got asked several questions at the House of Commons as early as the 27th of July and members of parliament reassured the government had the full support of public opinion on the matter[216]. The leadership and popularity of the Prime Minister was under great pressure during those first few days, for his position necessitated a strong but not to belligerent stance behind which the British people could readily stand. Eden knew his best weapon to counter Nasser's plan was to gather a panel of the principal impacted countries in order to gain diplomatic momentum and put extra pressure on the Egyptian leader.[217]

This strategy ultimately resulted in the London Conference of 16th of August. The twenty-four countries gathered in London were there largely thanks to the diplomatic skills of both Eden and Dulles whom Eisenhower had send out to appease the situation and reason the supposedly too aggressive French and mainly British plans. The Conference lasted almost ten days and resulted in the drafting of the Eighteen Nations Proposal which backed the British idea of re-internationalizing the Canal. Even though it was evident the US played the major role in this diplomatic effort, Eden was not at rest. As the Conference came to an end, British public opinion was increasingly divided on the necessity and/or legitimacy to intervene militarily. The internationalization of the Canal being its battle horse and its best way to regain the pride he had lost on the nationalization, Eden aimed more and more at a solution found in the framework of the Security Council. He was certain this would give enough legitimacy to

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[214] 'Sir Anthony Eden and the Suez Crisis: Reluctant Gamble', Anthony Pearson, p 22, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003
[215] idem
[216] https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1956/jul/27/suez-canal-company-expropriation#S5CV0557P0_19560727_HOC_11 retrieved on 9th of May 2018
[217] idem

frighten Nasser and resolve the situation of the Canal. The United States portrayed a mixed willingness to support their European allies as the use of force was totally unthinkable for them. When, on September the 3th, Eisenhower made this clear during a press conferences, the Menzies delegation which was supposed to issue an ultimatum to Nasser only a few days later, lost substantial bargaining power. Thus, it is unsurprisingly that Nasser immediately declined the offer and that Eden found himself in a rather tricky situation. He possessed less and less tools to handle the situation and got infuriated by the inflexible US stand on the eventuality of the use of force. The only solution left, according to the British Prime Minister relied on harsh and grouped economic sanctions. Conversations with his American counterpart then generated the idea of a Suez Canal Users Association (SCUA) in which countries would 'hire the pilots, manage the technical features of the Canal, organize the pattern of navigation, and collect the dues from the ships of member countries'.[218]However, domestically the British public and press seemed increasingly hesitant and polls displayed that a strong majority of them were in favor of taking the issue the UN.[219]

Continuing his long combat against Nasser, Eden organized the second London Conference on the 18th of September aiming at putting in place the SCUA efficiently and assess if any improvement in this process should be made. As economic sanctions were not giving satisfactory results, it was from great importance to Eden and his French allies particularly, to agree on tough and rapid solutions. To the great frustration of Eden, whom again had lost the combat against the Americans on this point, the final agreement was rather timid and included the following unconceivable condition: only after all delegates have had the occasion to discuss with their respective governments will the agreement be officially established.

Understanding very well he needed an immediate solution that would show his firmness in the crisis management to public opinion, whom was in large majority in favour of a UN-led solution, Eden, together with the French, put the matter at the Security Council on the 9th of October. But as expected, the Soviet Union vetoed the plan and Eden found himself without any other solution than to use force. It must be remembered the man had always been a strong partisan of good British-Arab relations, he had studied Oriental languages at Oxford and showed at multiple occasions his devotion to peace and prosperity for the countries in the region he very much admired.[220] It was thus with mixed feelings and undoubtedly with some uncertainty that he resigned himself to go for the use of force in the framework of "Operation

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[218] Lloyd, op. cit., 126. From 'Sir Anthony Eden and the Suez Crisis: Reluctant Gamble', Anthony Pearson, p 80, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003 retrieved on the 9th of May 2018
[219] PRO: PREM 11/1123. From ibidem
[220] 220 Eisenhower, Eden and the Anglo-American 'Special Relationship' During the Suez Crisis, p 13, Jeremy J. Rothwell, Washington College on 11th of May 2018

Musketeer": the secret plan that had been drafted months earlier with the French and Israelis. On the 31th of October, Operation Musketeer started as Israeli forces invaded the Sinai region. As planned, the French and British demanded for a cease fire which was naturally rejected. Eden knew it was now hit-or-miss as he gave the command to his paratroopers to land on the Suez region. The man played his whole political career on this move and got backed by Churchill who gave a public statement. Nevertheless, the Security Council met in an emergency session and strongly condemned the British and French actions. This session was immediately followed by a vote at the General Assembly which established the first ever United Nations Emergency Force. After a few days of intense international pressure and financial threats coming notably from the US, the invasion was annulled and Eden consequently had to endorse the responsibility of one of the most humiliating defeats in British 20th century history. The ill and depleted Prime Minister decided to step out of politics on the 14th of January 1957.

RADAR 3

Suez Crisis: Bipolarity of the Western Alliance in Divided World

Paulius Svetukaitis

If we looked at transatlantic cooperation in engagement in the Middle East and North African region, most of the times we would find the same allies in action: The United Kingdom, France and the United States. The cooperation between the three is not always apparent as disagreements were evident in Iraq in 2003, but not in First Gulf War in 1991[221], nor in 2011 Libya[222], or contemporary Syria[223]. Toje argued that *"the shift from a unipolar to bipolar West"* was sparked in the events of 1998 in Kosovo and 2004 in Iraq[224], but we tend to disagree. The crisis in Suez in 1956 revealed such a shift much earlier and showed diminishing status of British and French authoritative roles as major global powers which were taken over by the United States. To paraphrase Ikenberry[225], it was a crisis of old hegemonic authority but not of principles of order itself. Transatlantic order is considered to be based on interests, interdependencies, institutions and identities[226]. Conflict of interests are natural and enduring features of security communities but conflicts can develop into a crisis upon two conditions: when issues overload institutions making them ineffective in handling them and when conflicts of a policy collide with the interests considered important by any side[227] of the alliance. The latter condition is precisely what happened in Suez. Whether it could be considered as a major crisis of the transatlantic security community is not a matter of this paper, but how interests of the three allies across the Atlantic clashed and what caused the bipolarity among the allies in the beginning of the Cold War must be analysed.

Divergent views on the same issue.

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[221] History.com. Persian Gulf War. 2009. Accessed: 5/05/2018, https://www.history.com/topics/persian-gulf-war
[222] Libya: US, UK and France Attack Gaddafi Forces. BBC.com., 2011., last checked: 05/05/2018. Online: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12796972
[223] Agence France-Presse. Syria crisis: trio of allies launch new bid for UN chemical weapons inquiry. 2018. Accessed: 05/05/2018. Online: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/15/syria-crisis-allies-un-chemical-weapons-inquiry-douma.
[224] Alcaro, R., Peterson, J., Tocci, N. 2016. Multipolarity, Multilateralism and Leadership: The Retreat of the West? In: The West and The Global Power Shift. Transatlantic Relations and Global Governance. Ed., R, Alcaro., J, Peterson., E, Grecco. Palgrave, p. 55.
[225] Ibid., p. 59-60.
[226] Risse, T. 2016. The Transatlantic Security Community: Erosion from Within? In: The West and The Global Power Shift. Transatlantic Relations and Global Governance. Ed., R, Alcaro., J, Peterson., E, Grecco. Palgrave, p. 23-24.
[227] Ibid., p. 27.

In 1956, Egypt's President Nasser announced his plans to nationalize the Suez Canal, causing the United Kingdom and France to act in preservation of their own interests. The fact between the leaders of the three transatlantic allies that Nasser was a threat and nationalization of Suez Canal was undesirable was a common knowledge, thoroughly discussed during allied meetings in London and within correspondence between them from 1956 onwards[228]. However, the means of interest achievement differed greatly among the allies because of the perceptions of their importance. For the British, Suez signified its imperial legacy in the Middle East and was one of the major sources of its vast global trade network[229]. For Britain and France, the uninterrupted oil imports were among the main strategic consideration[230]. In addition, The French viewed Nasser with hostility because of his support of the Algerian rebels[231] in a French dominion. The United States was concerned about Nasser's move on the nationalization of the canal but it did not directly confront with the interests of oil supply to American markets, thus the States sought diplomatic solution to the issue[232]. Eisenhower's most pressing challenge, according to the Atlantic report, was to prevent France, Britain, and Israel from attacking Egypt "without abandoning his European allies" which were important for the United States to maintain an "Atlantic community strong enough to stand against the Communist orbit"[233].

Secondly, despite some proof that actual communication between the three transatlantic allies occurred, the Europeans acted without an approval from the United States and also in disregard of their legal commitment. At the first London conference, Eden only perceived an approval by Dulles to use military force but, in fact, even after the failure of the establishment of international control over Suez, Dulles did not approve the use of force[234]. The British and French broke the "Tripartite Agreement" with the United States, more precisely - Article 3[235], which stipulated the importance of maintaining peace and stability in the region. More important is the fact that Franco-British coalition had an intention to conceal their invasion in

[228] Rapport, A. 2016. Suez Crisis Shows What Happens When Friends Don't Share. Online: https://theconversation.com/suez-crisis-shows-what-happens-when-friends-dont-share-65844, Accessed: 07/05/2018.

[229] McLaughlin, C. The Suez Crisis: Security Implications for the Transatlantic Relationship and the Shift in Global Power. Review of International Studies, Dickinson College, 2016, pp. 47-63., p. 4.

[230] Martel, G. 2000. Decolonization After Suez: Retreat or Rationalization? Australian Journal of Politics and History, Vol. 46., No. 3, pp. 403-417., p. 406.

[231] Wright, W, W., Shupe, M, C., Fraser, N, M., Hipel, W, K. 1980. A Conflict Analysis of the Suez Canal Invasion of 1956. Conflict Management and Peace Science, p. 28

[232] The United States Department of State. Suez Crisis 1956. Archive. Online: https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/lw/97179.htm., Accessed: 07/05/2018.

[233] Suez in Retrospect. 2006. Accessed: 05/05/2018. https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2006/11/suez-in-retrospect/305591/

[234] Aldrich, W, W. 1956. The Suez Crisis: A Footnote to History. Foreign Affairs, Vol. 45, No. 3., Council of Foreign Relations, pp. 541-52, p. 542-543.

[235] American Foreign Policy 1950-1955. Basic Documents, Vol., I and II, Department of State Publication 6446, General Foreign Policy Series 117.Washington, DC. Government Printing Office, 1957., Art. 2. Online: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/mid001.asp., Accessed: 07/05/2018.

Egypt. The United States National Security Agency's declassified documents revealed "Operation Musketeer" or Anglo-French conspiracy with Israel to attack Egypt without the acknowledgement from the United States[236]. Documents show that Eisenhower felt *"cut off by our allies"*[237] and was not sure what was the actual plan of the Franco-British invasion[238]. Knowing these facts by now, it is understandable why the United States government took restrictive measures on their allies, precisely the British, by selling off a significant amount of its pound sterling holdings, thus disrupting the British economy. Political and economic pressure from the United States led to ceasefire and eventual pull-out from Egypt[239].

Troubled relations within NATO

As mentioned above from the Atlantic report, Eisenhower's perception on European allies reflects shared liberal values among European and United States against communist. Common values and similar identity of "Western civilization" is one of the features of transatlantic community[240]. Could French and British invasion in Suez have problematized relations with the United States within NATO? The question is difficult. The crisis erupted at the same time while the committee of the "Three Wise Men" were working on improvement of cooperation in non-military fields between NATO members[241]. Some analysts argue about the damaged credibility of NATO in Suez due to a lack of broader coordination among members of the alliance at the time when the alliance was involved in a military and ideological confrontation with the Soviet Union[242]. However, as Lucas argued in his text, NATO was created to defend Western Europe against the threat from the USSR and other areas of the world, notably Suez crisis, could have been left outside the scope of disagreement or any divisions among the three countries[243]. Despite the debate, Eisenhower at that time was not pleased with the actions of the transatlantic allies and wanted to emphasize the crucial role the

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[236] The Suez Crisis: A Brief Comint History. National Security Agency/Central Security Service. (1988), Approved to release 2013. United State Cryptologic History, Special Series Crisis Collection, Vol. 2., p. 16-17. Online: https://www.nsa.gov/news-features/declassified-documents/cryptologic-histories/assets/files/Suez_Crisis.pdf

[237] Ibid., p. 17.

[238] Ibid., p. 19.

[239] Green Cowles, M., Egan, M. 2016. The Historical Evolution of the Transatlantic Partnership. In: The West and The Global Power Shift. Transatlantic Relations and Global Governance. Ed., R, Alcaro., J, Peterson., E, Grecco. Palgrave, p. 78.

[240] Risse, T. 2016. The Transatlantic Security Community: Erosion from Within? In: The West and The Global Power Shift. Transatlantic Relations and Global Governance. Ed., R, Alcaro., J, Peterson., E, Grecco. Palgrave, p. 33.

[241] North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Report of the Committee of Three. 2017. Online: https://www.nato.int/cps/ua/natohq/topics_65237.htm., Accessed: 09/05/2018.

[242] Dempsey, J. 2016. From Suez to Syria. Why NATO Must Strengthen Its Political Role. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace., p. 7.

[243] Lucas W.S. 1992. NATO, 'Alliance' and the Suez Crisis. In: Heuser B., O'Neill R. (eds) Securing Peace in Europe, 1945–62. St Antony's/Macmillan Series. Palgrave Macmillan, London., p. 260.

United States had to play as the leading power within the Alliance[244]. After Suez, The United States took the transatlantic leadership role[245] by making its allies follow the rules of global conduct, which meant acting unilaterally in a bipolar world of high tension is unacceptable even for close partners.

Power shift from Europe to United States

A couple of factors come clear during the analysis of the crisis in Suez. After the second World War and during the Cold War period, the United States emerged as the most powerful transatlantic power. Suez crisis was significant because the United States demonstrated two aspects: its superiority as the leading member of the transatlantic alliance over the United Kingdom and France[246] and a predominant world power in bipolar world. Its main interest at the time of bipolarity was to curb influence of the Soviet Union in the Middle East and North Africa, as an extension of Truman's containment policy[247]. Eisenhower's intensifying scepticism over actions from his European allies was a fear that, in the Cold War, any British and French aggression towards Egypt in particular would alienate Arabs and drive them towards the communist influence[248]. The Suez invasion threatened to destabilise the strategically vital region, strengthen Soviet links and raise global tensions. The reason to be cautious about rising Soviet influence was due to the fact that Egypt had been forming relations with Communist states by purchasing military equipment from Soviet satellite Czechoslovakia and establishing diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China[249]. It cannot be said that French and British allies did not share the same concern - they also did not want Soviet influence to be enhanced in the region but their means of interest achievement were predominated by previously established roles as imperial powers to act in the world stage unilaterally[250]. Despite the fact that military mission was successful and Port Said fell under Franco-British control, the failure of the imperial forces to impose their control over vital national interests in the region for long-term demonstrated that the two countries no longer

[244] McLaughlin, C. The Suez Crisis: Security Implications for the Transatlantic Relationship and the Shift in Global Power. Review of International Studies, Dickinson College, 2016, pp. 47-63., p. 53.

[245] Alcaro, R., Peterson, J., Tocci, N. 2016. Multipolarity, Multilateralism and Leadership: The Retreat of the West? In: The West and The Global Power Shift. Transatlantic Relations and Global Governance. Ed., R, Alcaro., J, Peterson., E, Grecco. Palgrave, p. 60.

[246] McLaughlin, C. The Suez Crisis: Security Implications for the Transatlantic Relationship and the Shift in Global Power. Review of International Studies, Dickinson College, 2016, pp. 47-63., p. 59.

[247] Fitzsimons, M, A. 1957. The Suez Crisis and the Containment Policy. The Review of Politics, Vol. 19, No. 4., Cambridge University Press, pp. 419-445., p. 419.

[248] The Economist. Special Report. 2006. The Suez Crisis. An Affair to Remember. Online: https://www.economist.com/node/7218678, Accessed: 07/05/2018.

[249] Suez in Retrospect. 2006. Accessed: 05/05/2018. https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2006/11/suez-in-retrospect/305591/

[250] McLaughlin, C. The Suez Crisis: Security Implications for the Transatlantic Relationship and the Shift in Global Power. Review of International Studies, Dickinson College, 2016, pp. 47-63., p. 50.

wielded the same power required to continue to act as if the twentieth century was no different than the nineteenth[251]. The invasion was viewed by the United States as an imperial exercise in a post-imperial age[252]. Later on, even the United States President Nixon acknowledged that *"<…> for the first time in history we have shown independence of Anglo-French policies towards Asia and Africa which seemed to us to reflect the colonial tradition"[253]*. The quote against European colonialism is what at that time could have been portrayed as a Wilsonian[254] view on Europe. The view could be complemented with the report from the Central Intelligence Agency's predictions of the British and French attack on Egypt. The Agency assumed that if the United States supported the allies it would be viewed by the Arab world as an "ally of colonialism/imperialism"[255].

The remaining "shadow of Suez"

Unilateral action by France and the United Kingdom was irresponsible giving the geopolitical context of that time. The allies unintentionally pushed the United States in a difficult position to find a solution to the problem they had created. In the same time, the Soviet Union and its proxies were given an opportunity to deflect world attention from their own brutality in crushing the simultaneous Hungarian uprising[256]. The search for diplomatic solution between United States and Soviet Union at the United Nations to the Suez Crisis was among the causes, identified by Dietl, why other European nations were cautious over openly supporting the United States[257]. Adenauer's presence in Paris in 1956 after the invasion was interpreted as a clear sign of a moral support for the Franco-British endeavour and serves as an example to clarify why the German Chancellor refused to back the United States[258].

What lessons could be drawn for transatlantic relations from Suez Crisis is interestingly concluded in Keohane's article. France and Britain have often differed towards their views on the United States, in part because they took different strategic lessons from Suez: The United

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[251] Martel, G. 2000. Decolonization After Suez: Retreat or Rationalization? Australian Journal of Politics and History, Vol. 46., No. 3, pp. 403-417., p. 403.

[252] Brown, D. 2001. 1956: Suez and the End of Empire. Accessed: 05/05/2018. Online: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2001/mar/14/past.education1

[253] Suez in Retrospect. 2006. Accessed: 05/05/2018. https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2006/11/suez-in-retrospect/305591/

[254] Hamilton, S, D. The Domestic Setting of American Approaches on Europe. In: The West and The Global Power Shift. Transatlantic Relations and Global Governance. Ed., R, Alcaro., J, Peterson., E, Grecco. Palgrave, p. 128-129.

[255] Central Intelligence Agency. 1956. Probable Repercussions of British-French Military Action in The Suez Crisis. Special National Intelligence Estimate, No. 30-4-56., (No. 189), p. 5 (par. 24)

[256] Brown, D. 2001. 1956: Suez and the End of Empire. Accessed: 05/05/2018. Online: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2001/mar/14/past.education1

[257] Dietl, R. 2008. Suez 1956: A European Intervention? Journal of Contemporary History, Vol 43(2), pp. 259-278., p. 272.

[258] McDermott, R. 2001. Risk Taking in International Politics. Prospect Theory in American Foreign Policy. University of Michigan Press., p. 137.

Kingdom learned to never leave the side of the United States giving their "special relationship" a renewed lease of life and the French learned to never trust the British nor rely on the Americans[259]. It was a bad experience from Suez which could have been a part of the reason why De Gaulle vetoed British entry into the European Economic Community as a "Trojan horse" of American interests, withdrew its military personnel from NATO in 1966 and refused to support American policy in Lebanon and Vietnam[260]. Suez also had an impact on European integration. The United States plaid an important role by making European allies recognize their lost status as hegemonic powers. The crisis at Suez led Britain, but more importantly France to turn inwards and focus on continental rather than colonial development[261]. The French foreign minister, Christian Pineau records Adenauer as saying that: *"France and England will never be powers comparable to the United States <...> nor Germany either. There remains to them only one way of playing a decisive role in the world: that is to unite Europe...We have no time to waste; Europe will be your revenge"*[262]. On the other hand, wherever the disagreements might be, the European Union could not have developed a defence policy if not because of [agreement] at Saint-Malo in 1998[263]. It is quite far-fetched for Keohane to draw conclusion on hampered cooperation due to Iraq war in 2003 as we have seen in the introduction: Libyan case, 1991 Gulf War and contemporary Syria show that transatlantic cooperation is still very much prevalent despite the "shadow" of Suez.

The Suez crisis was an important event in transatlantic relationship between the United States, Britain and France. It was a crisis of European empires and their roles as global powers who were forced to accept the rules of international behaviour in the age of bipolarity, run by the United States as one of the key players in the world and the hegemon in the transatlantic community. The invasion of Franco-British troops in Suez without an approval by the United States was a major mistake leading to their withdrawal and eventual realization of faded dominance. The crisis did not exacerbate into a long-term strife among traditional allies but left an imprint of distrust between the French and the British, and between the United States and its two allies. Contemporary actions by the three in the Middle East show that lessons from

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[259] Keohane, D. NATO, The EU and the Curse of Suez. Online: http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategiceurope/64859, Accessed: 05/05/2018., 2016.

[260] Utting, K. 2016. The Significance of the Suez 1956: A Reference Point and Turning Point? Online: https://defenceindepth.co/2016/11/16/the-significance-of-suez-1956-a-reference-point-and-turning-point/., Accessed: 07/05/2018.

[261] Martel, G. 2000. Decolonization After Suez: Retreat or Rationalization? Australian Journal of Politics and History, Vol. 46., No. 3, pp. 403-417., p. 408.

[262] The Economist. Special Report. 2006. The Suez Crisis. An Affair to Remember. Online: https://www.economist.com/node/7218678, Accessed: 07/05/2018.

[263] Keohane, D. NATO, The EU and the Curse of Suez. Online: http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategiceurope/64859, Accessed: 05/05/2018., 2016.

Suez were learned and the three transatlantic countries in fact can act as a community, coordinating their approach towards global crises.

RADAR 4

Does History repeat itself? Woodrow Wilson: A Portrait

Efthymia Eleftheria Fotou

Woodrow Wilson either has been admired or hated, as the 45th President of the United States. After a long debate on the name of Donald Trump, the opportunity to talk about another American leader has been given, the 28th President of the U.S., Thomas Woodrow Wilson who has characterized as one of the most controversial characters of his era. Wilson served two successive terms in the White House, from 1913 to 1921, during the problematic years of the First World War. His racial views, his decision to go to war with Germany in 1917, his view on peace and the post-war world through the 'fourteen points' are still being debated till this day.

Introduction

The following paper will look at Woodrow Wilson's political career, how he performed a leadership position in transatlantic relations and how his leading personality managed to influence -and still does- social and political movements not only in the United States of America but in the entire world.

Thomas Woodrow Wilson was born the 28th of December 1856 in Staunton Virginia. His father was a Presbyterian minister in Georgia and South Carolina. Wilson has Scottish-Irish roots as his grandparents were immigrants from Country Tyrone, Ireland and his mother was actually British. He grew up in a family, in which his father was a famous liberal southern religious figure who did recognized the tradition of slavery because it wasn't prohibited by the scriptures.[264] These patterns of a religiously-shaped and cultural worldviews influenced the President in a simple but fundamental way, particularly when we observe Wilson's tendency to think in contradiction which only he could convert it as a political advantage.[265]

Education

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[264] "Wilson, Woodrow." *Britannica Online Academic Edition*, 2018, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.
[265] Magee, Malcolm. 2011. "WOODROW WILSON, WILSONIANISM, AND THE IDEALISM OF FAITH". The Review Of Faith & International Affairs 9 (4): 29-30.

Despite his dyslexic disorder, he attended Davidson College, but one year later left for the College of New Jersey, which would later be known as Princeton. There, he used the college library in order to study how the political leaders handled their power, when he realized that progress was the essential element of leadership.[266] After Princeton, he went to the University of Virginia Law School, and next, to Atlanta where he worked and studied law independently.[267] In meantime, he realized that he is not interested on practicing law[268] and he abandoned his law career in order to enroll at Johns Hopkins in 1883, where he got his PhD in history and political science. Around this time, Wilson met Ellen Louise Axson in a Presbyterian church in Rome and after he completed his studies, they got married in 1885. They would have three daughters over the next few years.[269] After his PhD, Wilson started his academic career as a professor, teaching history and political science at the brand-new Bryn Mawr College for women, thought at the time he has quite contemptuous of female academics. He next became a professor at the Wesleyan University. This period was particularly creative for Wilson as he wrote over 20 articles for the Atlantic and he published 9 books, the first of which was called ''Congressional Government''.[270]

Academic career

Wilson was interested in government administration and he supported the British parliamentary system as the best way to remodel the government, combining the executive and legislative branches. He felt that the power and respect of the president had weakened over time, and that the legislative branch now had all the power, which caused the deterioration of the basic principles of the American government.[271]

A major milestone in his life came when he was hired to teach political economy at Princeton in 1890.[272] We need to clarify here that Princeton at that time was not as famous as today for its excellent educational system but rather a place for wealthy people without having necessarily the proper academic background.[273] Wilson upgraded Princeton though, transforming it into a modern research university by promoting the idea of a democratic social

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[266] Walworth, Arthur, and Woodrow Wilson. 1958. *American Prophet*. New York [u.a.]: Longmans, Green & Co, 19

[267] Ibid., 31-32

[268] Ibid., 30

[269] Ibid., 35-44

[270] Shotwell, James T. 1994. *The Life Of Woodrow Wilson, 4*.

[271] Sapru, R. K. 2013. *Administrative Theories And Management Thought*. 3rd ed. Delhi: Prentice-Hall Of India Pv., 87

[272] Walworth,1958, 4-5

[273] Ibid., 18

life in the institution.[274] He promoted his ambition which was based on modernization for liberal arts combining the study of sciences with humanities. The result was fast and surprisingly effective reforming the structure along with German lines and turning Princeton into a serious academic institution. As it was expected, in 1902, he became President of the University. He proposed policies in order to upgrade the university but his attempt to democratize Princeton in 1906 brought him in front of an open conflict with alumni when he wanted to eliminate socially exclusive clubs and residences.[275] At the same time, racial issues emerged as Princeton though in New Jersey, was considered as 'the northernmost southern school'. Some historians still believe that Wilson was the most racist president in history because of his views toward discrimination and the policy he followed while he served as Princeton University's president. Here, we can explain with an example: the Princeton football team went into a protest because the players did not accept Harvard's black player. Wilson's aim was to retain peace among white students and alumni in a way of discouraging black people from applying for admission.[276] It was shortly after the Spanish-American War of 1898 broke out and which is often seen as the era of American imperialism. [277]

Wilson as a Governor

Was Wilson an imperialist? The historian David Steigerwald, argued that Wilson ''opposed European imperialism and engaged in imperialism himself with no evident sense of hypocrisy''.[278] Actually, he supported more armed interventions in Latin America than any of his predecessors, but the rationale behind was that America helps its colonies in order to make them take care of themselves(!). And it was that time when his active and effective role as a president of Princeton made him visible on the political scene, and his compelling skills as a lecturer made him the suitable candidate for office. But we should keep in mind that at this time only one Democratic Grover Cleveland, had been president since before the Civil War and that had begun nearly 50 years ago.[279] In 1910, the Democratic Committee of New Jersey

[274] Shotwell, 1994, 4

[275] "Today In History - June 9". 2018. *The Library Of Congress*. https://www.loc.gov/item/today-in-history/june-09#president-of-princeton-university.

[276] "Princeton's Problem: President Woodrow Wilson's 'Racist' Legacy". 2018. *NJ.Com*. http://www.nj.com/mercer/index.ssf/2015/11/woodrow_wilsons_racism_at_center_of_princeton_u_st.html.

[277] "American Imperialism: The Spanish-American War | DPLA". 2018. *Dp.La*. https://dp.la/primary-source-sets/american-imperialism-the-spanish-american-war.

[278] Cohen, David. 2018. "Woodrow Wilson: Imperialism And Self-Determination". *Academia.Edu*. https://www.academia.edu/24180827/Woodrow_Wilson_Imperialism_and_Self-Determination?ends_sutd_reg_path=true.

[279] "Grover Cleveland". 2018. *The White House*. https://www.whitehouse.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/grover-cleveland/.

offered Wilson the nomination for Governor of New Jersey.[280] He accepted on the condition that he will move as he thinks in policy issues and he resigned from the university. The party leaders had imagined that he would be their tool; scholarship was considered as a disadvantage for a political career and the job of a college professor was not really famous in order to be a politician.[281] But Wilson's personality was strong enough preserving a free spirit, so even on the campaign trail, he rejected parts of the party's proposals. Basically, he developed a platform of progressive liberalism and he won the elections by a landslide. At that time, New Jersey's system needed to be reformed as the corruption was leading the society. Wilson immediately started working on the state's political machine securing the presentation of a Direct Primaries Law and a robust Corrupt Practices Act and attempting to implement his ideas on the reform of political parties.[282] He took measures in order to eliminate the financial corruption and announced as illegal any corporate contributions to political campaigns. He reformed the public utilities, provided for workman's compensation, and he was actually considered as a governor with a progressive agenda. However, he contained many contradictions in the Progressive Reform Movement, particularly with his racial concepts.[283]

Wilson as a President of United States

Year 1912: That year was actually the perfect timing for electing a Democratic candidate because of the division of the Republican party because they could not agree on how administrative power should be used. The Democratic Convention that year was also the first one to use primaries to select the candidate. That candidate was Woodrow Wilson who elected, became the first Southern-born president since 1848.[284] However, the Presidential election was proved as vital phase for US future, with Wilson wining Roosevelt, current president Taft, and Eugene Debs, endorsing his vision of a ''New Freedom'' version of progressivism, which included antitrust methods and state guidelines as an alternative to the enlargement of national administrative power. Wilson managed to influence the public with ''profound social and moral convictions'',[285] but the election did not come effortlessly despite divided opposition.[286] Edward House, a political advisor and the major political player William Jennings Bryan, the Secretary of State were the persons that Wilson chose in order to fulfil his duties. Wilson

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[280] Shotwell, 1994, 5
[281] "Today In History, 2018. *The Library Of Congress*.
[282] Shotwell, 1994, 7)
[283] Encyclopædia Britannica
[284] Shotwell, 1994, 11
[285] "Woodrow Wilson and the American Presidency: Theory, Practice, and Impact." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 4, no. 2 (1974): 35. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20556806.
[286] Encyclopædia Britannica

himself wasn't interested in foreign policy but the circumstances the following years (with Latin America and the World War I) demanded rigorous action over these issues.

The main improvements of his presidency were instituting the federal income tax, establishing the Federal Reserve (the most powerful government agency in economic affairs) and the Federal Trade Commission, the National Park Service Act, and in order to come closer to Roosevelt's voters, he passed laws prohibiting child labor, raising income and he established the 8-hour work day. [287] However, as we justified above, he developed racial views, discriminating against African Americans. Several historians have pointed out Wilson's racist policies, and some say that Wilson's opposition to slavery was on economic, not moral grounds. During his Presidency, his War Department enlisted black men. Despite the fact that the salary was the same as the whites, he organized them into segregated units with white commanders. The only try that Wilson did in order to reconcile with African Americans was in 1918 when he condemned the vicious practice of lynching. [288]

Likewise, Wilson's relationship with business was strong and absolute supporting that ''government must regulate business because that is the foundation of every other relationship''. More specifically, speaking to business leaders at Times Square's Hotel Astor, Wilson said that ''the very thing that government cannot let alone is business. Government cannot take its hands-off business''.[289]

Woodrow Wilson is remembered though as being the President during the war. In August 1914, just after the war broke out, America declared its neutrality, and two days later, First Lady Ellen Wilson died of Bright's disease, a fact that devastated Wilson. Moreover, neutrality became very challenging and difficult to maintain after the killings of 128 Americans, and indeed in January 1916, the preparedness campaign opened paramilitary training camps in the US.[290]

The war was the main topic of the 1916 election. Wilson claimed though that if re-election depended on him getting the country into the war, then he didn't want it. The Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, said, ''no campaign in the history of this country has been so marked by viciousness, bitterness, and invective''. Wilson won these elections supporting his campaign ''He kept us out of war'' and the progressive agenda he adopted regarding labor issues. Pace proposals, the Zimmerman telegram, the Yarrowdale affair, and unrestricted

[287] Shotwell, 1994, 11-12
[288] Walworth, Arthur, and Woodrow Wilson. 1958. *American Prophet* 291-305
[289] Beck, Glenn. 2016. *Liars: How Progressives Exploit Our Fears For Power And Control*. 1st ed. New York: Threshold Editions/Mercury Radio Arts, 49-50
[290] Shotwell, 1994, 14

submarine warfare- all these got the US behind the war at the end and many questions raised in order to effectively handle the situation.[291] Nevertheless, Wilson proved to be a successful president during and after the war. It was that time, when *Wilsonian Idealism* or *Wilsonianism* appeared in order to preserve peace among nations and continents and prevent a new war. In January 1918, he had prominently issued the 'Fourteen Points' in a speech on war aims and peace terms to the United States Congress. "Open Covenants, Openly arrived at ...Freedom of the Seas .... Freedom of Trade .... Self-determination …. Impartial Justice for the Colonies ... and a League of Nations'',[292] were only some of them and the principles included to the speech generally welcomed by European leaders too.

Between these points was the idea of creating an international organization to keep the peace, by providing a place where disagreements could be discussed and negotiated: ''A general Union of Nations should be formed under concrete agreements to provide mutual guarantees of the political independence and territorial integrity of both large and small states equally''.[293] Therefore, at the Versailles Conference in 1919, the League of Nations was formed, and a fundamental shift just occurred. Yet, he was so concentrated on his attempt that he wanted to negotiate alone with European leaders, so he didn't take with him politicians but experts in European history, geography, economics and politics from the universities. Meanwhile, on the other side of the Atlantic, despite Wilson's efforts to establish and promote it, the Senate failed to ratify the treaty, and as a result the United States did not join the League. That will be proved as the main weakness the following years when the institution will fail to prevent the Second World War. However, the creation of the institution will offer Wilson the Nobel Peace Prize.[294] President Woodrow Wilson died on February 3rd, 1924.

The Impact

Franklin D. Roosevelt has admitted the impact that Wilson's method had in his presidency. He admired him while both of them promoted the Presidency as a place of moral leadership and they tried to dominate the American constitutional system. The issues he was called to solve were similar to Wilson era as he had to handle the issue of neutrality, the making of wartime policies and the United Nations as a new Institute. Likewise, the similarities between Richard Nixon and Woodrow Wilson are clear, especially regarding to the religious principles. Following, many other presidents of the US expressed their admiration for the

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[291] Cohen, David. 2018. "Woodrow Wilson: Imperialism And Self-Determination". *Academia.Edu*.
[292] Shotwell, 1994, 20 (Cit op fn 7)
[293] Magee, Malcolm. 2011, 35-36 (Cit op fn 2)
[294] http://www.woodrowwilsonhouse.org/league-nations

Wilsonian ideal of leadership such as Harry S Truman, Dwight D Eisenhower, John F Kennedy, even if they were not entirely in agreement with all of his acts. Wilson contributed in the influence and the role of the Congress and the President revealing the chances and risks of dynamic presidential leadership. He played also a vital role in reforming the Constitutional Government in the United States. In general, No one can reject his offer in domestic and foreign even if he did not accomplish to commit the Senate to follow his lead in the League fight, but it is generally admitted that he empowered and shaped the role of the modern Presidency.[295]

Conclusion

Thomas Woodrow Wilson has been so variously interpreted and analyzed, in a way that any researcher who got involved in his -political and not only-life story, felt divided because of the complexity of his mind. Was Wilson an idealist? Was he a guardian of peace? Did he love power? "I cannot imagine power as a thing negative and not positive", he said.[296] Because his actions in Latin America were not pacific at all but it seemed they were welcome by Wilson as a required element for constructive changes in America's federal system. Was he a prophet or just a racist? The Baltimore journalist H.L. Mencken described him as ''the right-thinker, the great moral stateman, the perfect model of the Christian cad''[297] while Glenn Beck characterized him as ''racist and misogynist.''[298]

Woodrow was all of them. And despite his ugly side, no one can refuse that he was a great statesman and visionary who made the world safe for democracy through his innovative acts. Woodrow Wilson attempted to impose a sort of normative structure and a system for peaceful resolution of conflict. Wilson's hopes for a safer and peaceful world, were all illustrated in his "Fourteen Points'' document. No one can refuse that his religious and cultural background made him so focused on this paper. To Wilson the principles spelled out in the treaty defined his vision for the world.[299] Subsequently, he opened the way for a new era in Transatlantic Relations. The United Nations and cooperative security treaties and agreements are viewed as fulfilment of Wilson's internationalist vision.

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[295] "Woodrow Wilson and the American Presidency: 1974, 35 (Cit op fn 22)
[296] Walter A. McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World since 1776* (Boston/New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), pp. 126, 128.
[297] Cohen, David. 2018 (Cit op fn 28)
[298] Beck, Glenn. 2016, 49-50 (Cit op fn 26)
[299] Magee, Malcolm. 2011, 36 (Cit op fn 30)

RADAR 5

The transatlantic relationship and the rules-based international order

Francisca Jerosch Herold da Costa Reis

Introduction

The transatlantic relationship between Europe, particularly the European Union (EU) and the United States of America (USA) is one characterized by deep ties and continuous interactions, which date back so far as to the first European settlements in the United States. It was, however, from the First World War onwards that these interactions intensified and evolved, eventually culminating in a partnership that championed the construction, the development and the preservation of a rules-based international order informed by the principles of multilateralism and collective security. The establishment of a multilateral system, inextricably linked to the development of the transatlantic relationship and, consequently, an important dimension of it, marked a departure from the pre-war *modus operandi* in international affairs and provided a framework under which the relations between both sides of the Atlantic took place. Despite its importance, this dimension of the transatlantic relationship has often been the source of tensions and, sometimes, crises, particularly in light of new challenges, which appeared after the Cold War period and still persist.

This paper will focus on the origins and the development of the rules-based, multilateral international order, particularly as an important dimension of the relations between both sides of the Atlantic. A look into this dimension of the transatlantic relationship is both meaningful and timely, given the historical centrality of multilateralism in transatlantic cooperation and the architecture of our world order, but also in light of recent developments that seek to ultimately undermine it. In order to shed light on this important topic in transatlantic relations, the paper will start by discussing the United State's abandonment of neutrality during the First World War and Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points as important, albeit often ignored, steps towards the rules-based international order as we know it. Once these origins are traced back, the focus will shift to the period after the Second World War and transatlantic efforts to establish as well as expand the multilateral system. As mentioned above, this dimension of the transatlantic relationship has also become a source of contention. Consequently, the paper will finish with

a reflection on these issues that have cast a shadow over the transatlantic partner's project of a multilateral system.

Abandoning American neutrality: Wilson's 14 Points and the League of Nations

When tracing back the origins of the multilateral architecture of our current global order, one often identifies the post-war period of the Cold War as a decisive moment where this project gained momentum. Scholars of American foreign policy have often written about the country's historically "favored position of isolationism" and selective involvement in international affairs[300], which was abandoned during the Second World War, the moment where the United States finally dove into global affairs and (McCormick, 2014, p.24). However, looking back to the period of the First World War and Woodrow Wilson's presidency can reveal important insights concerning the origins of the multilateral context that, nowadays, is an important dimension of international affairs and the transatlantic relationship.

It was during America's initial neutrality in the face of the eruption of the First World War that Woodrow Wilson, the 28th President of the United States, planted the seeds for what would later become his ambition of a multilateral system of collective security. According to Thompson (2010), faced with Germany's increasing belligerence and aggression, Woodrow Wilson advanced his peace program for the international system between 1915 and 1917. Still intent on pursuing a neutral policy towards the European conflict, President Wilson declared the willingness of the United States to become a partner in a post-war organization in an effort to end the destructive war and ensure a "stable and peaceful international order" (Thompson, 2010, p.31; Tucker, 1993). Acknowledging the potential problems of a strong, one-sided victory in the war, Wilson's called for a 'peace without victory', emphasizing the importance of a resolution of the conflict that would rest on a common effort, resulting in stability, not bitterness (Ruggie, 1997; Sellen, 1973).

Despite Wilson's efforts to engage in sustainable a solution for the war while keeping the United States out of it, Germany's unrestricted and continuous submarine warfare on ships, including American ones, proved the inadequacy of the United States' neutrality (Ruggie, 1997). On the 2nd of April 1917, Woodrow Wilson stood before Congress requesting war be declared on Germany. Wilson claimed:

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[300] The debate about the different traditions that have informed they way in which the United States relates to the world through its foreign policy is a complex one which cannot be adequately framed through dichotomous categories such as isolationist vs. interventionist. This debate falls outside of the scope of this paper, but for more information see Hamilton (2016)

"Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people." (Wilson, 1917, p.6)

According to the President's views, America's support of the Allied forces in the war did not mean the abandonment of the project of building a new, conflict-free world order in which countries would openly and collectively cooperate. Less than a year after the United State's declaration of war, in his famous Fourteen Points, Woodrow Wilson, expressed his vision and program for a peaceful post-war order in which nations would stand together in their quest for peace (Ruggie, 1997). Wilson's program for peace, consisting of fourteen proposals, rested on the ideas of equality, free trade, transparency in international affairs and, most notably, in the creation of an association of nations with the aim of opposing the until then predominant balance-of-power in favor of a system of collective security and mutual guarantees against international aggression (McCormick, 2014, p.24; Schlesinger Jr., 1995; Wilson, 1918). Wilson's Fourteen Points, which recognized the "roots of instability in the international system" that resulted in the outbreak of the First World War and presented an alternative vision of a world order, later became the basis for the peace negotiations held in Paris in 1919 after the Allied victory of the war (Ambrosius, 2006, p. 518).

At the Paris Peace Conference, which brought together the Great Powers involved in the war, Wilson presented his Fourteen Points as the "blueprint to reorganize world politics" designed to achieve long lasting peace (Ikenberry, 2009a, p.10). Nevertheless, despite Wilson's initial efforts and ambition, bitterness and revenge still dominated the peace negotiations, and their result, the Treaty of Versailles, revealed profound divergences and represented a rejection and abandonment of most of the American President's initial propositions (Graebner & Bennett, 2011, p.40; Thompson, 2010). While most of the Fourteen Points and Wilson's vision for the post-war order did not translate into provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, the League of Nations, the embodiment of the fourteenth point, was created in 1920 with the aim of preserving peace through collective security and the cooperation among nations. Despite the success in establishing an international organization aimed at managing international relations after the war, Wilson was not able to win the hearts and minds in his own country. Both Congress and the American people were not eager to commit their resources to unwanted conflicts, which article 10 of the League of Nation's covenant essentially foresaw (Schlesinger Jr., 1995). This provision, which Wilson regarded as the core of the League of Nations, was heavily opposed by Congress and, eventually, became the reason why the United States' membership in the League was never approved (Tucker, 1993).

While Wilson's plans for the post-war global order and his Fourteen Points might have failed to meaningfully involve the United States in a multilateral framework of collective security and reform the character of the international so as to avoid a future war[301], they still represent an important turning point in America's approach to international affairs. As discussed in the next section, Wilson was not the last President to advance a vision of a multilateral system and his ideas later inspired others to fight, in their own way, for a rules-based international order.

Multilateralism and collective security after the Second World War

America's retreat into isolationism after Woodrow Wilson's failure to reform the nature and structure of the institutional system did not result in the total abandonment of the President's ambitions and ideals of a multilateral world order. Instead, as Ikenberry (2009a) argues, Wilson's vision was expanded and built on by his successors who also sought to shape the world system. As in the previous World War, America had remained neutral in the second conflict that tore Europe apart. However, the Pearl Harbor attacks quickly prompted the country to abandon its isolationist stance, vindicating the American participation in the war and, consequently, in the following post-war period. Following Wilson's footsteps and inspired by his experience during and after the First World War, then President Franklin D. Roosevelt also had a plan for a post-war world order (Ikenberry, 2009b).

As Wilson, Roosevelt sought to build a system in which countries would cooperate to ensure the maintenance of peace and the openness of trade (Ikenberry, 2011). Nevertheless, this plan was informed by the failure of the League of Nations and, as Ikenberry (2009b) states, notwithstanding its ideals, it was injected with "a bit more realism", which foresaw a central role for the great powers in enforcing the global order (p. 76). Through the Atlantic Charter, which set out the Allied vision for a peaceful post-war world, as well as the series of international conferences at Bretton Woods, Dumbarton Oaks, San Francisco etc., which elaborated the international architecture and machinery meant achieve to the postwar objective of peace and institutional relationships, Roosevelt, and later Truman, led the construction of a reformed world order (Schlesinger Jr., 1995; Thompson, 2010; Ikenberry, 2009b). Over the course of these conferences four major international institutions, which still play an important role in today's international system, were created: the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization (Hillman, 2010). Their

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[301] Despite some initial successes of the League of Nations it later proved unable to avoid the Second World War and ensure its members' commitments to collective security (Pedersen, 2007).

rationale, as Wilson's, was to find a way to end wars and lead the world towards times of lasting peace, but they also represented an updated and expanded vision in a variety of ways, reinforcing the importance of free trade, the welfare system and the global multilateral architecture (Ikenberry, 2009a; Thompson, 2010).

Roosevelt acknowledged the leading role taken by the United States in the construction of this new world order, however he still envisioned it as one to be collectively run (Ikenberry, 2009b). Nevertheless, as postwar fragilities in Europe and the ascendance of the Soviet Union became clear, the quest for a multilateral order took a different direction and, under President Truman, its Atlantic dimensions gained traction (Alessandri, 2015). Accordingly, with the development of the Cold War, multilateral efforts gained a Western foundation and, as Ikenberry (2009b) argues, "shifted from Wilsonian collective security to alliance security built around democratic solidarity within the Atlantic region" (pp. 76-77). Attachment to the United Nations remained, however, with the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), American efforts shifted towards a "less universal conception of collective security" as the one initially foreseen by Wilson (Thompson, 2010, p. 43). With the creation of NATO, Atlantic connections and their defensive commitments were institutionalized, advancing the notion of a Western core that stood together in its fight for a rules-based, liberal global order. Despite being less universal than Wilson's and even Roosevelt's post-war vision, NATO represented a move towards more explicit commitments to collective security, a partnership that entailed concrete obligations (Ikenberry, 2009b). Rising tensions originating from the Cold War resulted in a practically impotent Security Council, rendered oblivious by the possibility of a Soviet veto and, thus, NATO was seen as the channel through which true collective security could be realized (Thompson, 2010).

Tensions and the future of multilateralism

This paper has explored the origins of the development of a rules-based international order, which has characterized no only international affairs but also transatlantic relations since the beginning of the First World War. While Wilson envisioned an ambitious post-war order based on the principles of multilateralism and collective security, his plans succumbed and failed to avoid the outbreak of a Second World War. However, as the previous paragraphs illustrate, the period after the Second World War and the Cold War era saw a renewed focus on the construction of a stable and peaceful global order. While American-led efforts initially pursued a more global understanding of its vision for the post-war order, the Cold War soon pushed it into a more Atlantic and Western approach, which focused on the establishment and

deepening of an Atlantic Alliance in opposition to the threats posed by the Soviet Union. As Wilson, Roosevelt realized the importance of building a multilateral, rules-based order for the maintenance of peace and the avoidance of further conflicts as the two World Wars, and the United States, in cooperation with European countries, managed to put a complex multilateral architecture in place, which has constituted an important dimension of the transatlantic relationship.

The 1990's and the end of the 20th century represented a victorious moment for the Wilsonian vision of world order: the Cold War ended, the rules of institutions had been strengthened over the years, NATO was expanding and democracies were flourishing. However, despite the importance of the development of a rules-based international order for the mitigation of future wars, the end of the Cold War revealed underlying tensions, which have since threatened the success of this global order. As the previous section has shown, the United States and the European Union had developed a strongly Atlantic and Western kind of multilateralism and world order faced with the dangers posed by the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Once the Cold War threat was gone and this reality extended to the larger global system, the problem of how to integrate these new countries and realities arose (Ikenberry, 2009a). New dynamics and shifts in the global system resulted in the emergence of new powers which have challenged and contented the Western led world order, presenting alternative rules and visions of a different international system (Alessandri, 2015). Besides this, at an institutional level, resistance to reform as well as deadlocks have cast a shadow over the existing multilateral organizations and jeopardized their effectiveness, resulting, for example, in countries' pursuance of alternative, often unilateral, roots, which ultimately undermine the rules-based international order. The United Sates have been no exception in this, having favored international action based on coalitions of the willing instead of resorting to the existing multilateral organizations or, more recently, actively opposing multilateral solutions to global problems.

The project of developing a rules-based international order has evolved over the past century and created a fundamental dimension of transatlantic relations. As it is currently facing threats, not only presented by a shifting global order with multiple loci of power and influence but also by a decreasing commitment by the United Sates to operate under the multilateral architecture and system, the transatlantic partnership should strengthen its efforts to consolidate a rules-based international order that accommodates the different tensions and challenges which have arose in the past years. While it might be true that the circumstances in which the post-war international system were quite unique, this does not mean that transatlantic support for a multilateral world order should fade away. Instead, as champions of the multilateral global

order and remembering the wars that were fought before its existence, the Atlantic partners should renew its commitment to this important dimension of its relationship and, together, generate solutions to the many challenges we face in our current times. As Ikenberry (2015) argues, the "multilateral organization of the global system remains important because, in the final analysis, there are not really any good alternative options. (…) The benefits that states gain from operating in an open system outweigh the costs of multilateral governance" (p.413).

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RADAR 6

The Impact of West German Ostpolitik in the Transatlantic Relations

Laura Skana

Historical Context

The historical context of international relations in the 1960's and especially the situation in Europe is well known. The end of World War II, came with the division of Germany in Western and Soviet zones in 1945. The latter was a consequence of deeper differences in the international system, specifically the ideological point of view regarding government and economy between the US and USSR. During the postwar years American Foreign policy aimed at spreading democracy across the globe. On the meantime the USSR wanted to establish and consolidate more pro-Soviet/communist governments throughout Eastern Europe. Having been invaded by Germany twice in the last fifty years, the Soviet Union needed a strong border against the recurrent threat. So once again Europe found itself in the middle of a new war, namely the 'Cold War'. The characteristics of the latter are well known as it was filled with geopolitical tension caused by the probability of a nuclear war. With Germany separated, the western part of Europe was under liberal influence while the eastern part under communist domination. Strategies such as Ostpolitik hold little relevance in the modern order of International Relations however, they helped shape the liberal world order as we know it today. Specifically, Ostpolitik meant a normalization of relations in Europe especially between West and East Germany via the détente approach. 'Change by rapprochement' meant to re-establish relations with countries from the Soviet bloc in order to avoid further conflict. Willy Brandt was the main actor of Germany's Ostpolitik in 1969-1974, time during which he was chancellor. However, the politics of détente were not a Willy Brandt exclusive. In 1959 in an ongoing conflict regarding the American, British and French forces in East Berlin and Khrushchev's dissatisfaction with this fact, the US Secretary of States Dulles suggested to Adenauer to try and conduct a more open dialogue with the Eastern States[302]. In 1962, during the Cuban Missile Crisis which could escalate to a nuclear war, US President Kennedy would come to the same conclusion. However, Brandt can be seen as the one to actually formalize the politics of détente with treaties and consistent communication. During the same period, President Nixon was trying to conclude his own détente, which is what stirred the transatlantic relations of 1969-1974.

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[302] Adenaur, K. *Erinnerungen* (Frankfurt a.M: Fischer B¸cherei 1967), 466-467.

During 1961 when Brandt was still mayor of Berlin, the Berlin division crisis took place and the Western allies were nowhere to be found. This proved to Brandt that US foreign policy goals no longer contributed to Germany's reunification. At this time Brandt's Ostpolitik emerged, while realizing that no one would protect Germany's interests if they did not overlap with their own. It also changed his rhetoric as before he seemed in favor of linking the issue of German re-unification with the idea of improved relations between the US and the USSR, but slowly he tried to create linkage between Ostpolitik with the idea of European Unity. In 1969, the Social Democratic Party (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*, **SPD**), led by Brandt, won the elections. Brandt became chancellor and launched a new direction for Germany's foreign policy, more specifically with the famous 'Ostpolitik' (eastern policy), which started to normalize relations with Soviet bloc countries.[303] In 1969 in his statement before the Bundestag[304] he expressed the linkage of Ostpolitik with the greater European interest and development. This was regarded the main important element of Ostpolitik, which was the attempt to remove the focus from the superpower conflict towards a European peace order. However, it was also seen as a shift away from the transatlantic community, which brought mixed emotions in the US and had an impact in the transatlantic relations.

Divergence of Opinions in the Transatlantic community

In the same period that Brandt was chancellor in Germany, Nixon was holding the Presidency of the US and working towards his own goals and interests. He was well-known for his Cold War mentality and mistrust of the communist east, so it is only predictable that West Germany's approach to East Germany and consequently the Soviet Union were not his dearest strategy. Nixon's approach towards the USSR was characterized by the need to prove American superiority. He pushed forward the ideas that peace had come as a consequence of this superiority and that the USSR was threatening it with their nuclear developments. This went head to head with Brandt's novelties in military de-escalation. The US and Germany held different positions in trade relations as well, as Nixon only sought trade under limited conditions while Brandt encouraged it as a political weapon. Nixon saw the Soviet Union as an aggressive power and the use of détente only to sustain the conflict, while Brandt tried to use it to push the German reunification forward. Since the Berlin crisis, Brandt saw the US as unwilling to defend Germany's interest but focus on its own self-interest, which pushed him to pursue an even more independent Ostpolitik. This was justified with the need for a shift to a European framework.[305] The idea was that a European peace order would start from close cooperation on cultural, economic and political levels of Eastern and Western Europe.

[303] Britanica et al., *Ostpolitik,* retrieved from https://www.britannica.com/event/Ostpolitik
[304] *Statement of Willy Brandt before the Bundestag,* (1969), retrieved from https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1999/1/1/ad70d046-ab2d-463a-bf8e-9391078d25f9/publishable_en.pdf.
[305] Werner L. *Richard Nixon's détente and Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik*, (2005), 49 retrieved from http://etd.library.vanderbilt.edu/available/etd-07122005-122448/unrestricted/Politics_and_Economic_Diplomacy.pdf.

Consequently, this had potential to bring the German reunification that Brandt was after. This approach contradicted Nixon's views on cooperation with the communists as he believed that they would only use peace to further their ideology.[306] Before Brandt, the US had been pushing for détente in Europe, however the individual path that Brandt took was not appreciated by the Americans. Germany's rapprochement towards the Soviet Union was based on the fact that any change in Germany would have to come from Moscow. They left behind the Hallstein[307] approach and tried to cater to the current political reality. As Brandt main policy adviser Bahr put it, there was a need to recognize the European status quo and the division of Germany. On the other hand, the US government was not on board because of everything that could go wrong in this shift of policies in Germany. The US and Germany had not only different aims, but different means of achievement. The Americans saw Ostpolitik as a challenge to transatlantic relations and their own role in détente policies. Nevertheless, there was no real public criticism of West Germany's new approach towards the East because of the sensitive issue of German re-unification. In between the Nixon's administration there were differences of opinions towards Brandt's Ostpolitik. Nixon, as explained above, held different views over the relations with the Soviet Union but his national security adviser and secretary of state Kissinger had a more supportive approach towards Germany's Ostpolitik. Nixon's entire relationship with Brandt started on the wrong foot as he called his electoral opponent Kiesinger on Germany's election night. Furthermore, as his presidency ended in resignation over the Watergate Scandal, multiple tapes circulated where his comments about Brandt and his Ostpolitik were not pleasant. However, these sentiments were not in the official discourse of the US government, which gave a push to Brandt's Ostpolitik. As Brandt's took a more independent route from the US in relation to the Soviet Union, Kissinger's approach changed. One example is the meeting between the heads of the two German states, which went against the American advice as it was seen in a number of memos.[308] Kissinger had stated that what made him nervous about Germany's new route was the fact that the Soviets and East Germany seemed willing to get the ball rolling in negotiations with West Germany.[309] The fear of German nationalism was still fresh at the time, and it was argued to be a plausible consequence of Ostpolitik. In general, the US government underrated the German capabilities of going forward and achieve what they were set to achieve with Ostpolitik.[310]

Outcomes of Ostpolitik

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[306] IBID. p. 50.
[307] *The Hallstein Doctrine*- was the former foreign policy approach of Western Germany that concluded non-establishment of diplomatic relations between the FRG and any state that recognized GDR (East Germany).
[308] Kissinger H. *White House Years*, (Phoenix 2000), 530.
[309] Memo, Kissinger, 20 Oct. 1969, NARA, NPMP, NSC, box 682
[310] Kissinger H. *White House Years*, (Phoenix 2000), 409–11.

What is regarded as the official launch of Ostpolitik, is the signing of the Treaty of Moscow[311] on 12 August 1970, with the USSR. With that Brandt renounced the use of force and recognized the current European borders by leaving so behind (temporarily), the notion of a unified Germany. The treaty relevance was not only because of its aims but also because its provisions contributed to the future Helsinki Act of 1975. It marked the start of Ostpolitik from Germany but also a new era for European politics. Respect for the inviolability of the frontiers of Europe including the Oder-Neisse Line was the main element and probably the most important one, taking into account the situation in Europe. This initiative brought attention to Brandt's Ostpolitik and he was seen as the leader of the détente approach, a role that the Nixon administration thought they should have. Despite his mistrust of Brandt's action, Nixon would not openly oppose Ostpolitik, since its final aim was German reunification. Consequently, Brandt got the US blessing shortly after he became chancellor.[312] Nevertheless, taking the state of IR during the Cold War, rapprochement to the Soviet Union was not the optimal solution the US had in mind for its allies. The Soviet's 'split level policy' did not help the situation. What was called 'smiles for Europe, frowns for Washington', meant continuing cooperation with Western Europe while remaining hostile towards the US. Despite the latter, Germany continued its advances towards the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe at the expense of the transatlantic relationship.

After the treaty of Moscow came the treaty of Warsaw, signed in 1970 by West Germany and Poland. It recognized Poland's new frontiers and accepted a non-aggression pact. The recognition of the Order-Neisse line border was the most important detail, which was a repetition of the Moscow Treaty. The Warsaw treaty got a lot of attention because of the famous kneeling moment of Brandt in front of the Jewish Ghetto memorial. A clear indirect move of the US government to show they were not on board with Germany's Ostpolitik during this period was the organization of a meeting with politicians well-known for their criticism on Ostpolitik. This was organized on the same day that the Treaty of Warsaw was signed.[313]

In the long route to German reunification, Brandt pushed for the idea two German states but only one nation. In 1971 the Four-Power Agreement was signed which contained provisions for easy cross-border movement and also ensured rights to West Berliners going East. On a later date a Transit Traffic Agreement provided use of access routes to Berlin Between the FRG and GDR.[314]

What followed was the signing of the Basic Treaty[315] in 1972, which established relations between West (FRG) and East Germany (GDR). This was a turning point, given that before West Germany had denied even the existence of the East German Government.

[311] *The Moscow Treaty,* (1970) retrieved from https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1999/1/1/d5341cb5-1a49-4603-aec9-0d2304c25080/publishable_en.pdf

[312] Joseph C.H. *Christian Science Monitor* (1970), 23.

[313] Juneau J-F. *The limits of linkage: The Nixon Administration and Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik, 1969-72,* (Routledge: The international History Review 2011), 285.

[314] Vivekanandan B. *Global Visions of Olof Palme, Bruno Kreisky and Willy Brandt,* (Palgrave Macmillian 2016), 209.

[315] *The Basic Treaty,* (1972) retrieved from https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1999/1/1/3b9b9f0d-6910-4ca9-8b12-accfcb91d28e/publishable_en.pdf

Negotiations were opened to normalize relations between the two German states. The treaty set up permanent missions and established the ground for the future cooperation of the two German states. With Ostpolitik underway, West Germany had a broader margin for maneuver in East Germany. This decreased dependence on the US and made way for Bonn to focus on German interests without being persuaded by the US.[316]

The gradual change in relations between Eastern and Western Europe at the time was exemplified with the Moscow Treaty, the Four-Power Agreement, the Warsaw and the Basic Treaty.[317] These initiatives made cooperation possible and brought a change in attitude. Differences in the US and Germany's views on Ostpolitik were obvious on the issue of the Conference on security and cooperation in Europe, an idea that initially came from the Soviets and was supported by Germany. However, the US dismissed it as an element that could negatively influence the transatlantic relationship. In time, NATO supported the latter conference with the condition of progress in the negotiation between Bonn and Moscow regarding the Berlin issue.

During this entire period, the formal US discourse on Germany's Ostpolitik was positive and not made out to distress the transatlantic relationship. Researches from the Bureau of Intelligence and Research at the department of State or from the policy planning staff at the State Department came to the conclusions that normalization of West Germany relations with the East would complement the US approach to the Soviets.[318] The US embassy in Bonn welcomed the new approach as well and claimed that improved relations in Europe are in American interest.[319] The Americans were aware of the damage that opposing Ostpolitik could bring to the transatlantic relations. West Germany could go into negotiations on their own and the Americans would be left completely out of the loop and therefore would not have the position they wanted. Nevertheless, the fast pace of Bonn's actions towards the East was disturbing, as the US was not making much progress in their negotiations and also their other affairs such as arms limitations, Vietnam or China. Furthermore, West Germany's Ostpolitik was considered as a regional détente which risked putting US efforts at global détente on the backburner. The US government with Nixon leading it saw an opportunity to impact Ostpolitik when the latter turned its focus to the Berlin issue after 1971. By not opposing openly Ostpolitik, the US brought a taste of Realpolitik as they aimed to include themselves and get out what they could from it when the moment was right. Furthermore, the Americans used their favorite trend at the time, that of linkage, and tried to link the Berlin issue with negotiations related to ABM (Anti-Ballistic Missiles) or SALT (Strategic Arms limitations Talks).[320] Therefore, their approach to Ostpolitik started changing slowly as they saw that it had given them leverage in their own negotiations. So, in the end it was seen that the US got what it

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[316] Germond B et al., *The Routledge Handbook of Transatlantic Security,* (Routledge 2010)

[317] Vivekanandan B. *Global Visions of Olof Palme, Bruno Kreisky and Willy Brandt,* (Palgrave Macmillian 2016), 214.

[318] Juneau J-F. *The limits of linkage: The Nixon Administration and Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik, 1969-72,* (Routdlege: The international History Review 2011), 280.

[319] Embassy at Bonn to State Department, 11 April 1968, NARA, RG 59, CF, box 2136

[320] Juneau J-F. *the limits of linkage: The Nixon Administration and Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik, 1969-72,* (Routdlege: The international History Review 2011), 287.

needed from German Ostpolitik, despite having limited influence on its course. The Soviet-American agreement Basic Principles of Relations of 1972, brought strengthening of economic ties as an important element of the US - Soviet Union bilateral relations.[321] In the Moscow Summit of 1972 the ABM Treaty and the SALT treaty were signed, between the US and USSR. These followed with other initiatives and treaties all thought possible because the change in attitudes that West Germany's Ostpolitik launched. The most important one is the Helsinki Final Act 1975, signed by European countries alongside Canada and the US, which was seen as a turning point in the history of Europe. It was no other than the Security and Cooperation Conference that Brandt had pushed in NATO for years. Germany's Ostpolitik was considered a main contributor to it, because of the treaties achieved in the former years.

Conclusion

The main objective of Ostpolitik was to promote people to people contact in a divided Germany and promote peace and cooperation between a divided Europe. It promoted understanding and cooperation in a systematic way in order to avoid a third World War and ideally achieve peace and reunification in Europe. To achieve this peace there was a need for different action in different spheres starting with recognition of borders and pacts of non-aggression and continue with trade. From the official start of Ostpolitik in 1970 with the Moscow Treaty, Brandt and the Bonn Government had quite some achievement to be proud for. The most important being the Warsaw Treaty, The Four-Power Agreement and the Basic Treaty. The success of Germany's Ostpolitik was not only illustrated in the treaties but other events such as Brezhnev's visit in Bonn in 1973. By only analyzing official documents it might be hard to conclude that there were disagreements in the transatlantic relations, specifically between Germany and the US. Nevertheless, there is a long line of memoirs, correspondence and indirect criticism of Germany's Ostpolitik from the US. Except for the overall atmosphere of International Relations during the Cold War, there was a difference in ideology and approaches between the US and Germany. Germany's Ostpolitik followed the rapprochement path by trying to normalize the tensions within Europe with different means such as by accepting borders, establishing diplomatic relations etc. This was to serve the broader aim of peace in Europe and most importantly German re-unification. However, for the US détente could only be used to sustain the conflict as no substantive cooperation with the communists could be feasible. Nevertheless, it was Brandt's Ostpolitik that paved the way for successful cooperation not only between European Countries but also between the superpowers, for years to come. On 9 November 1989, when Berliners broke in protest and the Wall fell, the Soviets and the Eastern German authorities refrained from using force against them, as they had done before. This was said to have been achieved from Germany's Ostpolitik that Willy Brandt started officially in 1969 and the catalyst it started in the détente politics of Europe. It was illustrated even by Gorbachev's saying that those who did not keep pace with development

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[321] Robert J. Pranger, ed. *Dètente and Defence: A Reader* Washington, (D.C.: American Enterprise Institute 1976), 114.

would be penalized by life. It showed that Ostpolitik became a trend that eventually contributed to the stabilization of relations in Europe and consequently to the end of the Cold War.[322] It also explained how the reluctance of the US in the first phases of Ostpolitik changed into action in the later years, as the benefits of such an approach emerged.

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[322] Vivekanandan B. *Global Visions of Olof Palme, Bruno Kreisky and Willy Brandt, (*Palgrave Macmillian 2016), 211.

An Analytical Portrait of a Leader: Willy Brandt

Marie Brethous (with Laura Skana)

"We want to be and to become a nation of good neighbours, both domestically and abroad."[323]

Willy Brandt, 1969

This paper analyses the leadership of Willy Brandt in his role as mayor of West-Berlin and subsequently Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). This contributes to a wider project, i.e. the transatlantic radar portraying this key player of the Cold War period and his policy of *Ostpolitik*. The transatlantic radar analyses a leader and a policy through a transatlantic lens, in this case the West-German – US relations in the Gold War period. This paper aims at portraying Willy Brandt from his early years until his role as Chancellor of the FRG and show his ever-changing relation to the US and the reason why he turned to the East with his *Ostpolitik*.

From Exile to return: Brandt's early years

Willy Brandt was an "outstanding European social democratic statesman of the twentieth century, whose vision encompassed the welfare of humanity, transcending various cultures and continents" (Vikekanandan, 2016, p. 189). He was born in Lübeck in 1913 and was initially called Herbert Ernst Karl Frahm. Frahm, who became Willy Brandt in his exile, developed an international mind very early on. In his childhood, he was associated with the German Socialist Youth Movement, which led him to become a part of the socialist youth labour movement that enabled him to "widen the horizons of his political outlook, and to become a socially conscious and politically active person" (ibid). He developed a great sense of justice and wanted to reform German politics in order to provide better living standards and civil rights to everyone. As a young man, Brandt continued to be politically affiliated to the

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[323] *Willy Brandt in his first government policy statement in the German Bundestag in Bonn, 28 October 1969*

socialist movement by officially joining the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in 1930, where he soon established the Socialist Worker's Party (SAP) in 1931 (ibid, p.190). One main motivation for creating this 'splinter socialist group' was because the SPD, in Brandt's eyes, failed to face and respond to the rising Nazi movement in his hometown. This made him a target for the local Nazis, which made him flee not only Lübeck but Germany in general after Hitler's rise in 1933. In March of the same year, he adopted the name of Willy Brandt to lower his chances of being recognised when secretly going back to Germany – which he did quite a few times in his exile – to go to underground meetings of the SAP.

During the Third Reich and World War II, Brandt indeed emigrated from Germany to Norway via Denmark to build a resistance network against Hitler and the Nazi regime. He said: "My only choice was external emigration. I took that choice, and I have never regretted it, because it offered me not only the chance to learn, but also the chance to resist" (Brandt, 1971, p.9). This is relevant to understand why his time outside of Germany was so important and, ultimately, shaped him to become the politician that he was.

In Norway

While in Scandinavia, Brandt organised a "German popular front" (Vikekanandan, 2016, p. 191). He was very actively trying to keep contact to Germany, at the risk of his life, and made several undercover visits to Berlin via Oslo, as "a member of the social democratic "underground" in pre-war Berlin" (ibid). In 1936, the Nazi regime stripped Willy Brandt of his German citizenship, making him stateless. Only after the War and upon his return to Germany, was Brandt able to regain his citizenship. This marked a crucial part in his life and shaped his view and European outlook on national policies, as the exile led him to discover other cultures, especially the Norwegian, Swedish and English ones. Other than being a crucial believer in a better and democratic Germany, he also strongly believed in the European project (ibid, p.195). While in Norway, the politician remained the head of the SAP and visited many European Countries before having to move to Sweden after Hitler's invasion of Norway in 1940. Sweden and its 'undogmatic, free and popular social democracy inspired Brandt and thus he merged "his Stockholm SAP group with the local German Social Democratic group in Stockholm and restored his own SPD membership" (ibid, p.191).

Stockholm Socialist Group

In Sweden, Brandt was "heavily involved in organizing an international group of socialists, representing various countries", to meet together and exchange views and experiences (Vikekanandan, 2016, p.192). This forum of European socialists promoted a sense of fellowship among them and understanding of each other's views. Willy Brandt's

international group of socialist exiles from Europe, eminent socialists from Sweden and the United States was known as "The Little International"[324] (ibid). During that time, Brandt published may documents, including the "Peacetime Aims of Democratic Socialists" (ibid, p.192). Its aim was the "post-war reconstruction of countries and their economies and societies" (ibid). Thus, already at the start of Nazi Germany's downfall, Willy Brandt planned its reconstruction – economically, culturally and socially. Not only did he plan this with the help of the European countries, but also with outside actors such as the Americans. Until then, he worked as journalist, making him aware of the international political climate since the beginning of World War II. Until his regain of his German citizenship in 1948, Brandt worked as "press attaché at the Norwegian military mission to the Control Council in Berlin" (ibid, p.193). Since 1946, he had also become very active again in the SPD, his initial political group, of which he became the special representative in 1948. The Berlin Blockade of 1948-1949 marked the true beginning of his involvement in German politics and his engagement with the US. Brandt served on the "SPD Executive during the 1948–1949 Berlin Blockade, was elected to the Berlin City Parliament in 1950, in 1955, he became president of the West Berlin City Parliament, and in 1957, governing mayor of West Berlin" (ibid, p.194).

To sum up his earlier years and the way his exile shaped him and influenced his role as West-German Chancellor, Brandt states:

> "…my years 'outside' had taught me to become a European. I became aware before many others that this continent could not be rebuilt on the decayed foundations of the old order of things: the nation state was a thing of the past…. My concept of the new Europe is far [wider] ranging than that of its founding fathers Robert Schumann, de Gasperi and Adenauer. My years in Scandinavia gave me access to the Anglo-Saxon world…. A political community—whether made up of independent states or a confederation—is unthinkable without Great Britain or our Scandinavian neighbours…. The revitalization of the community spirit in Western Europe and partnership with the United States encouraged us to enter into discussions with Moscow and Eastern Europe, culminating in the signing of the treaty with the Soviet Union, and in parallel agreements with Poland and other Warsaw Pact countries; and these agreements move us one stage further towards a secure peace" (Brandt, 1971, p.8-9).

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[324] Countries represented in this group included Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Norway, Palestine, Spain, Sudetenland and Sweden.

Brandt's role in the Cold War

Willy Brandt not only deeply impacted the Nazi resistance movement in his early years but also shaped the US-West German relations in the Cold War and ultimately paved the way for a German Reunification. Brandt's best known policy is the *Ostpolitik*, a "'*Wandel durch Annäherung'* or 'change through rapprochement' policy that would allow West Germany to pursue normalization of relations with the Eastern bloc" (Popovich, 2012, p.7).   Although Brandt was open to and enthusiastic of the reconstruction of West-Germany with the help of the United States, as previously stated, his view changed shortly after the end of the World War II and the beginning of the Cold war. Through this new approach, Brandt began to embrace "a pan-European peace concept and anchored his Westpolitik less and less with the United States and more and more with the European Economic Community" (Lippert, 2011, p.15). Since the 1948 Berlin Blockade and subsequently the building of the Berlin Wall - and the lack of response by the United States - Brandt slowly but surely moved away from the US and developed a more European approach to his policies.

The Ostpolitik was based on three pillars, three main aims that Brandt wanted to achieve: "to keep alive a feeling of national cohesion, 'to atone for the sins of the past…behaviour toward Eastern Europe' and 'to normalize relations with Eastern Europe in general'" (Popovich, 2012, p.8). For Brandt, German reunification was the final goal, but not the immediate means to this end. He envisioned success in the long-term by basing the Federal Republic's Eastern policy on normalization tactics in order to become less independent from the US and create a personal relationship with the East. The bettering of relations between the "Federal Republic of Germany [FRG] and the German Democratic Republic [GDR], Soviet Union, and Soviet satellite states" (ibid, p.8) was the only way Brandt saw to have a German reunification in the future. The politician believed that the division would "not vanish from one day to the next and that as far as [could] be foreseen [would] be overcome only in conjunction with a general improvement of East-West relations in Europe" (ibid).

Mayor of West-Berlin: 1957-1966

Brandt served as Mayor of West Berlin from 1957 until 1966. Although he was part of the SPD early on, "he shared many of the foreign policy ideas of the Christian Democratic Party, and Chancellor Adenauer, the "dream partner" of the United States" (Popovich, 2012, p.10). As mayor, Brandt was labelled as a 'right-wing' leader of the SPD who was "pro-American, anti-Communist, and an advocate of the status quo in Central Europe" (ibid), similar to then Chancellor Adenauer. However, as the events and Cold War went on, with the building of the Wall, the strengthening of Communism and lack of response from the US, Brandt changed his opinions, came up with the *Ostpolitik* and distanced himself from the Alliances

with the United States and NATO. Indeed, the Mayor especially struggled with the building of the Berlin Wall. The "lack of support he felt from US President Kennedy and the United States" deeply upset him (ibid, p.11). The US was slow to respond to the Soviet action and Brandt felt that they should have responded much sooner, and in not doing so, "the US leaders had neglected one of their closest allies in the Berliners" (ibid). What is significant, is that this crisis destroyed the paradigm that had "bolstered German-American post-war relations, namely America's role as the advocate of West German military and political interests in international diplomacy, in return for the FRG being a loyal ally of the United States" (Lippert, 2005, p.29). The crisis of confidence truly marked the beginning of Brandt's changing mentality and the informal setting-up of his *Ostpolitik*. As mentioned in Brandt's *People and Politics*, the politician recalled:

> "I said later that in August 1961 a curtain was drawn aside to revel an empty stage. To put it more bluntly, we lost certain illusions that had outlived the hopes underlying them…[East German leader, Walter] Ulbricht had been allowed to take a swipe at the Western superpower, and the United States merely winced with annoyance. My political deliberations in the years that followed were substantially influenced by the day's experience, and it was against this background that my so-called Ostpolitik—the beginning of détente—took shape (Brandt, 1976, p.20).

The Election of 1969: How Brandt became Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany
Between 1966 and 1969, Brandt moved from being Mayor of West Berlin to be the Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs as well as Vice Chancellor of the FRG. During the 1969 elections, no single German party won the absolute majority, although the Christian Democratic Party (CDU) came the closest with "242 seats of the 496 seats in the Bundestag, just 7 seats shy of the required majority" (Popovich, 2012, p.56). The CDU had won the election but was 7 seats short of the majority in the Bundestag. Thus, the SPD, Brandt's party, which had won the second largest number of seats formed a coalition with the smaller liberal FDP party and was appointed as chancellor on 22 October 1969. This was to the surprise of Nixon, who, confused about the results, called Brandt's rival Kiesinger to congratulate him on his win. This is a clear indicator of the relationship between Brandt and President Nixon, which had diverging views on the FRG's role in the Cold War and the influence of the US on the West German Chancellor. After taking office at the end of 1969, "the coalition government between the (SPD) and the (FDP) headed by Willy Brandt finally initiated a policy of détente and rapprochement with the East: a new Ostpolitik" (Juneau, 2001, p.279). During this time, Brandt could officially implement his *Ostpolitik*, and showed a choice to make a historic step towards the USSR and the East over close relations with the United States.

Brandt's Ostpolitik and its impact on relations with the USA

Rather than being subservient to American diplomatic initiatives, West Germany, under Foreign Minister and later Chancellor Willy Brandt's leadership, "chose to implement its own détente with the Communist bloc in pursuit of German national interests" (Lippert, 2005, p. 2). Due to the FRG's economic position in Western Europe, Chancellor Brandt planned and was able to uphold a good relationship with East- Germany through his *Ostpolitik* by using "trade deals and economic policies with the states in the Soviet bloc" (Popovich, 2012, p. 8), beginning with the Soviet Union. Thus, Brandt exploited the only point of leverage that he could with all of the parties involved: The FRG's newly prosperous economic position. After the War, the FRG was heavily dependent on the Allies, especially the United States. The US "contributed to the defeat of Hitler, helped establishing the [FRG] (by providing resources and assistance to rebuild not only the country but also the economy. [T]he US also provided troops to safeguard the security and democracy of the [FRG]" from the Communist Bloc (ibid, p.10). Hence, the FRG was indebted and heavily dependent on the US, and relations with the latter were indispensable. However, as mentioned in the first section, Brandt slowly distanced himself from the US (first from President Kennedy and then from President Nixon) because of a feeling of lack of commitment and action against the spread of Communism and the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, until the 1960's Brandt knew that it was "important for the international reputation and future prosperity of the [FRG] to follow the foreign policy lead of the United States" (ibid). This changed after the building of the Wall, when the FRG clearly distanced itself from the US. The West Germans led by Brandt realised they had followed the "lead of the United States, only to have their own foreign policy goals neglected or tarnished for the proceeding years" (ibid).

Form the building of the Berlin Wall to the Implementation of the Ostpolitik

Willy Brandt was mayor of Berlin when the Soviet Union built the Berlin Wall in August 1961 to divide the city. The new Berlin crisis kept Brandt "in the centre of bloc politics and superpower relations and he remained the focus of the attention of major power" (Vikekanandan, 2016, p.201). Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik* was born out of a realization that the key to peace in Germany "lay not only in Bonn's association with the NATO security system [led by the United States], but also in the simultaneous establishment of a good and healthy relationship with the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe" (ibid, p.198). After the beginning of the Berlin Wall's construction, US President John F. Kennedy refused to invoke the "Four-Power Agreements on Berlin to stop the construction of the Wall, as requested by Willy Brandt. This left a deep imprint in Brandt's mind" (ibid). The then Mayor

of West-Berlin was disenchanted with Kennedy's cool response, which led him to re-assess the whole situation in Germany and Europe and to launch his Ostpolitik. Washington's "refusal to assert the four-power responsibility for the whole of Berlin, and its refusal to take counter-measures was an eye-opener for Willy Brandt" (ibid). It made him

> "realize that we could expect nothing from the Americans, or indeed from the Western powers as a whole, other than… the four-power status… the Allied presence in Berlin, access to it, and securing the liberties of its citizens", (Brandt, 1994, p.49).

From that US response, Brandt realized that America was neither "all- powerful nor willing" to take risks for the people of Berlin, and that, if anything was to be done for "his people, the divided city, the divided country and the divided continent, he would have to do it himself, and by directly dealing with Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union" (Vikekanandan, 2016, p.201). The building of the Wall marked the beginning of the try for détente with the East, through a personal approach and 'small step policies' i.e. "allowing a few citizens with relatives on the other side of the Berlin Wall to meet relatives for a day or two during the Christmas holidays, New Year's Day, and so on, on payment of a fee" (ibid). The Cold War, the lack of support of the US and the rise of the Communist regime in East Germany made it imperative for Brandt to work towards peaceful coexistence with the East. Indeed, Brand stated that "[w]e needed a policy of taking peaceful risks, a non-violent change in the conflict" (ibid, p.200). This was the cornerstone of Ostpolitik.

To briefly conclude, Willy Brandt was not only an important politician in West-Germany but also played a pivotal role in the Cold War. His perception of transatlantic relations with the USA changed over the course of the conflict and the fight against Communism, leading him to step away from the liberal leadership of the United States and opening a dialogue with East-Germany and Communist Bloc. His *Ostpolitik* paved the way to the German Reunification, a historical event that not even Brandt dared dreaming of, which happened on 9 November 1989.

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RADAR 8

Transatlantic Radar: The French Influence on the American Revolution

Benjamin Hightower

Early Colonization- European Rivalries

The first "Europeans" to discover the Americas were the Vikings in the 11th century, colonizing Greenland and some areas of Newfoundland. Yet many credit the Spanish explorer Christopher Columbus with the first discovery and colonization of the Americas in 1492, initially beginning in the Caribbean Islands and then extending into North America and South America. The period following this initial discovery is referred to as the Columbian Exchange. Goods, as well as diseases, all crossed the Atlantic Ocean between the continents. Unfortunately, it was the European states that gained more from this relationship, as the settlers in North America were destructive to both the land and the people originally inhabiting the region.

Conquests in the region were first made by the Spanish and the Portuguese, and in 1494 the Treaty of Tordesillas was ratified by the Pope, which divided the Americas between themselves. Other nations, however, were unhappy with the Treaty as they were not part of it, and so countries like England and France began to colonize the Americas in the 16th century. It wasn't until the 17th century that England and France, as well as the Netherlands actually succeeded in establishing permanent colonies on the continent. The early possessions of North America by Europe included Spain in Florida, England in Virginia and New England, French in Acadia and Canada, the Dutch in New Netherland, and the Swedish in New Sweden. Simultaneously, Russia was slowly colonizing Alaska.[325]

France initially attempted to colonize the Eastern Coast of North America in the early 16th century but failed. With time, however, the French were able to secure sound settlements in Newfoundland and Louisiana. Then, by the middle of the 18th century, the French were settled all over the continent, with settlements in the center of North America, down to the southern coast, which included many of the continent's important bodies of water like the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River. France also had possession of nearly half of modern day Canada. This land possessed by the French was known as New France. The British, on the

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[325] "European Colonization of the Americas - New World Encyclopedia." Accessed May 13, 2018. http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/European_Colonization_of_the_Americas.

other hand, had much less territory than the French, yet the territory was extremely close to France's, thus leading to heightened tensions between the two nations.[326]

The American Revolution

In the 17th century, the colonies of the Americas were established by Great Britain to harvest materials like lumber, fir and fish. There were three types of governments in the colonies, including Royal colonies, Proprietary colonies, and Charter colonies. The royal colonies were governed by a royal governor appointed by the English monarchy. Propriety colonies were owned by a person or family who were given full ownership by the English government. The Charter colonies were owned by businesses but were required to have laws closely aligned with English law. [327]

This period of self-governance of the colonies has been commonly referred to as the period of Salutary Neglect. This period would last from the early 1700s until 1763, at the end of the French and Indian War. This war, also known as the Seven Year's War, lasting from 1756 to 1763, occurring between France and Britain, resulted in the French defeat and surrender of much of the French territories within North America. This surrender of territory left France with a deep desire to regain the lost territory, as well as secure a victory over the British, resulting in a reassertion of dominance. Although the war left Britain with a significant amount of territory, it resulted in the country struggling financially due to the expenses of war and the need to manage its newly acquired territory. Due to this financial struggle, Great Britain began passing a series of taxes in order to generate revenue, which was a significant source of discord in the American colonies. [328]

One of the biggest of these new taxes was the Stamp Act, which was passed by the British Government in 1765. The intention of the tax was to allow the government to collect revenue on legal documents, magazines and newspapers, in order to finance the British troops within the colonies as well as manage the debt which was heavily affecting the British government at the time due to the French and Indian War. The Tea Act in 1773 was enacted as well which allowed the financially troubled British East India Company to ship its tea to North America, duty free, while still taxing the colonists who accepted it. These acts infuriated the colonists, as they had no voice in the taxes that were put in place and could not have a say in how they were spent. Thus, in 1773, a group of colonists threw the British Tea Cargo into the Boston Harbor in revolt against the tea act and other imposing laws enacted by the British government on the colonies. In response to this momentous event, the British parliament passed

[326] "The American Revolution." French Revolution, April 10, 2015. http://alphahistory.com/frenchrevolution/american-revolution/.
[327] Brooks, Rebecca Beatrice. "The 13 Colonies in the Revolutionary War." *History of Massachusetts* (blog), December 12, 2017. http://historyofmassachusetts.org/13-colonies-revolutionary-war/.
[328] "The American Revolution." French Revolution, April 10, 2015. http://alphahistory.com/frenchrevolution/american-revolution/.

the Intolerable Acts, which closed the Boston Harbor until the colonies could pay for the destroyed tea cargo, which made the legal accountability of British officials more difficult, severely limited colonial political autonomy, and extended the Quebec province lands into some of the lands which were claimed by American colonists.

In 1774, on September 5, a group of delegates from the 12 colonies met at the First Continental Congress in order to discuss how they should respond to these imposing acts by the British government. The colonies thus began a boycott of British goods and stopped all exports to Great Britain. The First Continental Congress coordinated the boycott against the British government, and when the colonists' demands were not met, the Second Continental Congress was established, ushering in the beginning of the American war of independence.[329] Due to the growing discontent with the British government in the American colonies, on April 18th of 1775, the British governor of Massachusetts sent hundreds of troops to seize the colonists' military supplies at Concord. In response, a group of militia men assembled in Lexington in order to prevent the British from seizing the military stores. After a losing a fight in Concord, they eventually were able to stop the British troops and force them to withdraw to Boston. Thus ensued the beginning of the American Revolutionary War.[330]

The French Influence

During the months leading up to the American Revolution, Americans were hopeful of European aid in their endeavors, specifically that of the French. This partnership, however, was not as logical at the time. The French were ruled by an absolute monarch, and thus, the idea of colonies revolting against an overseas government was one of worry for the French government. There was very little sympathy with claims of no representation within a government, as the French did not have representation either. The French were also a predominately catholic nation, and thus, the protestant colonies, moving against the Church of England, was met with little sympathy as well. Nevertheless, many attest the French involvement in the war to the fact that the French had just suffered a severe defeat by the British in the Seven Years' War and had lost much of its land in North America as a result of the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Thus, the French saw opportunity within the American revolution to regain some power over the British government, as well as potentially regain some of the lost territory. Thus, the French Duc de Choiseul planned for French domination by suggesting aid to the American colonies against the British, as well as suggesting an alliance with Spain to assert dominance over the British Navy.[331]

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[329] Brooks, Rebecca Beatrice. "The 13 Colonies in the Revolutionary War." *History of Massachusetts*, December 12, 2017. http://historyofmassachusetts.org/13-colonies-revolutionary-war/.
[330] Ibid.
[331] Wilde, Robert. "The Role of France in the American Revolutionary War." ThoughtCo. Accessed May 15, 2018. https://www.thoughtco.com/france-american-revolutionary-war-1222026.

In order to coordinate this aid from European allies, the Second Continental Congress established the Secret committee of Correspondence in November of 1775 in order to make known their cause within Europe. This committee was created with the goal of coordination of diplomacy and communication across the Atlantic. The congress was to communicate with "friends in… other parts of the world." Within this committee were John Jay, Thomas Jefferson, John Dickinson, Thomas Johnson, Benjamin Franklin, and Benjamin Harrison. The committee conducted affairs such as diplomacy, arms shipments, and similar activities. Later, when the tasks of the committee were expanding, it was renamed the Committee for Foreign Affairs. Of the most active members was Benjamin Franklin, who rallied the support of the American cause abroad. Franklin sent letters to both the Spanish, and the French, encouraging them to aid the Americans in revolution against the British government. When a French official by the name of Achard de Bonvouloir came to Philadelphia, Franklin convinced him to report back to the French government, asking them for an alliance once the colonies declared independence and to provide them with secret assistance until the declaration.[332]

Another important member of this committee was Arthur Lee, who was a Virginian living in London, and was later appointed as the commissioner of the secret committee. Lee had contact with a French playwright called Beaumarchais, who was a secret French Agent. In fact, Beaumarchais had worked extensively for Louis XVI, for whom he had neutralized a blackmailer against the French monarchy in addition to other jobs. Beaumarchais met Lee at John Wilkes' house, the Lord Mayor of London, where they discussed American independence and the causes of the transatlantic rift, and gradually became more in favor of the American cause, eventually aiding in the shipment of gunpowder and war material to the American revolutionaries.[333] Another important figure in the relation of France to the U.S. revolutionaries was Marquis de Lafayette, who fully embraced enlightenment ideals and joined the U.S. revolutionary effort, sympathizing with their concerns about British rule. Growing close to George Washington, Lafayette quickly rose in leadership in the U.S. army, eventually to command a division in the South. He and other foreign fighters, such as Baron von Steuben from Prussia, played significant roles in the war for American independence.[334]

As America's declaration of independence grew closer, the American revolutionary leaders began to consider the necessity of foreign alliances following their independence and therefore created a committee to draft a model treaty which they would use for all relations with foreign nations. This model was then used by Benjamin Franklin to negotiate an alliance with France in 1776, following the American declaration of independence. The French

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[332] "Milestones: 1776–1783 - Office of the Historian." Accessed May 15, 2018. https://history.state.gov/milestones/1776-1783/secret-committee.

[333] "Beaumarchais and the American Revolution — Central Intelligence Agency." Accessed May 15, 2018. https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol14no1/html/v14i1a01p_0001.htm.

[334] "The Influence of Tadeusz Kosciuszko, Marquis de Lafayette, and Friedrich Von Steuben." Accessed May 18, 2018. http://www.hvmag.com/Hudson-Valley-Magazine/January-2015/The-Influence-of-Tadeusz-Kosciuszko-Marquis-de-Lafayette-and-Friedrich-Von-Steuben/.

approved of the independence as well as the alliance, yet had some hesitations, particularly when General Washington was defeated in New York at the Battle of Long Island.

Nevertheless, American popularity surged in France, largely on the part of Franklin, who was viewed as the pinnacle of honesty in France. Support for the American revolution was high, and thus, France agreed to send the revolutionaries a large sum of money as part of a secret loan. The French entered full support when the British surrendered at the Battle of Saratoga in December of 1777. Following the Surrender, Vergennes, Franklin, Arthur Lee and Silas Deane (the first American diplomat to France) signed the Treaty of Amity and Commerce and the Treaty of Alliance with France on behalf of the newly formed United States. The Treaty of Alliance detailed the new partnership between the two nations, including a clause that forbade the countries from making any peace with Great Britain. The Treaty also played a significant role in promoting trade across the Atlantic.

In the period of 1778 to 1782, the French were significant providers of war time materials to the Americans. French arms, uniforms, troops, supplies, and naval support flooded in to support the American army. French navy ships fought the British fleet and protected American ships off the coast of Virginia.[335] The French, however, were very careful about the troops they sent to North America. The French were hesitant, as they were unsure of how the American troops would react to a foreign army assisting them. Commanders of the French army were selected very carefully as well, being men those who could effectively coordinate with American commanders. Interestingly enough, however, the commander of the French army, by the name of Count Rochambeau, did not speak English.

The French hesitation was later verified in that several problems did exist between the two nations' forces, particularly highlighted at Newport, where the French forces were severely damaged and had to retreat due to poor communications between the armies. Nevertheless, after initial difficulties, the forces cooperated well. In fact, the French forces began buying war materials from the locals in North America, which played a significant role in building the relationship between the locals and the French military. In fact, it is reported that the French spent approximately $4 million in precious metal for these materials.[336]

French Military Support

The French naval support to the U.S. was instrumental in the victory. The Continental Congress created the Continental Navy and the Marine Corps in 1775, yet this new navy was small and not as effective at its start. The French Navy played an important role by keeping the British naval forces preoccupied in Europe during the early stages of the war. Britain, attempting a blockade of European ports and the American coast, was struggling to successfully prevent the passage of European ships to America. By 1779, the French and

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[335] "Milestones: 1776–1783 - Office of the Historian."
[336] Ibid.

Spanish fleets had full possession of the English Channel. The British, nonetheless, maintained control of North America from 1779-1780. The French were eventually able to escape the British blockade and sail to Newport with Rochambeau's army. Instead of trying to block the army's arrival at Newport, British commander Rodney seized a Dutch Island that was a central point for the transfer of war materials from European countries to America, thinking this would be the more effective strategy. Nevertheless, the battle of Newport did not result in a decisive victory and exposed many of the faults of both Navies.

From 1780-1781, more and more French ships were sailing across the Atlantic to aid in the effort. In 1781, Washington requested that French Admiral De Grasse to come to Chesapeake to contribute there. At Chesapeake, De Grasse helped to contain Cornwallis until the arrival of Washington and Rochambeau. British Admiral Graves met De Grasse's navy at Chesapeake, where Graves had 19 ships and De Grasse had 24. The two navies battled off the coast of Virginia, ending in a defeat for the British fleet. At the same time, the Battle at Yorktown was occurring, at which the French and American forces commanded by Rochambeau and Washington, confronted the British forces commanded by Cornwall, leading to the overall British Surrender. Following this battle, Graves returned with more ships and troops to fight the French, however, when word reached him that Cornwallis had surrendered, he quickly withdrew.[337]

Yorktown was the battle that began the peace negotiations with the British government. The French approved a preliminary peace agreement with Britain in 1782. French Foreign minister Vergennes knew about the agreement throughout the whole process, and Franklin even asked for another loan from France during this time, which Vergennes granted. The war was formally ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1783, signed by United States, France, Spain, and Great Britain. France's role in the American revolutionary war would soon prove too costly, however, as its financial and military aid promoted further economic hardship in the country leading to the infamous revolution in 1789.[338]

The Enlightenment

In addition to military and diplomatic roles in the American Revolution, French political philosophers influenced the rise of America political thought as well. Enlightenment ideals brought forth new ideals of the individual's relation to his or her government and the government's relationship to its citizens. French philosopher Montesquieu had a profound impact on the revolution, publishing his work *The Spirit of Laws* in 1748, which espoused that individuals, in their nature, were fearful and avoided war by living in a society. In this work, Montesquieu supported that despotism is best quelled by a system in which power was separated between legislative, judicial, and executive functions of government, and each

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[337] "American Revolution - The War at Sea." Encyclopedia Britannica. Accessed May 15, 2018. https://www.britannica.com/event/American-Revolution.
[338] "Milestones: 1776–1783 - Office of the Historian."

branch checks the other. This balance of power is intended to provide a greater liberty to the individuals living in society. The American colonists and government founders incorporated this enlightenment ideal into government, believing the British government was entirely to powerful and removed from its colonies. His ideals also influenced the U.S. system of government checks and balances.[339]

Rousseau had an impact as well, publishing the Social Contract, which described how a government should exist to protect its citizens. He quotes, "Man was/is born free; and everywhere he is in chains." This idea of government serving the citizens influenced the American revolution, as the colonies did not view the British government as protecting them but impeding their freedom. He supported that citizens exist in a community, equal and free, where they are the sovereign rulers, which of course was contrary to the distant British rule of the colonies.[340] Voltaire, another influential Enlightenment philosopher, defended civil liberties, free trade, and freedom of religion. He sought social reform and spoke against the French monarchy frequently. Although in favor of constitutional monarchy in Britain, many see his contribution to the American revolution and formation of government in the form of the civil rights that he so vehemently supported.[341]

The enlightenment's influence on the revolution and American government is undeniable. It was primarily driven by diplomats, such as Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson had lived in Paris where they were influenced by the enlightenment thought emerging within the upper classes. It was these ideals that inspired hope in the American revolutionaries and led to the creation and structure of American government.

Conclusion

Overall, the French played a significant in the American Revolutionary war. Through the provision of war materials, finances, troops, naval ships, and enlightenment ideals, the French were able to support the Americans in their endeavors against the British and the formation of the United States. Many attribute this support to the French motivation to regain territory and re-assert dominance over the British following the Seven Years' War. Nevertheless, without the support of the French, the newly formed American military would have struggled much more in the face of the well-developed British military. This transatlantic

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[339] Bok, Hilary. "Baron de Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta, Summer 2014. Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2014. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2014/entries/montesquieu/.
[340] Bertram, Christopher. "Jean Jacques Rousseau." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta, Summer 2017. Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2017. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2017/entries/rousseau/.
[341] Boerner, Gerald. "Voltaire & Rousseau: Thinking about the American Revolution." Accessed May 15, 2018. http://glb-thoughts.blogspot.com/2009/06/thinking-about-american-revolution_25.html.

event exemplifies the strong ties that exist across the Atlantic, as Europe has been a significant partner for the U.S. since its founding.

RADAR 9

Al Gore: a portrait of leadership

Danilo Dovgoborets

Al Gore and the European-American divide on climate change

One month before the official release of Al Gore's documentary *An Inconvenient Truth* in May 2006 aiming to raise public awareness on global warming, his character made appearance on Comedy Central cartoons show South Park (April 2006). The former Vice President Gore arrives to the quiet mountain town in Colorado to give lectures in the elementary school about "ManBearPig, half man, half bear, and half pig": A fearsome creature that poses "the single biggest threat to our planet". Gore claims that he is "super cereal" and gets childishly upset when no one believes him. Some of the children feel sorry for him because they think that he doesn't have any friends. They join Gore on a ManBearPig hunt, where his irrational and fanatic behaviour puts them all in danger. Finally, the children admit that they don't believe in ManBearPig and that Gore invented it only because he wanted to feel important again. Gore doesn't seem to care, as he has a new brilliant idea: to produce a movie about himself.

The political parody of South Park is multifaceted. While it targets Gore's character and leadership style, its political humour reflects some idealised and deeply entrenched values of the American conservatives (Tsakona and Popa, 2011: 2-3, 14; Hutcheon, 1995: 100-101). The ironical representation of Gore recycles and reinforces a dominant critical attitude towards global warming. Indeed, this attitude represents a deep split within the American society itself, as well as one of the main stumbling blocks in its relations with Europe (Smith and Steffenson, 2017).

The first American president who called himself an environmentalist was Richard Nixon, who also founded the US Environment Protection Agency (EPA) in 1970. Since then, however, the environment agenda is predominantly driven by the Democrats, while the Republicans tend to downplay the climate change threat. In the beginning of 1990s Bill Clinton and Al Gore took action to sign the Kyoto protocol, as the first international treaty on global climate action. However, they did not manage to secure support for it in the Congress, and the protocol was never put forward for ratification (Hadler, 2017: 92-93). In 2015 it was replaced

by the Paris Climate Agreement that was enforced by Barack Obama through an executive order, bypassing the Congress (Deverian, 2016). After the latest elections, the conservative and populist Donald Trump has once again announced the withdrawal of the American support to combating climate change, which reinforced the growing dissatisfaction and disappointment with the US in Europe (Sauerbrey, 2018). The withdrawal risks prolonging the fossil fuels development, unambitious climate goals, and a worldwide reactionary resistance to climate action (Saad, 2018).

Studies on American and European environmentalism have provided different explanations to the split: from different philosophical perceptions of human coexistence with nature (Hall, 2014) to different regime structure and expectations on individual responsibility in the US and Europe (Hadler 2017: 85). Nevertheless, raising awareness on environment has a proven positive effect on public attitudes and individual environmental behaviour (Pisano and Lubell, 2017). However, Pisano and Lubell (2017) have also suggested that changes are also conditioned on the existence of a certain level of trust in society, at which the individual members have confidence that changes in their behaviour will bring an overall improvement (Pisano and Lubell, 2017: 49-53). Transferring this finding to international level, this paper would like to suggest that building trust across the Atlantic is a crucial step in order to achieve progress in global action against climate change. In this regard, the paper aims to explore the role and importance of Al Gore in building this trust between the US and Europe.

Al Gore the Vice President

Before becoming Vice President in Clinton's administration, Gore spent 16 years in the US Congress as representative and senator. His work in congress was largely focused on arms control and US-USSR relations (Lechelt, 2009). The end of the Cold War brought a new kind of challenge into the transatlantic relations, as the bipolar world transformed into a new complex multipolar structure, and new set of interconnected global challenges had to be faced by US and Europe, including environment (Petersson et al., 2016: 47-51). For a while, even the continued existence of NATO was questioned (Green Cowels and Egan, 2016: 85-87). According to Lechelt (2009), the environmental activist Al Gore was the kind of figure that Bill Clinton needed to emphasise the expected evolution of the post-Cold War order. Apart from environmental politics, Gore was influential in US-Russia relations, nuclear disarmament of Ukraine and Kazakhstan, and taking a more interventionist posture by the US during the Balkan wars. Gore's self-confidence and decisiveness was complementary to Clinton's "soft" image. Despite initial doubts and strong opposition from Russia, he was successful in pushing through NATO's rapid steps to include the former Warsaw Block countries (Lechelt, 2009:

185-226). Gore is distinct representative of the "sunny days" of liberal institutionalism in the 1990s and played a major role in the creation of the European post-Cold War order. Hamilton (2016) has described the US foreign policy during the Clinton era as dominated by a Hamiltonian-Wilsonian alliance (Hamilton, 2016: 135). Arguably, Gore can be attributed the role as the main source of the Wilsonian influences in Clinton's administration. This idea is supported by his insistence on the moral leadership and ethical responsibility of the US, and advocating multilateral and legally binding solutions, which traditionally has evoked sympathies and support in Europe. As the next section of this paper is going to demonstrate, Gore has consequently used Wilsonian rhetoric even throughout his environmentalist career.

Al Gore the environmental activist

Gore's first book on the environment and climate change *Earth in the balance: ecology and the human spirit* was published in 1992, after which he was also nicknamed by the President Bush Sr. as "the ozone man" (Mitsch, 1994). Despite being an advocacy book, it received positive reception by scholars and made it to the New York Times bestseller list as one of the notable books of the year (*New York Times,* 6 December 1992). To combat the environmental decay of the Earth, Gore proposed a "Global Marshall Plan" that suggested some large scale, long term binding commitments by industrial nations (Mitsch, 1994). In 2006, it was followed by *An inconvenient truth*, that was released together with the documentary with the same name, making another huge advocacy effort for combating climate change. *An inconvenient truth* was criticised for some oversimplifications in the facts, but once again, its educating and promotional value was widely recognised (Kakutani*,* 2006). The 2006 film gained a major critical and popular success: it received a 2007 American Film Academy Award for the Best Documentary.

A rhetorical leadership study by Olsen (2007) notes that most interestingly, the film managed to "galvanise ordinary people to take action and become advocates themselves" (Olsen, 2007: 90). At the first glance, there is nothing impressive about the film, as it combines a simple slide show, some rather poor animations, and a series of autobiographical stories. Nevertheless, it gathered over USD 24 million in domestic total gross box office sails, and USD 25,6 million worldwide, of which over USD 16 million in Europe (Box Office Mojo): an impressive result for a documentary. Olsen's study (2007) identifies four rhetorical choices of Gore that secured his success: creating a concrete, vivid, and compelling vision of an improved world; justify hope that effective change is possible and within the audience's power; providing a model of path through acknowledgement of personal guilt and engaging in redemption through mortification; finally, recreating ethos in each encounter between the rhetor and the

audience. This analysis may found support in psychological study by Beattie et al. (2011) who found that a group of respondents after seeing the film felt decreased levels of happiness and calmness, but also felt more motivated to do something about the climate change. The screening of the film created at least a short term "Al Gore-effect" in the sale of voluntary carbon offsets in the US (Jacobsen, 2011).

However, the main achievement of Gore's film is overbridging some key ideological splits in the American society by managing to appeal to all the main political-ideological publics: traditionalist conservatives, individualist conservatives, and liberals (Poff, 2013). As it calls for individual action and creative solutions it appeals to individualist conservatives. At the same time it calls for governmental involvement and regulation. Finally, Gore sends a number of signals to the traditionalists, referring to moral and religious values and patriarchal social orders (ibid.: 228-229). Arguably, this broad set of approaches also has found its European audience. Though Gore's distinctively American rhetorical style might appear odd in European context, the content of his message make him to an obvious ally for European environmentalists in advancing the common cause.

In 2007, the Norwegian Nobel Prize Committee decided to award Al Gore with the Nobel Peace Prize, shared equally with the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). The committee recognised Al Gore as one of the world's leading environmentalist politicians who became aware of climate change at an early stage and has shown strong commitment through his political activity, lectures, films and books. The award motivation stated that Al Gore was "probably the single individual who has done most to create greater worldwide understanding of the measures that need to be adopted" (Nobel Foundation, 2007a). In his Nobel Prize lecture (Nobel Foundation, 2007b), Gore called once again on the responsibility of the US from both perspectives as the global power, and the global moral power. As he calls on the audience to "make it right", he suggests to adopt "principles, values, laws, and treaties that release creativity and initiative at every level of society in multifold responses originating concurrently and spontaneously". Gore refers to common European and American efforts and the moral authority that is built on "defeating fascism throughout the world in the 1940s", the launching of the Marshall Plan, the creation of the United Nations, the unification of Europe and securing democracy and economic growth in Germany, Japan and Italy. Gore mentions Franklin Roosvelt's Secretary of State Cordell Hull, one of the creators of the United Nations, as his inspiration since childhood. Finally, Gore revokes the rhetoric of crisis, which is also commonly reappearing in *An inconvenient truth*.

Since 2006, among other projects, Al Gore runs the Climate Reality Leadership Corps, a grass root network with training facilities in 36 countries. It consists of three days courses that aim to teach participants about climate science, communication, storytelling, social media networking techniques, and grassroots organising, in order to "transform daily life for people around the world". The ideas of leadership that are transmitted in the courses emphasise trust building, embracing challenges, and inspiring people (Climate Change Leadership Corps).

This paper would like to suggest another level of analysing the impact of Gore on transatlantic relations with regard to the environmental politics: which is comparing the transitions from the Democratic to the Republican administration in 2001 and 2016. Both George W. Bush's and Donald Trump's presidencies are described as resulting in downward trends for the transatlantic relations. The 9/11 and the Iraq war has probably overshadowed many aspects of Bush's presidency, but it should be noted that was distinguished by a strong anti-environmentalist agenda and downplaying of the climate change debate. Though he often spoke as an environment champion, scientists at National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) have complained about censorship from the administration on the climate change research. No major pieces on environmental legislation were passed either and he firmly rejected the Kyoto protocol (Daynes and Sussman, 2010: 206-209). The difference in the impact on public debate in the US and Europe by Bush's rejection of Kyoto protocol and Trump's withdrawal from the perspective of the impact of Gore's activism is a possible approach to study this issue.

It may seem sometimes that Gore tends to exaggerate his personal impact on international environmental politics throughout his film and books. This is especially striking in his second documentary *An Inconvenient Sequel: Truth to Power* from 2017, where he appears as the saviour of the day in negotiating the Paris Climate agreement. It may be discussible whether this is truly the integral part of his personality, or the unavoidable consequence of his leadership tactics to appeal to a certain political layer in order to advance the cause in the best way. Obviously *An Inconvenient Sequel* did not make the same success as the previous documentary as it only made USD 5,5 million in box office sales worldwide (Box Offce Mojo). Despite that, it cannot be said that Gore has lost his relevance, as the release of the film is still timely to the current debate (Pearce, 2017). A possible reason for the lack of the same headlines as on his previous documentary may be that the subject is no longer a novelty for the US or the European public. As the environmental debate has become more present and common, in some ways, at least one of the Gore's missions has been fulfilled. It remains to see what the future developments on this subject will be, but with or without Gore's contribution, environmental awareness has become significantly more mainstream than before.

Conclusions

As a politician, Gore may be described as a representative of the so called Wilsonian tradition in the US foreign policy. This paper has indicated that adaptation of this position by Vice President Gore is closely interrelated with his environmental activism, which also goes along with his capacities to construct motivational narratives that appeal to broad layers of American society as well as to the European audience. Certainly, the activities of Gore can serve as field of research on leadership from a transatlantic, as well as a global perspective. Since the release of the ManBearPig parody by South Park, the environmental debate has advanced far and has gained a firmer foothold in the US, despite many recent drawbacks in the environmental politics. Lifting the climate change debate from a narrow "interest group" level into a political mainstream is arguably one of the greatest achievements of Gore as environmental activist. Today, Trump's position on climate may seem to be more provocative than similar position by G. W. Bush. Maybe it only appears so because of Trump's provocative and extravagant style, but hopefully it is an indication of some long term shifts that have the potential to once again overbridge the Atlantic.

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American Invasion of Grenada: The Impact on Anglo-American Relations

Annija Tropa

Introduction

After winning general elections in 1979, Margaret Thatcher became a Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, facing serious challenges in the second post- war era to ensure Britain's leading role in global affairs. In order to do so, strong relations with the United States was required. In 1981, Ronald Reagan took office in the White House and became the 40th president of the United States. During his election campaign he promised that he would take the necessary measures to fight against communism. In this regard, Britain was seen as a natural ally for the Americans to confront the Soviet Union. Thatcher and Reagan seemed like a perfect match and their special relationship emerged as a major element of international politics during the 1980s. The main reason for the great collaboration between these two Atlantic leaders was that they were both perceived as ideological soul mates who expressed themselves in a framework of anti- communist foreign policy language and they worked very closely to tackle the common enemy during the Cold War period.

Although they seemed to be inseparable allies, different approaches to principles of international law and armed conflict, that can be seen in the case of Grenada, raised questions about their partnership. In that regard this paper focus on the 1983 US invasion of Grenada and its impact on Anglo- American relations. This paper is concerned with assessing invasion of Grenada, first, covering the historical background, second, analysing legal justification of the intervention under international law by looking at the role of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean states (OECS) but not including the analyses of the strength of the legal case and finally, it analyses the Grenadian case effect on the Anglo- American relations.

Grenada: From independence to invasion

Grenada had a long history already before the American invasion in 1983. It was a part of the British – French power struggle, when in 1650 it became a part of French colonial

empire, but already in 1763 Grenada was ceded to Britain as a part of the Treaty of Paris that ended Seven Years war. Just in 1974 Grenada got its independence from Britain and as the main responsible person for it was the leader of Grenada's independence movement Eric Gairy.

Most of his attention from 1950s onwards he devoted on providing higher wages and better working conditions for the people, that is why he created trade unions to mobilize peasants and unskilled workers – Grenada Manual and Mental Workers Union and the Grenada United Labour Party (GULP).[342] British colonial authorities refused to recognize both trade unions, that led to a call for a strike and demands for recognition. Gairy used the platform provided by GULP to gain control in Legislative Council and on February 7, 1974 he led country into complete independence and became the first Prime Minster of Grenada. Although he helped gain independence for Grenada, his regime was corrupt and authoritarian that inspired creation of opposition. In March 1979, the New Jewel Movement, under the Maurice Bishop, overthrew the existing regime via armed coup. Under the new regime People's Revolutionary government was established, but even that, although welcomed at first, turned out to be as corrupt and vicious as Gairy's. In order to guarantee Grenada's security and get financial support, Bishop started allied himself closer with Cuba, that sent military equipment provided by the Soviet Union to help train Grenada's new People's Revolutionary Army and People's Revolutionary Militia as well as sent help for constructing an international airport at Point Salines.[343]

Already in 1983 there happened to be a spilt within the New Jewel Movement, where Bernard Coard, Deputy Minister, started to look for ways how to seize power. On October 14, 1983, Coard made possible to place Bishop and other officials under the house arrest, but just because he was perceived as the first "freedom" leader, he got strong public support that ended up in a public march to his residence and despite military presence, people were able to free Bishop. But the freedom of Bishop did not last long. The very same day, on October 19, 1983, he was captured again and executed. Murder of Bishop and Coard's sympathies to Cuba and the Soviet Union raised great concerns for the United States, because also Coard turned to be more aligned to the Soviet Union than Bishop.[344] President Reagan with a strong stance on the Soviet Union, viewed problems, especially in the Caribbean and Basin throughout the lenses of East- West struggle, that made policy towards Grenada at its greatest importance to confront communism.

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[342] Anglea, Timothy, 2014. The Impact of the American Invasion of Grenada on Anglo-American Relations and the Deployment of Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces in Britain. *All Theses*. https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/all_theses/1979, 48.
[343] Lacey, Sharon Tosi. 2013. Grenada 1983: Small Island, Big Lesons. *Military History.* 30(2), 46.
[344] Ibid.

On March 10, 1983 president Reagan made remarks at the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Manufactures stating why America should feel concerned.

"Well, let me just interject right here. Grenada, that tiny little island -- with Cuba at the west end of the Caribbean, Grenada at the east end -- that tiny little island is building now, or having built for it, on its soil and shores, a naval base, a superior air base, storage bases and facilities for the storage of munitions, barracks, and training grounds for the military. I'm sure all of that is simply to encourage the export of nutmeg. People who make these arguments haven't taken a good look at a map lately or followed the extraordinary buildup of Soviet and Cuban military power in the region or read the Soviets discussions about why the region is important to them and how they intend to use it. It isn't nutmeg that's at stake in the Caribbean and Central America; it is the United States national security."[345]

Already on March 23, 1983 Ronald Reagan addressed the Nation on the Defence and National Security.

"This third photo, which is the only one in this series that has been previously made public, shows Soviet military hardware that has made its way to Central America. This airfield with its MI-8 helicopters, anti-aircraft guns, and protected fighter sites is one of a number of military facilities in Nicaragua which has received Soviet equipment funnelled through Cuba, and reflects the massive military build-up going on in that country. On the small island of Grenada, at the southern end of the Caribbean chain, the Cubans, with Soviet financing and backing, are in the process of building an airfield with a 10,000-foot runway. Grenada doesn't even have an air force. Who is it intended for? The Caribbean is a very important passageway for our international commerce and military lines of communication. The Soviet-Cuban militarization of Grenada, in short, can only be seen as power projection into the region."[346]

On October 23, Ronald Reagan issued a formal National Security Decision Directive that authorised Operation Urgent Fury to take action. In the morning of October 25, 1983, during the speech addressing the nation on the issue of the invasion, he justified decision on Grenada with three points- first, protecting innocent lives, including up to 1000 Americans, second, stop further chaos, and, third, help with the restoration of law and order of governmental institutions in Grenada, where leftists have violently seized power by killing

[345] Reagan, Ronald. "Remarks on Central America and El Salvador at the Annual Metting of the National Association of Manufacturers," March 10, 1983. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=41034
[346] Reagan, Ronald. "Address to the Nation on Defense and National Security," March 23, 1983. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=41093

people.[347] On the same day, US troops landed on Grenada believing that it represents the key element in the global conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union and their missions aim is to restore government and order in Grenada.

Legal justification: the role of OECS

The American invasion of Grenada received vast criticism (such as from the United Nations, the United Kingdom, Canada) in regard to its legal base for intervening in another country. For the US the main argument for intervention was that US nationals were in danger after the coup, but as this fact was questioned very broadly whether they are actually in real danger, the US relied on the invitation made by Governor General of Grenada and Chapter 8 of the Charter of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS). The US claimed that fact in the letter to the Security Council that it was needed to fulfil the vacuum of authority in Grenada.[348] The problem for the legal basis was that Chapter 8 of the OECS treaty gave justification for a collective self- defence against external aggressor rather than justification for intervention in internal affairs by a non- member state. This gave concerns of the validity of actions under the United Nations Charter.[349] In that matter the UN General Assembly claimed that it is a violation of international law, independence, sovereignty as well as territorial integrity of Grenada.[350] On the 25th of October in that regard, the OECS leaders stated that they were looking for a way how to prevent further loss of life, deterioration of public order as well as the way to ease disproportionate military strength between Grenada and other OECS countries.[351] In that sense when it comes to legal background of American invasion of Grenada, OECS plays a key role by inviting the US to take action in Grenada. This decision was taken on October 21st and 22nd in 1983.

Reagan administration was positive towards intervention as it was seen as a chance to remove regime that favours the presence of the Soviet Union. But invasion of Grenada had not just an impact on American foreign policy, it had an impact also on the foreign policy of Britain and on its relationship with the United States. President Reagan acted unilaterally and without the support of the UK. Some of the scholars look at the invasion of Grenada problematic to the UK because of the timing, meaning it took place just few weeks before the scheduled

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[347] Text of President Reagan's statement on Grenada, October 23, 1983, http://fc95d419f4478b3b6e5f-3f71d0fe2b653c4f00f32175760e96e7.r87.cf1.rackcdn.com/831025%201300%20Reagan%20statement%20%281048-208%29%20%2B.pdf
[348] Gray, Christine. 2018. *International Law and the Use of Force*. 4th edition. Oxford University press, 167.
[349] Ibid., 420.
[350] Ibid., 94-95.
[351] Lewis, P. 2010. Revisiting the Grenada invasion: The OECS' role, and its impact on regional and international politics. *Social and Economic Studies*. 48 (3), 89.

deployment of the US cruise missiles in the UK and Western Europe that made this invasion to be a case of trust.

Invasion of Grenada: Anglo- American relations

The both leaders, Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, shared common goals, but they differed in methods of how to achieve those goals. If Thatcher more relied on having a strong alliance and good relations with the United States to achieve foreign policy objectives, then Reagan could easily act unilaterally, as it was seen in the case of Grenada. For Regan the Soviet Union was the greatest threat and in order to tackle this problem he would use all the instruments possible even if it included having Britain as an ally on stake.

The most problematic part in the case of Grenada was that Reagan failed to inform Thatcher about his decision to take action and response to the request for the military intervention of the OECS. The United Kingdom claimed that it received neither formal request from the OECS nor clear position on the situation from the United States. In the letter on October 25, 1983 that Thatcher addressed to Reagan she stated:

> "This action will be seen as intervention by a Western country in the internal affairs of a small independent nation, however unattractive its regime. I ask you to consider this in the context of our wider East/West relations and of the fact that we will be having in the next few days to present to our Parliament and people the siting of Cruise missiles in this country. I must ask you to think most carefully about these points. I cannot conceal that I am deeply disturbed by your latest communication. You asked for my advice. I have set it out and hope that even at this late stage you will take it into account before events are irrevocable."[352]

As it can be seen, the Grenada case was something bigger in Anglo- American relations, it was also about the trust that was needed to launch cruise missiles on the British sole as a part of NATO's Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces. It was about the US commitment to European defence and the case of Grenada, when the US acted unilaterally and with questionable legal background, did not provide certainty and made it harder to sell to and gain support of the missiles deployment of the British citizens. In the end deployment took place, but just at that period, invasion was seen in terms of bad timing.

"Problems in Thatcher's and Reagan's paradise" can be noticed in the letters they sent to each other during the Grenada invasion. On October 24, just a day before the invasion, Regan send a letter to Thatcher saying that "I am writing to inform you that I am giving serious

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[352] Grenada: Thatcher letter to Reagan, October 25, 1983, https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/109427

consideration to the OECS request."[353] Later that day, president Reagan wrote another letter to Thatcher stating that he promised to keep her informed so he wants to announce that the United States will respond to a formal request made by the OECS to support and participate in the mission in Grenada in order to restore democracy, peace and order.[354] He also stated in his letter that the United Kingdom can play a crucial role in strengthening the new government and providing political as well as economic assistance.

Although Reagan sent letters to Thatcher informing about his plans in Grenada, Thatcher's response wasn't very welcoming. She stated that "I felt dismayed and let down by what had happened. At best the British government had been made to look impotent, at worst we looked deceitful."[355] In her letter as response to both letters sent by Reagan, Thatcher noted that there is no justification for intervention, especially when it comes to protection of the citizens as well as the United Kingdom did not receive any formal request.[356]

Nevertheless, the tension that Grenada caused, invasion of Grenada was successful for the Americans, especially in the light of previous failure during the Vietnam War. Even a day after American military was placed in Grenada, Ronald Regan called Thatcher for apologies. "We regret very much the embarrassment caused you, and I would like to tell you what the story is from our end. […] When word came of your concerns – by the time I got it- the zero hour had passed. The time difference made it later in the day when you learned it."[357]

Despite the beneficial outcome of the actions of the United States in Grenada, the UK firmly believed that it did not justify its means. After the invasion Margaret Thatcher believed that Western democracies do not walk into other countries independent sovereign territories, force is not the way how to extend Western beliefs. Britain was firmly confident that neither it had the right to take military action nor did the United States. In that sense, Grenada represented a shift in the relations between the United Kingdom and the United States. The two countries did not agree over certain policy and Britain started to feel that they interest will be taken into consideration just if the area will contain its influence or interest in general.

Conclusions

Since the 1979 coup d'etat when Maurice Bishop took over the power in Grenada, Grenada became a growing concern for the United States as the country moved closer to Cuba and the Soviet Union. When in 1983 Bishop was killed and the new leader was seemed to be

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[353] Grenada: Reagan letter to Thatcher, October 24, 1983, https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/109428
[354] Grenada: Regan letter to Thatcher, October 24, 1983, https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/109429
[355] McKercher, B. 2017. *Britain, America, and the Special Relationship since 1941*. London: Routledge, 102.
[356] Grenada: MT message to Reagan, October 25, 1983. https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/128147
[357] Grenada: Reagan phone call to Thatcher, October 26, 1983. https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/109426

under the Soviet influence, President Reagan decided to conduct a military operation there. The reason was geopolitical as it was believed that it cannot be opportunity allowed for the Soviets and Cubans to make a satellite close to the United States sphere of influence.

The invasion of Grenada provides an opportunity to look at the Anglo-American relationship. President Ronald Regan had his foreign policy based on the East- West relations and all the actions were viewed through the lenses of defeating the Soviet Union and stop communism. During the years of 1982 and 1983, Reagan's policy could be described as a policy of dictation rather than consultation. In Grenada's case there were no negotiations with Western allies, especially the United Kingdom, there were just one-sided actions for the greater purpose. It could also be seen in the case of Grenada that when it comes to the US national security interests, that is at utmost importance and other things does not matter. The United States as a superpower could afford to offend its partners, but in the Britain's case as a middle ranking power it had to collaborate in order to grant Britain's place in global affairs. Also, from the Britain's side the case of Grenada was seen as a problem for NATO's wellbeing, especially when it came to deployment of cruise missiles, but for the United States Caribbean was just seen as the Cold War problem in America's backyard and for Regan there was a fear that if there is a space left unoccupied it will be seized by a rival and then it will be used as an instrument to threaten existing positions. Everything was like a board of the chess game played between America and the Soviet Union.

RADAR 11

Analytical portrait of leadership: Bill Clinton

Salvador Marcos García

William Jefferson Clinton, the 42nd president of the United States of America, was born in Arkansas on August 19, 1946. He attended Georgetown University, graduating in 1968 with a degree in international affairs, Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar, and Yale Law School, where he graduated in 1973 after earning a Juris Doctor degree. In this years he participated in protests against the Vietnam War, receiving a draft deferment in his first year in Oxford and finally not being chosen to participate in the conflict.[358]

He started to work as a law professor at the University of Arkansas, where he taught until 1976, when he was elected Attorney General of Arkansas. In the meantime, he ran for a seat in the United States House of Representatives, failing on this attempt and losing against his Republican counterpart. In 1978, he was elected Governor of his home state, becoming the youngest in 40 years in the US. He served in a two-year term but failed in his reelection in 1980. Some unpopular decisions, like rising state gasoline taxes and automobile licensing fees made him lose. However, in 1982 he won again the governor's office, and was reelected three consecutive times until 1992. On this time, he was a member of the Democratic Leadership Council, a group within the Democratic Party that wanted to change the party's ideological position, from a classical liberalism to a more pragmatic way closer to the center of political life, advocating for welfare reform, expanded health insurance via tax credits, universal access to preschool, and the creation of different trade agreements, like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Central America Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA).[359] This political corpus was the basis for the so-called "Third Way"[360], whose main representatives were Tony Blair in the United Kingdom and Bill Clinton in the other side of the Atlantic. During his mandate, he improved Arkansas's educational system, including more spending in schools, higher salaries for teachers and compulsory competency exams for them.

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[358] Bill Clinton Biography, https://www.biography.com/people/bill-clinton-9251236, accessed May 11 2018.
[359] Politico: The end of the DLC era, https://www.politico.com/story/2011/02/the-end-of-the-dlc-era-049041, accessed May 11 2018.
[360] The Guardian: A brief history of the Third Way", https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2003/feb/10/labour.uk1, accessed May 11 2018.

In 1982 he was re-elected, working there until 1992, when he won the Democratic presidential nomination. Alongside Al Gore, a US senator from Tennessee, he defeated the incumbent president, George H.W.Bush, and Ross Perot, becoming the new president of the United States, with 43 percent of the popular vote. Although Bush was seen as unbeatable, due to his performance in the end of the Cold War, he failed in his promise on not raising taxes, and the bad situation of the American economy boosted the competition with the democrat candidate. Thus, Clinton ended with 12 years of republican mandates in the White House (Reagan and Bush) and also won full control of the United States Congress for the Democratic Party.

On January 1993 he took possession of the presidency, being the third youngest president in the history of the US at that time. His first action as president was to sign the Family and Medical Leave Act, requiring large employers to allow employees to take unpaid leave for pregnancy or serious medical conditions, gaining more popularity between the voters. His first term was marked by numerous successes, such as the NAFTA trade agreement, creating a free-trade zone between the United States, Canada and Mexico. He also included women and minorities in important positions of his government, such as Madeleine Albright as the first ever female Secretary of State and Janet Reno as Attorney General. Finally, he pushed for a deficit-reduction package, raising taxes to close the deficit on the budget[361].

In 1995 Clinton signed the Budget Reconciliation Act, allowing cuts in taxes for small businesses and raises for the wealthiest taxpayers. Besides, he passed multiple bills related to education, crime prevention, environment issues, the Violence Against Women Act and the Family and Medical Leave Act. Regarding health care reform, Clinton aimed universal coverage based on a national plan. However, it failed due to opposition from conservatives and the health insurance industry. In 1994 an investigation about business dealings by Clinton and his wife was approved by the Attorney General. The investigation, conducted through several years, concluded with no evidence of wrongdoing by the Clintons. All these controversies lead to a republican majority in both houses in Congress in the elections in 1994.[362] The results pushed Clinton to embrace some of the republican initiatives and oversaw a reform of the United States' welfare system.

In 1996 he was reelected for a second term, capturing 49 percent of the popular vote, and beating the republican candidate, Bob Dole, and the reform candidate Ross Perot. In this period, American economy continued to rise, with a strong growth that disgorge in a record for

[361] Bill Clinton Biography, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Bill-Clinton, accessed May 12 2018.
[362] Ibid.

the longest peacetime expansion. Besides, there were historical high levels of home ownership and the lowest unemployment rate in more than 30 years. Other events during this time were the State Children's Health Insurance program, containing the largest health care reform in Clinton presidency, the Adoption and Safe Families Act, and the Balanced Budget Act[363].

However, the milestone during his second mandate was the 1998 impeachment by the House of Representatives, making Clinton the second United States president to be impeached (after Andrew Johnson in 1868[364]). The alleged charges were perjury and obstruction of justice regarding the Lewinsky scandal. Clinton was accused to have maintained an affair with Monica Lewinsky, a 24-year-old intern in the White House. After several denials, he publicly admitted it, and in 1999 the Senate acquitted him of the charges.[365]

Finally, he left the presidency in 2001, being succeeded by a new republican president, George W. Bush. His approval ratings were at that time around 68 percent, the highest ratings in the last years[366]. In the recent times, he founded the William J. Clinton Foundation, an organization that addresses global problems like HIV, economic inequalities and climate change[367]. Also, he was named as United Nations special envoy for the 2004 tsunami in the Indian ocean, and to Haiti in 2010 regarding the earthquake that devastated that country. Besides, he has supported his wife, Hillary Clinton, as Secretary of State and her unsuccessful presidential election bid.

Clinton's Foreign Policy

In order to understand the foreign policy of the Clinton Administration we might frame it. He first came to office in 1993, in the aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Also, the Balkan Wars and the consequences of the Gulf War, plus the riots and problems in Africa marked his presidency.

At the end of the Cold War, the United States emerged as the most important superpower in the world board[368], based on the idea that it enjoys the largest economy in the world, as well as the strongest military assets and diplomatic capital. In Clinton's inaugural address, he declared that *"when our vital interests are challenged, or the will and conscience*

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[363] Ibid.
[364] Thought Co: Impeached Presidents of the United States, https://www.thoughtco.com/presidents-who-were-impeached-3368130, accessed May 12 2018.
[365] Time: From an Anonymous Tip to an Impeachment, http://time.com/5120561/bill-clinton-monica-lewinsky-timeline/, accessed May 12 2018.
[366] Gallup: Presidential Approval Ratings: Bill Clinton,
[367] Clinton Foundation, https://www.clintonfoundation.org, accessed May 12 2018.
[368] C. Krauthammer, "The Unipolar Moment", Foreign Affairs 70:1 (1990), p 23.

of the international community is defied, we will act with peaceful diplomacy whenever possible, with force when necessary".[369]

Regarding the four policy traditions of US Foreign Policy as presented in the text of Daniel S. Hamilton, Clinton can be placed under the Wilsonian tradition, grounded in the notion that democracies usually develop fair and effective legal systems, and thus are more reliable partners than other forms of government. Also, the idea of the United States being the moral force of the global system, with a duty of spreading democratic values and institutions, even with the use of force, is central for this line of thought. Finally, it also includes the development of international treaties and organizations for collective security, like the United Nations and NATO. It also can be related with the Hamiltonians, following an open international trading and financial order, framed by predictable arrangements based on international law, creating a good environment for peace between nations[370].

His approach to foreign affairs has been called the "doctrine of enlargement"[371]. The main feature of this idea is the expansion of market democracies around the world, with a focus in free trade, international alliances and multilateral efforts to tackle global issues, with a moral dimension regarding US interventions, and making America more secure and with a more vigorous economy. It was launched with the aim to protect human rights globally without putting in risk American assets, like troops or large amounts of budget. In this respect, the US must act as the spearhead of the global system but accompanied by other major powers in a multilateral approach. According to Anthony Lake, the assistant to the President for National Security Affairs at the moment, *"the expansion of market-based economics abroad helps expand our exports and create American jobs, while it also improves living conditions and fuels demand for political liberalization abroad. The addition of new democracies makes us more secure, because democracies tend not to wage war on each other or sponsor terrorism".*[372]

First, in 1992, as part of a humanitarian mission, the United States decided to send military troops to Somalia, an eastern African country. However, the situation quickly changed, and a violent military struggle started, with bodies of American soldiers dropped in the streets of Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia. Clinton decided to withdraw all American troops, and

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[369] W.J.Clinton, "First Inaugural Speech Transcript", Washington D.C., 20 January 1993, http://australianpolitics.com/usa/clinton/speeches/inaug93.shtml, accessed May 13 2018.
[370] Hamilton, D: "The Domestic Setting of American Approaches to Europe", in R.Alcaro et al: "The West and the Global Power Shift", 2016, pp.128-130, 2016, Palgrave Macmillan.
[371] https://millercenter.org/president/clinton/foreign-affairs
[372] Lake, A. 'From Containment to Enlargement', US Department of State Dispatch 4:39 (1993), https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/lakedoc.html, accessed May 13 2018.

left the country with little change, and without a functioning, reestablished government. This experience was vital to explain how the Clinton Administration acted in the case of Rwanda. A genocide against the Tutsis was perpetrated, with more than 800.000 were massacred. The United States, as well as the United Nations, decided not to intervene, paving the way for the massacre. All these actions created the image of a badly prepared president in foreign affairs, without the determination to tackle the main global issues.

However, despite these problems, the Clinton administration managed to get some accomplishments. In the case of the former Soviet Union, he managed to avoid a violent conflict, and persuades Yeltsin to withdraw his troops from Estonia and Latvia in 1994. His good personal relations with the Russian president helped to achieve these goals[373]. Also, in the field of trade, he convinced the American Congress to approve two trade agreements: NAFTA in 1993, with Mexico and Canada, and a revision of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1994. Besides, he sent emissaries to the peace negotiations between the Republic of Ireland, the United Kingdom and the Sinn Fein in the framework of the Irish conflict. Finally, he pushed dialogues in the Middle East, implicating both the Israeli and the Palestinian governments.

In the case of the Balkan Wars, after a policy centered in non-intervention, Clinton Administration decided to use the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to bomb Serbian positions. These actions lead to a ceasefire, and finally, to the Dayton Peace Accords between the Former Republic of Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. However, although these agreements, NATO participated again in a bombing campaign against the Serbian government in 1999, in order to end the violations of human rights against the Albanian population in Kosovo. With the support of Russia and other NATO allies, like the United Kingdom and France, United States troops occupied Kosovo as peacekeepers after an agreement with Yugoslavia.

Regarding his relations with the former Soviet Union and its sphere of influence, Clinton successfully managed to include Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic in NATO. Also, he supported financial aid to Russia granted by the International Monetary Fund and succeeded in securing the soviet nuclear arsenal. Under the framework of the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program, better known as the Nunn-Lugar Act, the United States provided funding and expertise to former soviet republics to dismantle nuclear plants and weapons and

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[373] Reuters: Boris and Bill Show loses half its team, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-russia-yeltsin-clinton/boris-and-bill-show-loses-half-its-team-idUSN2331485520070424, accessed May 14 2018.

reduce notably the risk of a nuclear exchange between the two superpowers[374]. Besides, during the Clinton mandate NATO created the Partnership for Peace (PFP) programme for cooperation with all these countries, and convinced Russia to enter it in order to create a more peaceful and democratic Europe.[375]

Also, as part of the Clinton non-proliferation policy, China joined the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Biological Weapons Convention, and the nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. According to Samuel Berger on his text "A Foreign Policy for the Golden Age", the non-proliferation policy was at the center of the Clinton Administration way of acting, not only in the case of Russia, but also with Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan. Besides, he decided to stop providing assistance to Iran's nuclear program and halted assistance to nuclear facilities in Pakistan. [376]

Another important document to analyze Clinton's foreign policy is the "National Security Strategy for a New Century", issued in October 1998 by the White House. With the change of the millennium America *"must be prepared and willing to use all appropriate instruments of national power to influence the actions of other states and non-state actors, to provide global leadership, and to remain a reliable security partner for the community of nations that share our interests".* [377] Also, Clinton saw the need for integrated approaches, *"particularly in this era when domestic and foreign policies are increasingly blurred"[378].* The United States *"must maintain superior military forces at the level of readiness necessary to effectively deter aggression",* also highlighting the necessity to work with its allies, because *"international cooperation will be vital for building security in the next century because many of the threats we face cannot be addressed by a single nation"[379].*

However, his approach to foreign policy raised some critics. For example, Richard N. Haass, in his text "Fatal Distraction: Bill Clinton's Foreign Policy", stated that the neo-Wilsonian vision of the US Administration *"might look good on paper, but it has provided few policy-relevant guidelines for pressing foreign policy problems"[380].* For him *"such discrepancy between theory and practice is worrisome: A great power cannot just possess*

[374] The Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation: The Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program, http://time.com/5120561/bill-clinton-monica-lewinsky-timeline/, accessed May 14 2018.
[375] R.Alcaro et al: "The West and the Global Power Shift", 2016, pp. 87, 2016, Palgrave Macmillan.
[376] S. Berger, (2000) "A Foreign Policy for the Global Age", Foreign Affairs 79:6 (2000), p. 31.
[377] National Security Council, "A National Security Strategy for a New Century", Washington D.C. December 1999, p. 3, https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=2959, accessed May 14 2018.
[378] Ibid.
[379] Ibid.
[380] R. N. Haass, "Fatal Distraction: Bill Clinton's Foreign Policy", Foreign Policy 108 (1997), p.113.

great strength", and *"when the White House fails to articulate its foreign policy objectives it leaves the door wide open for special interest groups and lobbyists to shape the agenda"*.

Relations with the European Union

As we have seen, the Clinton Administration have focused mainly on the stabilization of the former soviet republics, as well as trying to finish the Balkan Wars, and the expansion of the NATO's sphere of influence towards eastern Europe. In those cases, they decided to develop a coordinated and integrated approach with other European countries, like France and the United Kingdom, for example, regarding the war in Kosovo. All these events have led to discussions about the positions of the United States and Europe in the post-Cold war context.

However, his most resounding conflict with the European Union is the one regarding preferential agreements and free trade schemes. As it is explained in more detail in the first part of this radar, the World Trade Organization was founded in 1995, replacing the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Most of the issues that WTO deals derive from previous negotiations, especially from the Uruguay Round[381]. Its main function is to ensure that trade flows as predictably and freely as possible, with a desire result of a more prosperous, peaceful and accountable economic world[382].

During the Clinton presidency, the European Union created a quota system for banana imports that favors former European colonies in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. The United States objected and used the WTO dispute settlement process in order to claim in favor of US multinational companies in Central America. Finally, the WTO ruled against the EU policy, and it has to adjust it, in order to favour free trade. However, the US Administration was not happy about the outcomes of those changes and decided to impose retaliatory import duties on European products, from Scottish cashmere to French cheese. Finally, the European Union decided to lower the tariffs on Latin American bananas imports, and the US multinationals enjoyed better access to the EU market[383]. Clinton's profit relationship with Carl Linder, the former chief executive of Chiquita Bananas, the biggest US company in the field of banana production and exportation, was another explanation for the confrontation. Over the

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[381] The World Trade Organization: The multilateral trading system – past, present and future. https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/inbrief_e/inbr01_e.htm, accessed May 14 2018.
[382] The World Trade Organization: The WTO in brief. https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/inbrief_e/inbr00_e.htm, accessed May 14 2018.
[383] European Parliament: Ending the banana wars: Who wins and who loses?. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/world/20110121STO12285/ending-the-banana-wars-who-wins-and-who-loses, accessed May 14 2018.

years Lindner has given more than 1 million dollars to the Democratic Party, and his influence between the US power circles helped him to raise his voice and defend his interests[384].

Nevertheless, all these movements are framed in the economic interdependence between the United States and the European Union. The Clinton Administration was well aware of this, and decided to launch two major policies:

The New Transatlantic Agenda. Signed in the at the EU-US summit in Madrid on 3 December 1995, between its main purposes are the promotion of peace, stability, democracy and development around the world; the respond to global challenges like international crime, drug-trafficking and terrorism; the contribution to the expansion of the world trade and closer economic relations; the building of bridges across the Atlantic; and parliamentary links[385]. It stated that *"domestic challenges are not an excuse to turn inward"* and that *"we must first of all seize the opportunity presented by Europe's historic transformation to consolidate democracy and free-market economies throughout the continent"[386]*.

Alongside this Agenda a Joint EU-US Action Plan was drawn up regarding different policy areas and measures under the common umbrella of cooperation. It covers topics like a peace and reconstruction plan in the former Yugoslavia, a common approach towards central and eastern European countries, including Russia and the new independent states, the promotion of the middle east peace process, the uphold of the development cooperation and humanitarian assistance, cooperation in international organizations and in non-proliferation, international disarmament and arms transfers[387].

Finally, these initiatives include a number of dialogues, including people-to-people dialogues, enabling individual actors and stakeholders to participate in the dialogues; a Transatlantic Business Dialogue; the Transatlantic Consumer Dialogue; the Transatlantic Policy Network; the Transatlantic Environmental Dialogue; and the Transatlantic Legislators Dialogue[388].

The Transatlantic Economic Partnership. It was launched at the May 1998 London Summit, and it was designed to give a new impetus to EU-US cooperation in the field of trade and investment within the framework of the New Transatlantic Agenda. The Partnership aimed

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[384] The Guardian: The Big Banana, https://www.theguardian.com/world/1999/mar/07/eu.wto, accessed May 14 2018.
[385] European External Action Service: The New Transatlantic Agenda. http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/us/docs/new_transatlantic_agenda_en.pdf, accessed May 14 2018.
[386] Ibid.
[387] European External Action Service: Joint EU-US Action Plan 1995. http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/us/docs/joint_eu_us_action_plan_95_en.pdf, accessed May 15 2018.
[388] US Mission to the European Union: US Relations with the European Union. https://useu.usmission.gov/our-relationship/policy-history/io/, accessed May 15 2018.

to create a regular dialogue in order to ensure closer cooperation, including diverse fields like agriculture, trade facilitation, industrial tariffs and intellectual property in the multilateral fora, and the removal or substantial lowering of barriers and alignment of standards and regulatory requirements within the bilateral relations.[389]

It has served as a forum for exchange and discussion between both sides of the Atlantic, but it didn't provide general and lasting solutions to some of the main problems regarding trade and finance. [390]

To sum up, although some setbacks, the Clinton Administration aimed to cooperate and collaborate with the European Union in tackling all kind of global issues, including Yugoslav Wars, and consequently NATO, the reunification of Germany, the fall of the Soviet Union and the appearance of new independent countries in the former soviet sphere of influence, the prospect EU enlargement towards the east, the elimination of trade barriers, the creation of the WTO and the promotion of free trade agreements and the liberalization of the world economy.

His policies regarding the European Union changed drastically with the subsequent president, George W. Bush, and issues like the Iraq war and the fight against terrorism. However, that is another topic to be covered by another radar.

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[389] European Externa Action Service: Transatlantic Economic Partnership 1998. http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/us/docs/trans_econ_partner_11_98_en.pdf, consulted 16 May 2018.
[390] DG Trade: The Transatlantic Economic Partnership. Overview and assessment. http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2003/october/tradoc_111712.pdf, consulted 16 May 2018.

Transatlanticity: disputes on Banana Wars

Sheng-Yue Huang

Abstract

The power of globalization and liberalized trade empowered banana which ranks as one of the first tropical fruits to be exported, to be so influential that the economic, environmental and commercial effects it produces can affect the transatlantic relations between the EU and the United States. This Transatlantic Radar paper aims to explore the issues covered in the banana trade wars between the EU and the United States. Such issues include political reasons and legal disputes. A historical overview of this topic will be given first, and then it will be focusing on the transatlantic relations upon this issue. The last but not least, in the conclusion section, we will look into transatlantic relations between the EU and the United States upon this banana trade wars issue.

Introduction

The European Union (hereinafter: the EU) is the biggest importer of bananas from third countries that the European people consume more than 2.5 billion tons of bananas every year. And this craziness for bananas has triggered a trade war. In a brief statement, the quarrel for bananas is a series of 6-year disputes between the EU and the United States as well as certain Latin American countries[391]. Nevertheless, this banana war was not caused merely by commercial and political reasons, but it also contained legal issues taken place in the World Trade Organization (hereinafter: the WTO) dispute settlement board. And the battlefield can be traced back to the banana trade between the EU and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (the ACP) countries, where the European Commission's banana regime infringed fundamental disciplines of the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (hereinafter: the GATT) and therefore were put into question by the United States and other Latin American states who claimed their interests were undermined by the preferential access to market offered by the EC

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[391] Barkham, P. (1999, March 05). The banana wars explained. Retrieved May 14, 2018, from https://www.theguardian.com/world/1999/mar/05/eu.wto3

to the ACP countries according to the Lomé Convention subject to the objective to boost the economies of these developing countries[392].

From a deep insight into this trade issue, although bananas are in nature a kind of fruit, they represent a wide variety of environmental, economic, social, and political problems. The banana trade referred to in this paper symbolizes economic imperialism, injustices in the global trade market, and the globalization of the agricultural economy, in particular in developing countries[393]. As Myers argued, this trade war is not only related to bananas, rather it is about the readiness that the WTO and other international trading entities took to meet the specific problems of small island states whose economies are vulnerable and whose natural resources are very limited. Under this negative economic environment, their economies will collapse because of the overwhelming tidal wave of free trade if they are without special help. With the preferential treatment provided by the EC under its developing policy, the ACP countries enjoy privilege to enter the EC's market. As a result, the rulings that the WTO made against preferential terms of access on bananas constitute precedents will affect other commodities and other developing countries[394]. To conclude, this banana trade war brought up issues in not only economic, but also political and legal manners that affect the transatlantic relations.

In this transatlantic radar paper, we will take a look at the disputed issue from a brief historical review since the 1950s to the current issue.

Background and Historical Review of the Trade Dispute

Back to the late 1950s, the EC first established preferential trading arrangements with the former European colonies in ACP regions. This was the origin of the banana trade dispute. And such preferential arrangements granted those developing countries special market access that the ACP bananas were marketed into the EC Single Market. This preferential treatment was designed under the EC's development policy to make bananas from the ACP more competitive with those from Latin America which were the main competitors to the ACP countries[395]. With these privileges, most European national systems had quantitative

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[392] BFA Banana Framework Agreement – The Integrationist. (n.d.). Retrieved May 14, 2018, from http://www.theintegrationistcaribbean.org/glossary/bfabanana-framework-agreement/
[393] Cohen, R. (2009). Global issues for breakfast: the banana industry and its problems FAQ. The Science Creative Quarterly.
[394] Myers, G. (2004). Banana wars-the price of free trade: a Caribbean perspective. Zed Books.
[395] Clark, Hunter R. (2001) "The WTO Banana Dispute Settlement and Its Implications for Trade Relations between the United States, p. 294-295
and the European Union," Cornell International Law Journal: Vol. 35: Iss. 2, Article 1.

restrictions or licensing requirements affecting the banana trade, especially that coming from non-ACP exporting firms[396].

Under this complex system banana imports were subject to one of two two-tier tariff rate quota systems based on their country of origin. ACP bananas received duty-free entry up to a ceiling of 8,577,000 metric tons, allocated to each of the banana-producing countries on the basis of their historic exports to the EU. ACP imports in excess of this amount paid 750 ECU per metric ton. In contrast, non-ACP bananas were subject to a duty of ECU 100 per metric ton on imports up to 2 million metric tons, and ECU 850 on imports above that amount. Thirty-three and a half percent of the 2 million tons of non-ACP bananas subject to the lower duty of ECU 100 was reserved for European marketing firms, most of which historically had marketed only ACP bananas[397]. Due to the fact that American multinational fruit conglomerates, such as Dole and Chiquita Brands, had heavy capital investment and held a high stake in Latin American fruit production, the United States economic benefits were affected by the preferential arrangements between the EC and ACP countries[398].

Conflict-legal challenge

The first legal challenge was brought by five Latin American banana-producing countries (Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Venezuela), rather than by the United States who was immediately against the new banana regime. In June 1993, they brought the case before GATT dispute settlement. In the proceedings, the GATT panel ruled in January 1994 that the EU regime was not compatible with GATT rules[399]. The challengers argued the EC actions are inconsistent with its EC GATT obligations and with newer EC WTO obligations under GATS – the services agreement[400]. The dispute panel ruled in January 1994 that the EU policy was unfair to third-country producers, and it condemned the ACP tariff preference as discriminatory. The ruling also denounced the size of the tariff on third-country bananas for exceeding the EU's normal 20 percent tariff on agricultural goods. Moreover, the panel addressed the import licensing system, determining that because the incentive system used in granting category B licenses ensured favorable treatment to fruit from EU and ACP sources, it violated GATT's Most Favored Nation (MFN) principle and its requirements on national

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[396] Mauricio Salas & John H. Jackson, Procedural Overview of the WTO EC-Banana Dispute, 3J. INT'L ECON. L. 145, 146-47 (2000).
[397] The UNITED STATES-EU Banana Dispute. (2001, February 27). Retrieved May 16, 2018, from https://www.asil.org/insights/volume/6/issue/4/United States-eu-banana-dispute
[398] See Mauricio Salas & John H. Jackson, p. 146
[399] See The UNITED STATES-EU Banana Dispute. (2001, February 27). Retrieved May 16, 2018, from https://www.asil.org/insights/volume/6/issue/4/United States-eu-banana-dispute
[400] See Salas & Jackson, supra note 21, at 146.

treatment. Therefore, the panel ordered that the EU had to redesign its banana policy to be compatible with GATT rules[401]. However, the report was not adopted due to that GATT system allowed parties to a dispute to block rulings against them.

Responses from different parties

The decision was welcomed by the major exporting countries, including Latin America, anticipating greater access to the EU market. However, on the other hand, ACP countries were apprehensive that the decision would be threatening the viability of their most important industry which represents their min domestic economic activity.

Negotiation and conclusion of a "Framework Agreement"

As the EU official ignored the GATT ruling as a response, it negotiated "Framework Agreement" with all of the complaints except Guatemala[402]. The quota of the non-ACP was raised to 2.1 million tons in 1994 and to 2.2 million tons in 1995 under this Framework Agreement; and it lowered the in-quota tariff on Latin American bananas by 25% to ECU 75 per metric ton and allocated certain export quotas to each of the 4 Latin American parties[403]. The signatories all agreed not to challenge Council Regulation 404/93 for the remainder of its lifetime. This framework took effect in April 1995.

In September 1994, both the EU regime and the Framework Agreement were challenged by Chiquita Brands International and the Hawaii Banana Industry Association on the grounds that they were discriminatory and reduced United States companies' share of the EU market by more than 50%[404].

Despite the mounting criticism, on October 7, 1994, the United States Trade Representatives (USTR) initiated an investigation against the EU. On January 9, 1995, the USTR further issued a preliminary determination and pledged that the EU banana regime did adversely undermine United States economic interests with an impact of several hundreds of millions of dollars. Both the EU and Caribbean producers immediately criticized the USTR decision because the regime was defended by the EU as a valuable foreign aid policy tool, and

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[401] Wiley, J. (2008). The banana: Empires, trade wars, and globalization. U of Nebraska Press, p. 182

[402] Guatemala increased and guaranteed the value of their export quotas, in return for their agreement to withdraw the GATT complaint and refrain from further GATT challenges until December 31, 2002.

[403] The US-EU Banana Dispute. (2001, February 27). Retrieved May 16, 2018, from https://www.asil.org/insights/volume/6/issue/4/us-eu-banana-dispute

[404] Ibid.

by the Caribbean nations as the mainstay to their economies; thus, the elimination of which would lead to political and economic instability.

Without being able to reach a negotiated settlement with the EU, the USTR, joined by Guatemala, Honduras, and Mexico, initiated a dispute settlement proceeding in the WTO. Ecuador joined the case in February 1996. Since December 1996 the United States, through the USTR, have been defending their motives for seeking a panel against the EU's banana regime, in a manner which misrepresents the objectives and impact of the regime on both Latin American and ACP producers. This fact sheet serves to put the record straight and to show that the arguments put forward by the USTR are at a minimum groundless and indeed aim at distorting the reality as regards the banana regime or of the impact of its abolition on ACP economies[405].

Coordination between the EU's Development Policy and the Principle of Free Trade -the EU's new banana regime. Who wins and who loses?

Since 11 May 1997, Mr. Clinton proposed that the European Union drop the preference and instead impose tariffs on bananas that do not come from the Caribbean, a duty that could raise their prices. Mr. Clinton argued that the Europeans could use the proceeds from the tariffs to help diversify the Caribbean's exports[406].

In April 11, 2001, and after eight years of disputes that cost the EC millions of dollars of retaliatory duties from the USA, the EU and the United States reached an agreement in their longstanding banana regime dispute. It follows some of the proposals presented in November 1999 and October 2000, including the two-step approach to liberalizing the EU banana market whereby the current tariff-quota system would be followed, no later than 1 January 2006, by a tariff-only system. The change to a tariff-only system in 2006 is expected to have major consequences in the trade flows of the world banana economy and in the export revenues of low income countries such as Ecuador[407].

On 17 January 2011, European Parliament's international trade committee (INTA) supported the deal on trade in bananas (rapporteur Francesca Balzani, S&D) which was reached

[405] European Commission - PRESS RELEASES - Press release - EC fact sheet on Caribbean bananas and the WTO. (n.d.). Retrieved May 18, 2018, from http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-97-28_en.htm?locale=en

[406] Bennet, J. (1997, May 11). Clinton In Caribbean: No Bananas Today. Retrieved May 18, 2018, from https://www.nytimes.com/1997/05/11/world/clinton-in-caribbean-no-bananas-today.html

[407] CHAPTER 3 BANANA IMPORTING COUNTRIES AND TRADE POLICIES. (n.d.). Retrieved May 18, 2018, from http://www.fao.org/docrep/007/y5102e/y5102e06.htm

in December 2009 between the EU and the United States, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru and Venezuela, trying to end the world's longest running trade dispute. Under the deal the EU will gradually cut its import tariffs on bananas from Latin America in eight stages, from €176 a ton at the outset to €114 in 2017. In return, the other side will drop the actions it brought against the EU before the WTO for infringing the rules of international trade[408]. ACP countries will see the end of their banana trade advantage over the next seven years. The deal will see the EU gradually end its preferential treatment of banana exporters in ACP countries. Latin American countries are expected to drop complaints against the EU at the WTO in return, with the deal also expected to facilitate ongoing multilateral trade talks. Ecuadorian President Rafael Correa – whose country has been one of the most vocal critics of the discriminatory tariffs - used a visit to Brussels last month to step up pressure on the EU. The agreement must now be formally approved by each of the parties before it can be fully implemented[409].

If the full Parliament consents to the deal, this will mark the end of the 15-year long banana war. However, this end of banana war marks the threatening to less-competitive ACP countries. Under the deal, the United States multinationals will enjoy better access to the EU market, while making ACP and European banana market share shrink and income decline. Fears abound that this will jeopardize ACP development goals. In an attempt to offset their fears ACP countries are to receive up to € 200 million to help them adjust to stiffer competition; help to European producers should also be beefed up - there should be more money. MEPs also call for labor standards to be respected[410].

In November 2012, the European Union and 11 Latin American countries finally have signed an agreement that puts to rest a trade dispute dating to 1991 over tariffs on bananas, which are a vital export for several Latin American economies. Latin American banana exporters had long protested against EU's preferential arrangements designed to protect small growers in former European colonies in ACP countries[411]. The signing comes after the nations

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[408] Ending the banana wars: Who wins and who loses? | News | European Parliament. (2011, January 24). Retrieved May 18, 2018, from http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/world/20110121STO12285/ending-the-banana-wars-who-wins-and-who-loses

[409] EU ends 'banana wars' with Latin America. (n.d.). Retrieved May 18, 2018, from https://euobserver.com/economic/29162

[410] Ending the banana wars: Who wins and who loses? | News | European Parliament. (2011, January 24). Retrieved May 18, 2018, from http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/world/20110121STO12285/ending-the-banana-wars-who-wins-and-who-loses

[411] Banana war ends after 20 years. (2012, November 08). Retrieved May 18, 2018, from http://www.bbc.com/news/business-20263308

reached agreement in Geneva[412] in December 2009 for the EU to gradually reduce its tariffs on imported bananas from €176 (£140) per tonne to €114 within eight years[413].

The Geneva-based International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development predicts that the deal will cause banana prices to fall by up to 12% by 2016, which could have a huge impact on small producers in ACP countries. Banana imports to Europe from ACP countries could decline by up to 14% over the next 7 years. In order to ease the loss of ACP countries, a compensation package for ACP countries, worth 200 million euros, is included in the deal to help farmers become more competitive and offset some of the negative impact on their livelihoods[414].

Therefore, the EU has promised to give ACP countries more money because they are afraid they will not sell so many bananas to Europe any more as they could do before. As a result bananas imports from Latin American countries will increase. Bananas will get cheaper for EU citizens, probably by about 12 % over the next years[415].

Transatlantic relations-Competitive Interdependence between the EU and the United States

What is the significance of the long-running banana wars between the EU and the United States? During that period of time when the two sides were having trade disputes between each other and other Latin American countries, these disputes were brought to the WTO dispute settlement. Under a multilateral global organization, the conflicts between the EU and the challengers were solved there.

When speaking of the transatlantic relations upon this banana trade dispute, the so called "Competitive Interdependence (CI)" can help explain it, which characterizes the EU–US relationship vis-à-vis third markets. Under this type of relationship, each side views each other as its key geo-economic competitor in the world economy. Besides, "competitive interdependence" has developed as the EU has attempted to manage globalization in the field of trade policy by focusing on the multilateral level which in turn has expanded the EU's

[412] EU within days of deal to cut banana tariffs. (2009, November 18). Retrieved May 18, 2018, from https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/6596670/EU-within-days-of-deal-to-cut-banana-tariffs.html

[413] Staff, T. (2012, November 09). Banana war ends after 20 years. Retrieved May 18, 2018, from https://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/globalbusiness/9666147/Banana-war-ends-after-20-years.html

[414] The end of the 'banana wars'? : News and analysis. (n.d.). Retrieved May 18, 2018, from http://www.promusa.org/blogpost51-The-end-of-the-banana-wars

[415] English Online. (n.d.). Retrieved May 18, 2018, from http://www.english-online.at/economy/eu-banana-war/european-union-ends-banana-war.htm

territorial influence. Geo-economic competition between the EU and the US is thus key to shaping EU trade policy[416].

In the case of the banana trade wars, the EU offered the preferential arrangements for the ACP countries, in particular the ex-colonies of its Member States; as already mentioned in the historical overview of this issue, the United States viewed this as a conflict to its interests where the banana exporters in Latin America were under disadvantages. After several disputes settlement challenging the EU and various banana regime reforms by the EU, the final agreement marks a 'compromise' after several coordination and negotiations.

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[416] Alberta Sbragia (2010) The EU, the US, and trade policy: competitive interdependence in the management of globalization, Journal of European Public Policy, 17:3, 368-382, DOI: 10.1080/13501761003662016

Analytical portray of leadership: Cecilia Malmström (DG Trade)

Zormpa Ariadni Stavroula

"We are using trade to shape the world, to shape globalisation". Cecilia Malmström, 2018

Introduction

In 2014, Cecilia Malmström started her mandate as Commissioner for Trade after a successful four-year period as a Commissioner for Home Affairs (2010-2014). Serving as a Swedish politician and academic, she has gained significant knowledge over the years. However, what makes her different through her mandate is her commitment to the European values and her ability to promote them across the globe through the multiple bilateral trade agreements that she is responsible for. As a former member of the Swedish liberal party - a small group in the Stockholm parliament - Malmström can be characterized as socially liberal but fiscally conservative.

On behalf of the EU Member States, the Commission handles the area of trade an an exclusive competence of the EU. As a result, there lie high expectations on the role of the Commissioner, especially when it comes to trade negotiations with the rest of the world. In addition, the Commissioner of Trade is the EU representative in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and other international fora. Under the umbrella of these high importance responsibilities that the Trade Commissioner finds herself, the year of 2014 was indeed a difficult period to start her mandate. The EU-US trade agreement negotiations were ongoing since the previous EU Trade Commissioner, Karel de Gucht, was in charge. Although he had stated that this agreement has a "potential global reach in setting an example for future partners and agreements"[417], his closed door debates were condemned by the civil society.

This paper will focus on vital role of the current EU Trade Commissioner during the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) between the EU and USA. Main aim is to explain the reason why Cecilia Malmström is recognised as one of the key leaders through the whole period of negotiations. This analytical portray tries to point out that the EU Trade Commissioner is responsible not only on preserving a stable position in regards of the European

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[417] Karel de Gucht, Foreword in Jean-Frédéric Morin, Tereza Novotná, Frederik Ponjaert and Mario Telò, The Politics of Transatlantic Trade Negotiations, TTIP in a Globalized World, Routledge, 2015

interests, but also promoting and facilitating dialogue with her counterparts in controversial debates such as TTIP. Yet, her role has been widely criticised since she remained pro-TTIP though all the critical times.

The structure of the Transatlantic Radar Part II, the portray of Cecilia Malmström, will begin with a general overview of her mission as EU Trade Commissioner and more specifically through the negotiations of TTIP between the EU and US. Following, the criticism on Commission's position and the proposals answering to that are being analysed. Lastly, Cecilia Malmström relations with the US leaders, Presidents Barack Obama and Donald Trump, as well as the US Trade Representative Michael Froman are being reviewed.

The sources that have been used are Cecilia Malmström's speeches on behalf of TTIP, minutes of the negotiations rounds found on European Commission's site, her personal blog, as well as online newspapers and social media (Twitter).

TTIP Mandate

Among the focus points stated on the mission letter received by Juncker, "working towards a reasonable and balanced Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership with the United States of America, which neither threatens Europe's safety, health, social and data protection standards, nor jeopardises our cultural diversity."[418] This is indeed a difficult call that Cecilia Malmström had to undertake, since EU and US negotiating lines were not on the same level on several points.

While defending her new 'Trade for all' strategy she stated that: "We've learned an important lesson that the European citizens want trade to deliver real economic benefits and to contribute to growth, jobs and investment."[419] She understood from the very beginning that people and governments wanted to be aware of the procedures and negotiations. Moreover, she gave a clear message that no trade agreement will ever put into question the European standards of consumer or environmental protection and social standards.

The negotiating mandate[420] that the Commission received was clear and by keeping a low profile and a close relationship with the EU Member States, the Commissioner consulted regularly the Council and the Member States about TTIP and the multiple meetings that she attended.[421] In one of her own blog posts she noted that she is fully aware of what her

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[418]Cecilia Malmström profile in Europa available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/commissioners/2014-2019/malmstrom_en

[419] Trade for all available at: http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2015/october/tradoc_153846.pdf

[420] Council of the EU, Brussels, 9 October 2014, Negotiating mandate, http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-11103-2013-DCL-1/en/pdf

[421]Cecilia Malmström, Blogpost 13 May 2016, available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/commissioners/2014-2019/malmstrom/blog/today-trade-council-and-draft-report-ttip_en

negotiating lines are, and that she is fully committed to respect them.[422] In addition, she claimed to be fully committed to ensure an agreement by the end of 2016.

When it came to the actual negotiation rounds, Malmström was the one to first point out the key elements in order to make the agreement successful. For example, trade in services - to address long-standing existing barriers - as well as common principles for good regulatory practices, promotion of ambitious provisions on sustainable development, solutions to safeguard geographical indications, and a way forward on investment protection.[423] By pointing out these elements, she proved her debating skills on keeping the debate on European interests.

Additionally, what stems out for the profile of the EU Commissioner is that she has also successfully recognized the different elements that would arise as problematic areas during the negotiations. From the very beginning of her mandate she was certain that the discussions around TTIP would be difficult, although both sides wanted to conclude the agreement that was being discussed since 2013. One of the factors that could contribute as a threat for the negotiations was public procurement. "We know procurement is a sensitive issue in the US. (...) What the EU is looking for - on procurement, services, regulatory cooperation, geographical indications and investment - is doable, as long as the political will is there."[424]

From a transatlantic point of view, the EU Commissioner served as a bridge of cooperation between EU and US multiple times. One of her main aims from the beginning of her mandate was to ensure that cooperation with the opposite part of the Atlantic would remain strong, especially for the negotiations concerning TTIP. She made sure to emphasize in different occasions, that cooperation must be achieved to the greatest extent possible. Namely, in a speech that she gave in Washington in 2016, she highlighted not only "the particular importance of TTIP but also the need to work together at the World Trade Organisation and how our respective bilateral and regional agreements - such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership and the EU's recent agreements with Vietnam and Canada - were mutually beneficial".[425] Malmström also stated that cooperation would be assured through engagement. "On both sides of the Atlantic, we need full, frank, open and democratic discussions on trade policy."[426]

During the TTIP negotiations, the EU Commissioner remained faithful on her responsibility to defend the interests of the EU as a whole – rather than national interests. As stated at her mission letter, "the Agreement should recognise that sustainable development is an overarching objective of the Parties and that they will aim at ensuring and facilitating respect of international environmental and labour agreements and standards while promoting high levels of protection for the environment, labour and consumers, consistent with the EU acquis

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[422]Cecilia Malmström, Blogpost 2 May 2016, available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/commissioners/2014-2019/malmstrom/blog/negotiating-ttip_en
[423] Speech, June 2016, available at: http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/press/index.cfm?id=1520
[424] Ibid.
[425] Archive, 10 March 2016, http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/press/index.cfm?id=1472
[426] Speech: EU Trade Priorities in 2016 http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2016/march/tradoc_154345.pdf

and Member States' legislation".[427] Indeed, Cecilia Malmström said the EU had made the proposals for "sustainable development" measures as part of ongoing negotiations on TTIP. "Trade is not just about our economic interests, but also about values."[428]

Promoting European values and interests is in the core of the EU Commissioner's agenda. During negotiations, public speeches and interactions with the transatlantic partners, she spoke in favour of human rights, consumer rights and the environment. Furthermore, she has stated the following:

> *"Values are not only spread through academia, books or government outreach. They are passed on through people, commerce and the normal interaction that make up daily life. So we are using trade to shape the world, to shape globalisation."[429]*

Another aspect while defending the EU's interests is reflected on her work to promote transparency on transatlantic negotiations. President Juncker has noted that he expects enhanced transparency towards citizens and the European Parliament during all steps of the negotiations.[430] Committed to the EU Commission's transparency perspective, there have been published the key negotiating texts from all planned EU trade agreements.[431] For some, there was no doubt that such an agreement would be "the most transparent trade negotiation in history; that democratic accountability was ensured by the ratification process; and that negotiators needed to be able to discuss proposals in confidence in order to explore trade-offs, just as in any business negotiation."[432] Next to the negotiating texts by the EU side, round reports and position papers related to the debates are also published.

Criticism and proposals

Nevertheless, the Swedish Commissioner has also attracted a lot of criticism. One of the main criticisms that the EU Commissioner faced was on behalf of lobbying. According to the Independent, "in her first six months in office Ms Malmström, her Cabinet and the Director General of DG Trade had 121 one-on-one private lobby meetings in which TTIP was discussed."[433] Yet, this was already a great improvement towards the promised transparency,

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[427] Council of the EU, Brussels, 9 October 2014, Negotiating mandate, http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-11103-2013-DCL-1/en/pdf
[428] "Malmström: TTIP should be 'sustainable'", Politico,11 June 2014, https://www.politico.eu/article/malmstrom-ttip-news-sustainable/
[429] Archive, 12 March 2018, http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/press/index.cfm?id=1812
[430] Jean-Claude Juncker, Mission letter, 2014. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/commissioners/sites/cwt/files/commissioner_mission_letters/malmstrom_en.pdf
[431] The negotiating texts are available here: http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/press/index.cfm?id=1230
[432] "How to revive TTIP", Politico, September 2017, , https://www.politico.eu/article/opinion-how-to-revive-ttip/
[433]TTIP deal: Business lobbyists dominate talks at expense of trade unions and NGOs", The independent, August 2015,https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/ttip-deal-business-lobbyists-dominate-talks-at-expense-of-trade-unions-and-ngos-10475073.html

since "between January 2012 and February 2014, as TTIP discussions began, DG Trade had 597 behind-closed-door meetings with lobbyists to discuss the negotiations, according to internal Commission files obtained by research group Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO)".[434] Especially in the very beginning of her placement, she was accused of negotiating based on the rules of the lobbyists. More specifically, anti-poverty and environmental activists have publicly accused her.[435]

The TTIP negotiations, which concern the world's two largest economies, have attracted a significant interest from the public and civil society organizations, with much of the attention focusing on the provisions on investment protection and Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS).[436] It is not a secret that lobbying in the European Commission, especially for controversial debates such as TTIP, is happening on a large scale. The European Commission and the effect of the groups on the EU Commissioners as the initiators of EU legislation, is very important to these actors. According to a report by Transparency International in 2014, 84% of the lobbying in trade portfolio is dominated by corporate interests, while TTIP was one of the most discussed topics in lobbying meetings with the Commission.[437] The transparency measures by the Commision were not strictly applied for the lobbying meeting for TTIP.

In order to tackle the criticisms and on her way to achieve the required transparency level, Malmström revamped the investor court system in September 2015, turning it into a permanent dispute settlement court with 15 independent judges, an appellate mechanism of six judges, and more transparent procedures.[438] The new system would replace the ISDS mechanism in TTIP and bring upon a new dispute resolution for TTIP and beyond. This move reassured that Malmström is aiming for a more open trade with the world in general and TTIP is just one part of it.

However, the ISDS reforms produced more critics stating that the "regulatory cooperation is clearly an attempt by trade officials to put their interests first". A 2017 Corporate Europe Observatory analysis[439] shows all the different lobbying groups and their provocative role when it came to the TTIP discussions. Crucial was also the response by the EU institutions, especially from the European parliament. The Swedish Commissioner had to gain their support

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[434]"EU Trade Commissioner Cecilia Malmström accused of taking orders from corporate lobbyists", The Parliament, October 2015,
ttps://www.theparliamentmagazine.eu/articles/news/eu-trade-commissioner-cecilia-malmstr%C3%B6m-accused-taking-orders-corporate-lobbyists
[435]Ibid.
[436]Concept paper, Investment in TTIP and beyond – the path for reform
http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2015/may/tradoc_153408.PDF
[437] Transparency International EU, December 2015 http://transparency.eu/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Lobby-Meetings-European-Commission.pdf
[438] Hans Von Der Burchard, "5 things to watch on TTIP", Politico, February 2016,https://www.politico.eu/article/5-things-to-watch-on-ttip-eu-us-trade-european-commission/
[439]David Lundy, Corporate Europe Observatory, June 2017
https://corporateeurope.org/sites/default/files/lp_brussels_report_v7-spreads-lo.pdf

over different matters concerning trade agreements, including CETA and TTIP. Notably, MEP Ska Keller from the Greens/European Free Alliance commented that the agreement remains "a marketing stunt which fails to address the core problems of ISDS".[440]

Furthermore, the 2016 leaks of Greenpeace became a matter of concern since it was the first time that the US negotiating part became public. The public opinion was already preoccupied with the EU Commissioner's ability to convince the counterpart of the agreement on European standards. As a result the "stop TTIP" movement became strongest. In addition, it was confirmed by the leaked documents that negotiations are set by "a limited group of actors: big business, the US regulatory authorities, and the European Commission, while unelected officials are ready to further sacrifice European democratic rules and reduce the social and environmental protections, such as healthy working conditions and product safety, on the altar of trade."[441] The Greenpeace leaks were highly threatening Malmström's position because her promises seemed to deviate from reality.

As an answer, Malmström stated that "We want to go beyond traditional trade issues, and even beyond our most advanced FTAs. We want to look at the rules and regulations that affect international business. TTIP is not happening in isolation."[442]

Moreover, the Commissioner was extremely criticised considering the fact that the previous EU Trade Commissioner Karel De Gucht was seen as one of the most controversial figures of the Barroso Commission. The new appointed Commissioner proved to be more transparent on her activities and more devoted to her responsibilities. However, Malmström gave authorisation to De Gucht in March 2015 to enter the Management Board of Belgacom, by refraining his lobbying to the Commission.[443] Belgacom as a member of the lobby group European Telecommunications Network Operators' Association (ETNO) has been lobbying in TTIP behind closed doors, during the time that De Gucht was still in office. Since the telecoms sector is one of the three biggest lobbying groups in TTIP based on Corporate Europe Observatory, this activity was seen as highly-suspect from the sides of both former and current EU Trade Commissioners.

Relationships with United States

The EU Commissioner made efforts from the start of her mandate to keep close relations with her US partners, not only while negotiating the agreement but also in a more

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[440] Hans Von Der Burchard, "Malmström pitches new TTIP court", POLITICO, September 2015 https://www.politico.eu/article/commission-pitches-new-ttip-court-investor-malmstrom/
[441] Corporate Europe Observatory. "TTIP leaks highlight the dangers of regulatory cooperation", May 2016 https://corporateeurope.org/international-trade/2016/05/ttip-leaks-highlight-dangers-regulatory-cooperation
[442] Speech: "TTIP and Developing Countries", June 2016, http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/press/index.cfm?id=1514
[443] Decision available at: http://ec.europa.eu/transparency/regdoc/rep/10061/2015/EN/10061-2015-2120-EN-F1-1.PDF

personal level. When Malmström was appointed as trade Commissioner, the US Trade Representative Michael Froman "congratulated her for winning the support of the EU parliament through her confirmation process".[444] In addition, multiple meetings and Twitter posts confirmed their positive relations. In 2016 after the TTIP negotiating documents were leaked by Greenpeace, Froman "joined forces with his EU counterpart. He described the anti-TTIP comments as misleading at best and flat out wrong at worst."[445] They were both convinced that the negotiations were going to be concluded before Obama's administration. In their Joint 2017 report it was stated that: "TTIP has the potential to turn the already immensely successful U.S. and EU economic relationship into an even stronger driver of mutual prosperity for decades to come."[446]

Nevertheless, negotiations had to be "put in the freezer" as the Swedish Commissioner commented because of President Trump. Yet, she maintains diplomatic relations with the new US President without being hesitant to admit that a possible delay would not mean the end of TTIP agreement. She realises that he will seek to implement his "America first" campaign first,[447] however Malmström has proved to be respectful to her mandate. Thus, she wrote in her blog that "our negotiators have made significant strides since 2013, identifying landing zones for certain issues, finding common ground on other important issues, and clarifying the remaining differences."[448]

Although the future relations with her US counterparts remain blurred, Malmström proves again her dynamic as a negotiator and that she is tough when the European values are threatened.

Conclusion

Selected by Politico in the 'women who shape Brussels' in 2017, Cecilia Malmström has been characterized as an EU official with a truly global profile. As an ex-MEP she has the necessary insight into parliamentary workings. This enabled her to be well-prepared when she had to better push proposals through her colleagues on EU side but also on the other side of the atlantic.

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[444] Office of the US Trade Representative, Press release, 2014, https://ustr.gov/about-us/policy-offices/press-office/press-releases/2014/November/Readout-Amb-Froman-Call-with-EU-Commissioner-for-Trade-Cecilia-Malmstr%C3%B6m

[445] Froman joins forces with Malmström in defence of TTIP, May 2016, http://www.borderlex.eu/eutradeinsights/froman-joins-forces-with-malmstrom-in-defence-of-ttip/

[446] U.S.-EU Joint Report on TTIP Progress to Date, January 2017 http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2017/january/tradoc_155242.pdf

[447] "The EU is profiting from Trump: Swedish EU Commissioner", The Local, February 2017 https://www.thelocal.se/20170221/the-eu-is-profiting-from-trump-swedish-eu-commissioner

[448] Blog post "TTIP assessment and pause", January 2017, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/commissioners/2014-2019/malmstrom/blog/ttip-assessment-and-pause_en

Furthermore, Malmström is a true European. She has never neglected to promote the European values across the globe, and more specifically during her bilateral negotiations for TTIP. As a matter of fact, the European trade Commissioner has increased transparency, consumer protection and democratic ruling.

During the negotiations, she also stayed devoted to her transatlantic mandate. Facing the unprecedented criticism on the trade agreement, she clearly stated that "TTIP would bring new prosperity on both sides of the Atlantic and give us the chance to forge high standards for global trade – it is an opportunity not to be missed."[449] In addition, she has been challenged by national governments, since EU leaders have ensured her to continue on the negotiations, but have publicly sided with combatants in their home countries.[450]

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[449] Cecilia Malmström and Jonathan Hill, :Don't believe the anti-TTIP hype – increasing trade is a no-brainer" The Guardian.
https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/feb/16/ttip-transatlantic-trade-deal-businesses
[450] "TTIP under pressure from protesters as Brussels promises extra safeguards:,The Guardian, 2015.
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