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THE NEW TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY NETWORK

Chantal de Jonge Oudraat

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THE NEW TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY NETWORK

Chantal de Jonge Oudraat

I. INTRODUCTION

The United States and its European allies often found themselves at loggerheads in the 1990s. Disputes over arms control, peacekeeping operations in the Balkans, the environment, and the role of the United Nations (UN) were frequent. European governments repeatedly accused the United States of being disengaged and not living up to its responsibilities as a global power. When it did, they feared U.S. power and its disdain for multilateral approaches to international problems.

The Republican victory in the U.S. presidential election of 2000 intensified European concerns and complaints. Indeed, George W. Bush had strong unilateral impulses, and he promised to walk away from the climate negotiations, the negotiations on a verification protocol for the Biological Weapons Convention, the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, and the treaty establishing the International Criminal Court. Bush insisted on developing a national missile defense for the United States and the necessity of increasing the U.S. defense budget. His administration derided the Clinton and European approaches to North Korea, Iraq, Iran, and the Middle East, and it lambasted European governments for not doing enough in terms of burden sharing, particularly in the Balkans.

The September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon brought only a temporary halt to this transatlantic bickering. Within months, Europeans could again be heard complaining about U.S. hubris and Washington's disdain of international rules. They feared that the U.S. responses in the war against terrorism would be primarily—and excessively—military in nature. The French newspaper *Le Monde*, which on September 12 had published an editorial under the banner "We are all Americans," would five months later lead with the headline "Has the United States gone crazy?"[1] Mainstream conservative American commentators would deride Europeans as "cheese-eating surrender monkeys."[2]

The debate over transatlantic relations features two main schools of thought—the establishment school and the estrangement school.

The establishment school of thought argues that there are no fundamental problems in U.S.-European relations.[3] They contend that the main pillars of that relationship are strong.

The author would like to gratefully acknowledge comments by Michael E. Brown on an earlier draft of this paper.

[1] Quoted in Nicole Gnesotto and Philip H. Gordon, "It's Time for a Trans-Atlantic Summit," *International Herald Tribune*, March 13, 2002.

[2] Jonah Goldberg, a senior editor of *National Review*, cited in Paul Gottfried, "'Cheese-eating surrender monkeys' Anti Americanism is on the rise in Europe, but, says Paul Gotfried, so is anti-Europeanism in America," *The Spectator*, June 1, 2002.

[3] Government and NATO representatives are typical spokespersons of this school of thought. See, for example, Ronald D. Asmus, "United We'll Stand," *Washington Post*, May 6, 2002; Debate, Ronald Asmus vs. Charles Grant: "Can NATO Remain an Effective Military and Political Alliance if it Keeps

They base this optimistic view on four main propositions. First, they maintain that the U.S. and Europe, despite the end of the cold war, continue to face common security threats. Second, they believe that governing élites on both sides of the Atlantic have a mutual appreciation of the transatlantic power relationship. Third, they argue that the U.S. and European governments have many common interests. Fourth, they insist that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is and will continue to be—the centerpiece of U.S.-European relations.

The estrangement school of thought argues that the United States and Europe are drifting apart and are headed for divorce.[4] Proponents of this school of thought—the estrangers—also have four main propositions. First, they contend that the strategic landscape has changed. With the end of the cold war, the United States and Europe no longer face a shared threat to their survival. They therefore no longer need to stick together. Second, they predict that America's unipolar moment will not last, and that it will lead to counterbalancing efforts by others—including the European Union (EU). Third, they argue that the United States and Europe have increasingly divergent interests and different ways of looking at the world. They maintain that the United States and Europe have increasingly conflicting economic interests, in part because demographic shifts are changing domestic politics on both sides of the Atlantic and attitudes towards U.S.–European relations. Fourth, they believe that fear was the essential element that kept the Alliance together. With the disappearance of the Soviet threat NATO—hitherto the centerpiece of U.S.-European relations—has become irrelevant. They believe NATO will most likely disappear.

In this paper, I argue that both schools of thought are off-target in important respects. I develop three alternative arguments with respect to U.S.-European relations.

First, the fundamentals of the transatlantic relationship are strong; in this regard, the establishment is right and the estrangers are wrong. Although the end of the cold war brought about many structural changes in the international system, it did not change the

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Growing," *NATO Review*, Spring 2002; Antony J. Blinken, "The False Crisis over the Atlantic," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 80, No.3, May/June 2001, pp.35-48; Wesley Clark, *Waging Modern War* (New York: Public Affairs, 2001); Wesley Clark, Chas Freeman, Jr., Max Cleland and Gordon Smith, *Permanent Alliance? NATO's Prague Summit and Beyond* (Washington D.C. The Atlantic Council, Report of the Atlantic Council Working Group on the Future of the Atlantic Alliance, April 2001); Robert J. Lieber, "No Transatlantic Divorce in the Offing," *Orbis*, Fall 2000, pp. 571-584; Christian Tusschoff, "The Ties That Bind: Allied Commitments and NATO Before and After September 11," in Esther Brimmer, Benjamin Schreer, and Christian Tuschoff, *Contemporary Perspectives on European Security* (Washington D.C.: American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, German Issues 27, 2002), pp.71-95.

[4] See, for example, Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review*, No.113, June/July 2002; Charles Kupchan, "After Pax Americana: Benign Power, Regional Integration and the Sources of a Stable Multipolarity," *International Security*, Vol. 23, No.2, Fall 1998, pp.40-79; Julian Lindley-French, *Terms of Engagement: The Paradox of American Power and the Transatlantic Dilemma Post-11 September* (Paris: Institute for Security Studies, May 2002, Chaillot Papers, No.52); Jessica Matthews, "Estranged Allies," *Foreign Policy*, November/December 2001, pp.48-53.; John J. Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the cold war," *International Security*, Vol. 15, No.1, Summer 1990, pp. 5-56; John J. Mearsheimer, "The Future of the American Pacifier," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 80, No.5, September/October 2001, pp.46-61; John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2001); Stephen M. Walt, "The Ties That Fray: Why Europe and America Are Drifting Apart," *The National Interest*, Winter 1989/99, pp.3-11.

fundamentals of the transatlantic relationship. The United States and Europe still face many common security threats. They also have a mutual appreciation of the existing transatlantic power relationship. Finally, they have many common interests. I contend that the transatlantic relationship will continue to be strong, and it will continue to be cooperative.

Second, both the establishment and the estrangers are wrong when it comes to understanding the form of the transatlantic security relationship. The establishment is convinced that NATO will remain the centerpiece of the transatlantic security relationship. This ignores the fact that patterns of behavior and policy interactions are already changing: NATO is no longer the centerpiece of the transatlantic security relationship, and it is becoming less and less important in U.S.–European relations. NATO is gradually withering away. The estrangers have a better appreciation that institutional frameworks are changing, but they are too fixated on what is happening to established institutions. Unlike the estrangers, I argue that the withering away of NATO does not mean that U.S.-European relations are headed for divorce. It only means that the *form* of the transatlantic security relationship is changing. The absence of any major security threat in Europe and the fact that most threats to international security are now found outside of Europe, are diverse in nature, and are often ill-defined are leading to the emergence of a different type of transatlantic security relationship. These extra-regional threats require flexible and multi-pronged responses. In sum, I contend that the institutional framework of the transatlantic security relationship is transforming.

My third and final argument is that the transatlantic security relationship that is now emerging can best be described as a network. This network has five main features.

First, ties in this network are fluid, dynamic, and issue-specific. They are shaped by the evolving transatlantic and global security agenda. The network changes shape to deal with new security threats as they emerge.

Second, the main actors of this network are states, and the core of this new transatlantic security network consists of bilateral relations between the United States and the leading European powers—France, Germany, and the UK.

Third, the core of the network is supplemented by relations in existing multilateral institutions—NATO, the UN, the EU, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Group of Eight (G-8). Institutions are being brought into policy deliberations by the leading powers only on an ad-hoc basis. In the past, NATO was at the center of the transatlantic security relationship; it now has to compete with other institutions, and it often plays a secondary if not tertiary role. The smaller European powers are more marginalized than ever in the new transatlantic security network. They are often heard only through existing multilateral institutions.

Fourth, the network is relatively autonomous. Disputes in other areas—such as the economic arena—have little effect on relations in the security network.

Fifth, many network activities are conducted outside the public view. They are consequently difficult to trace. This raises serious public accountability problems.

I do four things in this paper. First, I examine the fundamentals of the transatlantic relationship, analyzing the arguments put forward by analysts who predict a divorce, as well as those who believe that the relationship will continue in its current form. Second, I

examine the changing institutional framework of transatlantic relations. I show how the limitations and inefficiencies associated with NATO and the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) have led to the emergence of what I call the Transatlantic Security Network. Third, I outline the characteristics of this Transatlantic Security Network. Finally, I propose some policy recommendations for governments on both sides of the Atlantic.

II. THE FUNDAMENTALS OF THE TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP

Debates about the solidity of the transatlantic relationship have waxed and waned ever since the end of World War II. The fall of the Berlin Wall brought about much speculation about the future of transatlantic relations. Two main schools of thought have developed—the establishment and the estrangers. With respect to the fundamentals of U.S.-European relations—that is, threats, power, and interests —their disagreements focus on four main questions: (1) What is the impact of the changed strategic landscape? (2) Are divergent worldviews developing on the different sides of the Atlantic? (3) Do U.S. and European economic interests contain the seeds for conflict and divorce? (4) How do demographic shifts in the United States and Europe change the transatlantic relationship?

The Strategic Landscape

It is indisputable that the end of the cold war had far reaching consequences for the international system and transatlantic relations. The estrangers believe that the disappearance of the Soviet threat has removed the essential element that brought and kept the United States and Europe together for forty years—clear and present dangers to their common security. They argue that the disappearance of the Soviet threat has eliminated the rationale for U.S. engagement in Europe. They also foresee the emergence of a more multipolar world. This in turn will lead to more visible and significant conflicts of interests, if not major crisis and war.[5] Many estrangers also believe that U.S. primacy will trigger counterbalancing behavior by European powers, in particular.[6]

However, none of this has happened, and it is not likely to happen any time soon. Conflict in the Balkans has perpetuated U.S. engagement in Europe. The United States, albeit belatedly, has recognized that civil conflict in Central and Eastern Europe poses a threat to security in Europe and to U.S. –European relations.

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[5] See, for example, Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future"; Mearsheimer, "The Future of the American Pacifier"; Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power;* and Stephen M. Walt, "The Ties That Fray." Mearsheimer argues that the prospects for major crisis and war will markedly increase because of the end of the cold war. He believes that the distribution and character of military power are the root causes of war and peace. He asserts that peace had been maintained in Europe because of three factors: (1) the bi-polar distribution of military power; (2) military equality between the United States and the USSR; and (3) the large nuclear arsenals possessed by both superpowers. The departure of the superpowers from Europe, he believes, "would transform Europe from a bipolar to a multipolar system." Stephen Walt is less pessimistic than Mearsheimer, but he also believes that structural forces are pulling Europe and America apart.

[6] See, for example, Charles A. Kupchan, "After Pax Americana," and Peter W. Rodman, *Drifting Apart? Trends in U.S.-European Relations* (Washington, D.C.: The Nixon Center, 1999).

Moreover, other security threats have brought the United States. and Europe closer together. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and terrorism top the list of security concerns on both sides of the Atlantic. Although most of these threats have their origin outside of Europe, modern, wired, and open societies like the United States. and Europe are particularly vulnerable to these types of global threats. The United States and Europe thus have strong common interests to combat these dangers.

Finally, as William Wohlforth argues unipolarity is likely to be both more durable and more peaceful than predicted by most estrangers.[7] America's "decisive preponderance in all the underlying components of power: economic, military, technological and geopolitical" means that no other power is in a position to challenge the United States. Moreover, those who would be tempted to do so—China, Germany, Japan, and Russia—are likely to face counterbalancing efforts by other states in their respective regions. Regional rivals pose a greater threat to those states than continuing U.S. preponderance.[8] European leaders, have a keen understanding of these power asymmetries.[9]

In sum, the end of the cold war brought about important changes in the security landscape. It eliminated the Soviet threat in Europe, but it did not eliminate all security threats. The United States and Europe continue to have strong interests to combat these threats jointly.

Worldviews

For the estrangers, the drift in U.S. –European relations has its roots not only in the profound structural changes that took place in the international system toward the end of the twentieth century, but also in fundamentally different—and diverging—world views.

The debate over unilateralism vs. multilateralism in the 1990s and 2000s is for many estrangers not just a debate about policy instruments, but a manifestation of divergent worldviews. Robert Kagan, a conservative American analyst, for example, argues that European strategic culture no longer supports *Realpolitik* or balance of power politics. He contends that, "Europe in the past half century has developed a genuinely different perspective on the role of power in international relations." [10] Europe "has produced an aversion to force as a tool of international relations."[11] According to Kagan, "The new Europe has succeeded not by balancing power but by transcending power. And now Europeans have become evangelists for their 'postmodern' gospel of international relations,"

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[7] See William C. Wohlforth, "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No.1, Summer 1999, pp.5-41; and Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, " American Primacy in Perspective," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No.4, pp.20-33.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Differences in power define the parameters of the contributions of allies—including European allies—to this fight. Attempts by the EU to develop more military muscle are unlikely to change these power asymmetries any time soon.

[10] See Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review*, June-July 2002, No.113, p.12. See also Robert Kagan, "The U.S.-Europe Divide, *Washington Post*, May 26, 2002, p. B07.

[11] Kagan, "Power and Weakness."

that preaches international law over the use of force, seduction over coercion, multilateralism over unilateralism.[12]

Have Europeans really abandoned—or transcended—what German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer calls "the old system of balance with its continued national orientation, constraints of coalition, traditional interest-led politics and the permanent danger of nationalist ideologies and confrontations."?[13] Recent European history does not justify such a conclusion.

The huge disparity in power between Europe and the United States often limits European responses to international challenges—and excludes the use of force. However, this disparity does not necessarily lead Europeans to view threats differently. Differences of opinion between the United States and Europe reside not so much in the definition of international security threats, but over the proper response to these threats. Saddam Hussein, the conflict in the Middle East, the prospect of WMD-armed terrorists, and the possible development of a nuclear capability by North Korea are seen as serious threats on both sides of the Atlantic. Differences exist on how to respond to these threats. Europeans, because of their more limited capabilities and their different material interests in each of these cases, make different cost/benefit calculations than Americans. They do not have fundamentally different worldviews. [14]

In addition, despite the fact that European states are advancing on the road of integration, national interests continue to define the position of all European countries. Europe was incapable of devising a unified and effective response to the wars in the Balkans.[15] The EU member states remain deeply divided over issues ranging from agricultural policy to the building of a European defense capacity. As one analyst put it the November 2000 Nice summit and "its unseemly spectacle of fifteen countries scrambling for position was hardly a shinning example of inter-governmentalism at work."[16] According to this observer, "Nice gave the lie to the claim that the EU is rushing towards becoming a

[12] Kagan, "Power and Weakness."

[13] Cited in Kagan, "Power and Weakness," p.12.

[14] Even on policy questions such as the war against terrorism and the Middle East European and American policy positions are much closer than many think. See, for example, Marianne van Leeuwen, *EU and US Security Relations and the New Transatlantic Agenda: Two Case Studies* (The Hague: Clingendael, January 1999). Van Leeuwen argues that American and European goals with regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict are characterized by agreement rather than disagreement. Both favor a final, negotiated settlement and the establishment of a Palestinian state. See also Jim Hoagland, "Europe's Mideast Mellowing," *Washington Post*, July 14, 2002, p.B7.

[15] Conflicts between Germany, on the one hand, and France and the U.K., on the other, flared up in 1991 and 1992. By 1992, it was clear that Europe was not able to solve this conflict. By involving the United Nations and opting for a coercive approach, France and the United Kingdom wanted to get the United States involved. They also pushed Germany to the sidelines. On Germany's role see, Hanns W. Maull, "Germany in the Yugoslav Crisis," *Survival*, Vol. 37, No.4, Winter 1995-96, pp. 99-130.

[16] See Heather Grabbe, "What Comes After Nice," *Centre for European Reform Policy Brief*, January 2002.

super-state."[17] Subsequent discussions on the future of the Union have also seen increased tensions among the small and big powers in the EU.[18]

If, pacifism—the rejection of power politics and the use of force—defines Europe's outlook on the world of today, what are we to make of the more muscular and nationalistic political discourse that has become so popular in Europe? It is hard to reconcile the pacifist projection with the German decision in November 2001 to make available close to 3,900 German soldiers for the fight against international terrorism and the war in Afghanistan. In 1991, Germany was willing to provide only financial support to the international effort to remove Saddam Hussein from Kuwait. Ever since the mid-1990s, Germany has been increasingly more engaged in world politics in both political and military terms. By the turn of the century it played a prominent role in the Balkans, with large number of troops deployed in the region. Berlin was also quick to offer its services in 2001 in connection with the Afghan reconstruction and stabilization effort. In the spring of 2002 German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer and Chancellor Gerard Schröder also proposed the dispatch of German soldiers to the Middle East.

German analysts write about Germany's multilateral reflex, and ponder whether Germany is now a "normal" power—that is, one that engages in traditional great power behavior and has shed its foreign policy "culture of restraint."[19] Close examination of German foreign policy shows that German politicians have been keenly aware of German national interests throughout the post-cold war period. Moreover, German politicians emphasize the fact that since unification Germany has regained its full sovereignty. This is not the vocabulary of geo-strategic "post-modernists." Berlin now seems eager to play a role not only in the European theater, but also globally.

More generally, Europe's aversion to the use of military force is difficult to square with overwhelming public support in Europe—around 75 percent—for the ESDP.[20] Similarly, Europeans were quick to support their governments' requests to send combat troops to Afghanistan.

Europeans often like to think of themselves as more sophisticated than their American counterparts. They also like to emphasize that they have a different approach to world

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[17] Ibid. See also the discussions among the members of the Convention on the EU's future.

[18] Small European powers were particularly irritated by the closed meeting held by Tony Blair, Jacques Chirac, and Gerhard Schroeder in October 2001, a few hours before the meeting of the European Council in Gent. The EU Chair, occupied by Belgium, was not invited. According to Mark Eyskens, the former Belgian Minister, the British, French and German '*directoire*' may be frustrating for the small powers, but it is not surprising. See Mark Eyskens, "Europe, dat is Parijs-London-Berlijn," *De Standaard*, October 25, 2001, p.9.

[19] For a good overview of this literature, see Christian Tuschhoff, "Explaining the Multilateral Reflex: German Foreign Policy, 1949-2002," Paper presented at the 42rd Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, New Orleans, March 24-27, 2002.

[20] See Frauke N. Bielka and Christan Tuschhoff, "Common Threats: Diverging Reponses," (Washington, D.C.: AICGS-Paper, 2002) at [www.aicgs.org]. See also Public Opinion and European Defence: Results of a European Opinion Survey at [http://europa.eu.int/comm/dg10/epo/eb/surveys.html].

problems than Americans.[21] Being engaged in endless negotiations not just in Brussels, but also in their own capitals and home regions, European politicians often seem to have become addicted to process. Americans are generally seen as more result-oriented. Europeans and Americans clearly do not see eye to eye on every issue. They have different approaches to the role of the state in domestic affairs, as well as welfare and environment policies. These differences flow from different political and cultural traditions. However, Europeans and Americans also share many basic and fundamental values—democracy, free trade, market economies, and respect for human rights. Power and the use of force are acceptable policy instruments also for many European governments. However, the absence of any real capabilities in this regard limits European policy options.

Economic Interests

Analysts also point to economic factors to explain the alleged drift in US-European relations.[22] Three issues are raised in this context: (1) trade disputes between the United States and Europe; (2) the advent and the role of the Euro; and (3) the emergence of Asia.

The conflictual nature of U.S.–European trade relations and clashes over import restrictions on steel, and agricultural products such as bananas, beef, and wine have received much publicity on both sides of the Atlantic. Competition policy and investment issues have also been the subject of many disagreements in the 1990s. Energy and environment issues as well as financial relations are also cited as "potential landmines." Renowned economic analysts argue that the United States and the EU "are on the brink of a major trade and economic conflict."[23]

Two issues need to be kept in mind when assessing these claims.

First, Europe and the United States are not each other's main trading partners. Indeed, both the United States and Europe have always been more heavily engaged with their Regional Trade Agreement (RTA) partners. (See Table 1.) Moreover, although the EU and the United States account for 70 percent of world merchandise trade, their bilateral trade is less than 10 percent of world trade.[24] EU merchandise exports to the U.S. amount to only 3.9 percent of EU GDP. U.S. exports to the EU amount to a mere 2.6 percent of U.S. GDP. Services exports are around 1 percent of GDP for both regions. [25] Bilateral EU-U.S. trade is hence of comparatively little importance for either region.

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[21] Recent discussions in Washington D.C. with German and Dutch politicians. See also www.aicgs.org; and Kevin Featherstone and Roy H. Ginsberg, *The United States and the European Union in the 1990s: Partners in Transition* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996).

[22] See note 4. See also C. Fred Bergsten, "America's Two-Front Economic Conflict," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 2, March/April 2001, p.17; C. Fred Bergsten, "The Transatlantic Century," *Washington Post*, April 25, 2002.

[23] See, for example, Bergsten, "America's Two-Front Economic Conflict,"p.17.

[24] See Andre Sapir, "Old and New Issues in EC-US Trade Disputes," Paper presented at a Conference on *Transatlantic Perspectives on US-EU Economic Relations: Convergence, Conflict and Cooperation*, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, April 11-12, 2002. This paper can be found at www.ksg.harvard.edu/cbg/conferences.

[25] See Wilhelm Kohler, "Issues of US-EU Trade Policy," Paper presented at a Conference on *Transatlantic Perspectives on US-EU Economic Relations: Convergence, Conflict and Cooperation*, John

Second, many EU-U.S. trade disputes are surmountable disputes and get resolved through negotiation or adjudication. If U.S.-EU trade disputes are disaggregated, it appears that most transatlantic conflicts concern market access issues—that is, limits on the import of certain goods and services.[26] Gary Clyde Hufbauer and Frederic Neuman have shown that these conflicts almost always get resolved through negotiation and WTO adjudication mechanisms.[27]

Conflicts over industrial policy—that is, conflicts centered on "the preferential treatment of domestic industries and different competition policy norms for industrial mergers"—are more difficult to solve.[28] Few of these disputes find their way to WTO adjudication mechanisms. Indeed, they often do not involve clear-cut violations of world trade rules. Moreover, these policies are often rooted in domestic political priorities, and are hence costly to change. In addition, governments on both sides of the Atlantic resort to these types of protective policies. According to Hufbauer and Neuman the result is 'a modus vivendi': costly industrial policies coexist on both sides of the Atlantic, accompanied by protracted negotiations aimed at clarifying the rules of the road and perhaps phasing down levels of support."[29] This produces sub-optimal results from an economic standpoint, but it will not inevitably generate a fundamental break in U.S.-EU relations.

A third category of trade disputes identified by Hufbauer and Neuman is the ideological-based trade dispute. These type of conflicts "have a commercial core, but they are inflamed by wider public concerns," having to do with labor standards, the environment, health, and foreign policy.[30] The public and political dimensions of these disputes make them hard to resolve, but the economic impact of these types of conflicts has been limited.[31]

If one looks at other economic indicators, such as Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) figures, a different picture emerges. Close relations and high levels of interdependence are in fact the rule. It is notable that Europe is the main international investor in the United States. According to the U.S. Department of Commerce, European investment in the United States was almost $900 billion—64.8 percent of total U.S. inward stock and 25.8 percent of total

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F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, April 11-12, 2002. This paper can be found at www.ksg.harvard.edu/cbg/conferences.

[26] See Gary Clyde Hufbauer and Frederic Neumann, " US-EU Trade and Investment: An American Perspective," Paper presented at the Conference on *Transatlantic Perspectives on US-EU Economic Relations: Convergence, Conflict and Cooperation*, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, April 11-12, 2002. This paper can be found at: www.ksg.harvard.edu/cbg/conferences and at www.iie.com.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Examples include the dispute surrounding the European Common Agricultural Policy and the conflict over the US Foreign Sales Corporation (FSC) and the Extraterritorial Income Exclusion Act (ETI).

[29] See Hufbauer and Neuman, *Transatalantic Perspectives on US-EU Economic Relations*, p.7-8.

[30] The conflicts over Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs) and the Iran Non-Proliferation Act are examples.

[31] Hufbauer and Neuman argue that "in most ideological disputes, the NGOs, the concerned public and the media have no real interest in an expeditious resolution. They want to ventilate, and government officials should give them time and space to do just that." See Hufbauer and Neuman, *Transatalantic Perspectives on US-EU Economic Relations*, p.12.

EU outward stock. The United States has $650 billion of direct investments in Europe—46.1 percent of total U.S. outward stock and 24.1 percent of total EU inward stock.[32]

In sum, EU-U.S. trade disputes receive a great deal of publicity, but they do not contain the seeds of divorce and dissolution.[33]

Table 1: Merchandise Trade Export and Imports (in percentages)

	RTA Partners	Europe	U.S.	Africa	Asia	Latin America (excl. Mexico)	Middle East
Exports from U.S. to	37.1	21.1	-	1.4	27.4	7.5	2.4
Exports from EU to	27.0	-	23.8	6.5	21.3	6.0	6.3
Imports into US from	30.2	18.1	-	2.3	37.3	6.0	3.2
Imports into EU from	22.5	-	20.3	7.5	32.2	4.9	4.6

Source: Andre Sapir, "Old and New Issues in EC-US Trade Disputes," Paper presented at a Conference on *Transatlantic Perspectives on US-EU Economic Relations: Convergence, Conflict and Cooperation*, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, April 11-12, 2002. This paper can be found at: www.ksg.harvard.edu/cbg/conferences.

The second issue raised in discussions about the state of U.S.-EU economic relations is the advent and role of the Euro. Many U.S. analysts saw the introduction of the euro as an attempt to ensure a more significant geopolitical role for Europe in the world at large.[34] The euro is expected by some to become a powerful rival to the dollar that could eventually challenge the position of the dollar as an international reserve currency.[35] For the United States, this would have consequences in terms of downward pressures on the dollar in currency markets, which in turn could make it costlier for the United States to borrow money abroad and might lead the Federal Reserve to raise interest rates.

While the introduction of the euro was a huge success in Europe, the euro has not yet attained similar international success and is far from dislodging the dollar. According to C. Fred Bergsten, for the euro to acquire its full international potential, four things need to happen.[36] First, Europe needs to integrate its money and capital markets. Second, Europe

[32] See T.R. Reid, "Buying American? Maybe Not. Many U.S. Brands European-Owned," *Washington Post*, May 18, 2002, p. E01.

[33] See also Featherstone and Ginsberg, *The United States and the European Union.*

[34] See, for example, Peter W. Rodman, *Drifting Apart?: Trends in U.S.-European Relations* (Washington, D.C.: The Nixon Center, 1999), p.13. He cites many European politicians to sustain his case.

[35] See C. Fred Bergsten, "The Euro Versus the Dollar: Will there be a Struggle for Dominance?," Paper presented to a Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association, Atlanta, January 4, 2002, p.7; and Rodman, "*Drifting Apart?*," pp.11-26.

[36] See Bergsten, "The Euro vs. the Dollar."

needs to speak with a single voice on macroeconomic and monetary issues.[37] Third, Europe needs to improve its economic performance. Fourth, the United States has to stumble and engage in major economic mismanagement. According to Bergsten, "inertia is so strong in financial affairs that it may be impossible to dislodge an incumbent unless that incumbent essentially abdicates."[38] The latter is unlikely to happen in the foreseeable future.[39]

The third issue raised in the debate about U.S.-EU economic relations is the emergence of Asia. By the end of the 1990s East Asia had an economic weight roughly comparable to that of the United States and Europe.[40] Stephen Walt has pointed out that even in the early 1980s Asia surpassed Europe as the main target of U.S. trade.[41] He has argued that this shift "in economic activity from Europe to Asia [would] inevitably lead U.S. policymakers to devote more attention and energy" to Asia.[42]

Asia has become an important economic partner not just for the United States, but also for Europe. The Asian market is large, and Americans and Europeans support policies that favor free trade. For years, Europeans have been afraid of a strategic re-direction of U.S. concerns and interests from Europe to Asia. They feared such a redirection because of its security implications. The end of the cold war makes this less of a concern. Moreover, it is likely that a U.S. re-direction towards Asia—if it occurs—will not be driven by trade relations, but because of more traditional security considerations—proliferation issues, the Korean question, the war against terrorism, the nuclear confrontation between Pakistan and India and their continuing conflict over Kashmir. U.S. attention to Asia, however, does not necessarily come at the expense of the Europeans.[43]

Demographics and Cultural Values

Stephen Walt and others have also pointed to demographic developments on both sides of the Atlantic. They argue that the changing ethnic make-up of the United States and the declining importance of U.S. citizens from European descent, as well as a westward shift of

[37] Europe has been able to do so in the trade field, in part because many of these trade issues get decided on the market place rather than in government offices. See Ibid.

[38] Ibid., p.8.

[39] Early 2002 economic indicators showed that the appetite for U.S. assets has slowed—investments levels dropped from $281 billion in 2000 to $149 billion in 2001. See Charles P. Wallace, "Flying Higher," *Time* (Europe ed.), Vol. 159, No.24, June 17, 2002. That said, no massive transfer of currencies has occurred. It may also be noted that the United States continues to outperform Europe in terms of overall economic growth rates.

[40] See C. Fred Bergsten, "America's Two-Front Economic Conflict," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 2, March/April 2001, p. 21. Bergsten recognizes that Asia's disunity has precluded it from achieving equal status on the global scene.

[41] See Walt, "The Ties That Fray," p.6.

[42] Walt, "The Ties That Fray."

[43] U.S. interest in the region is also motivated by the fact that the most likely challenge to the United States' dominant position in the world will probably come from China. That said, it must be noted that despite its huge latent power potential in terms of population, geopolitics and economic might, China has a long way to go before it can challenge the United States.

the U.S. population away from the Atlantic are likely to weaken transatlantic solidarity.[44] In addition, the new generation "may recognize the value of transatlantic cooperation (…) but it will never kindle the reflexive emotional response that it did for their parents and grandparents." It is therefore argued that Europe will no longer occupy "the pride of place" it used to during the cold war and when those who fought in World War II were devising foreign policy.

Walt argues that a similar loosening of the transatlantic bond will occur in Europe. Many of those now in power in Europe do not see Americans as the liberators of their homelands. Having grown up during the 1960s and later, they have a more critical view of the United States.

However, these reflexive emotions are counterbalanced by the pervasive nature of American culture in European society today. As Anthony Blinken observes, "a closer look shows that, far from diverging, the United States and Europe are converging culturally," be it on the death penalty, guns or genetically modified foods.[45]

Moreover, travel between the United States and Europe is important. Approximately 48 percent of all U.S. resident overseas travelers travel to Europe, compared to 18 percent for Asia. Of the overseas travelers arriving in the United States, almost 50 percent come from Europe, compared to a little less than 30 percent from Asia and 20 percent from Latin America.[46] Visitors from Europe are expected to surpass 13 million by 2004, an increase of 19 percent over 2000.[47]

Finally, public opinion polls regarding attitudes in Europe towards the United States consistently show very large majorities responding that they have a favorable opinion of the United States.[48]

In sum, the United States and Europe continue to have many shared values and mutual interests. They also have a common perception of security threats, and Europeans have a clear understanding of the power configurations in the post-cold war world. The fundamentals of the U.S.-European relationship remain strong.

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[44] See Walt, "The Ties That Fray," pp.7-9. See also, Featherstone and Ginsberg, *The United States and the European Union*.

[45] See Blinken, "The False Crisis Over the Atlantic," p.36.

[46] Overseas travelers are all travelers except those from Canada and Mexico.

[47] See U.S. Department of Commerce, International Trade Administration, Tourism Industries, Bureau of Economic Analysis, July 2001 at [http://www.tinet.ita.doc.gov/analysis/keyfacts2000.html].

[48] A December 2001 Pew Research Center poll recorded that 81 percent of Western Europeans had a very or most favorable opinion of the United States. It is interesting to note that when questioned about specific policies of the George W. Bush administration, figures drop considerably. See [http://people_press.org]. See also Featherstone and Ginsberg, *The United States and the European Union*.

II. THE CHANGING INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

Europe has a rich array of security institutions ranging from military organizations to political organizations. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, an intense debate about the role of these institutions unfolded. Some, including Moscow, favored the transformation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) into a pan-European collective security organization.[49] Others favored the creation of a more restricted Western European security organization within the European Community (EC)/European Union (EU).[50] France was a strong advocate of this option; it favored making the Western European Union (WEU) into the military arm of the EC/EU. Finally, there were those who believed that "direct American engagement in European security was still indispensable and that NATO, which provided the organizational framework for American engagement in Europe, was indispensable as well."[51] The United States and the United Kingdom, in particular believed that NATO needed to remain "the centerpiece of Europe's new security architecture."[52]

None of these visions has materialized. The OSCE is an organization that does good work in election monitoring and also had some success with mediating minority problems. However, its contributions to solving the security problems in Europe in the 1990s have been marginal. The WEU is for all practical purposes defunct. Since the Gulf War, WEU members have sought to revive the WEU as a vehicle for joint action outside the NATO area of operations and as a defense agency working alongside the EU. However, in 1997 the UK vetoed a WEU-EU merger, which led to the gradual demise of the WEU. WEU functions were subsumed under ESDP when the UK dropped its opposition to the creation of a purely European defense organization.[53] The ESDP, which came into being in December 2001 has potential, but a lack of strong political support and the absence of any real capabilities make ESDP look a lot like a Potemkin village. Finally, NATO, which admitted three former Warsaw Pact states in 1999 and is expected to admit more new members eventually looks a lot like the pan-European collective security organization favored by Moscow in 1989 and less like the military alliance it had been during the cold war.[54]

Every security organization in Europe puts a great deal of emphasis on institutional development, but none is equipped to respond to the new security threats of the twenty-first

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[49] See, also, Charles A. Kupchan and Clifford A. Kupchan, "The Promise of Collective Security," *International Security*, Vol. 20, No.1, Summer 1995, pp.52-61; Charles A. Kupchan and Clifford A. Kupchan, "Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe," *International Security*, Vol. 16, No.1, Summer 1991, pp. 114-161. Since the signature of the Paris Charter in 1990, the CSCE gradually institutionalized. In 1995 it officially became the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

[50] The European Community (EC) became the European Union (EU) in November 1993 with the entry into force of the Maastricht Treaty.

[51] See Michael E. Brown, "Minimalist NATO: A Wise Alliance Knows When to Retrench," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No.3, May/June 1999, p. 204

[52] Ibid.

[53] This occurred in December 1998 at the Anglo-French summit at St. Malo. The Nice Treaty of 2001 officially transferred most WEU functions to the EU.

[54] In 1999, NATO admitted the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland.

century. This, is the driving force behind the development of the new transatlantic security network.

NATO: Much Ado About Nothing

The Atlantic Alliance, established in 1949, was based on U.S. willingness to commit military forces to defend Western Europe against a Soviet attack.[55] The North Korean invasion of South Korea in 1950 transformed this defense commitment into a large, organized, and long-term U.S. military presence in Europe.[56] As David Yost observed, it "put the 'O' in NATO and persuaded the allies to organize an integrated military command structure."[57] In the years that followed, the European allies prepared for an onslaught from the East and organized their militaries accordingly.

During the cold war the Alliance saw many crises: the 1950-1954 debate over conventional forces and German rearmament; the 1961-1967 debate over flexible response; the 1966 French withdrawal from the integrated military command structure; the 1965-1968 debate over the Multilateral Force (MLF); and the 1977-1979 neutron bomb and intermediate range missile debate. Meg Greenfield, writing in 1980, concluded that last rites for the alliance were held approximately every sixteen months.[58]

That said, concerns about the health of the Alliance have been particularly intense since the fall of the Berlin Wall. The end of the cold war eliminated one of the main rationales for NATO and many—the estrangers, in particular—predicted its demise. The establishment, however, liked to point out that NATO had been through many crises before but had survived them all. Some pointed to the remarkable adaptation qualities of NATO.[59] The establishment also insisted that an organization that in 1999 had admitted three new members and was expected to admit more could not be called moribund.

NATO did indeed reinvent itself in the 1990s. In 1994, the U.S. argued that NATO should become the vehicle for promoting and enforcing peace and stability throughout Europe.[60] Peacekeeping in the Balkans and bringing stability to Eastern Europe through

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[55] NATO also became an instrument for the management of security relations amongst Western European states. NATO facilitated German integration into Western Europe by reassuring Germany's neighbors that its military ambitions would be kept in check.

[56] In 1989 the US had 325,000 troops in Europe. In 2002, the number of US troops had come down to 100,000.

[57] See David Yost, *NATO Transformed: The Alliance's New Roles in International Security* (Washington, D.C.: USIP Press, 1998), p. 29. Many believed that the North Korean attack was inspired by the Soviet Union, and some thought that this was a fore-warning of what was in store for Western Europe. From an American perspective, the Alliance was a vehicle that prevented any regional hegemon from taking possession of the Western European continent.

[58] Quoted in "United in Disarray," *Washington Post*, May 29, 2002, p.A16.

[59] See footnote 4. See also, Celeste Wallander, "Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO After the cold war," *International Organization*, Vol. 54, No. 4, Autumn 2000, pp.705-735.

[60] Some members of the establishment school also considered that NATO continued to be a useful hedge against a possible resurgence of the Russian threat. See, for example, Lieber, "No Transatlantic Divorce."

expansion of its membership justified the continued existence of NATO, it was said.[61] In the debate over NATO enlargement and its new crisis management missions, it was pointed out that the Alliance had always been more than just a military alliance. Pointing to Article 2 of the Atlantic Treaty, the establishment emphasized that NATO was also a political alliance, which had stressed commitment to democracy and economic collaboration between its members.

The NATO operations in Bosnia and Kosovo in the mid and late 1990s were very successful undertakings. At the same time they sealed NATO's fate as a military organization, because they revealed major shortcomings in European military capabilities. Efforts to improve European capabilities in precision engagement, strategic mobility, logistics, force protection, and communications have accomplished little.

Kosovo, NATO's first combat mission, also revealed the shortcomings of NATO's integrated command structure. Soon after the war commenced, NATO had to abdicate its operational role to the U.S. task force *Noble Anvil* once its initial plan—a short bombing campaign—failed to intimidate Slobodan Milosevic.[62] As one observer put it, "as the campaign went on, the responsibility for target selection and mission planning steadily shifted from NATO to the U.S. joint task force."[63] NATO had no "plan B," not because its military planners had not thought about it, but because it was and is very difficult politically to devise such plans in a multilateral setting.

U.S. leaders took away two main lessons from the war over Kosovo. First, it reinforced the U.S. idea that war by multilateral committee is a bad idea.[64] The U.S. military also had more serious doubts about the reliability of its Allies.[65] Second, Kosovo showed Washington that the United States could do it alone. Not surprisingly, when the United States launched its war against Al Qaeda and the Taliban it did not seek NATO's military assistance. The invocation of Article V by the North Atlantic Council on September 12 was not an American initiative, and it was not followed by any significant NATO military action. [66] It is

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[61] For a discussion of NATO enlargement, see Gale A. Mattox, " The United States: Stability Through Engagement and Enlargement," in Gale A. Mattox and Arthur R. Rachwald, eds., *Enlarging NATO: The National Debates* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001), p.19-20.

[62] The U.S. task force *Noble Anvil* managed the U.S. contribution to the war and controlled sensitive U.S. assets, such as the B-2 and F-117 stealth aircraft, outside of NATO channels. See James P. Thomas, *The Military Challenges of Transatlantic Coalitions* (London: IISS, Adelphi Paper No.333, 2000), p. 47.

[63] See Ibid. France and the UK had some say over target approval. British Prime Minister Tony Blair insisted on the right "to veto targets to be hit by American B-52 bombers flying from British soil." French President Jacques Chirac insisted on a right to veto targets in Montenegro. Both also demanded a right to veto targets that could cause high casualties and high collateral damage, particularly in Belgrade. See Ivo Daalder and Michael O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly: NATO's War to Save Kosovo* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2000), p.222.

[64] The U.S. military has never embraced the idea of coalition warfare and has never made any real attempt to integrate coalition considerations in U.S. defense strategy. Indeed, Defense Department documents talk about "decisive unilateral strength" and consider coalition contributions as "add-ons." See Thompson, *The Military Challenges*, p. 29.

[65] See Ibid., p. 29-30.

[66] Article V of the North Atlantic Treaty reads as follows: "The parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all, and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of

clear now that Kosovo was a watershed: it signaled the end of NATO as a military combat organization.

NATO is still searching for a mission. But, like ESDP, it is a "security 'product' that does not serve the threat 'market'." NATO is ill equipped to deal with the two foremost security threats that face the U.S. and Europe—terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

First, these new threats are amorphous, and its actors are often hard to identify. Military responses to these threats require highly mobile and flexible forces. However, most European countries have insignificant power-projection capabilities.

Second, as pointed out by U.S. President George W. Bush, "deterrence—the promise of massive retaliation against nations—means nothing against shadowy terrorist networks with no nation or citizens to defend."[67] Similarly, "containment is not possible when unbalanced dictators with weapons of mass destruction can deliver those weapons on missiles or secretly provide them to terrorist allies."[68] The pre-emptive missions the Bush administration is envisaging for these new threats require offensive capabilities and an offensive warfighting doctrine. NATO does not have these types of capabilities and orientations.[69] NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson has stated repeatedly that NATO is a defense alliance and is not in the business of "looking for problems to solve."[70]

Third, the war against terrorism requires good intelligence, but NATO lacks effective intelligence capabilities. In the Kosovo war the "U.S. met approximately 95 percent of NATO's intelligence requirements."[71] Intelligence sharing within NATO has also proved to be extremely difficult.[72] Governments are generally hesitant to divulge the sources of their intelligence assessments. However, without such knowledge it is difficult to evaluate the information. This, in turn, impedes multilateral military action.[73]

Fourth, NATO's consultation and decision-making procedures are cumbersome and inflexible. NATO is not set up to make quick and rapid decisions.

None of these problems is easily fixable—if at all. Indeed, they point to structural problems that plague all multilateral organizations. Organizing for undefined offensive operations that do not involve vital interests is extremely difficult—if not impossible—in

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individual and collective self defense recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually, and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area. (…)"

[67] See Bush's United States Military Academy Graduation Speech, Sunday June 2, 2002.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Reasonable people disagree on the suitability of the new direction in U.S. strategic thinking. What is clear though is that this type of strategy cannot be undertaken by NATO. This makes NATO irrelevant to U.S. strategic planning.

[70] Cited in Thomas E. Ricks and Vernon Loeb, "Bush Developing Military Policy of Striking First: New Doctrine Addresses Terrorism," *Washington Post*, June 10, 20002, p.A01.

[71] See Thomas, *The Military Challenges*, p.52

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid. See also Francois Heisbourg, *European Defence: Making It Work* (Paris: Institute for Security Studies, WEU, Chaillot Papers No.42, September 2000), pp.57-71.

multilateral settings. No government is going to commit troops to an operation it has not defined and approved beforehand. The sharing of intelligence information is also problematic. Intelligence information is provided at the discretion of the governments concerned. Multilateral organizations and other governments often do not know the sources of the information they receive: hence they cannot verify the information they receive. In addition, making decisions quickly and without leaks—two essential requirements for a pre-emptive type of operations—is virtually impossible in multilateral organizations.

Finally, policy responses against today's security threats require more than just military responses. Indeed, the most effective responses are those that involve both military and law enforcement operations and those that can bring a variety of coercive and inducement instruments to bear. None of this bodes well for NATO.

ESDP: An Irrelevant Irritant

U.S. attitudes towards European integration and European defense initiatives have always been ambivalent. On the one hand, the United States has supported these initiatives. Indeed, without the U.S. security guarantee Europe would have never seen the degree of integration it has now. On the other hand, U.S. support for integration has always been mixed with a concern over U.S.-European decoupling and a loss of American predominance. The U.S. fear was that Europe would create a more independent and autonomous position for itself in global politics.

Europeans have also been ambivalent about their relations with the U.S. They resent U.S. demands for burden sharing, when the United States is unwilling at the same time to give the Europeans a greater share in collective decision-making. In the absence of any movement on the latter, Europeans are not particularly energetic in responding to U.S. demands for increasing their defense expenditures.[74]

These concerns and frustrations were present throughout the cold war. They rekindled in the 1990s when Europeans began to develop a European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP).[75]

In 1991 EU member states asked the WEU "to elaborate and implement decisions and actions of the Union which have defense implications."[76] In June 1992 the WEU council of

[74] As pointed out by Christopher Layne, "the United States [especially during the cold war] had little leverage over the allies with respect to burden sharing. Simply put, the Europeans knew the United States was defending the Continent, not as a favor to them, but because the United States perceived that it had an overriding strategic interest in containing the possible expansion of Soviet power into Western Europe. Hence, America's threats that it would do less for Europe's defense unless the Europeans did more were always little more than a bluff, and were so regarded in Western Europe." See Christopher Layne, *Death Knell for NATO?: The Bush Administration Confronts the European Security and Defense Policy* (Washington, D.C.: CATO Institute, Policy Analysis, No. 394, April 2001), p.6.

[75] In the early 1990s European initiatives within NATO were frequently referred to as European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI). In the late 1990s efforts to establish a European defense component within the EU were also referred to as a Common European Policy on Security and Defense (CEPSD). European. The term Defense Policy (EDP) has also been used. By the end of the 1990s, the term European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) had become the norm when referring to these initiatives and activities.

ministers adopted the so-called Petersburg tasks for the organization. These tasks included humanitarian and rescue missions, peacekeeping tasks, and combat tasks in crisis management situations, including peacemaking.[77]

EU efforts to establish an independent European military capability were regarded with concern in the United States. In the spring of 1991 U.S. President George H. Bush told French President François Mitterand that, "if Europe had another solution [for European defense] out of NATO, American public opinion would immediately withdraw its support of NATO and our staying in Europe."[78]

However, neither the EU nor the WEU became major military players in Europe. On the contrary, the war in the Balkans showed Europe's inability to articulate an effective response alone or through multilateral organizations such as the EU and the WEU. Ultimately, it was the active involvement of the United States starting in 1994 that ended the war in Bosnia.[79] By the mid-1990s it had become again "an article of faith in West European policymaking circles that U.S. engagement in Europe was still an essential part of the European security equation."[80] So was NATO—as the centerpiece of U.S.-European relations. Moreover, NATO's subsequent success in implementing the Dayton Accords and stabilizing the Bosnia provided NATO with a new role in Europe and silenced many of its critics. It also pushed talk about a European defense capability to the background in the mid-1990s.[81]

The idea of developing an autonomous European defense capability resurfaced in 1998 when British Prime Minister Tony Blair declared that Europe must have the capacity to

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[76] See Article J.4.2. of the 1991 Maastricht Treaty. See also Article J.4.1, which set the objective of developing a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Provisions on the CFSP were revised by the Amsterdam Treaty, which came into force in May 1999. (See Articles 11-28). The Amsterdam Treaty created the position of High Representative, occupied since October 1999 by Javier Solana Madariaga, former NATO Secretary General.

[77] This formulation left open the possibility of enforcement missions such as separation of belligerents parties by force. That said, in the early 1990s WEU military staff did not plan for that type of "high end" military mission. WEU activities in the 1990s were restricted to mine-sweeping operations (Gulf War), monitoring of sanctions in the Adriatic and at the Danube, and a low-level police operation in Mostar, Bosnia- Herzegovina. It was only in September 2000 that the enforcement action got explicitly considered. See Giovanna Bono, *European Security and Defence Policy: Theoretical Approaches, the Nice Summit and Hot Issues* (Research and Training Network: Bridging the Accountability Gap in European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)/ESDP and Democracy, February 2002), p.34.

[78] Quote from Hubert Vedrine cited in Frederic Bozo, "Continuity or Change: The View from Europe," in Victor Papapcosma, Sean Kay, and Mark R, Rubin, eds., *NATO After Fifty Years* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2001), p.58.

[79] NATO—particularly its two-week bombing campaign in the summer of 1995—is often credited with bringing the war in Bosnia to an end. Close examination of that period reveals that by the time NATO started its bombing campaign, Milosevic had already agreed to abandon the Bosnian Serbs. See Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, "Bosnia," in Donald C. F. Daniel, and Bradd C. Hayes, with Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, *Coercive Inducement and the Containment of International Crises* (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1999), pp.41-78.

[80] See Brown, "Minimalist NATO," p.204.

[81] On attempts in the 1990s to create an European pillar within NATO, see Robert E. Hunter, *The European Security and Defense Policy:NATO's Companion-or Competitor?* (Alexandria, Va.: Rand, 2002).

carry out military operations without relying on the United States. To develop this initiative, Blair turned to the French. In Bosnia, the latter had become a close political and military partner of the UK. Moreover, France was the only other Western European state with any significant power-projection capabilities. The 1998 Anglo-French declaration in St. Malo laid down the parameters of a European defense policy. It stated:

> The European Union needs to be in a position to play its full role on the international stage. (…) To this end, the Union must have the capacity for autonomous action, backed up by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them and a readiness to do so, in order to respond to international crises.[82]

Blair's initiative took many by surprise and marked a significant change in the British position towards European defense issues. Indeed, the UK had maintained for most of the 1990s that any attempt by Europeans to organize their own defense would drive the U.S. away from Europe and lead to the collapse of NATO.[83]

The change in British policy was stirred by three developments. First, some in the UK were concerned about the U.S. commitment to European defense. U.S. congressional demands for burden sharing were increasingly vociferous. Blair became convinced that ESDP was a way to respond to calls for greater burden sharing. He believed that a strong ESDP would reinforce U.S. engagement in Europe. [84] Second, by the end of 1998 Blair was calling for military action in Kosovo. British and French military were collaborating closely on a "Kosovo extraction" force.[85] This made the British military more enthusiastic about the idea of a European defense.[86] Third, many commentators have argued that the Blair initiative was a way for him to show his "European credentials," after having opted out of both the Schengen agreement and the euro.[87]

Reactions to the St. Malo declaration were not long in coming. U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright set down three criteria for judging the initiative: "[It] must avoid preempting Alliance decision-making by *de-linking* ESDI from NATO, avoid *duplicating* existing efforts and avoid *discriminating* against non-EU members." [88] Albright's reaction

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[82] See *Franco-British Summit Joint Declaration on European Defense*, Saint Malo, December 4, 1998. [http://www.info-france-usa.org/news/statmnts/1998/stmalo.asp]

[83] This was why the UK had vetoed the WEU-EU merger in 1997. It may be noted that only the French had pushed hard for a WEU-EU merger. Germany had never been enthusiastic supporter of the WEU—an organization that had been created in 1954 to control its armament.

[84] See Bono, *European Security and Defense Policy*, p. 29; Jolyon Howorth, *European Integration and Defense: The Ultimate Challenge?* (Paris: WEU Institute for Security Studies, Chaillot Papers 43, November 2000), pp.28-30; Joylon Howorth, "Britain, France and the European Defense Initiative, *Survival*, Vol.42, No.2, Summer 2000, pp.34-35; and Charles G. Cogan, *The Third Option: The Emancipation of European Defense, 1989-2000* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2001), pp.97-100.

[85] Following the October 1998 deal with Slobodan Milosevic, unarmed OSCE observers were brought into Kosovo to verify the armistice between Serbian forces and the KLA. No one really believed that the OSCE verifiers could maintain the peace; contingency plans were prepared.

[86] See Bono, *European Security and Defense Policy*, p.29.

[87] See Bono, *European Security and Defense Policy;* and Hunter, *European Security and Defense Policy.* See also Howorth, *European Integration*, pp.21-22.

[88] For a discussion of the US reactions, see Hunter, *European Security and Defense Policy*.

highlighted Washington's ambivalence towards European defense initiatives, even though the Clinton administration was generally sympathetic to these ideas.[89]

Throughout 1999, the EU set out to create the appropriate structures and define the military arrangements for autonomous action. In June 1999 the Cologne European Council pledged to further develop a more effective European military. The Helsinki European Council in December 1999 decided that by 2003 EU member states must be able to deploy within sixty days and for one year a military force of up to 60,000 troops capable of carrying out all the Petersberg tasks. It also decided to establish new political and military bodies and structures to provide political guidance and strategic direction to these new military activities.[90] Finally, EU states set capabilities goals. (See Table 2.)[91]

The Laeken Summit in December 2001 declared the ESDP operational. However, it is widely recognized that the EU will not be able to carry out "high end" operations by 2003. Three problems plague ESDP.

First, the capability shortfalls are serious. It has been calculated that if the European Rapid Reaction Force is to mobilize 60,000 troops, it will need a pool of between 180,000 and 220,000 troops.[92] At present, only 100,000 have been committed. Moreover, many of these troops are not trained or equipped for the type of missions envisaged in the Petersberg tasks. The transformation of the defense postures of Western European countries from homeland defense against a Soviet invasion to crisis management and "out of area" missions was initiated in the early 1990s, but progress has been slow.[93] Unlike the U.S. military,

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[89] The three "Ds" were amended by Nato Secretary General George Roberston in 1999 when he introduced the idea of the 3 "Is" by which ESDP should abide: *improvement* (in European defense capabilities), *indivisibility* (of transatlantic security) and *inclusiveness* (of all Allies). See George Robertson, Speech in Amsterdam, November 15, 1999. [www.nato.int]

[90] The key organs are: The *General Affairs Council (GAC),* which meets monthly and is composed of the 15 foreign ministers. It is the key decision-making body for CFSP and ESDP. The *High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (HR/CFSP)* was created in June 1997, but the position was filled only in 1999. The HR is assisted by a small Policy Unit also created in 1997. *The Political and Security Committee* (known under its French acronym *COPS*), created in June 1999, comprises permanent representatives at senior ambassador level of the fifteen member states. *The European Union Military Committee (EUMC)* is the EU highest military body. It is composed of the Chiefs of the defense staffs of the fifteen member states. *The European Union Military Staff (EUMS)* comprises 150 senior officers of the fifteen member states.

[91] In November 2000 EU member states pledged to create a pool of more than 100,000 troops, 400 combat aircraft, and 100 ships. A subsequent capabilities improvement conference in November 2001 concluded that the EU should be able to carry out all the Petersberg tasks—including combat operations such as the Kosovo campaign.

[92] See Jolyon Howorth, *The European Security Conundrum: Prospects for ESDP after September 11, 2001* (Groupement d'Etudes et de Recherches, Notre Europe, Policy Paper, No.1, March 2002), p.9. Howorth points out that EU countries have 1.7 million active forces, of which 500,000 conscripts. In addition, of those 1.7 million, some 100,000 are deployed on missions outside their home countries; with rotation, this requires a pool of 300,000. Troops required for ERRF would hence amount to 20 percent of the available EU forces. The International Institute for Strategic Studies also points to operational overstretch. See IISS, *Military Balance 2001-2002* (London: IISS, 2001), p. 29.

[93] Lutz Unterseher argues that one of the reasons for hesitation "has been the lack of a strategic rationale clear and compelling enough to solidify a broad consensus among governing elites and publics." See Lutz Unterseher, *Europe's Armed Forces at the Millennium: A Case Study of Change in France, the United*

European military forces were not—and still are not—organized for power projection.[94] Most European states do not have the capabilities to mobilize troops quickly and efficiently. Combat support capabilities—particularly air-lift, sea-lift, and air-to air refueling—precision-guided munitions, command and control, interoperable secure communications and intelligence are among the chronic deficiencies of European military organizations. Given the unlikelihood of significant increases in Western European defense budgets, it is difficult to see how the capability problem can be solved in the near future.

Second, EU states are split on funding for ESDP. Some states—France, Italy, Greece, the Netherlands, and Belgium—want a greater share of ESDP to be earmarked as common costs—that is, covered by all EU members on a *pro rata* basis. These states argue that if ESDP missions are going to be common European operations there should be "maximum solidarity" over expenditure. Germany, the UK, and the neutral countries support the idea of costs where they fall—that is, a system similar to NATO's, whereby each country pays for its own forces.[95] Germany, in particular, is opposed to cost calculations based on gross domestic product. The UK and the neutrals are keen to keep decisions on defense spending for EU missions in national hands.[96] The fact that there is great uncertainty about the costs of ESDP does not help in finding a solution to this problem.[97]

Third and more fundamentally, nobody really knows where and when the EU's RRF would intervene. [98] The EU lacks a Strategic Concept or even general consensus on this critical issue.[99] France and Italy have a more expansive definition of "high end" Petersberg tasks. They argue they include Desert Storm and Kosovo type operations. The UK and the Netherlands are more cautious, even though they recognize the need for the RRF to have real combat power. Germany and Sweden would prefer to focus peacekeeping rather than

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Kingdom, and Germany (The Project on Defense Alternatives, Global and Regional Issues, December 1999), p.3 This paper can be found at [http://www.ciaonet.org/wps/un102/un102.html]

[94] Germany, in particular, is struggling to reform its military. See AICGS New Security Study Group, *Redefining German Security: Prospects for Bundeswehr Reform*, (Washington, D.C.: American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, German Issues No.25, 2001).

[95] These countries realize that there need to be some common cost elements. They agree that common costs could include: barracks, transport, interpreters, backup for military headquarters and EU insignia on soldiers' uniforms. See Judy Dempsey, "EU States split on funding for ESDP," *FT. com web site*, June 2, 2002.

[96] Dempsey. "EU states split."

[97] Some have estimated that achieving the Helsinki Headline Goals might cost $42 billion dollars over 10-15 years. See Dempsey, "EU States split,"; *Achieving the Helsinki Headline Goals, Summary of the EU-NGO CFSP Contact Group Meeting*, ISIS, January 10, 2002.

[98] In the Balkans, for example, conflicts appear to be winding down. Even if an outside military and police presence is needed to keep the peace, this is not the "high end" type of military mission as envisaged by some for an EU RRF. The EU is slated to take over the UN police operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 2003.

[99] See Alfred van Staden, Kees Homan, Bert Kreemers, Alfred Pijpers and Rob de Wijk, *Towards a European Strategic Concept* (Den Haag: Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael,'November 2000).

full combat operations.[100] In addition, little agreement exists as to whether terrorism should be part of the Petersberg tasks.

In sum, the speed with which the institutional machinery for the RRF was put in place was extraordinary. Unfortunately, questions related to the purpose of the RRF have remained largely unanswered. Similarly, institutional developments were not matched by material capabilities. Absent strong political backing by the UK and France, this project may well stall out. As noted by the International Institute for Strategic Studies, throughout 2001 and early 2002 "strong political guidance on ESDP was nowhere to be found. Even the British government, which launched the ESDP initiative in 1998, was uninterested."[101]

Table 2: EU Military Pledges: "The Helsinki Force Catalogue"

Country	Ground Troops	Ships	Air Forces
Germany	13,500	20	93
United Kingdom	12,500	18	72
France	12,000	15	75
Italy	12,000	19	47
Spain	6,000	NA	NA
Netherlands	One Brigade	1 Frigate 1 Task Force	1-2 Sqns 1 Patriot Bty
Greece	4,000	NA	NA
Austria	2 Battalions	NA	NA
Finland	1,430	1 minesweeper	NA
Sweden	1 Btn. 1 MP Co	NA	NA
Belgium	1,000	NA	NA
Portugal	1,000	NA	NA
Ireland	850	NA	NA
Luxembourg	100	NA	NA
Denmark*	0	0	0

Source: CESD/ISIS, *European Security Review*, No.3, December 2000 www.cesd.org. See also The European Union's "Headline Goal"-Current Status (Washington, D.C.: Center for Defense Information) [www.cdi.org/mrp/eu-pr.cfm]

* Denmark has indicated that it would provide troops if the need arose, probably to a Norwegian-Swedish-Finn Nordic Brigade.

[100] See Stephen Castle, "Britain Leads Calls For EU Forces To Be Beefed Up," *The Independent*, November 20, 2001; and *Achieving the Helsinki Headline Goals*, (Summary of the EU-NGO CFSP Contact Group Meeting, ISIS), January 10, 2002.

[101] See IISS, *Strategic Survey 2001/2002* (London: IISS, May 2002), p.134.

American policymakers and commentators have voiced several concerns about ESDP.[102] First, Americans are concerned that Europeans will develop a capability that would allow them to intervene without drawing on U.S. assets. This would neutralize the U.S. veto over European military action. However, Europeans do not have the capabilities to undertake a major operation on their own, and it is unlikely they will acquire such capabilities in the foreseeable future. As a result, it is difficult to imagine the Europeans engaging in a major operation without the United States.

Second, Americans worry that demands for ESDP capabilities could undercut the NATO Defense Capability Initiative (DCI).[103] However, 70 percent of DCI efforts—such as precision guided munitions, ground surveillance systems, improved air and sea lift, command and control—overlap with ESDP initiatives. These demands are therefore complementary, not competing. In any event, most of these military assets remain in national hands, and are only released on a case-by-case basis.

Third, some Americans worry about American disengagement from Europe. The burden-sharing issue has not gone away. If Europeans are seen as not pulling their weight, some Americans will agitate more energetically for disengagement. The paradox is that if Europeans are seen as being successful in taking over certain missions—most notably the Balkan missions—American agitation for disengagement will also increase.

Ultimately, these points of view ignore a more fundamental flaw of ESDP—namely, that it is an ineffective instrument for addressing the security threats of the early twenty-first century. Julian Lindley-French and William Hopkinson, correctly observe that, "for too long the European Union has focused on the institutional structures of defense rather than the threats in the world beyond." They observe that, "the West has thus found itself with several security 'products' that do not serve the threat 'market.' Worse, except for the United States, it has not thought about what it does need to respond to the actual threats."[104]

The lack of strong support from the major European powers for ESDP points to its irrelevance. European governments should therefore acknowledge that ESDP has limited objectives. This would remove a prominent irritant in U.S.-European security relations.

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[102] For a good overview of these concerns, see Hunter, *European Security and Defense Policy*. See also F. Stephen Larrabee, "The European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI) and American Interests," Statement before the Committee on Foreign Relations, Sub-Committee on European Affairs, United States Senate, March 9, 2000, (RAND, CT-168, March 2000).

[103] The U.S. launched DCI in 1999, to improve Western European capabilities. DCI targets five areas: "(1) *mobility and deployability*: i.e. the ability to deploy forces quickly to where they are needed, including areas outside the Alliance territory; (2) *sustainability*: i.e. the ability to maintain and supply forces far from their home bases and to ensure that sufficient fresh forces are available for long-duration operations; (3) *effective engagement*: i.e. the ability to successfully engage an adversary in all types of operations, form high to low intensity; (4) *survivability*: i.e. the ability to protect forces and infrastructure against current and future threats; and (5) *interoperable communications*: i.e. command, control and information systems which are compatible with each other, to enable forces from different countries to work effectively together." See *NATO Handbook* (Brussels: NATO, 2001), p.52.

[104] See Julian Lindley-French and William Hopkinson, "Arming for the Future," *International Herald Tribune*, February 20, 2002.

The Future of NATO and ESDP

The estrangers are partially right in predicting the withering away of NATO. NATO's raison d'être was lost when the cold war ended. The stabilization of the Balkans eliminated its crisis management and European stabilization mission. Its remaining functions—the socialization of eastern European military organizations and training European militaries—will ensure its continued survival, but these are marginal activities. NATO will survive, but it will not thrive. It has already lost its place as the main pillar of transatlantic security relations and its position will continue to erode as time goes by.

Many believe that ESDP can fill the vacuum left by the decline of NATO. However, irrespective of U.S. attitudes towards ESDP, the Europeans are deeply divided over the objectives of ESDP. The lack of strong political support for ESDP is most reflected in ESDP's striking lack of capabilities. ESDP is alive, but it too will not thrive.

NATO and ESDP will play marginal roles in transatlantic security relations in the future because they are ill-equipped to deal with the new security threats the United States and Europe face—the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and terrorism. These types of threats require innovative, adaptive, flexible responses. These are not the kind of capabilities static hierarchical organizations can provide.

IV. THE NEW TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY NETWORK

The rigidities, limitations, and inefficiencies associated with established hierarchical security organizations in Europe are leading to the emergence of new forms of transatlantic security cooperation.

The United States, which sets the agenda in this regard, wants the help of many states when dealing with the new security threats. The campaign against Al Qaeda and other terrorists with "global reach" has seen the involvement of many states.[105] However, much of this cooperation—including transatlantic cooperation—is not channeled through multilateral organizations such as NATO or the United Nations, or through ad-hoc coalitions, but through a web of fluid and mostly bilateral relations. [106]

John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt argue that it takes a network to fight a network—such as network-based terrorist organizations.[107] Their analyses have focused on the challenges posed by networked opponents. Similarly, much of the social and political network literature has focused on the challenges posed by networks of non-state actors.[108] State-based networks have received little attention. Analysis of this issue is particularly urgent at a time when the United States and other powers are relying more and more on this type of security "organization."

Networks come in different shapes and sizes. Two elements are central to networks—nodes and ties. Many variations are possible with respect to the way nodes and ties are organized. They can be organized in either centralized or decentralized fashions. (See Figure 1.)

The emerging transatlantic security network has five main characteristics. First, ties in this network are fluid, dynamic, and issue-specific. Ties are based on what social network specialists like to call "social capital" or "kinship." In the transatlantic security context, this refers to threats, power, and interests. The United States and Europe continue to face many common threats. They also have a mutual appreciation of power disparities, and they share many interests. This is particularly true for the three leading European powers—France,

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[105] Over seventeen countries are making contributions to the military campaign. The UK, France and Germany have all provided combat forces in the Afghan theater. On the diplomatic, financial, and humanitarian front, there are many more countries involved: 197 countries have expressed support for the financial war on terrorists, and some 161 countries have issued orders to seize terrorist assets. Finally, many countries have shared intelligence information with the United States. See *Campaign Against Terrorism: A Coalition Update* at [www.whitehouse.gov/response].

[106] The United States and Europe are not engaged in a *temporary* coalition for security purposes. As I have argued above relations between the United States and Europe have a (longer-term) 'definiteness' of purpose.

See *Websters New World College Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1997).

[107] See John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt, eds. *Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime and Militancy* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2001).

[108] For a good overview of the literature see Arquilla and Ronfeldt, *Networks and Netwars*, pp.1-25 and 311-361. See also Phil Williams, "Transnational Criminal Networks," in John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt, eds. *Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime and Militancy* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2001), pp.61-97.

Germany, and the UK. However, the activation and operation of the network is issue specific. Ties in the network are dynamic and fluid because they are determined by the evolving transatlantic and global security agenda. The network changes shape to deal with new security threats as they appear.

Second, the main actors of this network are states, and the heart of the network is the United States and the three leading European powers—France, Germany, and the UK. Bilateral relations between the United States and these three European powers form the core of the transatlantic security network.

Third, the core of the transatlantic security network is supplemented by relations in and with existing international and multilateral organizations such as NATO, the EU, the OSCE, the G-8, and the United Nations. These institutions are brought into policy deliberations on an ad-hoc basis and for very specific purposes. During the cold war, NATO was the centerpiece of the transatlantic security relationship. It was the main form for transatlantic security consultations. NATO now has a secondary role, and it has to compete with other institutions. For example, after the September 11 attacks against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the United States went first to the United Nations—not NATO—to gather support for retaliatory action. The UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council were mobilized to condemn the attacks in the strongest possible terms and to help track the financial movements of terrorist groups.[109]

Now more than ever, smaller European powers find themselves at the periphery of transatlantic security relations. In the new transatlantic security network those in the periphery have loose ties with the core. However, if a small country establishes a "niche" capability that makes it a valuable partner for the core, it can create a strong relationship with the core on specific issues. Role specialization is a particularly attractive option for smaller European countries.

Fourth, the transatlantic security network is relatively autonomous. Disputes in other areas, such as the economic arena have little effect on relations in the security network. For example, U.S.-European trade disputes have not significantly influenced the transatlantic security dialogue. Similarly, disagreements related to the environment field have not spilled over into the security arena.

Fifth, the ties in the new transatlantic security network are difficult to trace. Contacts and activities increasingly take place outside the public view. This is due to the nature of today's new security threats, the challenges of devising effective responses, as well as domestic politics. Terrorists and proliferators of WMD prepare in secret. Surprise, rather than public injunctions, is the more effective response to these types of enemies. Good intelligence is also a prerequisite for effectively countering the actions of these types of groups. The data-gathering part of this activity is clandestine by nature. In addition, as policy responses become more varied and enter the arena of law enforcement, the judiciary, and the financial sphere, it becomes more difficult to keep track of government responses. Finally, domestic politics may obfuscate what is happening. Although Europe-bashing plays into politically expedient stereotypes in the United States, so does playing the anti-American

[109] See UN Security Council Resolutions 1368 (2001) of September 12, 2001, and 1373 (2001) of September 28, 2001. See also UN General Assembly Resolution, A/Res/56/1 of September 12, 2001.

card in Europe. Moreover, governments are generally loath to be seen as “blindfolded” implementers of other governments’ policies and decisions. For example, European governments have been very public in expressing their discontent about the U.S. rejection of European offers of cooperation. They have been less public about their actual contributions to the war in Afghanistan, which have been more substantial than regularly acknowledged in the media.

Fluidity, nimbleness, and dynamism make networks effective. Redundancies make them resilient. However, the fact that they have little static physical infrastructure makes them hard to understand. This also impedes public accountability. This will without a doubt become one of the major challenges of the transatlantic security relationship in the twenty-first century.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

When thinking about transatlantic relations it is useful to start with threats, power, and interests.

The nature of the threat to European security has changed with the end of the cold war, but new threats—terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction—are shared transatlantic security threats. The United States and Europe recognize that these are serious threats to their security, even if they differ at times on the appropriate policy responses.

The end of the cold war has accentuated the power asymmetry between the United States and Europe. This is particularly noticeable in the military field, but even in the economic, technological, and cultural domains, the United States far outstrips Europe or any other country on the planet. This makes any counterbalancing attempt by Europe moot—at least for the next few decades.

Finally, the United States and Europe continue to have many shared interests. The United States and Europe have close economic interests, and their economic relations are less contentious than is commonly believed. They often stand shoulder to shoulder when they advocate market economies, free trade, democracy, and respect for human rights. In addition, the number of interpersonal contacts between Americans and Europeans is important and growing.

Current transatlantic disagreements involve comparatively marginal issues. The landmine treaty, the biological weapons verification protocol, the international criminal court, and the trade disputes are all important in their own right, but they are of marginal importance to the overall transatlantic security relationship. By focusing on these marginal issues we risk missing the one real important change in U.S.-European relations—the changing institutional form of the transatlantic security relationship.

Similarly, those who reduce the transatlantic debate to a debate about unilateralism versus multilateralism are off-target. They focus on outdated static hierarchical forms of organization and international cooperation—forms that no longer describe the transatlantic security relationship.

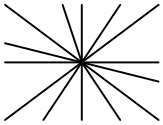
A new transatlantic security network is emerging because of new security threats and because of the inefficiencies and limitations of static and hierarchical security organizations. The transatlantic security network might turn out to be effective in responding to the new security threats, but without proper public scrutiny it might also fall short or engage in excesses.

The activities of the United States, as the world's dominant power and leader of the network will require particular attention. U.S. preponderance does not mean that every U.S. initiative must be followed. European policymakers have particular responsibilities in this regard. Europe's military weakness does not absolve it of its responsibility for coming up with constructive alternatives in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Middle East.

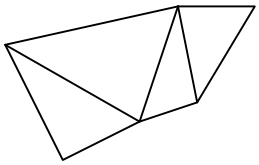
Independent analysts have their work cut out for them. They need to start tracking and assessing the ties in the new transatlantic security network. Failure to do so might have far-reaching consequences. The fluidity of the transatlantic security network as well as the tendency towards secrecy make this new form of transatlantic relations difficult to observe.

The challenge for policymakers at both sides of the Atlantic is to create a system that allows for flexibility—yet remains accountable to the publics it serves.

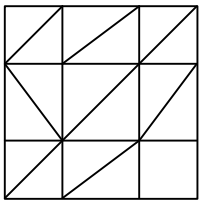
Figure 1: Graphic Depictions of Different Types of Networks



(1) Centralized Network

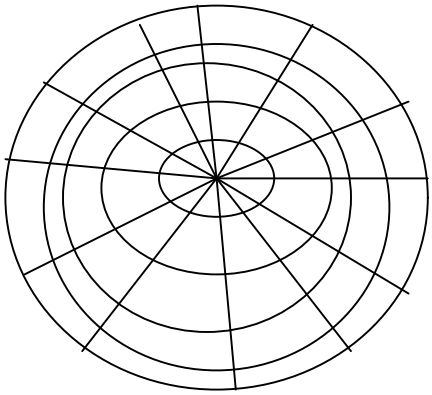


(2) Decentralized Network

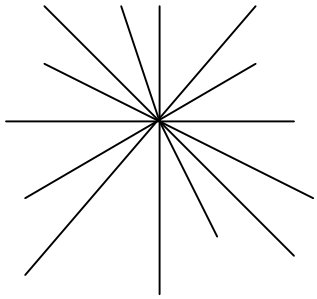


(3) Distributed Network

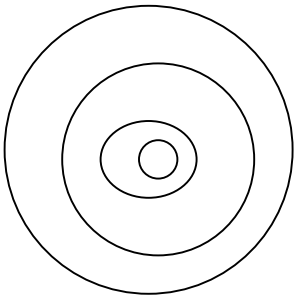
(4) Chain Network



(a)



(b)

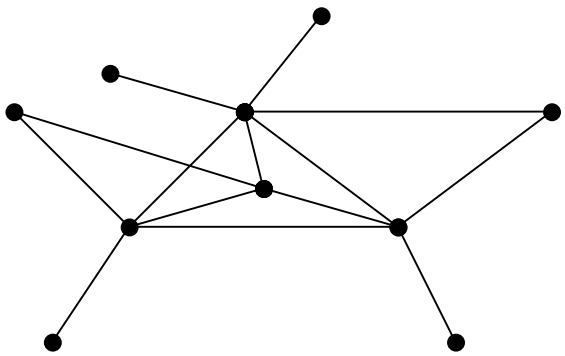


(c)

(5) Spider Web Network

If spider networks (a) are deconstructed they appear to be formed by a superposition of the separate overlay networks of (b) and (c). The number of possible ties is much more restricted as the initial figure (a) would suggest.

Source: Paul Baran, *On Distributed Communications: V. History, Alternative Approaches, and Comparisons*. (Santa Monica, California: RAND, Memorandum RM3097-PR, August 1964). This paper can be found at http://www.rand.org/publications/RM/RM3097/



(6) A Network with a Core/Periphery Structure

Source: Stephen P. Borgatti and Martin G. Everett, "Models of Core/Periphery Structures," *Social Networks*, Vol. 21, 1999, pp.375-395.

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