



# Brzezinski Chair Update

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## VISIONS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE: *The United States, the European Union, and NATO*

*Based on papers commissioned for the CSIS Think Tank Summit held in April 2005, this volume, edited by Simon Serfaty and with a foreword by John Bruton, Head of Delegation of the European Commission Delegation to the United States, brings together the perspectives of leading U.S. and European scholars on key institutional, economic and security issues facing the transatlantic partnership now and in years to come. The beginning of the final chapter, by Simon Serfaty, is excerpted below.*

Notwithstanding a significant change of tone in U.S.-European relations since the re-election of President George W. Bush, the transatlantic partnership remains a complex imbalance of states and institutions—an alliance that is troubled, unhinged, and may even be fading. This is not the long-announced end of the alliance, but it is surely the long-neglected end of an era. At issue is the legitimacy of the two ideas that have defined this remarkable relationship for more than half-a-century: the legitimacy of U.S. leadership, exercised with, and on behalf of, an ever-larger Atlantic community represented most visibly by a powerful North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), as well as the legitimacy of the allies' integration into an ever-closer European community, represented most convincingly by an ever closer European Union (EU).



This double crisis of legitimacy is neither personal, nor bilateral or circumstantial. On the side of the Alliance, there is more to the current crisis than the person of U.S. president George W. Bush, or the alleged neo-Gaullist policies of France, or even the sole issue of Iraq. These matter, to be sure, but none of them is sufficient to explain and overcome the depth and reach of the crisis. Would it be otherwise, renewing the partnership would be relatively easy—as it was in past decades when a change of political majority in Europe, a forceful display of U.S. leadership at a hastily arranged (or previously scheduled) Summit meeting, or the settlement of the single issue at hand was enough to restore normalcy within the Alliance. But with regard to Europe, too, the crisis of legitimacy—which is also a crisis of relevance—cannot be limited to any one head of state or government, or to any sudden burst of Euro-skepticism in a particular state, or even a single issue like the still-born Constitutional Treaty.

There is little to gain, therefore, in assessing the current crisis in terms of past crises that were readily resolved, whether they had to do with the Alliance or with Europe—and with NATO or with the EU. That is an invitation to complacency. For the first time since the United States of America assumed a leadership it had earned the old-fashioned way, many of its European partners question the threat identified by the United States, object to the methods used to defeat that threat, and condemn the values that motivate these methods. The paradox is for everyone to see. At the peak of its power, the United States is viewed by large pluralities in most European states as having a negative influence in the world—more so than Russia, and in contrast with France, which is seen as having the most positive influence.

No less significantly, for the first time since the nation-states of Europe launched a process of integration aimed at recasting them into a union of member states, their ultimate goals and methods are causes for open concern, not just ambivalence, in the United States but also, and most importantly, within Europe. There, too, the paradox is striking: closer to an institutional finality that its Founding Fathers never anticipated, “Europe” faces growing conflicts among its members and open public challenges within each of them—not as a matter of intergovernmental tensions, a recurring part of the past, but as a public rebellion against the agreements reached at the intergovernmental level.

In the face of such risks, for both the United States and the states of Europe, as well as for the central institutions to which they belong, this is a critical juncture that begs for the leadership that was shown, on both sides of the Atlantic, when a Western strategy that relied on U.S. power and leadership initiated, and ultimately shaped, an institutional order that helped restore the European dimension of America’s identity, and mute the national dimensions of the new European allies.

*This book is available online through the CSIS Press website: <http://csis.zoovy.com/product/0892064765>*

## **The Vital Partnership: Power and Order**

By Simon Serfaty



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## **Crisis? What Crisis?**

### **What is New, What is Lasting, and What is Serious**

As part of a larger two-year project for *A Global Euro-Atlantic Dialogue about the U.S., the EU, and NATO in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, the Brzezinski Chair, in cooperation with the CSIS Europe Program, is launching a task force in early 2006 to focus on the future of the European Union and its relations with the United States. Chaired by Simon Serfaty, this initial task force, composed of around twenty leading American thinkers on Europe and a smaller number of their European counterparts, will emphasize U.S. perceptions, preferences and concerns regarding the development of the EU during the coming years and its consequences on U.S. interests and objectives. A parallel task force comprised mainly, but not exclusively, of Europeans, will be conducting discussions about the state of the Atlantic Alliance and its future, including the future of its relations with the EU.

For background on this project, visit <http://www.csis.org/zbc/thinktanksummit/>

### **Recent Activities of the Brzezinski Chair**

- “Un Moment Charniere,” as featured lecturer, *Institut des Hautes Etudes de Défense Nationale (IHEDN)*, Paris, France, January 6, 2006.
- “Garantir le respect du TNP: Options possibles,” as panelist, *Les activités de l’Iran et le TNP: état des lieux et options*, Seminar by Centre Thucydide—Université Panthéon-Assas in association with IHEDN and CAP, Paris, France, January 6, 2006.
- “The Vital Partnership at Half Past Bush: Europe Stalled and America Challenged,” as featured speaker, *World Affairs Council Lecture Series*, Naples, FL, December 13, 2005.
- “La France, les Etats-Unis et l’Islam: confrontation, assimilation et integration,” as featured speaker, *Alliance Française Naples*, December 13, 2005.
- “A Stalled Europe? Implications for the United States,” as featured speaker, *Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired (DACOR) Lecture Series*, December 9, 2005.
- “The Vital Partnership at Half Past Bush: Europe Stalled, America Challenged,” as featured lecturer, *Royal Institute for International Relations*, Brussels, Belgium, December 5, 2005.
- “The Challenges of European Integration and their Impact on NATO-EU Relations,” as panelist, *Towards a Renewed Transatlantic Partnership: NATO’s Transformation and ESDP*, Istituto Affari Internazionali conference, Rome, Italy, November 21, 2005.

### **Publications and Media Outreach**

“Crowded Foreign Policy Calendar Will Test Bush’s Management Skills,” quoted, *Fred Kempe, Wall Street Journal Europe*, January 4, 2006.

“CIA Scandal highlights split between Europeans/Americans on war on terror,” quoted, *Jocelyne Zablit, Agence France Presse*, December 4, 2005.

“Terms of Estrangement: French-American Relations in Perspective,” Article by Simon Serfaty, *Survival*, Autumn 2005. [http://www.csis.org/zbc/0508\\_termsofestrangement.pdf](http://www.csis.org/zbc/0508_termsofestrangement.pdf)

“A Europe of Weak Leaders,” Op-ed by Simon Serfaty, *The International Herald Tribune*, October 1, 2005. [http://www.csis.org/zbc/050930\\_ichtserfaty.pdf](http://www.csis.org/zbc/050930_ichtserfaty.pdf)

“Germany Stalled?” Simon Serfaty with Derek Mix, *CSIS Euro-Focus*, Volume 11, Number 3, September 21, 2005. <http://www.csis.org/europe/eurofocus/v11n3.pdf>

“Deadlocked Destiny,” Op-ed by Simon Serfaty, *The Washington Times*, September 20, 2005. [http://www.csis.org/index.php?option=com\\_csis\\_press&task=view&id=1188](http://www.csis.org/index.php?option=com_csis_press&task=view&id=1188)

*About the Zbigniew Brzezinski Chair in Global Security and Geostrategy*

CSIS established the Brzezinski Chair in July 2003 to advance understanding in the fields of geostrategy, international security, European affairs, and global politics. Reflecting Zbigniew Brzezinski’s achievements during a career including public service, teaching, and writing, the chair is awarded to a leading scholar in the fields of geostrategy, international security, and global politics. Simon Serfaty, Brzezinski Chair holder, also remains a Senior Advisor to the Europe Program at CSIS, where he was director from 1994-2004.