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**Several disputed questions of the transatlantic relations
from a view of security policy**

(Summary of PhD Dissertation)

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Preface

Today the European Union and the United States of America are the influencing actors of the world politics: global partners with global responsibilities. Despite of this there are some differences between them. The US practicing its power on a full scale – using its military force as well – while the EU prefers more the „soft” tools: consensus, cooperation in the international relations. The practice of the power: the effectiveness, the moral basement and the methodology acquiring it, are viewed in different ways by them.

There are other significant differences between them: the US are more experimental, searching quick answers for the upcoming problems, while the EU are analyzing and acting after long time. After the second world war there was a special agreement set up between America and the Western European States. This agreement included an economical part and a defense part as well. The economical issues are worked better than the defense did: it occurred some very significant problems in the transatlantic relations. Through the cold war the transatlantic community faced a series of tensions which influenced the political and social relations as well.

While the Americans do see their position as a leading superpower, by them the Europeans are weaker; the Europeans have the opinion that in a multipolar system they are one of the main global players, by them the Americans are aggressive. This situation was reverse in the earlier times: the Europeans were stronger using military force more or less without hesitation and the Americans used the soft tools achieving their interests. The historical changes brought the USA to leading position nowadays, the European states changed their hostile behavior to a very cooperative and peaceful standpoint.

After the cold war Europe has broken for two parts: there were states which weren't able to defend their independency and becoming socialist-communist, while others were in the position to set up such kind of agreements and deals which guaranteed their democratic development in the future. The western European states signed a deal with the USA including economical and security components, but the achievement of the common goals were seen differently by them many times, and occurred some serious strains in the transatlantic relations. For example they were debating very intensively about the future of Germany, NATO's strategies and burden-sharing, and about exchange rates and transatlantic flights as well.

The transatlantic debates continued after the cold war: both parts viewed the world differently looking for a new role for themselves. These debates achieved their highest point in 2003 regarding the war against Iraq led by the US. The European countries appealed against is very hardly: there were a lot of demonstration all around Europe. The end of the Cold War caused elementary changes also in the transatlantic relations: the earlier accordance has been turned in many views to debates. The going clash of views between US and Europe are existing in political, economical and military issues too. In the military issues the problem of the missile defense has caused significant debates.

This implies that Europe and the US, who share the foreign-policy goal of fostering democracy, must agree on their common interests on an ad-hoc basis; that is, without the automatism of the Cold War. The new agenda includes many issues, such as combating international terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction as well as the challenge posed by fragmented or failed states.

It is a fact, that there some sensitive questions in the transatlantic relationship for decades, but the question is still how can these powers cooperate in the future?

There are a lot of other questions as well: are the differences just symptoms or are they lying much deeper above the surface? How did the transatlantic relationship evolve to this stage? Which were the most important historical stations of this process? Which were and what are today the most important debating issues? What kind of intensity do they have? What can we learn based on the experiences of solving these debates?

Based on my scientific research I assumed, that the origin of the so called „transatlantic debate” are in the first years of the cold war. I’m the opinion as well that these debates are very complex in the transatlantic relationship.

I assumed, that the intensity of the debate are higher and wider after the end of the cold war.

Regarding the contents of the transatlantic relationship I assumed, that despite the fact that the members of the transatlantic community are looking – based the common interest - for the cooperation, the arising events of world and security politics are influencing deeply their chosen solutions.

My scientific goals

1. To analyze the definitions related to the transatlantic debate.
2. To give an overview about the most important issues of the transatlantic debate from the Atlantic Charta until today.
3. To concretize the most important influencing factor of it.
4. To analyze the intensity of the transatlantic debate.

Used methodologies

To achieve the scientific goals I was looking for resources in Hungary and on abroad as well.

In the centre of my research I put the complex view of security.

I was looking for the most important issues, which are related to long procedures in the transatlantic debate.

I consulted with experts about my research in Hungary and on abroad as well.

I used the following methodologies: analysis, synthesis, induction, deduction and the historical tools.

I published my scientific results in many ways: on conferences, in different periodic papers, etc.

The structure of the dissertation

In the first chapter I focused on the problematic of the research. I described the meaning of the terms related to the transatlantic debate.

In the second chapter I analyzed the most important disputes between 1945-1990.

In the third chapter I analyzed the highlights of the transatlantic debates between 1990-2005.

In the fourth chapter I analyzed the intensity of the transatlantic debate.

New scientific results

1. I analyzed the forms and reasons of the debates between the United States and its Western European allies from the Atlantic Charta until today. I showed the permanent and changing factors of these debates regarding to changes in Europe after the cold war. I proved that despite the debates the common interests between the members of the transatlantic community are giving a very strong basement for the cooperation among them.
2. In the Hungarian military sciences I'm the first, who analyzed the intensity of the transatlantic debate. I proved that there are significant differences between the perception of the transatlantic community members, which are occurring the intensification of the debates. I proved, that intensity of the debate are changing periodically. The top of it was in 2003 at the attack of the US against Iraq. After is shows some reduction.

Suggestions

The dissertation can be used in the decision-making procedure of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and for the Ministry of Defense as well. It could be very useful in the education for those students who are interested to study the transatlantic relations.

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(József Lajos Németh)

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