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ABSTRACT

This study constructs an overall picture of the United States' President George Bush's European foreign policy and his usage of argumentation strategies for legitimizing these policies during the years 1989-1993. The work is based on the analysis of President Bush's public speeches, his Administration's foreign policy documents and the intelligence documents produced by the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Additionally the memoirs of Bush, National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft and Secretary of State James Baker have been used for this study.

The results of this work suggest that the Bush Administration's European foreign policy was based on three main argumentation strategies that were all meant to legitimize the role of the United States as a European power at the Cold War's end. The first argumentation strategy highlighted the role of the United States as the descendant and the historical savior of Europe. In the American relations with Western European countries, this definition stemmed its power over the four decades of the Cold War during which the United States had closely integrated with Western Europe both militarily and culturally. In its relations with Eastern European countries the Bush Administration emphasized the meaning of common historical roots beyond the Cold War times, while simultaneously welcoming the Eastern Europeans to join the American led "New world order". The second argumentation strategy consisted of the geopolitical redefinitions of Europe, which were derived from apparent American political possibilities. Regions, such as most of the former Warsaw Pact countries, were included in the American sphere of interest, because they were seen as gains by the Bush Administration. They were defined clearly as a part of Europe. The third argumentation strategy consisted of threats. Threats were important for legitimizing the continued military presence of the United States in Europe as well as renewing the joint western military commitments in the form of NATO. The importance of the Soviet threat varied during the years 1989-1991, but in one form or another it played a part in the Bush Administration's European foreign policy until the dissolution of the Soviet Union in late 1991. To overcome the diminishing Soviet threat, the Bush Administration also introduced new global level threats, and harnessed NATO and the Western community to counteract these threats. President Bush's argumentation was not always coherent with the prevailing political context of the turbulent transition period between Cold War and post-Cold War world. Nevertheless, when Bush left office in 1993, the United States remained a European power.

Keywords: United States, Europe, foreign policy, history, rhetoric, world politics, NATO.

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CONTENTS

1 SHORT INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 The United States as a European power

This is a study of world politics analyzing the public foreign policy argumentation of United States' President George Bush's European foreign policy during his presidency from January 1989 to January 1993. In this work, I use the form President Bush when I am writing about George Herbert Walker Bush. When referring to his son, the President of the United States during 2001-2009, I use the form George W. Bush.

Within this study, usage of the concept Europe is nominalistic. It is not bound to any definitions that include or exclude specific geographic and cultural areas. I am not trying to define the borders of Europe anew, but rather trying to show how the concepts to describe the world we live in are relative social constructions that change over the course of history. The meaning of Europe is analyzed from the point of view of the Bush Administration's rhetorical usages of the name. This argumentative process was closely connected with American interests in Europe, as the usage of the name Europe was always inspired politically by the purpose of portraying the United States as a European power.

In the traditional geographical definition, the eastern boundary of Europe is formed by the Ural Mountains in Russia, while the western boundary runs west of Iceland, with Greenland placed in the American continent[1]. The southern border of Europe is the Mediterranean Sea and the northern border is drawn in the most northern waters of the Atlantic Ocean and the Polar Sea. If we look at a map of the world, we can see that Europe is actually just the westernmost tip of the Eurasian landmass[2], and geographically a rather artificial concept. If we take a look of the southern and western borders of Europe, we are able to see that the African continent almost reaches Europe in Gibraltar and that Iceland is in the middle of Atlantic and has no land

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[1]   Lewis & Wigen 1997, 27, 38-39.
[2]   Lewis & Wigen 1997, 36-37.

connection to the European continent. In the terms of school book geography, Cyprus is in Asia, but politically, at least its Greek part, is commonly considered to be in Europe. The idea of defining Europe in purely geographical terms is rather artificial and it tells more about the European or Western identity building processes than about actual geography[3]. As Vilho Harle has pointed out, identity is never given, but it is socially and politically constructed. According to Harle, identity emerges in social interaction, where boundaries between us and them are established. Harle claims that often the constitution of identity is not merely an instance of some abstract construction of social reality, but it is rather a substantive element in the politics of exclusion, "where politics and the political are the driving force, and identity – including ethnic and national identities – is just a way of political mobilization, politicizing and politicking".[4] During modern history, Europeans have been portrayed as different from Asians, and even with a longer time span many scourges have been seen to came from the East: the Persians, the Huns, the Mongols, the Arabs, and the Turks. Depending on the location, sometimes also the Germans and sometimes the Russians/Soviets have represented the danger coming from the east. The basis of Western European identity has been and still is largely constructed through this East-West confrontation, where true Europeans are said to follow Latin Christianity, while the Greek Orthodox, Muslims and Asians still represent the different and possibly dangerous eastern other[5].

In the late 1940's, the Cold War divided Europe between the two non-European superpowers of the United States and the Soviet Union. Both claim to possess elements of European historical and cultural background. This division did not hinder the prejudices against the East in Western Europe, but rather reinforced them. In the dominating American foreign policy discourse, the West became the common denomination for the United States and its military allies, and the old continent was split into a righteous and morally superior Western Europe, and an aggressive Eastern Europe under Soviet command. The East-West divide of Europe began to erode at the Cold War's end. For a while, it even seemed that the American power to define European identity lost its rationale, as the former great eastern aggressor started to co-operate with the West and the Soviet Union finally collapsed on December 31, 1991. The disappearance of the east-west confrontation and ending the division of Europe took place in the Bush Administration's foreign policy rhetoric as well, actually much faster than in the Western European countries themselves. European internal divisions never were ethnically, linguistically, socially, or economically as real among the American foreign policy establishment as they were in European countries that were handling concrete social level situations. In the post- Cold War situation, Americans simply started to experiment quite readily with new names for the European regions. In other words, Europe and its

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[3]   Lewis & Wigen 1997, 48-49.
[4]   Harle 2000, 4.
[5]   Lewis & Wigen 1997, 49, 94-95; Harle 2000, 5; Huntington 1997, 28-29. In the *Clash of Civilizations* Huntington speaks of Europe as a part of Western civilization and defines its eastern border as excluding Orthodox Christianity.

definitions were clearly a question of linguistic political efficiency among the United States foreign policy makers. For instance, in President Bush's speeches Eastern Europe was often replaced with Central Europe or just Europe[6].

The Cold War had not been a time of division only in Europe, but in the whole world. In this battle, the world was ideologically split between East and West, or communism and capitalism, pushing aside traditional geographical definitions. Japan, e.g., became an integral part of the West[7]. From the contemporary viewpoint, the ending of the Cold War took place relatively fast between the years 1989-1991. To the contemporaries of the Cold War's end, the totality of the victory of the United States led West was not as self-evident as it is for us today. The sudden changes that wrecked a 40-year-old world order brought great uncertainty to the scene of world politics. In Europe, the changes were similarly unpredictable. German reunification, the future of NATO and many other questions actualized within a quick phase of time. For the Bush Administration, this meant difficulties. The Soviet Union and communism had offered a generally accepted way to legitimize American foreign policy interests in all corners of the world. As the Soviet threat diminished, the Bush Administration needed an extensive amount of public foreign policy argumentation to show that the United States was still needed as the leader of the West, as well as the leader of the world. In its European foreign policy, the Bush Administration argued that the fates of Europeans and Americans were intertwined by a wide variety of common interests from security and economy to culture[8] and it was in everybody's interests that the United States would remain also a European power in the post-Cold War era[9]. At the same time, the United States was also a Pacific power[10], guarantor of freedom of North and South America[11], and a friend of Africa[12]. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Bush Administration started to call the United States the leader of

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[6] See for example President Bush's Remarks at the Departure Ceremony in Budapest July 13, 1989; President Bush's Remarks to Participants in the International Appellate Judges Conference September 14, 1990; President Bush's Remarks to the Federal Assembly in Prague, Czechoslovakia November 17, 1990. George Bush Presidential Library and Museum later known as GBPLM (www).

[7] Hummel 2000, 12.

[8] George Bush's Remarks Upon Departure for Europe May 26, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[9] President Bush News Conference in Brussels December 4, 1989; President Bush's Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With the Economic Club of Detroit in Michigan September 10, 1992. GBPLM (www).

[10] President Bush's Remarks at a Fundraising Luncheon for Senator Frank H. Murkowski December 11, 1991; President Bush's Remarks to Armed Forces Personnel at Elmendorf Air Force Base in Anchorage, Alaska February 22, 1989 See also: President Bush's Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu of Japan in Palm Springs, California March 3, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[11] President Bush's Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union January 31, 1990. See also: President Bush's Message to the Congress Transmitting the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative Act of 1990 September 14, 1990; President Bush's Remarks to the Republican National Committee January 2, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[12] President Bush's Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for President Denis Sassou-Nguesso of the Congo February 12, 1990. GBPLM (www).

the world[13], which underlined a global claim for the legitimacy of American foreign policy interests. The American audience easily accepted the claim[14] and it was not seriously opposed elsewhere. The American power to define the world and rule it seemed to have become limitless at the end of the Cold War.

1.2　On Sources and Methodology

The main research question of this study is: what kind of argumentation did President Bush use in his public speeches to legitimize the leading position of the United States in Europe at the ending of the Cold War and its aftermath during 1989-1993?

This study analyzes the presidential public speeches that concerned Europe. It is possible to examine the relevancy of doing an analysis of the public speeches of a president in numerous ways. According to Kari Palonen and Hilkka Summa the typical way is is to demand that the researcher should get beyond words and mere rhetoric and to analyze actual actions[15]. For instance, it can be claimed that the real decisions about the fate of Europe and the role of the United States in it were made behind the scenes of world politics and not in the eyes of the general public. This type of criticism would claim that doing an analysis of "mere rhetoric" based mostly on sources that have been available to the public for years, does not produce acceptable results. The analyzing of the public speeches of President Bush is nothing but a doomed attempt to say something new about old research material, which can only create more meaningless rhetoric. There are, however, several points to overcome such criticism and to show why the research of public speeches is important. First of all, public speeches are the part of policy making that is seen by most of us in our everyday lives. Public speeches attempt to create political reality for the majority of people. Political argumentation tries to tell us for instance who we are or why we should give our support to certain political decisions. However, the sphere of contemporary public political argumentation is often too near to us and we are unable to see how the politicians' construct and re-construct the world in their speeches. Looking at past argumentation creates distance that helps us to see how political realities have been constructed then and how they are likely to be constructed today. Second, it is impossible to say where "mere rhetoric" ends and "actual decision making" starts, because without wide public support political decision-making is virtually impossible in democratically governed states[16]. Third, the construction of historical truths even from exhaustive primary sources is not possible. Even with the best source material scholars concerned with the past tend to build subjective narratives that differ

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13　President Bush's News Conference April 10, 1992. GBPLM (www).
14　See for example McEvoy-Levy 2001, 71-72.
15　Palonen & Summa 1996, 13.
16　See also McEvoy-Levy 2001, 1.

from pure fiction only by being derived from the primary sources, like Hayden White has pointed out[17]. Fourth, the study of the speeches of President Bush is meaningful, as public diplomatic rhetoric was especially needed at the end of the Cold War. According to Siobhán McEvoy-Levy the rhetoric of public diplomacy had an important role for advancing the American foreign policy in the face of global media, competitors and commentators[18]. According to her "the Cold War increased the power of rhetoric and raised the stakes of any official utterance"[19]. In this situation, presidential rhetoric became increasingly important in affecting the international opinion[20]. During the years 1989-1993 the words of the Bush Administration must have been under extremely careful surveillance even in Cold War terms as the possible, and later actual, ending of the superpower confrontation meant a major change in the international order. Fifth, it is also good to remember that only around 20 years have passed since the events covered in this analysis took place and many relevant documents of non-public nature are still proclaimed secret.

The choosing of primary source material is the most important single factor affecting the final outcome of the analysis, as it ultimately sets the frame of the research process. The importance of the primary sources in understanding the past is derived from the fact that there are no ready interpretations between them and the student of history. Naturally, commentary literature is used to support the reading of primary sources, but the main focus of the analysis is always the sources themselves. The most important parts of the source material are President Bush's public papers from the years 1989-1993 concerning the Unites States' relations with Europe. This was a natural choice as the main scope of my study is President Bush's foreign policy argumentation towards Europe. This source material can be found in the collection *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States* that accurately covers the public performances of President Bush. In this work, I have used the online collection of President Bush's public papers that was accessed through the web-pages of *George Bush Presidential Library and Museum*.[21] All other sources in addition to the public speeches of President Bush are used for supporting the analysis and are thus in a complementary role.

Presidents of the United States have not been writing their public speeches by themselves for decades and neither did George Bush[22]. Like any other President of the United States in the latter half of the 20th century, President Bush also had a substantial number of political advisors and secretaries that have had great influence on his decision-making[23]. The memoirs of National

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[17]   White 1975, 6.
[18]   McEvoy-Levy 2001, 1-2.
[19]   McEvoy-Levy 2001, 12-13.
[20]   Ibid.
[21]   George Bush Presidential Library and Museum http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/ 27.12.2006.
[22]   Gronbeck 13.4 2005.
[23]   About the role of President's advisers and secretaries see for example Neustadt 1990, 124; 129.

Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft[24] and Secretary of State James Baker[25] are used together with the memoirs of President Bush[26] himself to complement the analysis of presidential argumentation. As historical sources, memoirs are always somewhat problematic, as "great men" tend to build positive images of their past actions. Memoirs can give, however, some insight into the personal relations of President Bush and his foreign policy staff. This means that memoirs can reveal something about the possible motives of argumentation that the public papers or the administrative reports are unable to give. According to Richardt Neustadt, the President of the United States carries the ultimate responsibility of the contents of his speeches and polices[27], and thus the scope of this study is largely presidential. This study is not, however, concentrated on evaluating the person George Bush as the President of the United States. I am approaching the presidency as an institution that included speechwriters, advisors and secretaries and formed the Bush Administration, where the president played the role of ultimate decision maker and spokesman.

In addition to the public papers and memoirs, I have used unclassified foreign policy documents produced by the intelligence agencies, such as the National Security Directives and the National Security Reviews. These documents were used especially while analyzing argumentation connected with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, a question that profoundly shaped the Bush Administration's foreign policy. The National Intelligence Estimates[28] were also used in evaluating the amount of background information within the Bush Administration about the Soviet situation in 1989-1991. The National Security Directives and Reviews have been accessed through the web-pages of the *George Bush Presidential library and museum*[29], whereas the National Intelligence Estimates have been accessed through the web pages of the CIA

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24   Bush & Scowcroft 1998. *A World Transformed*.

25   Baker 1995. *The Politics of Diplomacy – Revolution, War & Peace, 1989-1992.*

26   Bush & Scowcroft 1998. *A World Transformed*.

27   Neustadt 1990, 127.

28   "National and Special National Intelligence Estimates (NIEs and SNIEs) are prepared for the President, his Cabinet, the National Security Council, and senior policymakers and officials. NIEs focus on strategic issues of mid- or long-term importance to US policy and national security, and SNIEs address near-term issues of more urgent concern. Both types of Estimates are prepared under the auspices of the National Intelligence Council (NIC), which serves as a senior advisory panel to the Director of Central Intelligence. The NIC is an Intelligence Community organization that draws on CIA and other intelligence agencies as well as outside experts for staffing and for preparing estimates. During 1989-1991, it was composed of a chair, vice chair, 11 National Intelligence Officers responsible for a number of geographical and functional areas, and several staff and production committees. Estimates are issued over the signature of the DCI in his capacity as the head of the US Intelligence Community and represent the coordinated views of the Community's member agencies. The final product bears the statement: *This National Intelligence Estimate represents the views of the Director of Central Intelligence with the advice and assistance of the US Intelligence Community.*" CIA 1999, "1989: The Year that Changed the World" (www).

29   National Security Directives http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/directives.html; National Security Reviews http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/reviews.html GBPLM (www) 31.10.2006.

maintained *Center for the Study of Intelligence* and its online publication "*At Cold War's End: US Intelligence on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, 1989-1991*"[30].

As this is an empirical study based on reading and analyzing past politics through texts from a specific period of history, the formulating of research questions was based on the reading of the source material. A preliminary analysis of the sources revealed that the main lines of argumentation were built on three themes that I call argumentative strategies. These were 1) geopolitical definitions of Europe, 2) threats to Europe, and 3) common interests of Europeans and Americans. All of these strategies served one purpose: to keep the American presence in Europe legitimate in varying political situations. Breaking down the argumentation into separate strategies provided a more detailed view of the usage of a certain type of argumentation in answering the needs of concrete political dilemmas such as German re-reunification, the dissolution of the Soviet Union or the Gulf War. Portrying these three strategies as separate from each other is, however, a simplification necessary to evaluate the different sides of the political rhetoric President Bush used. Actually, these strategies often overlapped. For instance, President Bush argued on behalf of the importance of keeping NATO intact at the Cold War's end by underlining the common interest of internal stability within the American led West. At the same time, Bush also argued that the existence of NATO was needed in facing new threats, such as terrorism.

At first I focused analysis solely on these three core issues of Bush's European foreign policy argumentation. As the research process got underway, I added soon two more themes of interest. The first one was the way in which the Bush Administration's foreign policy argumentation was connected with the larger context of American foreign policy ideology? The second theme of interest was in what fashion did the Bush Administration highlight the role of the United States as the single superpower in the post-Cold War world in its European foreign policy?

Analyzing hundreds of President Bush's speeches was a long and tedious task of selecting and discarding. This dissertation could have been written solely about a single argumentative strategy or about a single event of history such as German re-reunification and President Bush's argumentation towards it. Nevertheless, the aim of the study is to create a single picture of the argumentation used by the Bush Administration for the legitimization of its European foreign policy. Naturally, this has meant that this study cannot be as detailed as those with a more specific scope. This does not mean, however, that I would not have delimited my study. The selection process of the speeches was based on three central issues that shaped the European foreign policy argumentation of the Bush Administration: the relations of the United States with the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Western Europe. I have not tried to contain every debate that the Bush Administration took part in 1989-1993 under these topics, but I have focused on the ones that seem to have been central. In

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[30] Center for the Study of Intellicence (later known as CFSI) - *At Cold War's End: US Intelligence on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, 1989-1991.* https://www.cia.gov/csi/books/19335/art-1.html 31.10.2006.

evaluating the relevance of the selected topics, I have also used earlier research literature and the memoirs of the members of the Bush Administration. Quotes from President Bush's speeches used in this study were selected on the basis of their exemplary power showing certain traits of the usage of argumentation strategies in different political debates.

While writing this analysis I have kept in mind Hayden White's idea that written history is a form of narrative prose, where the events are subjectively selected, modelled and conceptualized to explain the past structures and process[31]. This means that the debates, speeches, and quotes selected for this study could have been selected otherwise, and it would have been possible to construct a different kind of picture of the Bush Administration's European foreign policy. The results of this study, should thus be seen only as an interpretation of past events by an individual scholar, who nevertheless has sincerely attempted to arrive at a comprehensive, politically meaningful, scholarly relevant and academically defensible analysis.

I use a heterogeneous, yet inherently meaningful collection of research literature in my analysis. As I am both a historian interested in the policies of the Bush Administration, and a political scientist interested in world level analysis of the effects of these policies, the main body of research literature concentrates on the historical role of the United States in world politics and the change in this role at the Cold War's end. Hartwig Hummel's analysis *Der Neue Westen – Der Handelskonflikt zwischen den USA und Japan und die Integration der westlichen Gemeinschaft*[32] and Thomas Barnett's *The Pentagon's New Map – War and Peace in the Twenty-First Century*[33], Chalmers Johnson's *Sorrows of Empire – Militarism, Secrecy and the end of the Republic*[34] as well as Samuel Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*[35] gave interesting views to the American role as the leader of the Western world and globalization. Vilho Harle's *The Enemy with a Thousand Faces – The Tradition of the Other in Western Political Thought and History*[36] and Johan Galtung's *De Forente Staters Utrikenspolitik – En fortsettelse av teologi med andre midle*[37] have been important works for understanding American perceptions of the role of the United States in world politics, and the change that the end of the Cold War caused to this role. Andrew Bacevich's critical analysis of American foreign policy *American Empire – The Realities & Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy*[38] induced me to take a longer perspective on American foreign policy and its ideological background, as during the reading of sources it began to seem that the Bush Administration's foreign policy argumentation shared much in common with the argumentation of earlier American foreign policy actors. William Appleman

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[31] White 1975, ix, 2, 5.
[32] Hummel 2000.
[33] Barnett 2004.
[34] Johnson 2004.
[35] Huntington 1997.
[36] Harle 2000.
[37] Galtung1995.
[38] Bacevich 2002.

Williams' edited volume *From Colony to Empire – Essays in the History of American Foreign Relations* that contains articles of various researchers of the History of American foreign policy, as well as Anders Stephenson's *Manifest Destiny – American Expansion and the Empire of Right*[39] are examples of research literature that helped me in reasoning further about the ideological roots of American foreign policy argumentation.

For understanding the peculiarities of American presidential rhetoric, I got valuable points of view from my discussions with Professor Bruce Gronbeck of the University of Iowa and especially from his lecture series *American Televised Politics*, which was held in the University of Jyväskylä April 5-13 2005[40]. Thanks to Gronbeck, I came to understand how relative, culturally and legally bound, American presidential power actually is. An especially important work for understanding the role of the American President as a rhetorician was Richard Neustadt's *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents – The Politics of Leadership from Roosevelt to Reagan*, which also clearly emphasized the limits and possibilities of presidential argumentation[41]. George Lakoff's works *Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives Think* and *Don't think of an Elephant – Know Your Values and Frame the Debate* helped me to better understand the formation of argumentation of the United State's conservative right that President Bush represents. Lakoff's works also introduced to me the idea of framing in political language. Basically, framing is a way to control political debates by the usage of metaphors that evoke strong cultural images on behalf of a certain policy, make the language of political opponents look incoherent or immoral, and the policy of the "framer" as the only possible choice representing common sense[42].

Literature concerning President Bush's argumentation is in relatively short supply. That which is available concentrates more on the peculiarities of United State's foreign policy traditions from the American perspective. For example Trevor McCrisken's *American Exceptionalism and the Legacy of Vietnam – US Foreign Policy since 1974*[43] or Siobhán McEvoy-Levy's *American Exceptionalism and US Foreign Policy – Public Diplomacy at the End of the Cold War*[44] are fine examples of works that trace the history of the myth of American exceptionalism, and show how it has been used as an integral part of American Presidential rhetoric also at the Cold War's end. In addition, Riikka Kuusisto's work covering western foreign policy rhetoric *Western definitions of war in the Gulf and Bosnia: the rhetorical frameworks of the United States', British and French leaders in action*[45] has been important for writing this study.

The Bush Administration's policies have not been widely analyzed. The best known and probably the most extensive study even nowadays is *At the*

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[39]   Stephenson 1995.
[40]   Gronbeck 2005.
[41]   Neustadt 1990.
[42]   Lakoff 2002, 3-6; Lakoff 2005, xv, 4, 24.
[43]   McCrisken 2003.
[44]   McEvoy-Levy 2001.
[45]   Kuusisto 1999.

Highest Levels – The Inside Story of the End of the Cold War by Michael Beschloss and Strobe Talbott that was published in 1993[46]. The book analyzed in detail the background of decision making during the final events of the Cold War and the personal relationships between the superpower leaders and their staffs. Charles-Philippe David's "Who was the real George Bush? Foreign Policy Decision Making under the Bush Administration"[47] and Michael Cox' and Steven Hurst's "'His Finest Hour?' George Bush and the Diplomacy of German Unification"[48] and Jérôme Élie's *The End of the Cold War as a "Systemic Transition": Thinking about the New World Order in the Soviet Union and the United States, 1984-1992*[49], are also important sources of information on the Bush Administration's foreign policy, and have been used in the making of this analysis.

When it comes to research literature concerning the end of the Cold War in general, the selection is much wider as there is a plethora of books and articles evaluating the change it brought to the world order. Research on the transatlantic security relations of the years 1989-1993 is also extensive. Many of these works, however, concentrate mainly on questions concerning the role of NATO. Often these publications are also rather technical and they do not to pay much attention to the norms, identities and images that actually were important in keeping the overlapping entities of West and NATO together at the Cold War's end[50]. The seemingly exhaustive number of studies concerning the end of the Cold War and its effects on transatlantic relations do not pay much attention to the role of the United States' as a European power either. At first I found it difficult, as a European scholar, to comprehend what was the political meaning of the Bush Administration openly defining the United States as a European actor[51]? Of course I knew that after 40 years of the Cold War the United States had closely integrated itself with Western Europe economically, politically and militarily, and of course the roots of multilevel commonalities between the United States and Europe go back centuries. Notwithstanding, renaming the United States a European power went to a rhetorical stage clearly above this concrete history. Then my interest was aroused exactly by the Bush Administration's rhetorical strategy of trying to maintain the situation where the United States should lead and Europe follow even though the disappearance of the Soviet threat severely undermined this apparent rationale. By re-defining the role of the United States as a European power the Bush Administration was able to legitimize and even strengthen the central role of the United States in the old continent. The importance of this re-legitimization is seen in today's discussion on the role of NATO in Europe, which is *de facto* a

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[46] Beschloss & Talbott 1993.
[47] David 1996.
[48] Cox & Hurst 2002.
[49] Élie 2007.
[50] Forsberg 2002, 14.
[51] President Bush's News Conference in Brussels December 4, 1989; President Bush's Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki of Poland March 21, 1990. GBPLM (www).

debate about the role of the United States as the guarantor of the security of Europe. While analyzing the spatial argumentation of President Bush, Martin Lewis's and Kären Wigen's *The Myth of Continents – A critique of Metageography*[52], Patrick Thaddeus Jackson's *Civilizing the Enemy – German Reconstruction and the Invention of the West,*[53] and Gerard Delanty's *Inventing Europe – Idea, Identity, Reality*[54] were helpful in understanding the socially constructed nature of geographic entities and the identities connected to them. Pekka Korhonen's article "Conclusion: Naming Europe with the East" was important in understanding the changing role of Eastern Europe through the practices of geopolitical naming at the Cold War's end[55].

In addition to bringing a new perspective to the research on the relations of the United States and Europe, my study attempts to introduce new theoretical perspectives for doing research in the interface between history and political science. To my taste, the methodological choices of earlier scholars of American foreign policy have been either too narrow or too broad. Volumes concerning the United State's role in the world order, like Paul Kennedy's *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*[56] or Samuel Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations – Remaking of World Order* are too general in their scope. Historical analyses of American foreign policy on the other hand tend to discard world level analysis almost completely and more often resemble commentaries, which despite their richness in information are often unable to see the phenomenon at a more general level. When it comes to works concerning American foreign policy rhetoric, it is relatively easy to notice that the writers of these publications are often not interested in analyzing in detail the past events. For example, Riikka Kuusisto's *Western definitions of war in the Gulf and Bosnia*[57] is excellent in evaluating the rhetorical tools used in western foreign policy rhetoric. However, Kuusisto's work does not pay much attention to the evaluation of the historical context that has affected the selecting of arguments, metaphors and other tools of the rhetorician. In a nutshell, this type of research answers the question of how certain argumentation strategies were being used and constructed extremely well, but it does not evaluate in detail the context that led to a usage of certain argumentation and made it both understandable and acceptable to the majority of the general public.

To get beyond the descriptions of rhetorical structure, the airiness of world level analysis and the commentary nature of most historical analyses, this study aims to combine the best elements of these three approaches. This combination that I call time based contextual argumentation approach describes the structure of rhetoric, traces the background of argumentation in detail, and connects it to a wider perspective. I claim that this study offers a new and

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[52]   Lewis 1997.
[53]   Jackson 2006.
[54]   Delanty 1995.
[55]   Korhonen 2009.
[56]   Kennedy 1989.
[57]   Kuusisto 1999.

fruitful view of the Bush Administration's foreign policy rhetoric towards Europe 1989-1993. However, the credibility and novelty of my interpretation are questions that only critical readers of this study are capable of evaluating objectively. The writer is always a prisoner of his own context.

This study is divided into two sections. The first section is composed of chapters 1-5, which concern the methodological and theoretical orientation of this study and depict the background of presidential rhetoric in the United State's political system. Chapter 2 concentrates on the central dilemmas of anachronism, anarchy and determinism that affect the research of past world politics. Chapter 3 summarizes the central notions of Chapter 2 and introduces the time based contextual argumentation approach that this study is based on. Chapter 4 concentrates on the nature of political rhetoric. Chapter 5 focuses on the demands of American presidential rhetoric and the limits of presidential power in the United States. The second section of the study consists of chapters 6-10 that consider the Bush Administration's European foreign policy argumentation during 1989-1993. Chapter 6 concentrates on the question of how the Bush Administration argued for the common causes of the United States and Europe to make the continuation of co-operation more legitimate at the end of the Cold War. Chapter 7 focuses on how the Bush Administration used the definition of the borders of Europe in its foreign policy to promote American interests. Chapters 8-10 consider threats that the Bush Administration used in its European foreign policy argumentation, such as the threat of the Soviet Union in Chapter 8, and the threat of Germany in Chapter 9. New threats such as terrorism and drug trafficking are analyzed in Chapter 10. The conclusions of this study are finally summed up in Chapter 11.

2 APPROACHING PAST WORLD POLITICS – UNDERSTANDING THE OBSTACLES OF ANACHRONISM, ANARCHY AND DETERMINISM

In this chapter, the relationship between historiography and social sciences in the research of past world politics is discussed through three problematic fields: anachronism, anarchy and determinism. These problems are the ones that often seem to form open conflicts within and between the two disciplines. However, I claim that this confrontation is mostly artificial and both ways of researching the past can benefit from each other in a fruitful manner.

The basic difference between the research of political science and its subfield international politics on the one hand, and history on the other, has traditionally been that a historian constructs interpretations purely from historical sources and keeps looking for the causes and consequences for the events of the past[58]. History researchers like Geoffrey Elton, Quentin Skinner and David Lowenthal also consider every past event a unique product of its own time that is impossible to understand fully from today's point of view[59]. Many political scientists and scholars of international relations on the other hand tend to produce their interpretations with the help of philosophical-theoretical insights and law-like empirical assumptions. The law-like empirical assumptions are mostly followed by the many schools of international relations such as old realists, neorealists and liberalists. Old realists, like Hans J. Morgenthau in *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, have largely based their thinking on unchangeable truths and objective laws about the international order and most of all on human nature[60]. Neorealists, like Kenneth Walz, have claimed that it is possible to build a theory about international structures that is characterized by the ordering principle of the system (anarchy) and by the capabilities of its units (states), and use it in explaining the working of international politics[61]. Liberalists, like Mark Zacher

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58 Elton 2002, 49.
59 Elton 2002, 97: Skinner 1988a, 31; Lowenthal 1988, xvii.
60 Morgenthau 1978, 4-17.
61 Waltz 1995, 74; Waltz 1979, 102

and Richard Matthew, on the other hand have tended to emphasize that the world is moving towards progress, and greater human freedom is promoted by supporting peace, prosperity and justice[62]. Often researchers of political science and international relations also have used ideas of philosophers like Immanuel Kant or Niccolo Machiavelli to reconstruct the intellectual background of their school of thought, like Michael E. Doyle in his article "Liberalism and World Politics Revisited"[63]. The basic idea behind this approach seems to be that philosophical dilemmas and ideas are timeless and thus usable in every dimension of time. Often social scientists, and to a lesser extent historians, also make analogies between earlier historical events and today in their attempts to demonstrate how history can teach us something relevant for understanding the present or seeing the future[64]. A good example of this practice is Paul Kennedy's *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers – Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500-2000* where the author for instance makes comparisons between the fate of imperial Britain and the likely future of the United States in the late Cold War context[65].

Looking at the basic background differences between historiography and political science as described above, we may well ask how is it even possible to claim that these two different approaches can be interwoven together. According to Colin and Miriam Elman it is possible and the stereotypes of "atheoretical historian" and "ahistorical political" scientist should be rejected as theory making in political science would not be possible without the help of history[66]. Especially for Elman and Elman diplomatic historians and qualitative international relations scholars are close to each other and it can be extremely hard to say, which school of thought certain works represent[67]. For John Hobson and George Lawson constructivism in the research of international relations is especially close to history, as it emphasizes "time and place specificity" as well as "context and change"[68]. Within this study, the answer to the question how to unite the disciplines of history and political science/international relations has been sought from the perspective of political rhetoric. The basic claim is that the linguistic and rhetorical turns have affected the research of history, political science and international relations profoundly, and have brought certain schools of these disciplines closer than has been commonly understood. Especially the ideas of relativity and subjectivity coming from the notions of rhetorical turn have been accepted to a reasonable extent. Words like neutrality, empiricism, objectivity and truth have been seen as controversial and even harmful for critical research among the schools of thought. However, the teachings of linguistics and rhetoric have also led to overstatements about the role of language among certain post-modernist

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[62]   Zacher and Matthew 1995, 109.
[63]   Doyle 1995, 100-101.
[64]   Joffe 1995, 101; Kaplan 2002, 3-4.
[65]   Kennedy 1989,521,523, 526, 530.
[66]   Elman C. & Elman M. 2008, 357, 364.
[67]   Elman C. & Elman M. 2008, 359.
[68]   Hobson and Lawson 2008, 417.

students of history and international relations who claim that it is impossible to see the social world existing outside of discourse as language and its deconstruction is the key to understand the world[69]. The discourses of the past, no less than that of the present, are not born in a vacuum, and thus discovering the construction of a certain set of discourse can tell about how it was built, but it is unable to answer the question of why it was built. This weakness concerning the dimension of time or other realities of the world surrounding language has also been noticed in the field of history research as well as in political science and international relations. In the research of history, Quentin Skinner has been a key figure in uniting the research of history and the inquiry of rhetoric in his contextual approach[70]. In the field of political theory Kari Palonen has argued fiercely for including the dimension of time in the studies of politics[71]. In the field of international relations research, critical realists such as Heikki Patomäki and Colin Wight have also attacked the ideas of the most flamboyant post-modernists as well as positivists alike[72]. All the scholars above see time and context of action as essential for understanding the past actors. I am ready to claim that despite differences between the ways of political science, international relations, and history; these approaches can be combined. However, I do not necessarily consider the end product of this process as progress in the inquiry of truth, but simply as a new way of making interpretations of past events.

Interdisciplinary approaches are often rejected as they require broad knowledge of the theories and research methods of different fields. As a trained scholar of history (MA) and political science (M.Soc.Sc.) I have dared to combine the elements of both fields within this study. Command of the basic methodological and theoretical background of two different fields is, however, not enough. Crossing the political borders of different disciplines concerning research of the past is also a demanding task as one should not underestimate human beings will to claim the possession of ultimate truths about the nature of the past within and between different research fields. Nevertheless, the past events themselves are the same and different approaches to them are just interpretations of a different kind over the same issues. By claiming this, I am underlining the Kantian notion of *das Ding an sich* or "thing as such", which human beings are unable to grasp directly as we are bound to our own perceptions of the actual thing[73]. For instance, the perceptions of international relations theorists, historians and political scientists over the same actual events of the past often vary. This is natural, as they all tend to concentrate on different aspects of the same events, because they have been trained to see the past differently. Often the gap between them is further broadened by the usage of different methodologies. In the case of George Bush's European foreign policy, a historian might concentrate on picturing the events of 1989-1993 in an as

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[69]   See for example Patomäki 1992, 1, 21; Coleman 2002, 48.
[70]   Skinner 1988a, 63-64.
[71]   Palonen 1998, 184.
[72]   Patomäki & Wight 2000.
[73]   Kant 2003, Preface to the second edition 1787 (www).

detailed manner as possible[74]. This might be done by paying a lot of attention to describing the likely motives of the members of the Bush Administration from the contemporary viewpoint[75]. International relations theorists broadly following the old realist school of thought could see Bush's European foreign policy through the image of a realist statesman[76], and could put energy on explining to readers what kind of political wisdom the foreign policy of the Bush Administration carried. A political scientist, like Riikka Kuusisto, who sees words as tools for constructing the world, could analyze the way President Bush persuaded audiences in his speeches by the skilful usage of metaphors and stories[77]. As the examples above show, different research traditions could provide three different perceptions of the same events of the past. Which of these pictures would be the best could be a source of lively academic debate, but it can be also asked what similarities they all share and how these approaches could support each other? The main idea of this work is to try to build a synthesis on the kinship of the ideas that certain researchers of history and social sciences share in the research of the past. Synthesizing an interdisciplinary approach to this study has not been easy, but it has been a task of great intellectual interest to me. As a scholar of history and political science, I have felt occasionally schizophrenic, because my identity as a researcher has been held a prisoner in a limbo between two worlds. The purpose of this chapter is thus also to depict the painful process of finding one's own way of doing research in the jungle of the methodologies and schools of thought, and thus to open up for the reader the basis of thinking on which this study has been constructed.

2.1 Anachronism and Political Ideology

The past and the present can be combined properly or improperly. The past can be understood in terms of the past itself, or it can be understood anachronistically from the point of view of the present[78]. According to David Lowenthal, the past can, however, never be fully understood in the way the contemporaries saw it, as the meaning and the logic of historical events is given from the present[79]. This contingency does not mean that an attempt to understand the actual past by the terms of the past itself would be useless, as historical research can still show that some things most likely happened whereas others did not[80]. The most common instance where we see improper anachronism is connected with the usage of analogies, which is common among

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[74]   For the importance of the sources for the research of history, see Elton 49-50.
[75]   About the meaning of contemporary viewpoint, see Elton 2002, 9.
[76]   Morgenthau 1978, 4-17.
[77]   See for instance Kuusisto 1999, 22, 25, 28.
[78]   Elton 2002, 9.
[79]   Lowenthal 1988, 234.
[80]   Ibid.

neorealists or neoliberal institutionalist researchers of international relations and related fields, who seek an empirical back up for their law-like assumptions about the past.

Typically, the misuse of the past in the eyes of a historian takes place in situations where authors want to argue that one can learn directly from history. A suitable example is Josef Jossef's article *'Biscmarck' or 'Britain?' Toward an American Grand Strategy after Bipolarity*, where the writer evaluates how the diplomatic history of Bismarck's Germany, or that of the 19th century imperial Britain, could help American decision makers at the end of the 20th century[81]. Also Robert Kaplan in his book *Warrior Politics – Why Leadership Demands a Pagan Ethos* underlines the importance for the United States to follow the imperial policies of European colonial powers of the 19th century, to keep the world safe[82]. What is then wrong with the usage of historical examples directly in today's world? Most of all it is a question of the context where the events have taken place. The world of the late 19th century was very different from the world of the late 20th century. There has been so much change in technology, ideals, monetary systems, the ways of government and every other aspect of human life that past events can give little if any help for understanding today's political activity, and even less in providing detailed plans of action for the leaders of the world. The drawing of this type of analogy means most of all seeing the past entirely in terms of the present in an anachronistic way, instead of trying to understand the past from the viewpoints of the dwellers of the past.

The reckless usage of anachronistic analogies is seen regularly even in important and influential discussion fora of American foreign policy such as the pages of *Foreign Affairs*. In the aftermath of the American attack on Iraq on March 2003, Max Boot's article *The New American Way of War* considered how the American attack had meant a revolution in warfare.[83] Boot did not compare American success with earlier victories of the United States in the 20th century, but with the achievements of the German *Blitzkrieg* through France and the Low Countries[84]. He even presented a number of numerical details in his completely anachronistic comparison, writing:

> Previously, the gold standard of operational excellence had been the German blizkrieg through the Low Countries and France in 1940. The Germans managed to conquer France, the Netherlands, and Belgium in just 44 days, at a cost of "only" 27 000 dead soldiers. The United States and Britain took just 26 days to conquer Iraq (a country 80 percent of the size of France) at a cost of 161 dead, making fabled generals such as Erwin Rommel and Heinz Guderian seem positively incompetent by comparison.[85]

Boot's argumentation did not take into consideration for example any change in technology over the past 60 years, as today's fighting vehicles are much more

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[81]   Joffe 1995, 101.
[82]   Kaplan 2002, 7.
[83]   Boot 2003.
[84]   Boot 2003, 44.
[85]   Ibid.

reliable and faster than their World War II predecessors were. Boot did not even bother to mention whether Saddam Hussein's third world army was in any way comparable with the French armed forces of World War II. Iraqi troops had been cut off from supplies for 12 years and they had shown their inefficiency in all aspects of warfare in the first Gulf war. The French army, navy and air force despite internal weaknesses and old-fashioned strategy and tactics, still had been an armed force of a great power that had proved itself in the battles of the First World War. The French also had substantial amount of then modern weapons such as powerful Char-B tanks, and Dewoitine D.520 fighters that were fully comparable to their German counterparts[86], unlike the Iraqis who had nothing on par with the vast American arsenal.

The only thing Boot presented in his stunningly anachronistic article was to glorify the United States' latest military achievement and to take the somewhat suspicious historical pride of operational excellence out of Germans, whose World War II generals by his own words had become "incompetent". Interestingly enough, at the time the article was published; Boot was working as a senior fellow for (American) *National Security Studies* at the *Council on Foreign Relations*. Boot had gained his Master's degree in history from the University of Yale and a Bachelor's degree from the University of California at Berkley[87]. In the light of his article, it seems quite dubious that those highly respected universities would be at a very high level in their teaching of history, if graduated students write publicly such weakly justified claims, which plainly are just a rape of history. However, if we consider Boot's article as a political move in the context of American attack of Iraq in 2003, it is easy to see the logic behind his argument. Boot simply implied to his readers that waging a war is actually a good option for the United States political leaders, who could easily take militarily care of the problematic nations in the rest of the world. Boot was just showing ideological support for the George W. Bush Administration's decision of attacking Iraq.

If Boot's article made perfectly clear how the past can be used anachronistically in the field of world politics, Anders Stephenson's *Manifest Destiny - American Expansionism and the Empire of Right* is a good example of understading the contingent nature of history. Stephenson makes it clear at the beginning of his book that the mythical idea of the American Manifest Destiny is still influential in the foreign policy of the United States although its justifications have changed many times over the course of history[88]. Stephenson starts his analysis from the first colonies and ends it in the post-Cold War crisis caused by the lack of credible enemy images[89]. In Stephenson's analysis the changing role of the United States in politics as well as the demands of domestic

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86   See Semerdjiev 2005 about Dewoitine D.520. For Char-B and other French tanks comparable or even superior to their German counterparts, see Austra 1999.

87   About Boot see the web-pages of Council of Foreign Relations http://www.cfr.org/bios/5641/max_boot.html 22.12.2005.

88   Stephenson 1995, 5, 12, 112-116.

89   Stephenson 1995, 5, 129.

policies have together shaped the idea of Manifest Destiny into different forms[90].

Despite admitting the contingent nature of the idea of Manifest Destiny Stephenson's analysis suggests that the idea in one form or another has been important for the American self-image at least since 1845. How is this possible if the past is contingent by its nature, like for instance Lowenthal has claimed[91]? As we know that Americans have not been exceptional in claiming a moral right to rule other people over the course of history – for instance 18th century Swedes considered themselves to be the God chosen Israelis of their time[92] – it seems that actually Stephenson's study approaches one of the hardest and the most eternal questions about humanity: Has the human condition actually changed over time? Historians like Skinner evade this question by simply claiming that during a certain century people tended to think in a different way, and the ideas were tightly tied to their contemporary context, which means that there are no timeless ideas[93]. Nevertheless, it is still worth asking why some patterns of human action tend to be repeated time after time. Why are wars being fought throughout human history? Could there actually be some patterns or even laws behind this? Like old-realist, Morgenthau and neorealist Waltz have suggested[94]. Why do great powers tend to collapse as Kennedy has shown[95]? Should historians just say that these things seem to happen, but that there is nothing to be learned from this repetition? Despite the fact that historians are in most cases the most knowledgeable about all the imaginable details, they too often leave these big questions entirely to philosophers, social psychologists, or social scientists, as traditionally historians have not been interested in sketching laws for human activity[96].

2.2 Determinism

One core dispute in the borderline between social sciences and history has been the attitude towards theories or law-like assumptions many social scientists follow, which to the eyes of historians seem deterministic. Morgenthau for instance defines his theory in the most deterministic fashion: "Political realism believes that politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature. In order to improve society it is first necessary to understand the laws by which society lives. The operation of these laws being impervious to our preferences, men will challenge them only at the

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[90]   Stephenson 1995, 12, 14-15, 18, 118.
[91]   Lowenthal 1988, 216.
[92]   Englund 1998, 17-18.
[93]   Skinner 1988a, 30-31.
[94]   Morgenthau 1978, 4-15; Waltz 1979, 6; Waltz 1995, 79-80.
[95]   Kennedy 1989.
[96]   Elton 2002, 7.

risk of failure"[97]. As Morgenthau's words imply, the core of the old realist thinking of international relations is firmly rooted in law-like assumptions of the human nature and the functioning of the society, and only by understanding these determinant facts, can the world be changed. One core thesis for the old realists is that international relations are characterized by anarchy, where the rule of the strongest prevails and every nation is just trying to gain as much as possible for the glory and wealth for its own people[98]. No matter how appealing this cynical worldview might be in explaining the world events, we may as well ask is not the liberalist/idealist worldview stating that human beings are basically good, equally appealing? According to liberalists, anarchy in the world is not the determinant factor in international relations, but bad institutions responsible for the maintenance of peace in the world cause it[99]. Some politicians of the past, like Ronald Reagan can be claimed to have represented a realistic worldview and believed in strengthening the power of one's own state. Some others, however, seem to have taken a more idealistic or liberalist stance, like for instance Woodrow Wilson, who vigorously campaigned for the League of Nations and American participation in it. Based on the historical examples above it seems logical that both schools of thought have the right to exist.

A traditional historian would diplomatically say at this point that both schools are partially right. The historian would, however, continue the sentence less diplomatically by stating that a good historian would do actually better than the realists or liberalists as a historian evaluates the past events in a case by case manner. This means that the historian would do a more detailed analysis of the same world event than a realist or a liberalist/idealist using their simplified explanation models. A historian would claim that it is not reasonable to categorize policy or politicians within tightly shaped boxes, because policies that are considered highly idealistic can also mean horrifying deeds in the name of common good. On the other hand, the so-called realistic politicians can also conduct an idealistic policy. The idealists of the French revolution for example "ate their own children". When it comes to political realists, it is good to remember that for instance the seemingly self-centered views that dominated the United State's relations with Europe in the interwar period did not prevent the United States from being *de facto* on the side of the allies after the start of the Second World War. According to Andrew Bacevich and Henry Berger, the reasons for doing this were less altruistic[100], but it can be asked whether possibly selfish motives made the American war effort overcoming fascism less important? Altogether, it seems that judging what past events have represented pure liberalism or idealism and what political realism, is a rather complicated issue.

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[97]   Morgenthau 1978, 4.
[98]   Kegley 1995, 5.
[99]   Kegley 1995, 4.
[100]   Bacevich 2002, 11-12. Berger 1972, 320.

A critical old school historian such as the former Cambridge University Regious professor of Modern History Geoffrey Elton would immediately say that both schools of international politics are too one-sided and their basic set of assumptions will inevitably dominate all their scholarly activities in a manner that will eventually separate the actual truth from the past. As truth can be constructed only by giving up all the presumptions in the name of finding pure historical facts[101]. However, are historians truly doing their work only with a case by a case basis, just finding clues from here and there and building up a value free and neutral picture without presumptions about the past?

Hayden White argues that history is "a verbal structure in the form of a narrative prose discourse"[102]. White is thus ready to claim that historiography is most of all a job of constructing the past through the imagination of the historian, like a fiction writer making a novel. The only difference between the methods of historian and fiction writer according to White is that the historian finds the story from the sources, whereas the writer of fiction just invents the story[103]. According to White, the same historical events represent things of a different kind to different historians as they write their stories about the past. "The death of the king may be a beginning, an ending, or simply a transitional event in three different stories", as White accurately points out[104]. Writing history in the form of an understandable story White calls "explanation by emplotment". This according to him is only one way to justify the historian's own interpretation of the past events. The other ways to do it are "explanation by (formal) argument" and "explanation by ideological implication"[105].

The explanation by formal argument means backing one's arguments by analyzing them as syllogisms, on the basis of some putative universal law of a causal relationship, the minor premise being the boundary conditions within which the law is applied, ending with a conclusion in which the events that actually occurred are deduced from premises by logical necessity.[106] This is what the social sciences concerning international phenomena often do. The explanation by formal argument seems to be appealing at first sight, but eventually it has one central flaw that will reduce its power: it is extremely hard or impossible to show the existence of universal laws of a causal nature in human history. Actually, attempting to do this will, more often, tell us more about the preferences of the scholar than about the actual past. Problems attached to the finding of causal relationships and making of universal laws are considered in the following figure with a claim that higher technology combined with stronger economy is needed to win a war:

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[101]   See for example Elton 2002, 6-7; 10; 15.
[102]   White 1975, ix.
[103]   White 1975, 6.
[104]   White 1975, 7.
[105]   Ibid.
[106]   White 1975, 11.

A=X
B=X

F=X
E=X

A1

F1

B1 The Gulf War 1991

E1 The Winter War ◄──── F2

A2

C Higher level of
technology
combined with
stronger
economy is
needed to gain
victory at war

F3 the Americans
rich & advanced

A 3 the British
rich ──────► **B2 The Boer War**
& advanced

dispute

E2 The Vietnam War

A4 the Boers poor
& backward

D Not
necessarily

F4 the Vietnamese
poor & backward

B4

A5

U

E5 ◄── F5

A6

F6
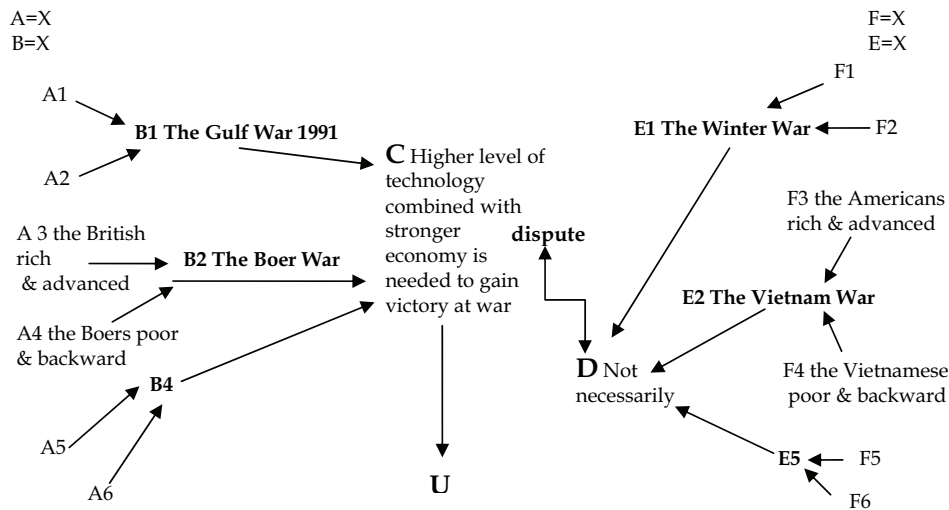
FIGURE 1   The problematic nature of universal laws of causal relationship in the
research of world politics

A= the causal explanations (factors) leading to the causal examples on the behalf of the
theory/universal law
B= the causal examples that are being used to justify the credibility of the created or used
theory/universal law
C= theory or universal law
D= the counter argument for theory or universal law (presented in C).
E= the causal examples that are being used to show the uselessness of the causal examples
used to justify theory/universal law questioned
F= the causal explanations (factors) leading to the causal examples against the
theory/universal law being questioned
U= the impossibility of testing the credibility of theory/universal law or its counterpart in
practice
X= the number of the pros and the cons concerning the theory/universal law

**The objective causal explanation theory in the research of social sciences or
history is impossible because:**

A)   The number of factors used to create arguments for or against theories and
universal laws are almost unlimited, as the interpretations in various
studies over the same events of world history vary greatly[107]. The big
question in this case is how to define what is victory, and what is defeat?
For example, a common claim is that the Americans won the Vietnam War
militarily, but lost the war politically[108]. Also differing voices are possible
to find. James Kurth for example claims that the United States actually
won the war in 1973, but the actions of the Democratic Party and the
student protesters led to a situation in 1975 where the South Vietnamese

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[107]   White 1975, 7.
[108]   Kurth 2006, 14-15, 17-18.

became the innocent losers of the conflict[109]. On the other hand for McEvoy-Levy and Michael J. Shapiro the United States' defeat in Vietnam was so severe that it undermined the American self-image for decades[110]. So, did the Americans actually win or lose, depends on the person you ask and her preferences for interpretation. The same can be said of the Winter War between Finland and the Soviet Union in 1939-1940. In strategic and moral terms, the attacking Soviets lost, as despite their superiority in numbers and material, their badly legitimized attack was not successful in taking over Finland[111]. However, the Soviets were able to gain tracts of Finnish territory and could dictate their terms in the peace negotiations[112]. The Finns however, were able to keep their country sovereign, which was not a small achievement considering the differing sizes of the contestants[113]. Which side had actually won and which lost in this case then? There seems to be an awful lot of space for different interpretations of history even if we play with such core concepts as military victory and defeat, and thus the idea of making a law regarding successful warfare loses its rationale and becomes a question of political argumentation.

B) As it is not possible to test the credibility of theory/universal law in practice, theories and universal laws tend to work properly only within the heads of their makers. Elswhere, they can be questioned or supported by any amount of arguments, which are just as credible as the original theory.

C) Since it is impossible to test the validity of the counterarguments, they can be responded to with an equal number of justified anti-counterarguments. The debate can continue forever, without the final word being said. The political debate about the past is *de facto* more important in itself than its results[114].

The building of the universal laws of human action is likely to go astray as well because it is difficult to separate signs and causes. According to George Berkeley, those who frame general rules from the phenomena and later derive the phenomena from those rules, are concerned more with the signs than causes[115]. So for instance the usage of the laws of human action on realist and neo-realist international relations theories, based on the exemplifying usage of historical phenomena, are unable to say anything specific about the actual

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[109] Kurth 2006, 21.
[110] McEvoy-Levy 2001, 29; Shapiro 1997, 97.
[111] Antonucci 2004, 27, 31.
[112] Bayer 1981, 63.
[113] British for instance expected that Finland would collapse within a day. Bayer 1981, 34.
[114] According to Palonen the research of politics is based on presenting new interpretations, which does not mean that the old interpretations would be replaced by facts, but that the new interpretations are replacing the old ones. Palonen 1988, 15.
[115] Berkley 2007, 108.

reasons behind the certain past events, as they are more concerned in finding proves or signs that support the functioning of the selected theory in a certain case[116]. A further reason why the making of the universal laws of human action does not work is that the scholars themselves are products of certain cultural contexts. According to Patomäki, individual and communal values inevitably affect the way we see the world[117]. This leads to a conclusion that we should speak about subjective interpretations rather than causal explanations based on objective truths about the world of men. This means that the claim for ultimate objectivity is fruitless and even harmful for understanding the social world and its complexity.

The rejection of universal explanations can lead to a counter argument, which goes like this: If the only result of research is just subjective interpretation, all the interpretations are as valuable as pure fiction. However, this criticism misses the point that when we understand the relativity of our own interpretations we open space for more vivid academic argumentation and can bring the political aspect of our research activity into the open. This allows us to become even more critical towards our own work and that of others, which prevents single truths from destroying the diversity of interpretation needed to see the phenomenon of social life as broadly as possible.

2.3 Anarchy

In the field of history research, it is not often the search or usage of the causal laws of human action that is being practiced. Historians become familiar with the context of the past and make their interpretations about it on a case by a case method, basing their interpretative claims on the findings they have made by analyzing historical sources. In this process, the most typical approach is the plain reading of the sources, based on the historian's individual ability to understand the past from its own point of view. This lack of actual and explicit interpretative methodology in the research of history is, according to Hayden White, a scourge.[118] White states that some progress could be achieved within the discipline of history if the research would be tied to some tradition[119]. White, however, does not point out any specific school of thought that history scholars should follow. His message is aimed against the generally fruitless nature of anarchism that can leave its follower empty handed compared with a scholar following a certain school of thought, who can always carry a specific research tradition forward. White is especially worried about the lack of concepts and rules in historical studies; a condition that eventually derives from

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[116]   According to Elton the usage of theories predeterminates the answers of the research process as the functioning of the theoretical framework becomes, the most important task of the researcher 2002, 15.
[117]   See for example Patomäki 1992, 2-5.
[118]   White 1975, 13.
[119]   Ibid.

the fact that metahistory – namely the presumptions of what history is and how it should be researched – is unclear[120].

White is criticizing the so-called traditional way of doing historical research that follows in the footsteps of Ranke's *Wie es eigentlich gewesen* ideal of portraying the past as it has been[121]. This old ideal is not enough to justify one's own way of doing research as the interpretations made from the past are always constructions made by the historian from the viewpoint of the historian's own present. Nevertheless, the traditional ways of history research have been largely supplemented and nowadays it is difficult to find a historian that would underline the possibility of finding the absolute truth of the past based on historical sources. According post-modern radical historians like Keith Jenkins, history writing is always metaphorical. It is like painting a vase of flowers. The painting can never be more than just a metaphor of the original vase. It is impossible to recreate the real physical object by painting, and thus we are doomed to see mere pictures of the past instead of gaining actual truths about it[122]. However, it is fair to say that these pictures or metaphors are still based on actual events of the past and thus they can give us glimpses of the actual past. For the representatives of the historicist historical sociology or contextualism like Edward Hallet Carr, Quentin Skinner, Carl Becker and Robin George Collingwood, the detailed study of the historical sources as such is not enough[123]. From their point of view the researcher has to first build a context consisting of the historical, political, social and economic environment, "within which (s)he carries out research and within which historical facts are accumulated"[124]. For the likes of Carr and Skinner, historical relics never speak for themselves but are embedded "within broader social matrices" and there can be no absolute truth about the past as traditional historians have claimed[125].

If we think of the anarchy White mentioned as scourging history writing, it can be asked, what is wrong with it? Anarchy within the discipline of history is like a two-edged sword. First of all, anarchy is often destructive. It is easy to tear apart the historical interpretations other scholars have constructed with great effort as the lack of metahistory gives you an unlimited choice of techniques to attack the works of others. However, for critical argumentation the anarchy prevailing among the field of history will no doubt give the best range for criticism, as there are no formal set of rules or concepts one has to follow in order to take part in the discussion - knowing a collection of past events is enough. We might even ask if it is not the anarchy that keeps the research of history relatively healthy, as there is no need for the complex jargon of metahistory filled with strange concepts, whose true meaning no one seems to know for sure? In the words of Michael Coleman, what damage does it make if the research of history uses clear language and commonsensical explanations

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120   White 1975, 13.
121   Hobson & Lawson 2008, 426-427.
122   Jenkis 2003, 3.
123   Hobson & Lawson 2008, 428.
124   Ibid.
125   Hobson & Lawson 2008, 428.

that are easy to understand[126]? It can be also asked, whether the anarchy created by the ideas of linguistic or rhetorical turn is any better, as the equality of all interpretations of the past means that there cannot be purposeful development of the research any further, as it is not possible to say what is good and what is bad research? Quentin Skinner finds a positive side in the anarchy of historical research. According to him, it does not matter what we think about the anarchy in the inquiry of history, because we do not have to give up the ideal of interpreting the past as deeply as possible, if we try to picture the meaning of its events from the point of view of the past actors[127]. Naturally, we cannot go inside the heads of our ancestors, but an attempt to understand the past in terms of the past itself can help us to evade the worst pits of anachronism.

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[126]   Coleman 2002, 48.
[127]   Skinner 1985, 6.

3 INTERPRETING THE PAST WORLD POLITICS – THE TIME BASED CONTEXTUAL ARGUMENTATION APPROACH

In this chapter, the study of history, political rhetoric and international relations in the form of critical realism is synthesized into a time based contextual argumentation approach. The approach rests on the ideas presented on the previous chapter and most of all through dialogue with the works of Quentin Skinner, Kari Palonen, Heikki Patomäki and Colin Wight, which have opened new perspectives of understanding the nature of past politics.

The meaning of research of history comes from the notion that it is based on the approach of understanding past events from the viewpoint of past actors[128]. This means building the historical context from the structures of the era under research, which the researcher uses as a base to understand and to interpret the past events. According to this view, credible interpretations cannot be born without proper knowledge of the context of the era under research. The research of rhetoric gives power to evaluate the language of past politics and especially answers the question of how the argumentation was constructed and used. Argumentation within this study is most of all seen as one dimension of rhetoric. Critical realism's approach to world politics helps me in forming a picture of political reality, where events take place in the meaningful circumstances of a multidimensional real world. According to Roy Bhaskar's work *Realist Theory of Science,* epistemic fallacy means not understanding that our epistemological knowledge cannot define our ontological knowledge, as the world would exist without our experience about it[129]. This viewpoint of Bhaskar can be used to form an analogy that our knowledge about political argumentation cannot tell us comprehensively what the ontological reality of the political is, as there is reality beyond words. However, language is the core in forming our social realities that are crucial for political action. The question of ontological reality is seldom interesting as such in the research of politics. Nevertheless, it becomes interesting, as politicians tend to create social realities

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[128]   Skinner 1985, 6.
[129]   Bhaskar 1975, 16-17.

that are portrayed as ontological realities. Seeing how social realities are constructed in the interaction between a causally meaningful context and political argumentation based on it, can emancipate us from the false claim of social realities being ontologically binding. This view allows us to see research on world politics as a relative and purpose oriented field that is ultimately political in its nature.

My approach to political argumentation is closely related to the insights of the British historian and political theorist Quentin Skinner that text, and the time the text has been produced, are in a symbiotic relation to each other. He also considers that the meaning of social actions have to be seen from the point of view of the agents performing them[130]. According to Skinner, the meaning of the political aspect is the intentionality of the agents of the past. This intentionality is best seen in the contextual nature of past politics. For instance, the past agents produced certain texts with certain messages that were meaningful in the social context of the then contemporary world. In other words, they were only able to use messages that were understood in the social context of a certain era[131]. Understanding the social context of the past is thus the key in the evaluation of political messages in a way that gives justice to the past.

Emphasizing the meaning of context is a basic assumption in the research of history, which according to conservative historian Geoffrey Elton makes Skinner a typical historian among others[132]. Nevertheless, Skinner is not a typical historian if we see this term in the most conservative light, which would suggest that the task of a historian is to construct the past events in an as detailed fashion as possible and to "find the truths of event"[133]. Skinner sees historical knowledge as relative and the historical process itself as a highly argumentative competition of different interpretations[134]. To Skinner the possibility of truth is not as interesting as the question of novelty of the interpretation about the past, as there can always be a multitude of interpretations over the same phenomenon[135]. Skinner supports studying the political language of the past and its construction[136]. He goes beyond the common approach of political history, which searches for causes of events, in the direction of rhetorical studies, which is often seen as the field of philosophers and social scientists. However, Skinner has been able to conduct research on past political language in a fashion that can produce more solid interpretations than the often-anachronistic attempts of many deconstructionist thinkers, who do not take into consideration the dimension of time and its

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[130] The meaning of text and time see for example Skinner 1996, 6-8. The meaning for contemporary agent see for example Skinner 1985, 6; Skinner 1988 A Reply to My Critics. In *Meaning and Context*, ed. James Tully, Polity, 246. According to Palonen 2003, 143.

[131] Skinner 1988a, 63-64.

[132] Elton 2002, 37.

[133] Elton 2002, 31.

[134] Skinner 1985, 8; Skinner 1996, 8; Palonen 2003, 2.

[135] Skinner 1985, 8; Palonen 2003, 1-2.

[136] See for example Richter 1995, 124.

demands. In the worst case, they more or less tear the language from its context by their lack of contextual knowledge and supplement rational thinking of causalities by metaphors, as Geoffrey Elton has vividly portrayed[137].

In the field of political theory, Skinner's contextual view of language and ideas as time-bound phenomena has opened a new front of debate. Skinner has questioned the central position of philosophical ideas as the timeless source of wisdom, as even "eternal truths" are bound to the social context of the time of their making[138]. Skinner's analysis in *The Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes*[139], which handled Hobbes' ideas within their contemporary setting, is a good example of his contextualizing approach that has helped to form new perspectives to the classical works of Hobbes[140]. Nevertheless, even though Skinner puts Hobbes' ideas into their historical contexts, he is still wise enough not "to bring about his death as an author by drowning him in an ocean of discourse"[141]. Skinner appreciates the works of past thinkers as unique products of their own time. By doing this, he underlines the very notion that every era and event in human history is valuable in its uniqueness, and thus to attempt constructing laws covering all of human history most likely will fail[142].

Despite his strong expertise in the research field of political language, Skinner does not deny that "understanding actions in terms of motives and explaining events in terms of causes"[143] would be incompatible. However, Skinner is not a determinist either, despite the fact that he is ready to bind certain political action to a historical context and to show causal relationships. According to Palonen the works of Skinner have a strong tendency to underline the contingency of contextual situations, which means that predominantly Skinner sees causal explanation as supplementary to the *Verstehen* of political situations[144].

The core idea in the usage of historical context is to make it covering enough for understanding the past phenomenon under research. The context of President Bush's argumentation towards Europe 1989-1993 for instance could be looked at through contemporary events, audience(s), and the limits of presidential power.

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[137]   The idea of metaphors replacing rational thinking is from Elton 2002, 37.
[138]   Richter 1995, 124.
[139]   Skinner 1996.
[140]   Ibid.
[141]   Skinner 1996, 8.
[142]   See also Collingwood 1991, 38.
[143]   Skinner 1991,108
[144]   Palonen 2003, 45.

The Political Context of 1989-1993

| Events | Audiences | The Limits of Presidential Power |

The Gulf War

Dissolution of the Soviet Union

Deepening European Integration

Americans

Western Europeans

Eastern Europeans

Legal limitations of the President

Traditions of American foreign policy discourse

Role of the President as a rhetorician

President Bush's Argumentation

- What where the arguments?

- Why were they needed?

- How they were constructed?

- Whom were they meant?

FIGURE 2   The historical context of President Bush's argumentation 1989-1993.

The building of historical context is not, however, just about the gathering of information about factors that seem likely to have affected Bush's argumentation or any other topic under research. According to Palonen, the divide between text and context is artificial, and the context of a specific text can be found within the text itself[145]. This does not mean that the text would define its context. It means more or less that the text and the context are so integrally knit together that they cannot be separated. They have to be understood as parts of the same entity[146]. Texts are always written to answer questions[147]. This means that the task of the scholar is to try to understand what the questions were that a certain writer of a certain text tried to answer[148]. As the nature of texts is to answer questions, the essential core of the context can be found within the text itself either directly or in the form of the horizon of the text. President Bush for instance answered various practical questions with his European foreign policy, such as the future of NATO. The practical answers were, however often supported with the images of the longer continuum of the

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145   Palonen 1988, 61-62.
146   Ibid.
147   Palonen 1988, 64.
148   Palonen 1988, 64.

United States foreign policy ideology that created the horizon of President Bush's answers. The picturing of the ideological horizon did not need to be backed with additional arguments. The American audiences, for instance, were already familiar with the figures of speech of the canon of the United States foreign policy rhetoric, which limited the foreign policy rhetoric of President Bush. In short, the majority of the citizens of the United States wanted to hear their President answer the practical questions of foreign policy as well as ideological answers where "the moral beacon"[149] and "the greatest nation in the world"[150] would continue to prevail to the distant future.

However, the context of the past is also a construction of a scholar[151]. The context of Bush's argumentation for instance is usually an ultimate interpretation inside of which the other interpretations over the past argumentation are made. The context, no matter how accurate the details upon which it has been built, cannot be fully covering, and most importantly cannot give determinate answers. It is more like a basis for building historical narratives or making metaphors about the past[152]. Heikki Patomäki has claimed that in all historical situations past actors could have acted differently and there has never been just one way of seeing the events among the contemporaries, as the past is contingent by its nature[153]. Patomäki's argument means that the social context of a certain political phenomenon constructed by the researcher cannot comprehensively explain the events from all points of view of all the past agents. Skinner also denies the simply usage of social context as the determinant factor in the interpretation of the past, as the past is contingent to him as well[154].

Wittgenstein's classical arguement from *Philosophical Investigations* that words are also deeds[155] is useful for seeing the sameness of political argumentation and physical political action while evaluating the argumentation of past world politics in its social context. The researcher must understand that there is no difference between words and physical action in politics, as they are merely different sides of the same phenomenon and thus they cannot be seen separately. When the Bush Administration declared that Saddam Hussein must be driven out of Kuwait by all means, this speech act was *de facto* an unofficial declaration of war and thus very physical in its nature. We cannot say for sure what affected Bush's argumentation in this direction, but we can assume something of the intentions of the Bush Administration on the basis of political context and argue that something was a probable cause for his action. This possibility to gain added credibility derives from the fact that the context that is

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[149]   President Bush's Remarks at a Bush-Quayle Fundraising Luncheon in New York City November 12, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[150]   President Bush's Remarks on the 20th Anniversary of the Apollo 11 Moon Landing July 20, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[151]   See for example Palonen 1998, 181.

[152]   See for example White 1975, IX and Jenkins 2003, 3.

[153]   Patomäki 1992, 3-5.

[154]   Skinner 1988a, 65-66.

[155]   Wittgenstein 1999, 232.

derived from the events of 1989-1993 also contains parts of the "actual" past events that took place in the real world[156]. This state of affairs is however being undermined by the fact that a scholar is always subjective in choosing the actual past events used for constructing the context. This leads to a concept that no matter how real the events of the past have been, we cannot construct the past as it actually has been. We can just write narratives or stories about its events as Hayden White, John Passmore and David Lowenthal have claimed[157].

According to the critical realists of international politics, the relative nature of knowledge in social sciences means that the idea of knowledge has been replaced by the idea of interpretations, which are culturally and socially constructed and contain a multitude of different interpretative layers that picture actual events[158]. However, the multitude of interpretative layers does not mean that all human action is just a matter of discourse, as some post-modernist thinkers claim. I am here underlining the idea brought forward by Heikki Patomäki that "human beings are real, not only as texts but also as biological organisms and active social actors that routinely transform and (re)produce parts and aspects of the (natural, biological, ecological and social) world.[159]" The critical realist views of Patomäki and Colin Wight share much in common with the ideas of Skinner about the nature of knowledge. They all emphasize the idea of relativeness in the evaluation of political events and underline the social context where political action takes place. They all openly admit that the research process is inevitably affected by the social world[160]. In their article *After Postpositivism? The Promises of Critical Realism* Patomäki and Wight have erected the corner stones of critical realist research approach of world politics by defining three central clauses[161]. First, Patomäki and Wight state that the critical realist approach is committed to ontological realism. There is a reality, which is differentiated, structured, layered and independent of the mind. This first assumption leads them to the second corner stone of their approach, which is epistemological relativism, and which means that all our beliefs are produced socially, and thus they are potentially fallible. The third corner stone of the approach is judgemental rationalism, which underlines that "despite epistemological relativism, it is still possible, in principle, to provide justifiable grounds for preferring one theory over another.[162]"

Patomäki and Wight argue against positivists, postpositivists, and postmodernists as they emphasize the idea of the destructiveness of the epistemic fallacy[163]. That is a false belief that the capacity of human beings to understand the world through epistemological knowledge forms the base for

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[156]   Patomäki & Wight 2000, 223-225.

[157]   White 1975, IX Passmore 1991, 150; Lowenthal 1988, 4.

[158]   Patomäki & Wight 2000, 223-225.

[159]   Patomäki 1992, 2.

[160]   Patomäki & Wight 2000, 224; Skinner 1988a, 67.

[161]   Patomäki & Wight 2000.

[162]   Patomäki & Wight 2000, 224.

[163]   Bhaskar 1975, 16.

our ontological being[164]. Following this notion, leads easily to the forming-up of simple causal laws of human action that are claimed to explain the social world comprehensively. In reality, however, our epistemological knowledge and beliefs are social constructs of relative nature[165]. Patomäki and Wight do not claim that their approach could give answers beyond the social world in which we are living. Nevertheless, they are claiming that it is possible to some extent to evaluate different theories. According to them, the grounds for doing this comes from Paul Karl Feyerabend's insights of epistemological opportunism that anything goes if there is a good reason to believe it, and if it advances our knowledge[166]. Feyerabend has also stated in *Against Method* that the law-like assumptions in science are not efficient in advancing our knowledge, as they tend to restrain our imagination, which should be free of artificial and simplistic boundaries created by the artificial idea of facts[167].

Nevertheless, the question of advancing our knowledge is a rather political one and it always requires that someone must define what advance is, and what knowledge is. These concepts are not to be taken for granted, as they have shaped human history in a most dramatic fashion. National Socialists for example used these two concepts to back-up their racial policies. The concepts of advancement and knowledge are not negative if we see them like Patomäki and Wight, who support epistemological opportunism of the best available argument. This view is based on the ontological assumption that the social world is inevitably fragmented in many partial and relational perspectives that are in interplay with each other. According to Patomäki and Wight it is possible to synthesize all these fragments into a broader perspective that would not be as reductive as those perspectives separately. Nevertheless, Patomäki and Wight say that their perspective does not aim for the destruction of other perspectives, as reality is constantly on the move and the only synthesis there can be, is of dynamic nature.[168]

The dynamic and changing nature of the perspectives in the scene of world politics means that the concept of time holds a central place in Patomäki and Wight's thinking, as central as in the works of Skinner and Palonen[169]. For Skinner, the political always happens in a certain context and the agents of history have intentions behind their every utterance. The nature of written and spoken history is argumentative by its nature. Skinner for example sees the propositions of Hobbes' philosophy as moves in argumentation in the context of his own time and its debates[170]. Palonen sees Skinner as the "theory politician", and Skinner's his interpretations of the past politics most of all as

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164   Bhaskar 1975, 16.
165   Patomäki 1992, 5, 43; Patomäki & Wight 2000, 227. Patomäki and Wight emphasize that the social world should not be seen from a single perspective, but as a rather complex open system, where many justified point of views can prevail over the same event.
166   Patomäki & Wigth 2000, 227.
167   Feyerabend 1993, 10-11.
168   Patomäki & Wight 2000, 227.
169   Patomäki 6 Wight 2000, 227; Skinner 1988a, 30-31; Palonen 1998, 184.
170   Skinner 1996, 7-8.

arguments towards present political actors of the research field[171]. For Palonen, the interpretations of the past are moves in present debates, which underline their political nature, as the research of politics can be seen as a special case of the political action itself[172].

Research produces endless variations of interpretations. This multidimensionality of interpretations also exists in the field of world politics. The research process is influenced by the social context of the contemporary scholar, such as the academic schools of thought, nationality, and moral beliefs, which are bound in time. This means that it is impossible to find just one credible interpretation that would last eternally. Patomäki argues that the multidimensionality in the research field of world politics predominantely means rejecting the idea of method fetishism; an idea that following a certain method would lead to discovery of the truth, as all research activity remains in the field of the political[173]. Skinner and Palonen take quite similar stances as they both see the multidimensionality of interpretations as an internal policy matter of the research world, in which the logic of novelty and freshness are the best attributes to evaluate the value of the interpretations[174].

Within this study the researcher of past world politics, is to be seen as a political agent finding and arguing for specific interpretations about the political argumentation of the past. In the process, the researcher becomes a party of the political phenomenon under research. For Patomäki the researcher is in the middle of political action and he cannot escape this position[175]. This gives him; however, the possibility to work as an "ideological innovator" of politics, as a researcher is always an important definer or innovator of concepts picturing the political[176].

The idea of "ideological innovator" has been seen in the works of Skinner in the form of the "innovating ideologist". For Skinner, the innovating ideologist is largly a person who uses in the linguistic resources unexpected ways from those commonly recognized as available in the political situation, but which are not commonly used to alter the situation. By unconventional usage of common political language, changes in political action are more likely to be accepted. Speaking in terms of the past about the future can succeed, as every revolution needs to create a revolutionary vocabulary to overcome resistance.[177] Understanding the political nature of common language can work in an emancipative role as well. Patomäki defines this emancipation as liberation

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[171] Palonen 2003, 5.
[172] Palonen 1988, 13.
[173] Patomäki 1992, 20.
[174] Skinner 1996, 8; Skinner 2001, 21; Palonen 1988, 11.
[175] Patomäki 1992, 1-10.
[176] Patomäki 1992, 1-10.
[177] Palonen 2003, 52-53 Following the ideas of Skinner in his article of "Some Problems in the Analysis of Political Thought and Action 1974, *Political Theory* 2, 277-303. Reprinted in *Meaning and Context*, ed. James Tully, Cambridge: Polity 1988, 97-118.

from conventional points of view that take the present order of the world as given and fail to see how that world order has came about[178].

In this study, the researcher is seen as an actor that is interested in arguing for one's own interpretations about past world politics, by opening up new perspectives in the research of American foreign policy relations towards Europe at the Cold War's end. If my arguments seem to have emancipative effects on the chains of commonly held beliefs, I have nothing against it. Nevertheless, as I have been influenced by Morgenthau's comment about disguising selfish aspirations under idealistic splendor[179], I leave the evaluation of this side of my work to the readers.

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[178] Patomäki 1992, 1 Following the Ideas of Critical theory of Frankfurt school of Max Horkheimer, Jürgen Habermas and Robert Cox.
[179] Morgenthau 1978, 11.

4 POLITICAL RHETORIC

4.1 The Basic Structures of Political Rhetoric

> [Rhetoric means] the art of using language to help people narrow their choices among specifiable, if not specified, policy options.[180]

This neat definition made by Roderick P. Hart illustrates one of the modern usages of the concept of rhetoric in a compact fashion. According to Hart, rhetoric has three central features that distinguish it from other forms of communication. Firstly, rhetoric delineates what is good[181]. Secondly, rhetoric is always aimed at a certain audience, and thirdly, it contains rather clear policy recommendations[182]. The word "policy" can here be understood to contain a wide array of issues – from proposals for marriage to requests for repentance or voter solicitations[183].Within this study, rhetoric is understood as a special kind of verbal action meant for affecting the audience to gain its support for one's own cause. However, the principles and traditions of rhetoric are wide and varied. According to Palonen and Summa rhetoric is not a philosophical doctrine nor a research method[184], but all human interaction can be seen to have its rhetorical side. For instance, there is ceremonial rhetoric for keeping up institutions like the presidency[185] and rhetoric for questioning the existing power structures of the presidency. There is also everyday rhetoric[186] used at home, work, and hobbies. As rhetoric is part of all human interaction, it is also a meaningful perspective for evaluating the events of past world politics.

The three basic characteristics of rhetoric described by Hart can be demonstrated in action with an example of President Bush's foreign policy.

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[180] Hart 1997, 2-3. Words in brackets have been added by the writer to clarify the meaning of the sentence.
[181] Hart 1997, 11-12.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Palonen and Summa 1996, 7; Harle 2003, 37.
[185] Hart 1997, 212.
[186] Hart 1997, 13-14.

During the Presidential campaign of 1992, Bush took part in many presidential debates with Ross Perot and Bill Clinton. One of these debates took place in St. Louis in October 11, 1992. During the debate, the candidates were asked why American tax payers should pay for keeping 150 000 troops in Europe although the Second World War had ended some 50 years ago, the Soviet Union had collapsed and the Europeans themselves had plenty of money to take care of themselves.[187] President Bush answered the question with the following lines:

> We are the sole remaining superpower. And we should be that. We have a certain disproportionate responsibility. But I would ask the American people to understand that if we make imprudent cuts, if we go too far, we risk the peace. And I don't want to do that. I've seen what it is like to see the burdens of a war, and I don't want to see us make reckless cuts.[188]

President Bush pictured two alternative policies to be selected by his audience, "the American people". He made a simple question whether the United States makes "imprudent cuts" and risks "the peace" which leads to seeing "the burdens of war," or whether it would keep the current level of spending and amount of troops to take care of European security and thus to maintain the peace. To back-up his argumentation in favor of the latter policy President Bush underlined his own negative personal experiences of the war, by which he sought extra authority in the matters of United States national security[189]. In short, President Bush delineated what was good for his special audience and made a clear policy recommendation: defense costs and troop levels in Europe should not be cut, as it would not be good for "the American people".

Political rhetoric is not, however, a single act of argumentation. The nature of rhetoric is best understood through dialogue. The dialogical meaning of rhetoric comes from the fact that the communication process itself seldom works only one way. As Hart puts it, there are "policy options" that the rhetorician has to "narrow" in favor of her own interests[190]. The dialogical aspect keeps the rhetoric on constant move. Arguments and counterarguments follow each other and sometimes the debate itself becomes more important than its original aims[191]. To exemplify the meaning of political debate I continue with an extract from the St. Louis presidential debate October 11, 1992 where Bill Clinton answered the same question about the future of American troops in Europe, and made counterarguments against Bush's policy recommendation:

> I agree with the general statement Mr. Bush made. I disagree that we need 150,000 troops to fulfil our role in Europe. We certainly must maintain an engagement there.

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187 President Bush remarks in the Presidential Debate between George Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot in St. Louis October 11, 1992. GBPLM (www).
188 Ibid.
189 President Bush used his war vetarancy as an authority argument while speaking especially to the American audiences. See for example: President Bush's Interview with Don Marsh of KTVI - TV in St. Louis, Missouri November 13, 1991; President Bush's Remarks to the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia in Arlington, Virginia July 24, 1992. GBPLM (www).
190 Hart 1997, 2-3.
191 Palonen & Summa 1996, 12.

> There are certainly dangers there. There are certainly other trouble spots in the world, which are closer to Europe than to the United States. But two former Defence Secretaries recently issued reports saying that 100,000 or slightly fewer troops would be enough, including President Reagan's former Defence Secretary, Mr. Carlucci. Many of the military experts whom I consulted on this agreed.[192]

At the opening of his argument, Governor Clinton admitted that he was generally on the same page with President Bush, which meant that he also valued peace in Europe and in the world, but the means to maintain the peace meant considerably fewer troops. In his counter argument Clinton referred to expert estimations that 100 000 troops should be enough. Clinton did not have strong personal authority to argue about military matters, as he was not a war veteran. During the presidential campaign of 1992, Bush constantly claimed that Clinton was unpatriotic. The most notable of these attacks took place on October 7, 1992 just four days before the St. Louis debate[193]. In his snipe on October 7 President Bush had underlined Clinton's visit to Moscow in early 1970 as well as his responsibility for arranging demonstrations against the Vietnam War. Four days later Bush repeated his message, and in addition proclaimed that Clinton had the wrong character with weak judgement, and should not become the President of the United States[194]. This attack failed miserably, as Governor Clinton answered by comparing President Bush with Joe McCarthy and argued that Bush wanted to split the country in two as McCarthy had done with his communist purges[195]. President Bush's argumentation did not appeal to American voters, but that of Clinton's did[196]. By referring to military experts, Clinton was able to compensate for his lack of personal experience on warfare. Actually, Clinton's reference to the military experts such as former Secretaries of State and high-ranking officers[197] underlined that he had a full trust for the security community of the United States. This argumentation also underlined the professionalism and thus rationalism of the security experts that tacitly went beyond the emotional experiences of an individual war veteran such as President Bush. In short, Clinton wanted to show the voters that his policy recommendation was better than Bush's; it would both save money and guarantee the peace on earth.

The dialogical aspect of rhetoric that was seen in the extracts from the presidential debate of 1992 does not mean, however, that specific audiences could participate in this dialogue effectively, as their role nowadays resembles that of passive listeners. According to Bruce Gronbeck, in the latter half of the 20th century American presidential rhetoric is being mostly mediated by the

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[192]   Governor Clinton's remarks in the Presidential Debate between George Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot in St. Louis October 11, 1992. GBPLM (www).

[193]   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 474.

[194]   President Bush's remarks in the Presidential Debate between George Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot in St. Louis October 11, 1992. GBPLM (www).

[195]   Governor Clinton's remarks in the Presidential Debate between George Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot in St. Louis October 11, 1992. GBPLM (www).

[196]   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 474.

[197]   Governor Clinton's remarks in the Presidential Debate between George Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot in St. Louis October 11, 1992. GBPLM (www).

mass media, instead of direct contact with specific public audiences[198]. This has meant that the audiences are largely unable to have contact with the President. The same can be said of political competitors, most of whom get a chance for a direct exchange of opinions only in the televised debates that seldom take place beyond presidential election campaigns. This means that presidential rhetoric in the United States has become a promotional process instead of being a part of ideological debate[199]. At public speeches the role of the audience creates the right visual and emotional[200] settings for the mass mediated messages suited for certain speech situations[201]. The fact that direct dialogue between the audiences and the President of the United States is not that important anymore has not meant that the political addresses of presidents would have become just monologues. Presidents of the United States still hold press conferences that have a certain dialogical aspect. Nevertheless, in these situations, the role of the President is to answer the reporters' questions in the name of the nation itself and thus the press conferences are also important rituals for strengthening the role of the President[202]. The President of the United States is, however, still responsible for his actions to other governmental institutions, to the allied countries, and ultimately to the citizens, whose votes decide who remains in power, and who does not[203]. Altogether, this means that there still was a certain dialogical element in the rhetoric of President Bush 1989-1993.

According to Hart, the nature of rhetorical argumentation does not lie in formal logic; more important is the credibility of the rhetorician[204]. He claims that the logic of rhetoric is always dependent on the audience that inevitably evaluates the credibility of the rhetorician's arguments[205]. The view represented by Hart is easily traceable to the classical works of rhetoric such as Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and Cicero's *The Orator*, where Cicero emphasized the importance of selecting one's way of speech according to the demands of audience[206]. Hart claims that most listeners are not able to separate the speaker from his message. This means that the predicted personality of the speaker and his messages are interwoven in a fashion that makes traditional logic useless in evaluating the effectiveness of rhetoric[207] and makes the image of the president an important factor.

The image issues are not just limited to the presidential debates, where candidates want to distinguish themselves, but they are an important part in presidential decision making as well. For instance, Saddam Hussein's regime

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[198]   Morreale 1994, 31; Gronbeck, 5.4.2005.
[199]   Gronbeck, 6.4.2005.
[200]   About the important meaning of visualization and emotionalization of politics, Gronbeck 6.4.2005.
[201]   Hart 1997, 44-46.
[202]   About the importance of rituals and their meaning to role, Gronbeck 12.4.2005.
[203]   Neustadt 1990, 29-30, 50, 79-81.
[204]   Hart 1997, 83-84.
[205]   Hart 1997, 83-85.
[206]   See for example Cicero 2006, 38.
[207]   Hart 1997, 84.

was obviously interested in the public image of the Bush Administration when it tried to prevent the American ground attack on Iraqi forces. Iraqi officials contacted the White House by using the Soviets as mediators and promising to agree on all American conditions for the withdrawal of forces from Kuwait, just a couple of hours before the initial American attack on February 23, 1991[208]. Attacking retreating Iraqis asking for peace was not the same as beating the aggressive armies of a mad dictator bent on world domination[209]. Saddam Hussein's Regime thus tried to reduce the legitimacy of the American attack. However, the Bush Administration could not let Hussein go unpunished as he had been portrayed for months as a new Hitler, who had severely violated basic human rights and the international order, and there was a price to be paid for such crimes[210]. If President Bush had taken his command back at the final moment, he would have lost his face, not Saddam Hussein. In addition to the credibility question, there were also long term strategic reasons to be defended. Maintaining regional military stability in the Middle East demanded the shattering of Saddam Hussein's offensive power[211] that also threatened the flow of oil[212]. At the global level, fighting with the Iraqis helped in keeping arms spending high and gave additional legitimacy to the global hegemony of the United States[213]. In brief, the Bush Administration calculated that a war had become a more tempting option than peace for both national interests and the American image in the world.

These examples from the St. Louis presidential debate and the Gulf War underlined the importance of two aspects of rhetoric that are needed to keep up credibility: Understanding situations[214] and understanding roles[215]. Actually, to keep ones credibility high, one must be able to combine both elements in a balanced fashion. This means that one has to know how to perform one's role for a certain audience in a certain situation. For instance, in his speech on November 3, 1992 after electoral defeat to Bill Clinton, President Bush used the following words:

> Well, here's the way I see it. Here's the way we see it and the country should see it, that the people have spoken. And we respect the majesty of the democratic system. I just called Governor Clinton over in Little Rock and offered my congratulations. He did run a strong campaign. I wish him well in the White House. And I want the country to know that our entire administration will work closely with his team to ensure the smooth transition of power. There is important work to be done, and

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[208] Bush 1998, 478. Saddam Hussein's forces actually started their retreat from Kuwait 25 February 1991, but this did not stop the coalition forces from attacking them as the Bush Administration was not interested in saving Hussein's face. Bush 1998, 482-483. About the importance of saving face in the Arab world see Said 2001, 297-298.

[209] Harle 2000, 101-102; McEvoy-Levy 2001, 79.

[210] Baker 1995, 351-353.

[211] Scowcroft 1998, 463.

[212] See for example President Bush's Address to the Nation Announcing the Deployment of United States Armed Forces to Saudi Arabia August 8, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[213] McEvoy-Levy 2001, 73.

[214] Edelman 1988, 104.

[215] Hart 1997, 210-212.

America must always come first. So we will get behind this new President and wish him well.[216]

We will never be able to trace the actual thoughts of President Bush about Bill Clinton's suitability to be the President of the United States, or the question whether he really thought that maintaining American presence in Europe would mean securing world peace rather than American hegemony in the old continent. However, by taking the rhetorical perspective, we can evaluate the rhetorical moves tied to roles and ever changing situations that were meant to guarantee the success of Bush's policies at home and in Europe.

President Bush selected words that underlined the meaning of democracy, and made clear that his administration would do its best so that that of Clinton's could have a strong start. Bush was still the President of the United States, and his role was to keep the country united even if the election process seemed to have split it. In short, Bush changed the focus from his political defeat to the victory of democracy and thus promoted himself as the supreme cultivator of the people's will. President Bush also underlined that "America must always come first", by which he clearly stated how humbly he himself adjusted to the new situation. Bush put his defeat in the form of narrative. In Bush's story, the people of the United States had spoken, and the role of the President was at that moment to cherish this decision and make sure that the nation would continue to prosper into the distant future. The use of narrative by the rhetorician is always tied into the logic of the story telling. This usage of narrative at the moment of defeat was no coincidence. Murray Edelman has claimed that language "most directly interprets developments by fitting them into a narrative account providing a meaning for the past, the present, and the future compatible with an audience's ideology"[217]. According to Hart the effectiveness of rhetorical narrative is based on the fact that it seems to lack argumentative power, as the audience can make its own conclusions out of the story told. Narratives used by rhetoricians are left open in a way that the audience is tempted to make conclusions that are favorable to the rhetorician[218]. The narrative Hart mentions does not differ from the one White has described. What is important in the analysis of the narrative is to see what the rhetorician stresses most and what he passes by quickly, or does not include in his story. When George Bush was giving speeches to European audiences after the collapse of the Berlin wall, he emphasized the role of the United States as the guarantor of European stability in the past and the present. According to Bush's stabilizer story, even the Soviet Union would benefit from a strong American presence in the future of Europe[219]. This rhetoric was aimed at lowering tensions brought to the surface by the idea of German reunification as well as

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[216] President Bush's Remarks in Houston on the Results of the Presidential Election November 3, 1992. GBPLM (www).

[217] Edelman 1988, 105.

[218] Hart 1997, 93.

[219] See for example: President Bush's News Conference June 29, 1990. GBPLM (www).

arguing why NATO and the United States still were needed in the post-Cold War Europe.[220]

4.2 The Research of Political Rhetoric in this Study

Kari Palonen and Hilkka Summa have categorized the ways of studying rhetoric into three types: the rhetoric of speeches and performances; the rhetoric of argumentation; and the rhetoric of imageries or tropes. The rhetoric of speeches and performances examines speeches, texts etc. as entireties. Special emphasis is placed on evaluating the "skill" and "impressiveness" in relation to the audience.[221] The rhetoric of argumentation concerns the elements of rhetorical performance aimed at changing or strengthening the beliefs of the audience over certain issues.[222] The rhetoric of tropes or imageries is interested in the skillfulness of the usage of tropes and imageries or their usage as the tools of argumentation. The research of rhetoric of tropes and imageries is also interested in the research of the typical elements connected to certain text, writer, era or style.[223]

The ways of using rhetoric and factors affecting its effectiveness are many and varied. There is rhetoric that cannot be understood by looking just to the linguistic elements. The tone of voice is a determinant factor if we hear someone speaking on the radio. On television facial expressions and body language becomes an even more important part of rhetorical action.[224] It is easy to understand the meaning of a good performance on television. Comparing the performances of the presidents of the United States of the pre-televised era, such as Dwight D. Eisenhower, with John F. Kennedy, who had realized the potential of television in politics, shows a clear distinction[225]. Eisenhower seems stiff and unnatural as if he was still performing on radio[226]. The performance of Kennedy is seemingly natural and resembles the style of the more current presidents of the United States. Facial expressions follow spoken messages smoothly and it seems that the speaker is aiming his message directly at every single person in the audience.

The rhetoric that is seen in the political performances in our era of the mass media does not differ that much from the times of ancient Greece and Rome where the art of giving public speeches was of uttermost value in the

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[220]   See for example: President Bush's News Conference June 29, 1990; President Bush Having Toasts at the State Dinner for Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy March 6, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[221]   Palonen & Summa 1996, 10.

[222]   Ibid.

[223]   Ibid.

[224]   Gronbeck 13.4; 5.4.2005.

[225]   Gronbeck 5.4.2005.

[226]   Ibid.

public sphere[227]. Audiences have naturally grown bigger and interaction between the speaker and audience has become mostly parasocial. This means that the audience can watch the performance of the speaker from any corner of the world, but is unable to interact in any direct way. According to Bruce Gronbeck, parasocial interaction is an effective way to influence audiences, as watching someone from television creates an illusion about participation, even though in reality the role of the audience is just to be the receiving end, which is being influenced[228]. In this study, the research of rhetoric is concentrated on the textual sources of the public performances of George Bush and the evaluation of arguments in them. The evaluation of the performative skills of George Bush – as interesting as it would be – is left to others.

Study of imageries or tropes can be called the study of stylistic devices. The term stylistic device is, however, somewhat misleading as actually many central techniques to control political language are based on the highly effective usage of imageries and tropes. According to George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, the usage of metaphors and other figures of speech is everyday action, and our entire conceptual system works on metaphorical bases[229]. This means that the main usages of rhetoric are beyond the scope of eloquent words, which is often mistakenly understood to be the sole meaning of metaphors and other stylistic devices[230]. Lakoff and Johnson claim that through our conceptual system language can affect the way we think and act[231].

The power of language comes from its ability to frame things. George Lakoff's definition for a frame is based on the observation of cognitive psychology that specific words evoke specific images, or other kinds of knowledge accumulated in our brain. These images frame our thinking towards certain patterns, while simultaneously preventing other patterns from emerging in our mind. According to Lakoff, every word evokes a frame. Even if we try to negate the frame, we evoke it. If a person, who knows what an elephant is, tries not to think of an elephant, she is doomed to fail as her head is filled with the images of floppy ears and the trunk of an elephant, however hard she tries not to think it.[232] The usage of a certain concept evokes the frames attached to it, which can be observed as an activity in the synapses of the brain[233]. Claims that do not fit into the frames, no matter how factual they might be, are rejected, and the frames in our brain remain unchanged[234]. In other words, Lakoff's and Johnson's notions of metaphors and frames have been able to give further experimental proof to Quentin Skinner's idea of linguistic action, as he talks about "the study of range of things that speakers are capable of doing in (and

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[227]   Sihvola 1997, 193.
[228]   Gronbeck 11.4 2005.
[229]   Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 3.
[230]   Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 272.
[231]   Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 3.
[232]   Lakoff 2004, 3-4.
[233]   Lakoff 2004, 73.
[234]   Johnson 2004, 73.

by) their use of words and sentences.[235]" However, Skinner bases his idea on the notion of Wittgenstein's *Philosophical Investigations* that words are also deeds[236], instead of modern neuropsychology. For Skinner, words such as Hobbes' philosophical claims are not simply proposals but arguments that are meant as reactions against certain traditions, taking argumentative lines and introducing changes to existing debates[237]. Altogether, for Skinner and Lakoff the usage of words means concrete action that can even change the world.

Metaphors selectively highlight ideas[238] for example: This country's policy is on the wrong track. Metaphors are also generative and help people to see things in new light[239]: You have to start working to save your marriage. Metaphors often hide values and appreciations. This is the case especially when we have got used to some metaphor and think about it as a metaphor no more[240]. Business people for example tend to speak about employees as one factor of production among the prices of energy and raw materials. One point of view of metaphors is that they have entailments. It means that metaphors mean certain things but imply others as well[241]. The usage of a certain metaphor may also bespeak one's own personality. To some people "time is money", which indicates that a person using this metaphor appreciates money and quick action.

There are many ways to categorize metaphors. For instance, Americans fairly often use methphors of war, economic, and personification in their language[242]. The usage of metaphors can reveal a great deal about a certain culture and its way of understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.[243]. As metaphors are born within the culture where they are used[244], outsiders often find it impossible to understand them. For example, a Finn may say *täällä on kuuma kuin saunassa*, which literally translated would be *it's hot like in sauna here*, when she wants to point out that it is too hot for her taste – unless the place really was a sauna. However, a person who does not know what sauna is could not make the right association.

At the level of politics, framing works primarily through the metaphorical usage of language. By selecting the right words, political debate can be effectively controlled. According to Lakoff, the George W. Bush's Administration was extremely successful in its usage of the concept of "tax relief", which is a metaphor for tax cuts[245]. Lakoff claims that the word "relief" frames thinking in the following way: if there is a need for relief, then there must be also an affliction, and an afflicted party, from where we get to the idea

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[235]   Skinner 1996, 7-8.
[236]   Skinner 1996, 8; Wittgenstein 1999, 232.
[237]   Skinner 1996, 8.
[238]   Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 10-13.
[239]   Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 139-146.
[240]   Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 236-237.
[241]   Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 139-140.
[242]   Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 4-6, 8-9, 33-34.
[243]   Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 4-6.
[244]   Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 57.
[245]   Lakoff 2004, 3-4.

of a reliever, who removes the affliction, and is thus a hero. People who try to stop the hero are villains attempting to prevent the relief. When the frame "tax relief" is used in the media, and by political opponents, it creates different results. The media makes the metaphor well known and continues to evoke the frame among the people. Political opponents using the concept of "tax relief" to criticize it simply step into the role of villains, and thus their criticism only benefitted the President George W. Bush's Administration. George Bush's Administration also used metaphors that were aimed to frame the political debates of 1989-1993. For instance, President Bush opposed abortion by stating that he was "pro-life"[246]. With this term, Bush signalled that supporters of abortion were against the right for life and could be even portrayed to have a pro-death stance. In his foreign policy, President Bush used the term "forces of freedom" while he was speaking about the meaning of the United States and its allies gaining victory from its Soviet opponent[247]. This metaphor created a Manichean dichotomy, where the forces of good and bad were fighting each other.

According to Lakoff the only way to fight against strongly framed political language is to create a new language, whereby the debate can be reframed[248]. The pro-abortion forces in the United States for instance developed the metaphor "pro-choice" to answer the "pro-life" metaphor of the opposing side[249]. For Lakoff reframing is changing the way the public sees the world, as it changes what counts as common sense. Thinking differently requires speaking differently[250]. Framing or reframing a political debate is not, however, an easy task. The effectiveness of frames is not based on language itself, but on ideas that have been put forward in a form that fit with the worldview of the politicians and their audience[251]. This means that not all words have a similar impact on the audience. There are, however, metaphors that are able to define a whole range of political stances, values and policy recommendations[252], as the examples of metaphors "tax relief", "pro-life/pro-choice" and "the forces of freedom" indicate. Altogether, this means that the usage of imageries and tropes cannot be rejected in the research of political rhetoric. In this study, they are considered an integral part of the argumentation of President Bush's foreign policy towards Europe 1989-1993.

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[246] President Bush's Remarks to Participants in the March for Life Rally January 22, 1991; President Bush's Remarks to the American Society of Newspaper Editors April 9, 1992; GBPLM (www).

[247] President Bush's Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Broadcasters in Atlanta, Georgia April 2, 1990; President Bush's Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union January 29, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[248] Lakoff 2004, xv, 24.

[249] President Bush's News Conference June 4, 1992; President Bush's Interview With Linda Douglas of KNBC, Jim Lampley of KCBS, and Paul Moyer of KABC in Los Angeles, California June 15, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[250] Lakoff 2004, xv.

[251] Lakoff 2004, 4.

[252] See for example Johnson 2004, 24.

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The major tropes President Bush used in his European foreign policy in addition to the metaphor were metonymy and synecdoche. I here underline the notion of Kenneth Burke that tropes are not to be seen as purely figurative but they are actions that have a role in discovering and describing "the truth"[253]. Burke describes metonymy as "the *reduction* of some higher or more complex realm of being to the terms of a lower or less complex realm of being"[254]. According to Burke, the idea of reduction comes with the element of representation[255]. A relief map of the United States, for instance can be said to represent the United States[256]. For Burke metonymy (reduction) overlaps upon metaphor (perspective) and synecdoche (representation)[257]. For him, synecdoche means representation and he largely underlines the general description of it, like that, a part means the whole or that a single species can represent the whole genus etc.[258]. According to Burke theories of political representation are good examples of this overlapping as they portray part of the social body to represent the whole society[259]. At the level of George Bush's European foreign policy the usage of synechdoche can be seen in the context of year 1989 in the way the word "Europe" represented "Western Europe"[260]:

> Let me say clearly: A stronger Europe, a more united Europe, is good for my country; it's good for the United States of America. And it's a development we welcome, a natural evolution within our alliance, the product of true partnership 40 years in the making.[261]

President Bush's words were meant to underline the positive outcomes of the Atlantic alliance and to welcome the idea of "stronger Europe" within this partnership, by which he meant the deepening integration of Western European countries within the European Community[262]. Bush's synecdoche highlighted the part of Europe that was allied with the United States, and hid the other part that was still under Soviet influence. According to Burke the question of what part should represent the whole often leads to disagreements in complex civilizations[263]. The rhetorical context in July 1989 was, however, relatively stable and Bush's words directed to compliment Western European audience were unlikely to cause disputes, as Western Europeans usually want to be

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253 Burke 1969, 503.
254 Burke 1969, 506.
255 Burke 1969, 507.
256 Ibid.
257 Ibid.
258 Burke 1969, 503, 507-508.
259 Burke 1969, 508.
260 President Bush's Remarks to Residents of Leiden, The Netherlands July 17, 1989; President Bush's Remarks to the Citizens in Mainz, Federal Republic of Germany May 31, 1989. GBPLM (www).
261 President Bush's Remarks to Residents of Leiden, The Netherlands July 17, 1989. GBPLM (www).
262 Ibid.
263 Burke 1969, 508.

portrayed as the true Europeans[264]. Western Europe and the United States were also both representing the same rhetorical commonplace of Western Civilization, which Bush referred by mentioning the "true partnership 40 years in making." According to Patrick Thaddeus Jackson, the Western Civilization had been established after the Second World War and it consisted of the United States, Canada and Western Europe[265], which meant that Eastern Europe had no part in it. President Bush's synecdochic form of Europe was thus quite legitimate for his Western European audience.

4.3 Research of Argumentation

The range of rhetorical inquiry in this study is aimed especially at the research of argumentation within the speeches of George Bush.

According to Palonen and Summa the research of argumentation can stress either the rhetorical side when it closely resembles the research of imageries and other rhetorical tools as a source of credibility, or it can be a more formal approach of evaluating the competence of arguments[266]. This study uses mostly the formal approach. Bush's arguments have been mainly evaluated in light of the context of world politics of the late 1980s and early 1990s, and analysis of the stylistic devices of speeches is in a secondary role. The meaning of rhetoric in the inquiry of the political or politics can be seen according to Palonen from four different points of view that he calls policy, polity, politicking and politicization[267]. These four dimensions of political, and political rhetoric, are used within this study to approach President Bush's argumentation.

Policy rhetoric is a type of political argumentation that is needed, when from a multitude of political choices one has to be selected to serve as a unified line. Questions like what kind of political line should be followed, how the political actors choose certain political lines, or how other political actors can be persuaded to change their political stance, are typical cases of policy rhetoric. Policy rhetoric is used in situations of choice and resolution and the choice made is considered stable and hard to change. Referenda or budget making can be evaluated from the policy perspective, when politicking is seen only as a preparing phase, and formal and informal guidelines of the polity are taken as given.[268]

Politicking rhetoric turns its attention to the question of political struggle, which rises above the results of this struggle. Agreement on a certain policy is often only a new turn in the battle, for example to reorganize the ranks of the

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[264]   Korhonen 2009, 12.
[265]   Jackson 2006, ix.
[266]   Palonen & Summa 1996, 11.
[267]   Palonen 1993, 6-15; Palonen & Summa 1996, 11.
[268]   Palonen & Summa 1996, 12.

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participants of the political struggle. The results of politics are always unforeseen, relative and interpretative in their nature. This means that the skill to act in changing political situations is often more important than solving the specific questions of a struggle.[269] The meaning of politicking is thus most of all about gaining political prestige, while attempts to find working resolutions to actual questions are of secondary importance.

Polity rhetoric refers to situations where the political is seen through established forms of politics, such as the rules of parliamentary proceedings, traditional political agendas, or the constitution[270]. Polity rhetoric is often conservative and tries to maintain existing structures by trying to silence attempts to politicize them with new interpretations[271].

Politicization rhetoric is aimed at bringing new themes under discussion, and to the field of politicking. Politicization rhetoric can also mean the deconstruction of an established polity and making of new interpretations of it. Names and naming as well as concepts and categorizations are important tools in constructing the field of the political and making it playable, as questions that previously had been considered nonpolitical now become politicized through rhetoric.[272]

The relationship between politicization and polity can be demonstrated with the following example: At the end of the Cold War some Americans wanted to get rid of NATO and other overseas defense institutions across the world and call troops home from their bases abroad, as keeping up this defense structure was costly. This was an attempt to politicize the very core of the existing political power structure, where the United States had been a superpower since the end of the Second World War. The Bush Administration answered this attempt of politicization with polity rhetoric, which emphasized that nothing had actually changed, the world was still dangerous, and there was no need to reduce American military forces drastically, or break-up the military coalitions that maintained peace[273].

Nevertheless, polity rhetoric is not a one-sided phenomenon; it needs interaction with politicization rhetoric, which actually has created the established structures of today and will create those of tomorrow. Polity rhetoric also defends politicking within the regime, and its users cannot be accused of mere administrative handling of matters, or simple policymaking. The support of polity rhetoric for politicking is, according to Palonen, best seen during elections and electoral debates. The results are "open and subject to the contingent choices of the voters, but the political significance of elections lies rather in the manifestation of a stable regime."[274]

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[269]   Palonen & Summa 1996, 12.
[270]   Ibid.
[271]   Palonen 1993, 13.
[272]   Palonen & Summa 1996, 12.
[273]   See for example President Bush's Remarks in Presidential Debate in St. Louis October 11, 1992; President Bush's News Conference in Rome, Italy November 8, 1991. GBPLM (www).
[274]   Palonen 1993, 13.

The conservative aspect of polity rhetoric was well represented in the American presidential election campaign in 1992. The major candidates Bill Clinton and George Bush seemed to walk on different lines in some details of their defense policy. Nevertheless, both candidates wanted to keep the role of the United States as the sole superpower with high commitments in the world intact. This meant that throughout the campaign the stability and continuity of American foreign policy was not threatened.[275]

The four aspects of political rhetoric are closely interconnected. According to Palonen, politicking and politicization are the primal operations of political action, while policy and polity set the limits that bound and regulate politics.[276]
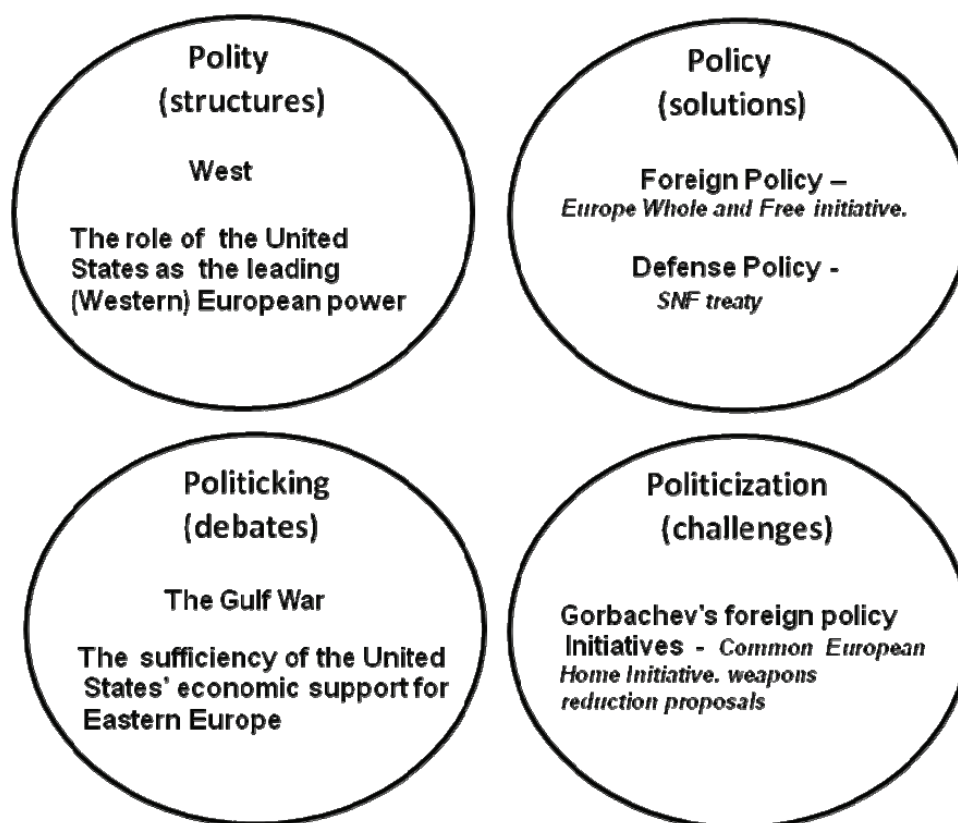
FIGURE 3   Four aspects of politics demonstrated with examples from the context of the bush administration's european foreign policy[277]

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[275]   See for example Presidential Debate in Richmond ,Virginia October 15, 1992, 1837-1838. Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States 1992 Vol.2.
[276]   Palonen & Summa 1996, 12-13.
[277]   About four dimensions of politics see Palonen 1993, 6-15; Palonen & Summa 1998, 11-13.

As the figure above illustrates, politics as a concept has at least four aspectssides. They all describe the nature of political action as a continuing process in which structures (polity) are being questioned and openly challenged (politicization) in debates (politicking) that at some point open the way for certain solutions (policy) that can change the structures, and establish new ones (polity). The basic difference between politicization and politicking is that the latter takes place in more stable situations whereas the first one is used for actually challenging the prevailing *status quo* or at least some of its aspects, which makes it a destabilizing factor in politics[278]. For instance, General Secretary Gorbachev's Common European Home initiative challenged the legitimacy of American presence in Europe[279], whereas French and German criticism of American use of force in the Persian Gulf only undermined the way the United States was leading the West, as there was no doubt that the Germans and the French gave their support to the war effort[280]. However, unlike in the simplistic figure above, in the real world political processes are more complicated. As Palonen has stated the selection of a certain kind of policy might be just a short phase to gain time in politicking, or well-prepared polity rhetoric can repel a badly organized politicization attempt[281]. In the real world, the multitude of different policies, politicization attempts and politicking debates can take place simultaneously and in addition there are a number of polities. Policies are often overlapping, such as when the defense policy, foreign policy and economic policy are closely connected to each other. The actions of politics, namely politicking and politicization take place constantly over different issues in various media. Polities are also intertwined. The political structures of the United States and the political structures of the West, for instance, have always been different, but difficult to separate from each other, as the United States was acting as the leader of the West.

In this work, political action will be analyzed through all these four conceptual dimensions of political rhetoric within the time frame of 1989-1993. This does not mean a mechanistic or deterministic view. It means that these theoretical dimensions, and their interaction, are taken under consideration while reading the historical sources. This theorizing of politics as action does not mean, however taking the research topic out of its context to the purely theoretical sphere. It means broadening my view beyond the simple picturing of what had happened to President Bush's argumentation towards Europe, towards an attempt to interpret how it happened. This extension in the perspective offers a better view to past actions and thus helps to build a more credible interpretation to the ultimate question of why the argumentation of the Bush Administration changed over between the years 1989-1993.

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[278]   Palonen 1993, 11.
[279]   Rey 2004, 35-36.
[280]   Baker 1995, 299; Scowcroft 1998, 360; Bush 1998, 406-406, 408; 448.
[281]   Palonen 1993, 13.

5 AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL RHETORIC

The President of the United States is responsible for leading the nation's foreign policy. As this study concerns American presidential foreign policy rhetoric, it is important to understand what expectations, limits and traditions are attached to the role of the President of the United States, as they ultimately define what kind of argumentation is used by any given President and was reasonable to exert.

As the United States is *de facto* governed by a two-party system, the president represents either the Democratic Party or the Republican Party. The ideologies of these two parties differ in foreign policy as both parties follow different values. As President Bush was a Republican it is also worth taking a closer look at the Republican worldview on which the Bush Administration based its foreign policy.

5.1 The Rhetorical Role of the President of the United States

To a Northern European reader, American presidential rhetoric often seems populist and its appeal can be hard to understand. In the American political culture, complicated political jargon is not fashionable as it can be seen to carry the characteristics of elitism, which is not connected to the ordinary American citizen[282]. Using easily approachable language and showing ones emotions are characteristics that are expected of the president[283]. The effectiveness of the folksy ways of presidential rhetoric is maybe easiest to spot during the presidential campaigns. Usually, the presidential candidates using popular language and showing strong personal character gain wider support and overcome their more formal political competitors. Bill Clinton for instance

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[282] One reason why Bush's Presidential campaign in 1992 may have failed was that in his election campaing he was compared to the historical leaders of the United States, which made him seem as if he did not have any connections to the ordinary American tax payer. See Morreale 1994, 22-25.

[283] Gronbeck 6.4 2005; Lakoff 2002, 19.

defeated Bob Dole in 1996 and George W. Bush prevailed against John Kerry in 2004.

The making of a popular and easily approachable presidential image begins during the election campaigns. According to Joanne Morreale, American Presidential candidates have two roles they can follow: "Leader" and "Man of the People"[284]. Both of these roles communicate over party borderlines that the candidate really is a self-made man backed with traditional American values such as the patriotism and appreciation of hard work taught by fathers, as well as religiousness and morality that come from the side of mother.[285] The popularity of these roles underlines the individualism, relative conservatism, and economic liberalism of the American society.

Conservative Republican Party circles that George Bush represented displayed their populism especially with the theme of economic liberalization. They also employed highly political conservative depoliticizing arguments that even denied the existence of political issues and claimed that there is only a policy of common sense.[286] Erik Åsard claims that American conservatism has been characterized by favouring a relatively open society combined with middle-class conservatism, where heterogeneous values of the masses have been the rule of thumb. The meaning of heterogeneous values can be illustrated by the example of conservative multimillionaire Ross Perot, who campaigned for the Presidency of the United States in the name of the ordinary people against the corrupted power elite in Washington[287]. In the European context, populist conservatism is relatively uncommon as programs for a relatively closed society usually characterize European conservatism, where for example the values of aristocracy or those of a certain church have historically formed the base for strictly defined doctrines[288]. As the Americans appreciate straight speaking politicians, it is not a miracle that most of the Presidents of the United States have followed the straight spoken grass-roots level ideals while constructing their political images. In fact, the core of conservative American political rhetoric is highly influenced by the ideals of depoliticization.

According to Richard Neustadt, Americans rate their presidents either "weak" or "strong" in their leadership as soon as they take their place in the oval office[289]. To Neustadt leadership means whether the president can influence the government or not, or simply, can he get his will through? According to Neustadt, the ultimate aim of the President of the United States is to strengthen his chances for mastery in any instance, as he is "looking forward to tomorrow from today"[290]. The role of the American president is thus to look decisive in every situation, as he has to convince the audience that he can take the country to a glorious future.

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[284]   Morreale 1994, 21-22.
[285]   Ibid.
[286]   Stephenson 1995, 120.
[287]   Åsard 1994, 12-13.
[288]   Åsard 1994, 9-10.
[289]   Neustadt 1990, 3.
[290]   Neustadt 1990, 4.

For finding its target, audience presidential rhetoric needs the help of the media, and more specifically the mass media. The reality of American political life has been dominated by the mass media since the 1930's. After a short time of difficulties of using the full power of radio and later television, it was discovered that the President has a unique role as a political decision maker in media.[291] Especially since the 1950's and the beginning of the era of television has changed everything. The American political systems became accelerated and condensed in comparison with the pre-televisioned era. Political events could be broadcast live and there was a tremendous rise in the flow of information. This made it important to react and send one's political message rapidly, and little by little, the televising of politics turned political messages into something resembling slogans rather than rational statements[292]. As the single greatest actor of the United States governmental system, who is able to make political statements in front of the media, the President has gained power from the other governmental actors. Especially the Congress lost a considerable amount of its power when the age of mass mediated politics started, as the large numbers of representatives and the party divide between them made it impossible to show quickly and comprehensively the stance of the congress on any issue. The presidential messages in comparison were fast and easy to use in media.[293]

The power of the President of the United States is not limitless even though his role in media is unique. According to Richard Neustadt, the power of the President of the United States is most of all the power to persuade[294]. As a democratically elected leader the president has to take into consideration many interested actors within and outside of the American society. As the United States is being governed under the principle of separation of powers, there are also *de jure* constrains to the presidential powers.

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291   Gronbeck, 6.4 2005.
292   Ibid.
293   Gronbeck, 5.4 2005.
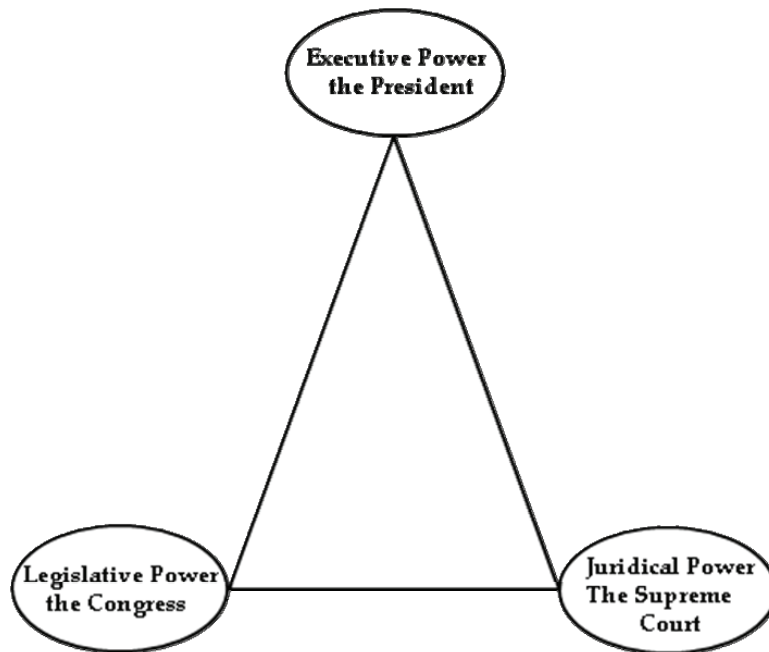294   Neustadt 1990, 11.

FIGURE 4   The governmental institutions of The United States

As the figure above suggests the President of the United States has the executive power, the Congress the legislative power and the juridical power belongs to the Supreme Court[295]. The President is legally bound to the Congress and the Supreme Court and cannot rule effectively without their support. The Congress, for instance, has the War Powers Resolution[296] that limits President's ability to wage a war without congressional approval. The War Powers Resolution requires that the leaders of the House of the Representatives and the Senate have to approve the President's decision of starting hostilities[297]. In case of starting hostilities, the President has the right to keep troops 60 days in combat after the approval of congressional leaders[298]. During those 60 days, the Congress can ask for 30 extra days to consider its stance to the conflict at hand[299]. If the Congress shows its support within the 60 or 90 days, the President can continue the hostilities, but if it does not, the President has to withdraw American forces immediately when the time limit of 60 or 90 days expires[300]. Even in the case, the Congress shows its support, the President has to consult the Congress on a regular basis as long as the hostilities continue[301].

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[295]   Gronbeck 6.4 2005.
[296]   Also known as the War Powers Act of 1973.
[297]   Houghton 2002, 60.
[298]   Ibid.
[299]   Ibid.
[300]   Houghton 2002, 60.
[301]   Grimmet 2001, 14.

Nevertheless, President Bush openly threatened to use American forces with or without the support of the Congress during the Persian Gulf crisis, as his popularity was at its peak[302]. Bush's threat to commit a walkover of the Congress was not as drastic as it seems. The Congress has been showing its support for the Presidents' decisions of starting hostilities on a regular basis since 1973 and the rule of 60 days has never been used[303]. Thus, historically, the Congress had given the Presidents of the United the States more power than necessary. Nevertheless, this does not change the fact that juridicially the Congress can stop the President from waging a war.

In addition to the legal binding of the President, there is a pressure coming from the media, other governmental institutions, such as the various departments, as well as the general public and the influential business circles[304]. In addition to the domestic media and institutions, the President of the United States has to persuade foreign governments and media to support his actions, or at least to be neutral towards them[305]. International news agencies have been able to broadcast worldwide since the 1980s. This meant that also the international allies and opponents had the possibility to challenge publicly President Bush's foreign policy. This made President Bush's argumentation in front of the international audience a demanding issue as for instance General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, was able to outperform Bush's argumentation in the eyes of many Western Europeans[306].

The role of the President of the United States in 1989-1993 was far from limitless. The surrounding world and its stakeholders gave or did not give space for the Bush Administration to make its political moves, and thus shaped its argumentation. The continued presence of American troops in Europe after the Cold War would not have been possible without the will of Western European allies, the majority of the Congress, and the American public. Politics follow the logic of supply and demand in democracies, as it is not wise, or usually not even possible to make decisions that are in grave conflict with the values of the surrounding society, as this kind of politician will loose his base of power – the popular support. Seeing these limits of the American presidency takes us into the conclusion that the President of the United States cannot, at least in the long run, act effectively without persuading his audiences to accept his policies. The President has a wide array of formal powers, but successful interaction is the key to get the full benefits of those powers[307].

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[302]   Houghton 2002, 60.

[303]   Ibid.

[304]   Neustadt 1990, 29-30.

[305]   Neustadt 1990, 71.

[306]   See for example President Bush's Remarks at a Luncheon Hosted by the Forum Club in Houston, Texas March 16, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[307]   Neustadt 1990, 11.

5.2 Idealism in Realism – The Role of President Bush as the Leader of American Foreign Policy at the Cold War's End

The divide between idealists and realists had been a core issue in the research of international relations at least since 1939 when Edward Hallet Carr's *Twenty Years Crisis 1919-1939 – An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* was published[308], and these concepts still tend to be used relatively often in American scholarly debates on foreign policy. In his analysis, Carr describes the eternal battle between utopianism and realism the two methods of approaching international politics[309]. For him, the main divide between the two schools of thought is that the utopians – who were later known as idealists or liberalists - are concerned with what should be in the future, while the realists are looking for an answer to the question of how to best adapt policies to the realities of the world[310]. According to Carr, these two schools of thought always look for a balance that they, however, are unable to attain[311].

The theoretical roots of realism can be claimed to go back to Kautilya and Thucydides but the actual roots of today's realism, in addition to Carr, are based on the works of other 20th century thinkers such as Hans J. Morgenthau and Raymond Aron[312]. The worldview of the realists is that history has taught us that people are by their nature sinful and wicked and they lust for power and domination[313]. The worldview of the realists sees the functioning of the international relations to be on the basis of Hobbesian anarchy where a war against all prevails[314]. The idealist worldview considers human nature as good or altruistic. Our fundamental concern for the welfare of others makes progress possible, and this is an idea from 18th century Englightment[315]. The idealists see the functioning of international relations to be based on institutions, and evil or defunct institutions are seen to form the core of the conflicts in the world. The description of idealism moves on, as there is no wall-to-wall description of idealistic principles[316].

In the battlefield of the international relations discipline, this divide can be seen as a useful tool for analyzing theory-political doctrines. In the struggle between realists and idealists, historical examples are often used as arguments on behalf of one's own school of thought. By claiming that certain politicians of the past have represented either realist or idealist ideas[317] the camps are claiming concrete "proof" for their theories. Defining past politicians as idealist

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308   Carr 1995, xi.
309   Carr 1995, 12.
310   Carr 1995, 12, 14
311   Carr 1995, 12.
312   Waltz 1995, 71.
313   Kegley 1995, 5.
314   Ibid.
315   Kegley 1995, 4.
316   Doyle 1995, 84.
317   Joffe 1995, 101; Kegley 1995, 9-10.

or realists is actually a political move that closely resembles naming. According to Palonen naming is always political, as names have to be invented and accepted. The optionality of the names is the core of this political process as a given name could have been something else, and thus naming always carries a possible source of conflict[318]. When an international relations theorist claims that some past politician has been realist or idealist, what is actually claimed is that the politician in question was following certain central clauses of political realism or idealism. By doing this, the international relations theorist simplifies the actions of the actual character and makes the character an object of today's scholarly debate, instead of seeing the actual character as a product of the character's own time. Factually, it is impossible to say who of the politicians of the past actually represented an idealist or realist worldview; they were only acting in a specific historical situation.

The highly political content of the terms idealism and realism, however, do not prevent some scholars of international relations from using them in the role of neutral analytical tools. To David Houghton, for instance, the foreign policy of the United States after the Cold War has been characterized by a tension between idealists and realists over the party lines[319]. The idealists consider the meaning of American foreign policy to be helping the rest of the world, as global security and well being are as important questions as the security of the United States[320]. For the idealists there is no controversy between the values and interests of the United States[321]. This is a way they can emphasize that the United States should promote democracy and human rights all over the world[322], as they base their politics on the myth of the "Manifest Destiny". According to this myth, the United States as the strongest power has a special mission to advance the moral condition of the world. The idealists also embrace the idea of multilateralism, of which President Bush's new world order foreign policy was a fine example[323].

According to Houghton the realists have an opposite view of the United States' foreign policy. They emphasize that the power of the United States has to be used to promote American interests. The realists support unilateralism and claim that the end of the Cold War had not meant better opportunities for a multilateral foreign policy.[324] The central claim of the realists since the end of the Cold War has been that the threat of the Soviet Union was replaced by new threats towards the United States, and there is no point in trying to change the world, as foreign policy should be based on how things truly are, and not on how they should be.[325] The realists become interested in the events of the rest of

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[318]   Palonen 1997, 239.
[319]   Houghton 2002, 174.
[320]   Houghton 2002, 173.
[321]   Houghton 2002, 179.
[322]   Houghton 2002, 175.
[323]   Houghton 2002, 180.
[324]   Houghton 2002, 175.
[325]   Houghton 2002, 177.

the world only if they affect the international balance of power and the role of the United States in it.[326]

George Bush's foreign policy can be argued to have followed both traditions. Despite the Soviet reform policies, President Bush used the language of political realists for a relatively long time in his Soviet foreign policy statements, emphasizing how prudence, preservation and American power would be the best ways to end the Cold War[327]. However, during the gathering of the international coalition against Saddam Hussein, the Bush Administration's foreign policy started to embrace the world idealistically. The concept of the new world order[328] that became fashionable after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991[329] even highlighted the importance of the United Nations. The world organization had been virtually paralyzed by the Cold War, as the rivalry of the superpowers had made the achieving of Security Council resolutions virtually impossible[330]. As the Cold War division of the world was disappearing and the victory of the United States was looking more and more secure President Bush's new world order policy seemed to form a base for a world order, where the United States as the leader of the world was acting in close cooperation with the United Nations[331].

The spur of idealism of the Bush Administration becomes even more interesting as it was in a remarkable contrast with the American Cold War attitudes towards the United Nations, when the world organization had been claimed to support communism[332]. President Reagan had been especially suspicious about the United Nations and he even had proclaimed that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was a political tool[333]. Reagan had also demanded more power for the United States within the United Nations, as the Americans were the main financers of the world organization[334]. The negative attitude of the Reagan Administration towards the United Nations was also reflected in American popular culture. ABC Media Company's film "America" for instance showed how the combined forces of the Soviet Union and the United Nations attacked the United States[335]. As Bush had been the vice-president of the Reagan Administration, it seems evident that he had also shared the critical stance towards the world

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[326] Houghton 2002, 173.

[327] President Bush's Remarks at the Annual Conference of the Veterans of Foreign Wars March 6, 1989; President Bush's Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at the Annual Dinner of the Business Council February 21, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[328] President Bush's Remarks to the Federal Assembly in Prague, Czechoslovakia November 17, 1990. GBPLM (www); Ryan 2000, 110.

[329] President Bush's Remarks at the Departure Ceremony for European Community Leaders Anibal Cavaco Silva and Jacques Delors April 22, 1992; President Bush's Remarks in Presidential Debate in Richmond, Virginia October 15, 1992. GBPLM (www).

[330] Ryan 2000, 45.

[331] Èlie 2007, 179-181, 183; Ryan 2000, 96.

[332] Ryan 2000, 90-91.

[333] Ryan 2000, 93.

[334] Ibid.

[335] Ryan 2000, 94.

organization. The realist argument would be that the idealistic rhetoric of the new world order foreign policy was used to hide actual American interests. However, at least in his memoirs President Bush claimed that he actually was much more liberal in foreign policy than Reagan was, but had to carry the flag of conservatism to gain as wide support as possible from the ranks of the Republican Party[336]. Even if Bush's claimed liberalism has had some effect in his foreign policy in general, it seems that it did not always affect the relations of the United States towards the United Nations. According to President Bush's National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft the world organization was used first and foremost as a legitimating tool for starting the American led military operations during the Persian Gulf conflict[337].

In the light of the examples above it seems dubious that the Bush Administration followed the traditions of the purely idealistic foreign policy like Houghton has claimed[338]. However, it is also difficult to say whether the Bush Administration's policies represented the pure realist stance either, as there is no certain way of knowing whether or not President Bush considered the United Nations only as a tool for promoting his Administration's policies. As the examples above show, the divide between the idealist and realists is artificial, and thus these concepts have little to offer in analytical terms. As Carr has clearly pointed out, the research of "political science must be based on the recognition of the interdependence of theory and practice, which can be attained only through the combination of utopia and reality"[339]. Carr had come to this conclusion as he considered the utopians too concerned about the purpose of political actions instead of the facts to be understood. At the same time, he saw the realists as too concerned about the facts, which risked treating purpose in a predetermined fashion, as merely the "mechanical product of other facts", as if the will of men had no meaning in shaping the world[340]. If we make an exemplary look at the Bush Administration's overall political situation at the Cold War's end from the point of view of the contextualizing research of history, we can see the reasons why it is impossible to show pure idealism or realism in the American foreign policy of 1989-1993. The claimed realists of that time had to put their messages in the form of idealistic rhetoric to appeal to the American general public, as in the United States the citizens generally support a foreign policy that is based on idealistic values[341]. On the other hand, the so-called idealists also had limitations in the conduct of foreign policy. For example, American deaths in multilateral operations led by the United Nations are likely to provoke strong opposition, as happened in Somalia in 1993[342]. Houghton's idealist characterization that the safety of the rest of the world was as important as that of the United States in the post-Cold War context is also

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[336]   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 3-4.
[337]   Scowcroft 1998, 351.
[338]   Houghton 2002, 180.
[339]   Carr 1995, 14.
[340]   Carr 1995, 13.
[341]   Houghton 2002, 173.
[342]   Jumppanen 2003, 86; Kohut & Toth 1994, 51-52 (www).

controversial. Citizens of the United States generally consider domestic policy as more important than foreign policy[343]. If something is to be learned from the examples above, it is that the actual past should not be seen through the artificiality of the idealist or realist theories. They both oversimplify and mislead the researcher, as Carr has suggested[344]. Like all "covering" theories of human action, they give a predetermined meaning for the events and actions of the past, which should be seen as unique products of their own time[345].

5.3 The Divine World Order of the Bush Administration

For Northern European observers, American use of religious rhetoric for political purposes is unsettling. Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung comments that American foreign policy is based on the assumption that the United States is closer to God than any other nation in the world. The world is divided between the forces of God and Satan. In the theological system based on this divide God comes first, then is the United States and after it the allies, followed by the Third World, the evil states and finally Satan. The allied countries mostly share Jewish-Christian religion and are free market economies that have free elections. The evil states are those that do not share the three principles that the Americans and their allies do, and that makes them close to Satan. This divide of the world between the sphere of good and evil is not eternal, but dynamic by its nature, as there are always movements up towards God and down towards Satan. The United States is a system operator of the world. It decides who represents God and who is on the side of Satan. The duty to play the role of God on earth is given from the highest power itself and thus the United States does not have to explain or justify its decisions.[346]

Finnish political researcher Anna-Kaisa Kalliola has studied the republican worldview of George W. Bush in her work *Bushilainen maailmanrakenne*. She notes that George W. Bush does not ask for God's blessing but that his proclamations can be read as if he occasionally incited God to follow his will[347]. This phenomenon may also be observed from time to time in the speeches of George Bush. He seemed to be speaking with the voice of God himself, and it was hard to distinguish who was the superior and who the underling in this relationship[348].

Today, 2009, we deal with terrorism and the Axis of evil, but during the 1989-1990 years of George Bush's presidency, the ultimate enemy was

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343   Kennedy 1989, 525.
344   Carr 1995, 13.
345   Elton 2002, 15.
346   Galtung 1995, 22-25, 27-29, 31.
347   Kalliola 2004, 57.
348   See for example President Bush's Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Religious Broadcasters January 29, 1990; President Bush's Remarks to the Polish National Assembly in Warsaw July 10, 1989. GBPLM (www).

communism and the communist countries that were furthest away from God. Nevertheless, as the Cold War ended there was a need for new enemies, such as Saddam Hussein's Iraq, which came into the picture in the latter half of 1990. However, as the threat from Iraq was easily defeated, the Bush Administration had to point out new enemies. When there were no suitably big ones at hand, minor threats were labeled "new threats", and with their help "instability" or "uncertainty" were reinvented. The "new threats" were based on the logic that despite the end of the Cold War, the world was too uncertain for large-scale reductions in defense[349]. Among the new security challenges were Islamist extremism, terrorism, famines, and regional instability of ethnic origins[350].

According to Vilho Harle, after the collapse of the Soviet Union there was no clear strong enemy able to challenge the United States. There were, however, at least three subtypes of weak enemies. The first subtype was the potential challengers to American power: the European Union, Japan and China. The second subtype was the weak, but hostile states: Cuba, North Korea, Libya and Iran. The third subtype were individual enemies like Muammar al-Gadhafi, Manuel Antonio Noriega, Mohamed Farah Aideed, Osama Bin Laden, and Saddam Hussein. Harle speculated in 2000 that none of them would be able to take the role of American enemy number one. However, he suggested that terrorist attacks could be an activity, which could threaten the United States on a long-term basis. Harle also pointed out that individualizing an enemy was a double-edged sword, as it easily could be turned into the image of a single individual fighting heroically against the world's strongest military machine.[351]

As 9/11 and the American led War on Terror fought all around the world have shown, Harle's vision has been very accurate. Instead of faceless Islamic terrorists, the United States have been fighting against Osama Bin Laden and Saddam Hussein with disastrous consequences. However, the War on Terror provides a single agenda for the United States' leadership of the West. It also temporarily provides a world public enemy. The history of today's War on Terror goes back, however, at least to the 1980s. Actually, the roots of this struggle can be traced to 1986 when the Reagan Administration punished the Libyan leader, Muammar al-Gadhafi, in the name of "war against terrorism". In 1989-1993, the Bush Administration continued this fight.[352]

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[349] President Bush's Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a Luncheon Hosted by the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco, California February 7, 1990; President Bush's Remarks at the Aspen Institute Symposium in Aspen, Colorado August 2, 1990; President Bush's News Conference in Rome, Italy November 8, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[350] See for example President Bush's Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis of Greece December 12, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[351] Harle 2000, 99.

[352] President Bush's Remarks at the Departure Ceremony for Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel of Turkey February 11, 1992 GBPLM (www); President Reagan's News Conference May 7, 1986. Ronald Reagan Presidential Library (www).
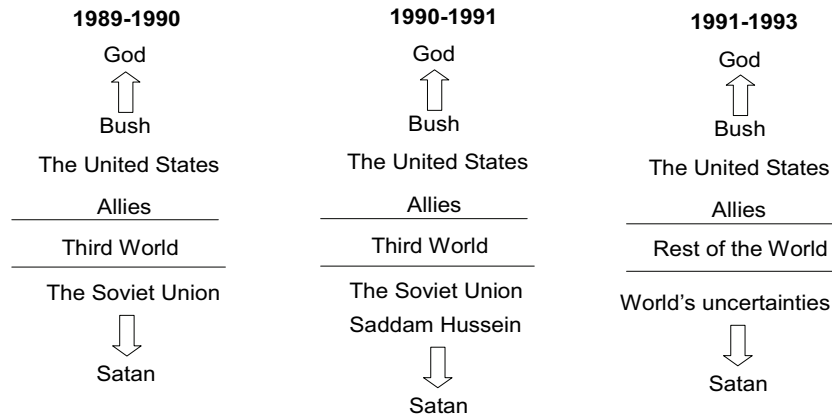
1989-1990	1990-1991	1991-1993
God	God	God
⇧	⇧	⇧
Bush	Bush	Bush
The United States	The United States	The United States
Allies	Allies	Allies
Third World	Third World	Rest of the World
The Soviet Union	The Soviet Union Saddam Hussein	World's uncertainties
⇩	⇩	⇩
Satan	Satan	Satan

FIGURE 5   The changing worldview of President Bush's foreign policy 1989-1993[353]

According to Harle, the role of the United States in world politics is to be the definer of the truth. This means that American foreign policy and use of force cannot be compared with that of any other nation, because the United States is above all conflicts, not a part of them. The United States is the representative of God's will, truth and justice, and thus it can never accept compromises. The enemy has to surrender unconditionally and submit itself to the will of the United States (God) or meet complete destruction. As the United States is defined as the mythical defender of God's truth on earth, its political leadership has to follow the principles of absolute truth that give strength to the political decisions. The claim that God is on the American side, means that the basic structure of the United States' foreign policy remains unchanged under the present circumstances. Following other alternatives would undermine the credibility of foreign policy and even the existence of the United States itself.[354]

The role of inflexible defender of God's truth is not the easiest one. It makes American foreign policy vulnerable in the quickly changing world, especially during times of war. For instance, the Vietnam War against godless communists was a bitter lesson. It showed, in a contradictory manner, that people who represented evil or satanic forces could prevail over the righteous United States. Despite the easy victory in the Gulf War in 1991, in Somalia in 1993 the backward militias of a developing country defeated the American Special Forces sent to help the United Nations. The events in Somalia had similar effects on the American usage of force that the Vietnam War had had.

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[353]   The model for this figure is from Kalliola 2004, 56.
[354]   Harle 2000, 83.

Crossing of the "Mogadishu line" was avoided during the Yugoslavian civil war[355].

At the end of the Cold War, the following of God's truth in Bush's foreign policy argumentation started to become conceptually difficult as Gorbachev's reform policies tore apart the dichotomy between "the Evil Empire" and "the Blessed country", created during the Reagan era[356]. In the black and white official foreign policy ideology of the United States, it was hard to admit that the Soviet leader was working actively to end the conflict that had scourged the world for over 40 years. According to Harle, the end of Cold War hostilities was a time of crisis in the United States, especially as Americans had been active themselves in creating the face of the Soviet Enemy in 1946 to support the interests of the expansive American foreign policy and military-industrial complex[357].

Even if the threat of the Soviet Union started to seem hollow, the moral order demanded that the United States, as the closest nation to God, should lead the world. Through the time of the existence of the United States, most Americans had seen the foreign policy of their country as furthering the freedom of the world instead of furthering American interests[358]. This idealistic undertone has reached quite interesting perspectives. For example, the American anti-imperialists of the late 19th century wanted imperialism without colonialism, and thus wanted to portray the American imperialism as morally superior compared to European imperial practices[359]. According to Thomas R. Hietala, the myth of exceptionalism of American foreign policy is widely embraced in the United States even today and it justifies the idea of Manifest destiny as an important part of American self-image[360].

Interestingly enough the ideology of American exceptionalism is also seen in action in the works of some contemporary American historians, who do not consider the history of the United States foreign policy to have been imperialistic, even though American imperialism shared the same strains of racism as its European counterparts. The white Anglo-Saxons were considered the best race among all humankind and thus they had the right to rule the lesser peoples of the world[361].

American exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny are not the only ideological tools used to legitimate the United States foreign policy to its citizens. According to Andrew Bacevich, the Myth of Reluctant Superpower as a means to justify American imperialism has characterized American foreign policy since the Spanish-American war of 1898. This myth is constructed on the

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[355]   Clarke & Herbst 1996, 70.
[356]   Harle 2000, 91.
[357]   Harle 2000, 88-89; Steury 2003, (www). Harle refers especially to George F. Kennan's long telegram and Steury to General Lucius C. Clay's cable to Washington, where they both grossly overestimated the Soviet threat. Steury however notes that the CIA evaluated the Soviet threat to be smaller than Clay had suggested.
[358]   Appleman Williams 1972, 485.
[359]   Appelman Williams 1972, 480.
[360]   Hietala 2003, 271.
[361]   See for example LaFeber 1972 10-16; Johnson 2004, 191.

view that the United States has not ever wanted to gain a leading position in the world, but it has been forced to take it in the name of furthering right values in the world. This ideological construct is used to camouflage the real reasons behind American expansionism such as economic and military interests of the United States.[362]

Nevertheless, what makes the ideas of American exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny interesting even today is that the altered versions of these 18th and 19th century constructions[363] have been used in the foreign policy rhetoric of late 1980s and 1990s, as well as in contemporary American foreign policy. The usage of American exceptionalism was in the rhetoric of Bush's foreign policy speeches of 1989-1993 to the citizens of the United States[364]. This was no coincidence as 65 per cent of all Americans considered their country to be something exceptional during the election year 1992[365]. As the majority of American citizens were ready to believe in the strongly idealistic images about their country and its virtuous role in world politics, scandals have been caused when some of the country's top politicians have split from this idealistic tradition too openly. One of the most notably cases took place when the Bush Administration's Secretary of State James Baker tried to convince Americans that the war against Iraq was justified because it would save American jobs[366]. Baker's statement caused great anger among American citizens as Operation Desert Storm had been marketed earlier as a humanitarian operation to help the people of Kuwait[367].

In President Bush speeches to the citizens of the United States, American exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny were openly shown in their modern form. Especially in the cases where President Bush spoke to to influential American Christian groups[368], but also in instances when Bush underlined the greatness of the United States in grand style to the whole nation:

> Heavenly Father, we bow our heads and thank You for Your love. Accept our thanks for the peace that yields this day and the shared faith that makes its continuance likely. Make us strong to do Your work, willing to heed and hear Your will, and write on our hearts these words: "Use power to help people." For we are given power not to advance our own purposes, nor to make a great show in the world, nor a name. There is but one just use of power, and it is to serve people. Help us remember, Lord. Amen.[369]

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[362]   Bacevich 2002, 7-20; following the ideas of Charles Austin Beard.

[363]   Stephenson 1995, 12-18.

[364]   See for example President Bush's Address on Administration Goals Before a Joint Session of Congress February 9, 1989; President Bush's Remarks at a Ceremony Commemorating Captive Nations Week July 25, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[365]   Zullow 1994, 215.

[366]   Bacevich 2002, 64.

[367]   Ibid.

[368]   See for example President Bush's Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Religious Broadcasters January 27, 1992; President Bush's Remarks to the Knights of Columbus Supreme Council Convention in New York City August 5, 1992. GBPLM (www).

[369]   President Bush's Inaugural Address January 20 1989. GBPLM (www)

The text above is taken from the inaugural address of President Bush. The new president of the United States approached God in his prayer by talking to him directly like a man to a man, which practically underlined the close relationship of these two. The latter part of Bush's prayer is the most interesting one. He hopes that God would make Americans strong to do his work to follow the God's will and write on their hearts: "Use power to help people". This is the part that shows how the conservative republican ideology Bush represented was still influenced strongly by the idea of Americans being the people closest to God's will, the chosen people of "Israel of our time" that had a Manifest Destiny to lead the world with divine guidance.

6   THE UNITED STATES AS EUROPE'S DESCENDANT AND HISTORICAL SAVIOR

The history of the relations of the United States and Europe became increasingly important at the Cold War's end in the Bush Administration's European foreign policy. The Bush Administration used the common history of the United States and Western Europe to strengthen the common identity of the West in the face of the eroding Soviet threat. Pictures of the common past were also used to encourage Eastern European countries in their path to sovereignty. The events and the eras selected by the Bush Administration's foreign policy argumentation were carefully chosen to portray how closely and positively entangled the history of the United States and Europe was.

To convince the skeptical Western European audience[370] of the benefits of the existence of NATO at the end of the Cold War the Bush Administration highlighted the historical period of peace that the transatlantic alliance had offered to Europe:

> We must recall that the generation coming into its own in America and Western Europe is heir to gifts greater than those bestowed to any generation in history: peace, freedom, and prosperity. This inheritance is possible because 40 years ago the nations of the West joined in that noble, common cause called NATO. And first, there was the vision, the concept of free peoples in North America and Europe working to protect their values. And second, there was the practical sharing of risks and burdens, and a realistic recognition of Soviet expansionism. And finally, there was the determination to look beyond old animosities. The NATO alliance did nothing less than provide a way for Western Europe to heal centuries-old rivalries, to begin an era of reconciliation and restoration. It has been, in fact, a second Renaissance of Europe.[371]

President Bush delivered this speech in Mainz in the Federal Republic of Germany May 31, 1989. Mainz's speech has been considered as a remarkable cornerstone of Bush's Administration's European foreign policy as it was the first time President Bush stated that the United States would not oppose the

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[370]   Cox & Hurst 2002, 131.
[371]   President Bush's Remarks to the Citizens in Mainz, Federal Republic of Germany May 31, 1989. GBPLM (www).

German reunification if it took place[372]. To put this speech in its proper context it is, nevertheless, worth remembering that at that time the support of German reunification did not seem to be an actual matter. Of the four occupying powers the Soviets, French and British opposed the idea of reunification[373]. The Bush Administration was also skeptical about the positiveness of the reunification and did not believe that it would take place soon[374]. In Bush's speech, the geopolitical reality of the Cold War was thus still clearly present. President Bush arranged the NATO countries under the concepts of the West and Western Europe, as his Administration still evaluated Soviet actions in Cold War terms[375]. Even though Bush was pointing out his encouraging words to a German audience, he did not mention the concept of Central Europe, which would have referred to a special German dimension in Europe[376]. Throughout the 1980s, the concept of *Mitteleuropa* was actively used in the political life of German Federal Republic, both among conservative and leftist circles to promote various specifically German foreign policy agendas[377]. From the point of view of the Bush Administration, the idea of Central Europe as special dimension was not worth mentioning, as the Federal Republic of Germany had securely been a member of Western civilization since the aftermath of the Second World War[378]. In addition, the fact that West Germans identified themselves most of all with the idea of West and West-Europe instead of Mitteleuropa[379], made Bush's usage of language completely legitimate.

President Bush's argument that NATO had provided a way for Western Europe to heal centuries old rivalries showed an interesting view of history. Basically, Bush stated that Western Europe was centuries' old[380], and its history had been charcterized by internal rivalries. However, actually the concept of Western Europe in the sense Bush used it was very modern and made for American needs during the Cold War to name the part of Europe under their sphere of influence[381]. According to Marko Lehti, the idea of Western Europe had actually seen its birth in the late 18th century as the power center of Europe had shifted there from the Mediterranean[382]. Simultaneously Eastern Europe saw its birth represented as the barbaric periphery of the continent[383]. President Bush could thus base his definition of Western Europe on the earlier interpretations made by the Western Europeans themselves[384]. In Bush's new

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[372]   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 81; Cox & Hurst 2002, 132.
[373]   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 82.
[374]   Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 186-187; Bush 1998, 187; Scowcroft 1998, 188-189.
[375]   David 1996, 211.
[376]   Forsberg 2000, 150.
[377]   Delanty 1995, 138-139.
[378]   Jackson 2006, ix.
[379]   Ekman 2001, 226.
[380]   According to Lowenthal continuity is important in building identity as it attaches the past with the present. Lowenthal 1988, 57-59, 61.
[381]   Delanty 1995, 122.
[382]   Lehti 2003, 114-115.
[383]   Lehti 2003, 115.
[384]   Ibid.

narrative of the history of Western Europe, the history had shown how lucky the Western Europeans had actually been to gain peace after the Americans had come to stay in Europe after the Second World War.

In simple terms, Bush implied that the Western Europeans have historically been unable to live in peace with each other, but that the formation of NATO based on the free will of the free peoples of Europe and the United States to resist together the Soviet Union had changed this state of affairs and made possible the second renaissance of Europe. Interestingly, President Bush argued that NATO had made possible a second renaissance of Europe during the Cold War, despite the fact that half of Europe had been under the Soviet rule. President Bush was thus using the word "Europe" as a synonym for Western Europe, a usage that was typical of official American foreign policy rhetoric of the Cold War[385]. The fact that President Bush gave Americans credit for the new Western European renaissance was not a coincidental choice of an analogous metaphor. According to Delanty, Europe had become politically neutral in the foreign policy discourse of the United States after the Second World War[386]. This political neutralism meant that Americans had to rethink their foreign policy towards Europe from 1945 onwards. In the Cold War years, the United States then constructed the idea of the West together with its European allies so successfully that Western Europe and the United States were said to represent the same western culture[387]. This was the core of Bush's second European renaissance.

In his Mainz speech on May 25, 1989 President Bush, however, avoided highlighting American supremacy. In its early 1989 context, President Bush's picture of NATO as an inheritance to future generations underlined the cautious undertone of the Bush administration in proclaiming the Cold War over[388]. It was meant to convince the Western European allies[389] that NATO was still worth keeping in readiness. There were no guarantees that the Cold War was going to end, and even if it did some day, the military organization of the West would still be worth carrying on.

The Cold War constructs such as NATO and the idea of the Western community formed the base of the Bush Administration's arguementation showing the importance of continued co-operation between Western Europe and the United States. Nevertheless, longer cultural and historical ties between the United States and Western Europe were also emphasized and these special ties were used as arguments while complimenting refomative Eastern European leaders or the representatives of neutral countries.

In the case of Great Britain, a key Western European state and a nuclear power, the shared cultural and historical roots were evident as the 13 colonies that formed the United States in their declaration of indepence 1776 had been part of the British Kingdom. In the context of 20th century the United States and

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[385]   Delanty 1995, 115.
[386]   Delanty 1995, 116.
[387]   Jackson 2006, vii.
[388]   McEvoy-Levy 2001, 47-48; Scowcroft 1998, 55.
[389]   Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 14.

Great Britain had also find their mutual interests in the face of German aggression, and President Bush could emphasize the meaning of this special bond or partnership in leadership between the two English speaking powers to compliment the British:

> And Winston Churchill was America's first such partner in leadership really, when we were challenged together by war. And true, the challenge of today is a different one than Churchill and Roosevelt felt at the time, but it is one that really asks no less of us.[390]

In the example above, President Bush compared the allied leadership between the United States and Britain in the Second World War with the contemporary Cold War setting, where the meaning of this special bond was as important but its nature was somewhat different. This was meant to imply that the special bond of the Anglo-American world was still needed.

What came to meeting the representatitives of France that was the other of the two Western European nuclear powers, there was no possibility to compliment the meaning of France as special friend in leadership during 20th century. The French had caused a lot of trouble to American foreign policy during the Cold War by actively resisting the American dominance of NATO and at the end of the Cold War the French were eager in building European solutions to replace NATO[391]. Nevertheless, the role of France in the earlier history of the United States had been more positive:

> Well, first, let me just say what a pleasure it was having President Mitterrand and Madame Mitterrand as our guests in Maine. We've just come from the commencement of Boston University. And nothing better symbolizes the strength of the friendship and the common values which we share -- which our two nations share -- and which really the President celebrated with us 8 years ago, when he came to Yorktown, celebrating the 200th anniversary of that battle.[392]

In his comments, President Bush complimented his French guests by highlighting the importance of French help in the American War of independence. Bush did this by referring to central places of the American Independence struggle his French guests had been visiting with their American hosts in past 8 years. First Bush mentioned Boston, best known for the Boston Tea Party of 1773, during the American independence movement and its activation. Then Bush turned his attention towards the Battle of Yorktown another turning point in American history where the British were utterly defeated by the Americans and French in 1781, which marked the successful end to the American War of Independence[393]. Bush was thus complimenting his guests by underlining the meaning of France for the very existence of the United States itself.

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[390] President Bush's Toast at a Dinner Hosted by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in London June 1, 1989. GBPLM (www).
[391] Baker 1995, 233; Rey 2004, 58-59.
[392] President Bush's News Conference With President Mitterrand of France May 21, 1989. GBPLM (www).
[393] Bee 2006, 31, 35.

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In the case of Eastern European countries that were on their way to reform their society such as Poland Bush Administration also emphasized the meaning of ties that go beyond the Cold War times:

> You know, we Americans are not mildly sympathetic spectators of events in Poland. We are bound to Poland by a very special bond: a bond of blood, of culture, and shared values. And so, it is only natural that as dramatic change comes to Poland we share the aspirations and excitement of the Polish people.[394]

When speaking about Poland President Bush emphasized the meaning of Polish "blood", "culture" and "shared values". These ties are connected to the great number of Polish immigrants that came to the United States in late 19th century and early 20th century[395], and have been important in forming the Polish community within the United States. The shared values also refered to the internal reforms of Communist Poland that had started to look towards the West and the United States in reforming its society.

While meeting the representatives of small neutral European countries such as Sweden or Finland President Bush could use the older cultural and historical roots[396]. The events of the more recent times were impossible to use as in the context of Cold War, in which the world had been divided between East and West, neutral countries were considered somewhat suspicious as they refused chose their camp.

> As democratic peoples, Finns and Americans share many special bonds of friendship. Finns have long added to the American experience. Mr. President, your countrymen were among the first to settle in this country 350 years ago, establishing new lives in the Delaware River Valley. Over a century later, John Morton, a Finnish-American delegate to our Continental Congress, cast the deciding vote for our Declaration of Independence.[397]

President Bush's words to Finnish President Mauno Koivisto highlighted the meaning of democracy for both countries and the historical contribution of the people of Finnish origin to the independency of the United States. From the Finnish point of view, the highlighting of the democratic nature of the Finnish society by the President of the United States must have been important as during the Cold War years Finland had often been accused of being under the control of the Soviet Union instead of being truly neutral and independent country where democracy flourished, which claim in the official canon of the Finnish foreign policy of the time was strongly rejected[398].

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[394] President Bush's Remarks to Citizens in Hamtramck, Michigan April 17, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[395] Radzilowski 2007, 60-61, 67.

[396] President Bush's Remarks at the Departure Ceromony for Prime Minister Carl Bildt of Sweden February 20, 1992; President Bush's Remarks and an Exchange with Reporters Following Discussions with President Mauno Koivisto of Finland May 7, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[397] President Bush's Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters Following Discussions With President Mauno Koivisto of Finland May 7, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[398] Dutton 2008, 307-308, 311.

By underlining historical ties between Americans and various European nationalities from the very beginning of the birth of the United States President Bush constructed the fate of Europe and the United States as unavoidably together. Displaying the common history and values was not restricted merely to the examples above, but Bush emphasized these ties to virtually every European country during his presidency[399]. The main idea behind highlighting historical and cultural ties was of course to legitimize the continuation of co-operation between the United States and the Western European countries to the distant future, and to create a warm atmosphere while establishing diplomatic ties to the re-forming Eastern European countries[400].

If we take a closer look at President Bush's way of portraying the history of the United States and European countries as a narrative of cultural proximity, historical ties, and common interests, we can easily see that this view of history was suitably built for the need of contemporary foreign policy. Actual state level relations between the United States and European powers had been far from close until American participation in the World Wars[401]. The leaders of the United States had used isolationist foreign policy towards Europe throughout the 18th and 19th centuries[402]. After the American intervention in Europe in the First World War isolationist foreign policy continued, as the United States remained outside of the League of Nations[403]. As a matter of fact, the relationship of the United States with several European countries during the First and the Second World Wars had not been characterized in positive terms; Germany was the main enemy in both wars. Through alliances, the American war effort focused directly and indirectly on many other European countries as well. In the First World War Austria-Hungary had linked its fate with Germany. At the end of the First World War Americans intervened with the British in Russia to help defeat the Bolsheviks[404], which did no good for the future relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. In the Second World War minor axis powers such as Italy, Romania, Hungary and Finland got their share of the American war effort as well. Italy was occupied and the Americans bombed Romania and Hungary[405]. Finland was in a state of war with Great Britain 1941-1944[406] but not with the United States. However, American Lend-Lease military aid to Soviets was widely recognized in the

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[399] See: about Netherlands President Bush's Advance Text of Remarks Upon Departure for Europe July 9, 1989; about Hungary President Bush's Remarks to Students and Faculty at Karl Marx University in Budapest July 12, 1989; About Czechoslovakia, President Bush's Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Election of Vaclav Havel as President of Czechoslovakia December 29, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[400] President Bush's Remarks to Students and Faculty at Karl Marx University in Budapest July 12, 1989; President Bush's Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Election of Vaclav Havel as President of Czechoslovakia December 29, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[401] Hunt 1994, 9.

[402] Ibid.

[403] Appleman Williams 1972b, 482.

[404] Goldhurst 1978.

[405] Kelly 2004, 82; Guttman 2005, 10.

[406] Jutikkala 1997, 72.

Finnish front as American built airplanes were being used against the Finns[407]. The fact that democratic Finland had been a co-belligerent of Nazi Germany against the Socialist Soviet Union and democratic Great Britain, which both had been supported by the United States, did not prevent President Bush from showing the relations of the United States and Finland being strongly rooted in the ideals of democracy[408]. Of course, showing the complexity of history in detail is not good for argumentation meant for legitimizing present foreign policy. Controversial messages weaken the credibility of the rhetorician in the eyes of the audience. The usage of history as a tool of political argumentation gives plenty of opportunities to select from the past events that are the best suited for the needs of a certain contemporary situation.

As seen from President Bush's arguments about the common history of the United States and European countries the President of the United States can always gain extra leverage to legitimize American foreign policy by appealing to the "melting pot" argument, the common population base shared with the rest of the world. This argument can be used to legitimize United States' foreign policy in any part of the world as the President of the United States can portray himself to have common interests with people living in the ancestral homes of European[409], African[410] and Asian[411] Americans. The melting pot argument makes the United States the most suitable leader of the world. This argument can be also used to convert foreign policy into domestic policy, especially in racial issues. For instance, one justification for the Operation Restore Hope – the military intervention in Somalia started in late 1992 by the Bush Administration – was ostensively to respect the interests of African-American community in Sub-Saharan Africa[412]. The common population base argument, however, also formed problems for the Bush Administration. The Baltic independence struggle of 1989-1991, for instance, activated Americans of Baltic origin, who brought pressure to bear on the Bush Administration to do more to support the independence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania[413]. This lobbying by the Baltic interests groups gave the Bush Administration bad publicity and undermined the credibility of its foreign policy[414].

Common origins were not, however, the only way to show similarity of interests in the Bush Administration's European foreign policy. Its historical appeal was based on the level of ideals as well. Ideals of liberty for example

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[407]   Kulikov 2006, 18.
[408]   President Bush's Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters Following Discussions With President Mauno Koivisto of Finland May 7, 1991. GBPLM (www).
[409]   President Bush's Remarks at the Solidarity Workers Monument in Gdansk July 11, 1989. GBPLM (www).
[410]   National Security Directive 75 American Policy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1990's. 23 December 1992, 2. GBPLM (www).
[411]   See for example President Bush's Remarks at the Asian-Pacific American Heritage Dinner in Los Angeles May 29, 1992. GBPLM (www).
[412]   National Security Directive 75, December 23. 1992, 2. GBPLM (www).
[413]   Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 141.
[414]   Bush 1998, 207.

could be portrayed as a common possession of the French and the Americans[415]. The argument of a common history of ideals that President Bush used was not always about the common values shared between the United States and European countries. It was also about the idea of America as something exceptional in motion. According to Trevor B. McCrisken, the idea of American exceptionalism considers the United States to be the re-incarnation of the ultimate values shared by the whole of humankind[416]. In the argumentation of Bush, the idea of America appeared as a force that had positively affected the lives of Europeans[417]. In Bush's speeches to European audiences, the idea of America worked through ideals like democracy and freedom[418]. In a way, Bush's rhetoric portrayed the United States as something far greater than just a nation state among others; it was an exceptional land where great secular and spiritual might were united into a single entity with no match in the whole world[419]. According to McCrisken, showing moral supremacy in foreign policy is a typical strait of American exceptionalism, whereby the United States is a morally superior and unique actor, which was originally born to oppose the tyranny and moral decay of Europe and to foster the common values of humanity[420]. Domestically, this myth is an effective tool of foreign policy argumentation as the citizens of the United States are eager to believe it[421].

It is hard to evaluate whether the myth of American exceptionalism affect the decision making of the Bush Administration, or if it was just a convenient argumentative tool in his foreign policy. As a former diplomat and CIA official, President Bush seems to have understood the problems of arrogant rhetoric highlighting American greatness. For instance, Bush forewarned Gorbachev during the presidential election campaign of 1988 that he would say things that could upset the Soviets to please his audience, and thus his sayings during the elections should not be taken too seriously[422]. In his memoirs, Bush has however underlined his personal belief in American exceptionalism by stating that the United States has a moral obligation to lead the world in the post-Cold

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[415]   President Bush's Advance Text of Remarks Upon Departure for Europe July 9, 1989. GBPLM (www)

[416]   McCrisken 2003, 11.

[417]   President Bush's Remarks to Residents of Leiden, The Netherlands July 17, 1989; President Bush's Remarks at the University of South Carolina Commencement Ceremony in Columbia May 12, 1990; President Bush's Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union January 31, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[418]   President Bush's Remarks to the Polish National Assembly in Warsaw July 10, 1989; President Bush's Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With the Magazine Publishers of America July 17, 1990; President Bush's Remarks at the University of South Carolina Commencement Ceremony in Columbia May 12, 1990; President Bush's Remarks to the American Society of Newspaper Editors April 9, 1992. GBPLM (www).

[419]   President Bush's Inaugural Address January 20, 1989; President Bush's Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Religious Broadcasters January 29, 1990; President Bush's Remarks at the Liberty University Commencement Ceremony in Lynchburg, Virginia May 12, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[420]   McCrisken 2003, 8-11.

[421]   McCrisken 2003, 5.

[422]   Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 5.

War world[423]. According to Palonen, in the sphere of political words of truth and words of untruth are mixed and speaking of one's true intentions becomes as encrypted as the most complex rhetorical diversion[424]. The actual stance of President Bush to the myth of American exceptionalism will remain unknown and only his usage of it in his public speeches and texts remains certain.

In the foreign policy rhetoric of President Bush, the United States appeared as the sole savior of Europe. In these contexts, naturally, there was no reason to remind his audiences of the existence of God, who rhetorically could have appeared as a competing savior. Most of all, the United States had saved Europe from itself. To prevent this from happening again American presence within Europe was going to be needed in the future:

> Twice in the first half of this century Europe was the scene of world war, and twice Americans fought in Europe for the sake of peace and freedom. Today Europe is enjoying a period of unparalleled prosperity and uninterrupted peace, longer than it has known in the modern age, and NATO has made the difference. And the alliance will prove every bit as important to American and European security in the decade ahead.[425]

President Bush gave his remarks on May 26, 1989 in Washington before his departure for Europe. At that time, relations between the United States and Western Europe were challenged by Chairman Gorbachev's foreign policy initiatives in arms reductions, which made the cautious Bush Administration look timid about ending the Cold War[426]. The purpose of President Bush's trip to Europe was most of all to participate in a NATO meeting on May 28 in Brussels and in taking from Gorbachev the initiative in arms reduction with a fresh proposal, convincing the Western Europeans of the United States' capability to lead the transatlantic defense community[427]. In President Bush's argumentation, Americans had fought twice for the sake of peace and freedom in Europe, as if the United States had had only moral interests in participating in the wars. By emphasizing the unselfish nature of the American war effort and the way American led NATO had brought a long peace to Europe, President Bush emphasized the moral superiority of the United States and thus legitimized the role of the United States as the dominant power in Europe. The strong idealistic undertone of the Bush Administration's view of history tells much about its contemporary American audience and its view of the world. Obviously in 1989, the majority of Americans wanted to believe that their country was the morally superior guarantor of world peace, which was only reluctantly forced to participate in world's conflicts in the 20th century[428]. The Bush Administration's version of 20th century European history in itself would have been inadequate for convincing Americans of the importance of keeping

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[423]   Bush 1998, 565-566.
[424]   Palonen 1988, 32.
[425]   President Bush's Remarks Upon Departure for Europe May 26, 1989. GBPLM (www).
[426]   Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 71.
[427]   Scowcroft 1998, 81.
[428]   Bacevich 2002, 7-8.

the United States committed to NATO and Europe. According to William Appleman-Williams, Andrew Bacevich, and Chalmers Johnson the purpose of the United States' foreign policy is to build and maintain an empire and the moral veil is needed to disguise this project from the American public[429]. For instance, American participation in the World Wars was strongly connected to the economic and hegemonic interests of the United States[430]. Also the Bush Administration's worry of the future of NATO at the Cold War's end was mostly about the fear of losing the dominant position in Europe in case Europeans gave up the ideal of an Atlantic community in face of the diminishing Soviet threat[431].

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991, a third American rescue mission of Europe was added to the Bush Administration's story of the 20th century transatlantic relations. In President Bush's rhetoric, the United States had saved Europe and the world from the scourge of communism, which justified continuing American leadership of the post-Cold War world:

> From the days after World War II, when fragile European democracies were threatened by Stalin's expansionism, to the last days of the cold war, as our foes became fragile democracies themselves, American leadership has been indispensable. No one person deserves credit for this. America does. It has been achieved because of what we as a people stand for and what we are made of.
>
> Yes, we answered the call, and we triumphed, but today we are summoned again. This time we are called not to wage a war, hot or cold, but to win the democratic peace, not for half a world as before but for people the world over. The end of the cold war, you see, has placed in our hands a unique opportunity to see the principles for which America has stood for two centuries, democracy, free enterprise, and the rule of law, spread more widely than ever before in human history.[432]

Bush gave these remarks on December 15, 1992. He had lost the presidential election at the beginning of November 1992 to Democratic Party candidate Bill Clinton. In light of the electoral defeat, President Bush was concentrating on creating a positive image of his presidency for future generations. According to Richard Neustadt, when appraising the legacy of a president of the United States it is often asked what were the American positions in the world that were affected by the president's diplomacy[433]. In building his own legacy, President Bush presented foreign policy achievements such as ending the Cold War, to be his greatest achievements[434]. In his remarks, President Bush was not however speaking directly on behalf of his own achievements as the President of the United States. He was speaking about the achievements of America and the importance of its values for the whole world. By highlighting the importance of the nation, Bush was able to underline the continuity in the American foreign

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[429]   Appleman-Williams 1972b, 485; Bacevich 2002, 45; Johnson 2004, 1-3, 191.
[430]   Bacevich 2002, 11-15; Berger 1972, 294-296.
[431]   Bacevich 2002, 57, 102.
[432]   President Bush's Remarks at Texas A&M University in College Station, Texas December 15, 1992. GBPLM (www).
[433]   Neustadt 1990, 167.
[434]   Bush 1998, 564-565.

policy beyond his presidency and simultaneously to attach himself to the historical continuity of the American presidents[435]. Again, the theme of American moral supremacy was shown in the rhetoric of President Bush. The United States had been victorious in the Second World War and in the Cold War and both times it had made its former enemies into its allies after its victory. During the Cold War, the United States had led "half a world" and after it "the world" had become the legitimate reign of the Americans. President Bush's tale about the American rise to the world leadership shows how the Soviet Union and the United States had both used the existence of each other to legitimize their rule of the world during the Cold War[436]. The importance of mutual recognition of the superpower status was seen for example during mutual discussions of superpower leaders on May 30-31, 1990, as President Gorbachev and his Minister of Foreign Affairs Shevardnadze had asked for American recognition for their policies to convince the Soviet citizens of the power of their nation[437]. The existence of the third world, or neutral countries, was not meaningful in this discourse of power as the superpowers arranged the whole world into their dominions. President Bush did not often speak about these countries in the Post-Cold War era either as it was more appealing to portray the whole world as a single American dominion[438].

The end of the Cold War was portrayed by the Bush Administration as the brightest victory of American ideals and principles. As this victory was achieved in the home of the earlier rulers of the world, the Europeans, it underlined the totality of American power.

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[435] Bush had attached himself in the continuum of American President's in his foreign policy at least since the Malta summit December 3, 1989. McEvoy-Levy 2001, 56-57.

[436] McEvoy-Levy 2001, 53.

[437] Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 218-219, 223.

[438] President Bush's Remarks at Texas A&M University in College Station, Texas December 15, 1992. GBPLM (www).

7 EUROPE REFORMED IN THE SPEECHES OF GEORGE BUSH

7.1 The Birth of Whole and Free Europe

The Cold War had split Europe in two. This split was most of all a social construction and only secondarily a matter of physical borders between states on the opposing sides of the iron curtain. According to Riikka Kuusisto geographing does not just produce a mechanical imitation of what is, but instead purposefully creates and organizes places and people. Spaces are made up rather than discovered to meet the demands of various types of hostile and friendly encounters. The struggles over territories and boundaries are socially constructed as political events that involve speeches and drawings more often than tanks and soldiers. Spatial representations are not natural and stable on their own, but they are under constant change. To Kuusisto the way the world is divided into distinct physical entities is meant to support different power structures, as the societal order also rests on control over the way geography is imagined.[439] For Lewis and Wigen "every global consideration of human affairs deploys a metageography, whether acknowledged or not" [440]. By metageography they mean "the set of spatial structures through which people order their knowledge of the world" [441]. According to Lewis and Wigen Americans relied heavily on a tripartite divisional scheme of the world during the Cold War[442]. In this scheme, the West led by the United States represented the first world, the Soviet led East formed the Second World, and the "less-developed" countries were grouped as the Third World[443]. In this tripartite scheme Europe consisted of a First World Western and a Second World Eastern Europe[444]. People living in Western Europe were to identify themselves closely

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[439]   Kuusisto 1999, 35.
[440]   Lewis & Wigen 1997, ix-x
[441]   Ibid.
[442]   Lewis & Wigen 1997, x.
[443]   Lewis & Wigen 1997, 4-5.
[444]   Lewis & Wigen 1997, 60.

to the United States - the defender of the West and the western values of democracy, freedom and economic liberalism, which the East, led by the Soviet Union, opposed[445]. According to Benedict Anderson, geographical space is socially constructed in forming imagined communities[446]. The members of imagined communities feel they belong together even though they do not know each other – the image of the community is enough[447]. Anderson's idea of the imagined communities originally meant to describe nationalism on the level of nation states'. His idea can, however, be used in a wider context. During the Cold War the United States and the Soviet Union had formed their own rival imagined communities, the East and the West, which consisted of associations of states. Both of these supranational camps shared a similar but separate image of communion, which they were ready to defend against each other.

For the English School of international relations, community is one of the most important features of international relations as it highlights the meaning of supranational actors in the field of international relations research[448]. The English school, however, makes a distinction between community and society. According to Barry Buzan, society is built on contractual social relations based on agreements about rational interest, whereas community is formed on the foundation of shared identity based on affection or tradition[449]. For Buzan, community can be shallow like "the worldwide fandom of Manchester United or Elvis Presley"[450]. The distinction between society and community is, however, artificial. For instance, building of the Western community and the integration of Germany in it, soon after the Second World War, was at one level a process of formal agreements on military and economic matters, representing rational interests, such as building defenses against the Soviet Union. At another level, it was a process of constructing a shared identity based on affection[451]. I thus underline the notion of Patrick Thaddeus Jackson that rhetorical community building is an integral part of causally meaningful political action[452]. At the Cold War's end, the idea of community gained strength again in public discussion, as the changing world order threatened the integrity of existing communities such as the West. In their European foreign policies, the leaders of both superpowers placed much effort on establishing new communities or renewing old ones.

When George Bush became the President of the United States in January 1989, highlighting the East-West divide of the world was becoming an ineffective argument in foreign policy, as it seemed that the possible end of the Cold War would be a clear victory for the West. The Bush Administration did not welcome this victory entirely, as it threatened the cohesion of the western

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[445]   Harle 2000, 94.
[446]   Anderson 1991, 6-7.
[447]   Ibid.
[448]   Buzan, 2004, 110.
[449]   Buzan 2004, 116.
[450]   Buzan 2004, 111.
[451]   Jackson 2006, vii-ix.
[452]   Jackson 2006, viii.

community and thus American interests all over the world. Without the Soviet enemy, the American hegemony as the leader of the West seemed hard to legitimate[453]. By 1989, Soviet Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev had made bold moves towards melting the conflict[454]. Bush's predecessor Ronald Reagan had also made highly visible moves for ending the Cold War[455]. During the spring of 1989 the Bush Administration, however, assumed a cautious approach to the Soviet Union and the ending of the Cold War, which caused criticism among West Europeans and the American general public, displayed in sharp media debates[456]. The abatement of the Cold War had not meant an end to the rivalry between the superpowers in Europe. Gorbachev challenged George Bush right after the presidential elections in November 1988 by making considerable disarmament proposals in public[457]. Between December 1988 and May 1989, Gorbachev continued to hold the initiative and made various proposals that the western public considered as significant moves from the Soviet side to end the Cold War[458]. These initiatives made the Bush Administration's cautious foreign policy line that undermined the importance of NATO and the United States for the future of Europe seem out of touch and[459] the final geopolitical battle of the Cold War era over the future of Europe had begun.

To counter the initiatives of Chairman Gorbachev that had distanced Western European countries from the United States the Bush Administration attempted to relegitimize American role in Europe:

> America is and will remain a European power.[460]

President Bush gave this statement in May 30, 1989 after a NATO meeting in Brussels, as he needed to argue on behalf of continuing the strong military presence of the United States in Western Europe. By stating, that America was a European power Bush wanted to signal that the United States commitment to Europe was deeper than just at the level of official foreign policy. America is not, however, just a synonym for the United States; it is also an idea that contains strong values and ideological connotations[461]. Whereas the United States is a federation of States, America is also an idea of a good nation based on a set of values that are believed to form a base for good life[462] and thus to keep the nation together. According to Hart, the common American values are, for instance, the appreciation of practical over the theoretical, quick action and

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453   Harle 2000, 94-95.
454   Archin, Burrows, Cochran, Fieldhouse & Norris 1988, 26.
455   Archin, Burows, Cochran, Fieldhouse & Norris 1988, 3-4.
456   Scowcroft 1998, 57; Bush 1998, 63-64; Baker 1995, 83, 89.
457   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 10.
458   Rey 2004, 53; Baker 1995, 82-83, 85; Scowcroft 1998, 59.
459   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 37.
460   President Bush's News Conference Following the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Summit Meeting in Brussels May 30, 1989. GBPLM (www).
461   Lowenthal 1988, 105.
462   About the meaning of values, see Hart 1997, 234-235.

straight talk over slowness and indirection. Americans also believe in free will, self-determination, and the goodness of people and see positive changes in society, technology and life in general.[463] According to Hart the Americans are, however constantly discussing the national purpose, as their country is actually a mixture of different cultures instead of just one[464], which makes the existence of certain American values dubious. The mixed internal national identity does not however prevent American political leaders from portraying the values of their nation homogenous in their relations to the rest of the world. In their foreign policy argumentation America is portrayed as an exceptional model nation, which leads the world to a better tomorrow by showing example and spreading its rightful values[465]. According to McEvoy-Levy, an important feature of Cold War American exceptionalism was that American exceptionalism was extended to include Western Europe, which was one important characteristic of the Americanization of the West[466]. According to Jackson the United States had a mission to save 'Western Civilization' from communism, which made America exceptional within it[467]. Transatlantic exceptionalism based on the superior values of the United States remained relatively intact at the end of the Cold War until the Soviet Union finally collapsed in 1991[468].

At the operational level Bush's speech in Brussels was intended as an answer to Chairman Gorbachev's initiative concerning the reduction of the short-range nuclear weapons in Europe (SNF) that had caused disunity within the ranks of NATO during spring of 1989[469]. The dispute was about the American and West German governments' disagreement concerning the modernization of NATO's SNF weapons[470]. The West German government saw the modernization as counterproductive because Gorbachev had proposed the withdrawal of all short-range nuclear weapons from Europe by 1991[471]. The Bush Administration was, however, concerned about the imbalance in conventional weapons and saw the short-range nuclear weapons as a way to balance the situation[472]. To overcome Gorbachev's move, the Bush Administration proposed in the Brussels NATO meeting 30 May, 1989 to tie the modernization of the SNF with the results of the coming talks on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE)[473]. In the coming CFE talks, the Soviets would be asked to reduce their conventional troop levels in Central Europe to similar levels with the United States, which meant much larger reductions to the Soviet

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[463]   Hart 1997, 235-236.
[464]   Hart 1997, 242.
[465]   Stephenson 1995, 5.
[466]   McEvoy-Levy 2001, 29.
[467]   Jackson 2006, 59.
[468]   Ibid.
[469]   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 35-36.
[470]   Cox & Hurst 2002, 131.
[471]   Ibid.
[472]   Cox & Hurst 2002, 131-132.
[473]   President Bush's News Conference Following the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Summit Meeting in Brussels May 30, 1989. GBPLM (www); Cox & Hurst 2002, 131.

forces[474]. This policy worked. The Germans and other western European allies supported the Bush Administration's solution and the cohesion of NATO was restored[475]. The Soviets also agreed to the asymmetrical troop cuts of the conventional forces[476] and the CFE treaty was signed in November 1990[477]. The Bush Administration had made a successful counter move against the Soviets in the contest for the future order of Europe[478].

In the light of the diplomatic success in the Brussels NATO meeting, President Bush's words of America being a present and future European power were deadly accurate. The SNF weapons situated in Germany were the property of the United States, not of the German Federal Republic's,[479] and thus as long as these weapons were situated on German soil the United States' would remain a European power, or actually a European nuclear power. By stating that "America" is and would be a European power President Bush bound the European nature of the United States in three dimensions of time: the past, the present and the future. Bush's focus on the present and future status of America as a European power was not a coincidence. It was about using time as a means of political argumentation; time being one of the central dimensions of the political[480]. Most notably, President Bush could include the dimension of the past in the present tense as the earlier Cold War years had made the United States a *de facto* European power. In the aftermath of the Second World War Europe had become politically harmless to the United States[481]. It became a romantic home of ancestors that had been defended against the scourges of fascism and had to be defended against communism in the name of the common good of the West[482]. This meant that European states had ceased to exist as autonomous actors in world politics and could be included in the American led West or the Soviet led East. The decline of European powers had made it possible for the United States to become a European power. As the American presence in Western Europe was being questioned in 1989[483] the history of Europeanization of the United States, or more accurately the Americanization of Europe, was not worth mentioning in detail. It was better to underline the importance of the ability of NATO to overcome its internal disputes and secure the future of Europe against Soviet aggression[484]. In his Brussels speech, President Bush for instance emphasized the meaning of freeing

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474   Cox & Hurst 2002, 131.
475   Cox & Hurst 2002, 131; Baker 1995, 96.
476   Scowcroft 1998, 81-82.
477   Cox & Hurst 2002, 131; President Bush's Message to the Senate Transmitting the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe July 9, 1991; Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe November 19, 1990. GBPLM (www).
478   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 79-80.
479   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 36.
480   Palonen 1997, 241.
481   Delanty 1995, 116.
482   Delanty 1995, 116-120
483   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 36-37.
484   President Bush's News Conference Following the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Summit Meeting in Brussels May 30, 1989. GBPLM (www).

Europe from "the constant threat of (Soviet) surprise attack" and "the political shadow of Soviet military power"[485]. From the Bush Administration's point of view, Europe was thus still a battlefield of historical superpower confrontation and the leadership of the United States was needed[486].

The United States was not the sole superpower claiming the legitimacy of being a European power. The Gorbachev Administration also wanted to portray the Soviet Union as integral part of Europe. Geographically, the Soviet Union was much closer to Europe than the United States, but historically it or its predecessor Russia had been seen as mostly non-European[487]. General Secretary Gorbachev's future vision for Europe was arranged under the concept of Common European Home[488]. The Common European Home included Eastern and Western European countries and the Soviet Union, but the role of the United States in this vision was blurry[489]. Gorbachev's concept "Common European Home" had been used to alienate Western Europeans from the United States since October 1985 when he first used it during his trip to France[490]. The idea of Common European Home"[491] appealed to Western European audiences by arguing that historically and culturally Russians were closer to Europeans than the Americans[492]. According to Marie-Pierre Rey Gorbachev's concept was used as well to open a way to influence the Western community through Western European countries, as the Reagan Administration had not been ready to negotiate with the Soviets in the mid 1980s[493]. The appeal of Gorbachev's concept must have been further strengthened in the majority of Western European countries by its contrast to the relatively unpopular Reagan foreign policy, which underlined American power and confrontation with the Soviet Union. Reagan's power politics led to a situation where by the latter half of the 1980s the United States was considered to be maintaining the Cold War instead of trying to find an end to it[494]. By talking about the Common European Home, General Secretary

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[485] President Bush's News Conference Following the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Summit Meeting in Brussels May 30, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[486] Ibid.

[487] Harle 2000, 2.

[488] Address given by Mikhail Gorbachev to the Council of Europe July 6, 1989. Centre Virtuel sur la Connaissance de l'Europe (www).

[489] President Bush's Joint News Conference Following Discussions With French President Mitterrand in St. Martin, French West Indies December 16, 1989. GBPLM (www)

[490] Rey 2004, 35.

[491] As a synonym for the Common European Home English research literature knows also the translation all-European house or common European House See for instance Svec 1988, 990; Rey 2004, 37-38. According to Paul Shilton and Mikhail Ilyin "the Russian word *dom* means both a house as a building (zdanije) and a household, that is, as the *domashnije*, the inhabitants of the *dom* – not just the family but all living things, including cattle and pets."This means that Gorbachev's usage of word "dom" could be translated as home, house or household. See Shilton & Ilyin 1993, 8, 14. Bush Administration, however, used only the Common European Home translation.

[492] Rey 2004, 35-36.

[493] Rey 2004, 36.

[494] Olson 1986, 832-833.

Gorbachev had also sought leverage in the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) talks of 1986[495]. By using the metaphor of home, Gorbachev appealed to softer values than Reagan did and successfully framed the debate about superpower relations with Western Europe. According to Lakoff and Johnson, "the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another"[496]. In the case of General Secretary Gorbachev's Common European Home, this meant that the metaphor, which referred to the new community of European nations, was partially structured, understood, performed, and talked about in terms of a home[497]. As a word home evokes the positive connotations or frames of childhood, togetherness and care that can be seen to form an opposite to the harshness of the Cold War arms race and competition. General Secretary Gorbachev's concept became one corner stone of the new Soviet approach to international relations, which rejected the former aggressive policies and underlined co-operation with the West as the arms race had impoverished the Soviet Union[498]. On July 6, 1989, Gorbachev used the concept of Common European Home when he was speaking to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. In his speech, he envisaged the common prospects of the future of Europe[499]. In Gorbachev's vision, the Soviet Union was at least as integrally a part of Europe as the United States:

> The realities of today and the prospects for the foreseeable future are obvious: the Soviet Union and the United States are a natural part of the European international and political structure.[500]

However, in some points of Chairman Gorbachev's speech, the United States had to be excluded from Europe:

> Victor Hugo said that the day would come when you, France, you, Russia, you, Italy, you, England, you Germany – all of you, all the nations of the continent – will, without losing your distinguishing features and your splendid distinctiveness, merge inseparably into some high society and form a European brotherhood (…).[501]

By referring to Victor Hugo's 19th century geographical definition of Europe, Gorbachev left the United States out of Europe. Hugo's definition conveniently first listed the major powers of Europe including Russia and then added into this definition "all the nations of the continent" that formed the "European brotherhood". By using Hugo's definition Chairman Gorbachev included the Soviet Union in Europe on the grounds that its predecessor Russia had been counted as part of Europe. On the other hand, Hugo's definition was

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[495]   Rey 2004, 36-37.
[496]   Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 5.
[497]   About the nature of metaphor, see Lakoff & Johson 2003, 5.
[498]   Rey 2004, 37-38.
[499]   Address given by Mikhail Gorbachev to the Council of Europe July 6, 1989. Centre Virtuel sur la Connaissance de l'Europe (www).
[500]   Ibid.
[501]   Address given by Mikhail Gorbachev to the Council of Europe July 6, 1989. Centre Virtuel sur la Connaissance de l'Europe (www).

geographically limited to the European continent, which helped Gorbachev implicitly to exclude the United States. Gorbachev also highlighted in his speech how different economic systems could fit together in Europe and how he had had bilateral negotiations with Western European leaders such as the French President François Mitterrand in Paris and Moscow[502]. In subtle ways, Chairman Gorbachev also criticized the Bush Administration's European military strategy that still considered the Soviet Union as a threat to Western Europe and emphasized the Cold War terms of arms race in its diplomacy[503]:

> It is time to consign to oblivion the cold war postulates when Europe was viewed as an arena of confrontation divided into "spheres of influence" and someone else's "forward-based defences", as an object of military confrontation – namely a theatre of war.[504]

As the economic machinery of the Soviet Union that had made the arms race with the United States possible was in ruins, the best option for the Gorbachev regime was to underline how the Soviets were ready to leave the Cold War behind. By referring to the "forward-based defences" and "spheres of influence", as concepts of the past, now rendered meaningless, Gorbachev wanted to underline that the Soviet Union was willing to give-up the idea of superpower confrontation that still dominated the Bush Administration's European foreign policy. By this act, Gorbachev excluded the near past from his vision of Common European Home, but at the same time embraced the romantic 19th century past of Victor Hugo. This meant that Chairman Gorbachev was selectively highlighting different eras of the European past to argue on behalf of his vision, which was characterized by romanticism and communal idealism instead of the technocratic Cold War military terminology. By underlining the geopolitical terms of the Cold War military strategies Gorbachev also referred to the geographical distance between the United States and Europe. Gorbachev seemed to imply that for the Americans Europe was an important forward-based post of defense, but for the Soviet Union, Europe served nobler purposes, as the Soviet Union was part of the European continent itself[505].

The Bush Administration took a strict stance against Gorbachev's initiative of Common European Home, which was seen to undermine the American role in Europe[506]. The Bush Administration's vision for the future of Europe was "Europe whole and free"[507]. This vision underlined the idea of former East European countries returning to "the Commonwealth of free nations" from

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[502]   Address given by Mikhail Gorbachev to the Council of Europe July 6, 1989. Centre Virtuel sur la Connaissance de l'Europe (www).

[503]   President Bush's News Conference Following the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Summit Meeting in Brussels May 30, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[504]   Address given by Mikhail Gorbachev to the Council of Europe July 6, 1989. Centre Virtuel sur la Connaissance de l'Europe (www).

[505]   Address given by Mikhail Gorbachev to the Council of Europe July 6, 1989. Centre Virtuel sur la Connaissance de l'Europe (www).

[506]   Hoagland 1990, 45.

[507]   Hoagland 1990, 34.

Soviet captivity[508]. The Bush Administration's "Europe whole and free" included the Western and Eastern European countries and the United States, but the position of the Soviet Union was left somewhat open[509]. Europe whole and free was also portrayed as based on superior values compared with those of the Chairman Gorbachev's Common European Home:

> Europe whole and free is our concept. His common European home is fine, so long -- as I said earlier -- you can move from room to room. And that means coming along further on human rights. That means much more openness. It means support them when you see them move towards perestroika and glasnost. But it means an evolution in the Soviet Union, and it means an evolution in Eastern Europe. And we've begun to see it.[510]

> A Europe whole and free does not visualize a Europe where you still have barbed wire separating people, where you still have human rights abuses in one or two of the countries that are egregious. And so, it is whole and free, and the common home theme is a good one. I mean, that's a very good theme, and we should encourage it. But we want to see these countries continue to move towards what works, and what works is freedom, democracy, market economies -- things of that nature.[511]

President Bush's strong language regarding Gorbachev's vision of Common European Home were seen after the Paris G-7 meeting of July 16, 1989. Before this meeting, President Bush had visited Hungary and Poland, where free elections and political pluralism had replaced the monopoly of the Communist Party[512]. Four days earlier on July 12, 1989, the Bush Administration had also formulated an assistance package to Eastern European countries to support the development of their ruined economies and to establish democratic rule of governance[513]. Support to Eastern European countries had been also one topic under discussion in the July 16 G-7 meeting[514]. The Bush Administration had, however, started answering Chairman Gorbachev's Common European Home initiative a month and a half earlier on May 31, 1989 when Bush held a speech in Mainz, West Germany[515]. Bush's first counterattack had taken place after the successful settling of the SNF dispute, which had regained the initiative for the Bush Administration in Western Europe[516]. By proclaiming the Gorbachev's vision of Common European Home defective, Bush tried to take the initiative at

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[508] President Bush's Remarks to the Citizens in Mainz, Federal Republic of Germany May 31, 1989; President Bush's Remarks on Arrival in Portsmouth, New Hampshire June 2, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[509] President Bush's Remarks to the Citizens in Mainz, Federal Republic of Germany May 31, 1989; President Bush's Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a Meeting of the Economic Club in New York, New York February 6, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[510] President Bush's News Conference in Paris July 16, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[511] President Bush's News Conference in Paris July 16, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[512] Ibid.

[513] White House Fact Sheet on Proposed United States Assistance for Hungary and Poland July 12, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[514] President Bush's News Conference in Paris July 16, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[515] Hoagland 1990, 45.

[516] Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 79-80.

the weakest point of the Soviet foreign policy – Eastern Europe[517]. Bush's argumentation on behalf of the Europe whole and free was also meant to overcome the "Gorbymania"[518] in Western Europe by showing the true colors of the Soviet Union. Bush made his point by attacking Gorbachev's "European home" metaphor from within. The point of Bush's attack against Gorbachev's competing metaphor was based on irony. According to Kenneth Burke, irony is a dialectical trope, which can be understood by the logic of "what goes forth as A returns as non-A"[519]. Bush's counter argumentation was based on the logic that the idea of Gorbachev's concept was positive in figurative level, but it did not have relevance, as there was no actual substance behind the words, which made the Soviet proposal meaningless[520]. The core dimension of President Bush's criticism of Gorbachev's vision of Common European Home in his remarks of July 16, 1989 was that Eastern Europeans did not want to be part of a Common European Home against their will[521]. Bush thus attacked Chairman Gorbachev's metaphoric usage of "home", by taking it as a more concrete and physical metaphor than Gorbachev, and claiming that it was not characterized by the openness of a real European home, where freedom, democracy and market economy flourished like in Bush's Europe whole and free. The Soviet vision of a European home resembled implicitly more of a prison where the doors were locked and barbed wire was used to prevent people from escaping from the grasp of the system, which did not respect human rights. Bush was thus claiming that even though Gorbachev's intentions might have been good, it was the irony of the nature of oppressive Soviet rule, which made Gorbachev's promises a dead letter. President Bush's argumentation of July 16 was also meant to counter ideologically Chairman Gorbachev's idea that in the future of Europe there would be enough space for two social systems[522]. According to Bush's argumentation there was, however, only one workable solution to the future of Europe and that was democratic Western liberal capitalism and its way of life, which the United States represented[523].

Bush's argumentation on July 16 was empowered by contemporary events. By the summer 1989, the communist regimes of East Germany, Romania and Czechoslovakia were worried that their citizens might flee to the West through the Hungarian border with Austria[524]. By mid-September, East

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[517] Baker 1995, 45.

[518] President Bush's Remarks at a Luncheon Hosted by the Forum Club in Houston, Texas March 16, 1989. GBPLM (www); Cox & Hurst 2002, 130.

[519] Burke 1969, 517.

[520] President Bush's News Conference With Journalists From the Economic Summit Countries July 6, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[521] President Bush's News Conference in Paris July 16, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[522] Address given by Mikhail Gorbachev to the Council of Europe July 6, 1989. Centre Virtuel sur la Connaissance de l'Europe (www).

[523] President Bush's News Conference in Paris July 16, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[524] A Chronology of Events the Collapse of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the Steps toward German unity May 1989-January 1991, 195. In the case of German Democratic Republic, for instance, the refugee crisis reached its peak in September 1989. Baker 1995, 160.

Germans were actually leaving their country by thousands a day and by the end of October 100 000 skilled workers had migrated to the Federal Republic of Germany[525]. At the same time, Poland wanted to reform its economic system to follow the mechanisms of free markets[526]. As the Soviet system had showed its infectiveness in the economic sector in Eastern Europe and the totalitarian one party rule was disliked, Bush's argumentation was on solid ground. President Bush did not however entirely reject Gorbachev's "common European home"[527] as he did not want to be labeled as a Cold Warrior who would reject the reformative policies of the Soviet leader in overcoming the Cold War. By criticizing the contents of Gorbachev's Common European Home and bringing in the rivaling concept of Europe whole and free, the Bush Administration tried to keep Western Europe under control. As if the Soviets had gained too much support in the Western European countries, this could have lead to premature acceptance of the Soviet Union as a civilized player in world politics[528]. This meant that the Bush Administration could not bypass highly popular Gorbachev's foreign policy initiatives, which were framing the debate on Soviet advantage, such as the "common European home", with a shrug. President Bush had thus to argue moderately to prevent the Soviet leader from gaining even more public support from its Western European audience.

The rhetorical battle of superpower leaders over the future order of Europe did not take place only between the interests' of the United States and the Soviet Union. Both Chairman Gorbachev and President Bush's underlined the political meaning of their superpowers in the future of Europe and also tied it to the European unification process[529]. The establishment of a European single market took place in 1992[530]. According to Jim Hoagland, Gorbachev's "common European home" and Bush's "Europe whole and free" were competing concepts that described the same situation[531]. The ideological and economic descent of the Soviet Union had taken place at the same time that the European Community was gaining more strength[532]. In this situation, the superpower leaders did their best to come to terms and manage the changes taking place in their European camps and to find ways to affect the opponent's European camp[533].

In the superpower competition of picturing post-Cold War European order, the United States' vision for the future of Europe seemed more appealing

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[525] Anderson 1990, 177-178.

[526] President Bush's Remarks to Citizens in Hamtramck, Michigan April 17, 1989. GBPLM (www); Hoagland 1990, 35.

[527] President Bush's News Conference in Paris July 16, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[528] According to Beschloss & Talbott Bush Administration set a goal to take the initiative of establishing criteria according to which the Soviet Union's recognition, as civilized nation would happen. Beschloss & Talbott 1995, 44. See also for example Miller 1990, 315.

[529] Hoagland 1990, 34.

[530] Hoagland 1990, 45-46.

[531] Hoagland 1990, 34.

[532] Ibid.

[533] Ibid.

to the Eastern Europeans who embraced the western way of life[534]. In Western Europe, Gorbachev's foreign policy initiatives such as the Common European Home, however, gained some response[535]. The situation became even more complicated as at the same time, Western Europeans were becoming more assertive[536] and thus becoming players in the superpowers' game themselves. Playing the "Gorbachev card" at the Cold War's end gave Western European governments extra leverage in their relations with the United States, which had dominated Western European politics over 40 years. By fraternizing with Gorbachev's Soviet Union, Western European governments were able to raise concern among the Bush Administration[537] and thus get their voices better heard within the American led West. Notwithstanding, serious attempts to integrate the Soviet Union into Europe by the West Europeans were rare. The French President François Mitterrand, however, made a proposal to create a European confederation by the side of the European Community, which would include Eastern and Western European countries and the Soviet Union but not the United States[538]. Mitterand's proposal was rejected in June 1991 by the resistance of Eastern European countries and the United States[539]. In Eastern Europe, the Bush Administration had achieved a total victory by summer 1990 as the countries of the region had given up socialism and the Warsaw Pact had ceased to exist[540].

If we analyze the political battle between President Bush and Chairman Gorbachev over the future of their nations' positions in post-Cold War Europe using Palonen's four-dimensional model of the political[541], we see the ultiization of all four aspects of political argumentation. The stable Cold War polity[542] was coming to its end as the Gorbachev Regime used politicization moves[543], such as arms reductions proposals and the Common European Home vision, to question the prevailing status quo and American role in Europe. At the same time, deepening integration in Western Europe presented an opportunity for the Soviets to question the role of the United States in Europe. On the other hand, some Eastern European countries similarly questioned the role of the Soviet Union in Europe. The Bush Administration was able to use this against the Soviets. In the ensuing struggle of 1989, the Bush Administration first used Cold War polity rhetoric[544] and claimed that the Soviet Union was still a formidable military threat and its attempt to politicize

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[534]   Hoagland 1990, 35; A Chronology of Events the Collapse of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the Steps toward German unity May 1989-January 1991, 195.

[535]   Rey 2004, 53-55.

[536]   Hoagland 1990, 34.

[537]   Scowcroft 1998, 234; Rey 2004, 58-59.

[538]   Rey 2004, 58.

[539]   Rey 2004, 58-59.

[540]   Rey 2004, 55-56.

[541]   Palonen 1993, 6-15; Palonen & Summa 1996, 11. See figure 3 on page 57.

[542]   The polity refers to stable order. Palonen & Summa 1996, 12.

[543]   The politicization is often used to question the prevailing order. Palonen 1993, 11.

[544]   The meaning of the polity rhetoric is often to overcome politicization attempts. Palonen 1993, 13.

the existing status quo were meant only to mislead the West and shatter it from within. As these arguments were not enough to counter the politicization arguments of Chairman Gorbachev, the Bush Administration largely gave up the Cold War polity speech and attacked Gorbachev's Common European Home with politicking rhetoric. By bringing in the rivaling vision of Europe whole and free, the Bush Administration accepted Gorbachev's politicization move, and answered it by politicking rhetoric[545] in the form of the Europe whole and free vision, which questioned the relevance of the Soviet proposal. The Bush Administration also used policy rhetoric by portraying its own vision as the only solution for the future of Europe[546]. Western European leaders, most notably those of France did not follow without questioning the Bush Administration's policy that kept the United States present in Europe. The French brought in their own solution, which sided with the Soviet proposal, and with this move, they politicized the American role as the leader of Western Europe, and Europe in general. The French suggestion was, nevertheless, unable to find enough support and thus its actual meaning was reduced to politicking. It was able to bring a different vision to the discussion, but nothing more serious. In the end, the continuing United States presence in Europe returned to its position of the European polity, as the United States remained a legitimate part of Europe.

7.2 Expanding the Borders of Europe to the East

In the foreign policy rhetoric of the Bush Administration, the concept "Europe whole and free" was closely associated with the concept "New Europe":

> And that was the Revolution of '89, and our task now in the 1990's is to move forward from revolution to renaissance, towards a new Europe in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free -- a Europe whole and free. - - And I am pleased that we've had this opportunity to meet, to speak together about the changes that are taking place from Prague to Moscow, and about Czechoslovakia's place in the heartland of the new Europe now emerging.[547]

President Bush's remarks were made on February 20, 1990 after meeting with Vaclav Havel, the President of Czechoslovakia. Havel had been democratically elected as the President on December 29, 1989 after the peaceful Velvet Revolution had replaced the communist administration between November 17, and December 29, 1989[548]. On February 20, 1990 President Bush discussed trade agreements and forms of bilateral help for the reconstruction of Czechoslovakia

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[545] The nature of the politicking rhetoric is best seen in the struggle within the space that is earlier politicized by politicization rhetoric. Palonen 1993, 11.

[546] The policy rhetoric is meant to regulate politicking and to offer a clear line of advance. Palonen 1993, 13; Palonen & Summa 1996, 12.

[547] President Bush's Remarks Following Discussions with President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia February 20, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[548] Luers 1990, 77, 98.

with President Havel[549]. When we look at the context of President Bush's remarks, it is easy to understand that Czechoslovakia was not forming the heart of new Europe by chance. President Bush wanted to please his guest with the best possible compliment and for this purpose; the ex-East European country was defined as a part of "new Europe". The adjective "new" was added ahead of Europe in a purifying sense. It was meant to release the burden of communism that was attached to Eastern European countries in the West during the Cold War and to signal that Czechoslovakia was again part of the civilized world[550] in the "heartland" of Europe[551].

In a wider context, the naming of Czechoslovakia as part of new Europe signaled the diminishing of the Cold War confrontation between East and West, which had become a less meaningful theme by the end of 1989 and even less by 1990. The changes in overall political situation meant that it was not wise to follow the dichotomical naming pattern of the Cold War any more. West Europeans had become tired of the Cold War by 1989,[552] and some of the Eastern European countries were already embracing the values of the American led West[553]. By portraying Europe to be "new" or "whole and free", the Bush Administration wanted to underline the success of American foreign policy in Eastern Europe that was claimed to mark the end of the division of Europe[554]. According to Pekka Korhonen, "changes in the structures of power and authority have a great influence on the success and failure of specific names". When structures change, space becomes open for new names that "perhaps push the old names into oblivion" or at least can change the content of a name[555]. It was this process of renaming pictured by Korhonen, which was taking place in early 1990. Interestingly, the United States that had become the dominant world power in the aftermath of the Second World War, had itself erected the East-West European inner boundary[556]. As the defeat of the Soviet Union seemed relatively clear, there was space left to welcome Eastern European countries as part of new and whole Europe where based on Western values and the way of life.

The Bush Administration first portrayed Eastern Europe as part of a new Europe, consisting of both parts of the old continent, in rhetoric describing the reformations of Hungary in 1989[557]. By adding the prefix new to the old concept

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[549]   President Bush's Remarks Following Discussions with President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia February 20, 1990. GBPLM (www).
[550]   Lehti 2003, 110.
[551]   President Bush's Remarks Following Discussions with President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia February 20, 1990. GBPLM (www).
[552]   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 36-37.
[553]   A Chronology of Events the Collapse of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the Steps toward German unity May 1989-January 1991, 195; Hoagland 1990, 35.
[554]   President Bush's Thanksgiving Address to the Nation November 22, 1989; President Bush's News Conference in Brussels December 4, 1989. GBPLM (www).
[555]   Korhonen 2009, 2.
[556]   Korhonen 2009, 5-6.
[557]   President Bush's Remarks at the Departure Ceremony in Budapest July 13, 1989. GBPLM (www).

of Europe, and then bunching the neologism new Europe together with the vision of Europe whole and free, the Bush Administration signaled that the division of Europe was ending under American terms. According to Edelman, a leader has to be an innovator as "leaders point the way others can emulate in their initiatives[558]". The Bush Administration was thus showing that it was leading the unification of Europe at the Cold War's end. Nevertheless, despite the American position as the leader of the victorious West the Bush Administration's re-naming policy of Eastern Europe carefully followed the demands of the other political actors of the political context of the years 1989-1990. The Bush Administration had to find a geopolitical concept that could portray the new situation and to take into account the demands of the Soviets, Eastern Europeans, and Western Europeans. If President Bush had said that Eastern European countries were becoming Western European ones, it would have been a full scale Cold War style attack against the reformative policies of Chairman Gorbachev that the Bush Administration was openly supporting at the beginning of 1990[559]. As early as 1989, the Bush Administration saw that this claim, which unnecessarily underlined the American hegemony over Western Europe, was challenged by Western European integration[560]. Claiming that Eastern European countries were becoming a part of Western Europe would have also caused strong counter reactions in traditional Western European powers. Western Europeans tend to portray themselves as intellectual, political and moral leaders of Europe, whose responsibility and privilege is the education of backward Eastern Europeans[561]. To claim that Eastern Europeans are at the same level with Western Europeans would have been an obvious source of conflict. By claiming, that the former Eastern European countries like Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary were parts of a new Europe[562] the Bush Administration took the middle ground defining the borders of Europe at the Cold War's end. The Bush Administration's new Europe was not, however, a neutral concept. New Europe was a synonym for the Europe whole and free as it represented Western values such as democracy and freedom[563]. It meant that the Eastern European countries were free to follow the ideals of the West and make Europe whole again with the support of the Western community[564].

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[558]   Edelman 1988, 37.
[559]   McEvoy-Levy 2001, 48.
[560]   Baker 1995, 44; Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 42.
[561]   Krzeminski 2005, 147.
[562]   President Bush having Toasts at the State Dinner for President Lech Walesa of Poland March 20, 1991; President Bush's Remarks at the Departure Ceremony in Budapest July 13, 1989; President Bush's Remarks Following Discussions With President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia February 20, 1990. GBPLM (www).
[563]   President Bush's Remarks Following Discussions With President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia February 20, 1990. GBPLM (www); President Bush's Remarks at a Ceremony Granting Most-Favored-Nation Trade Status to Hungary October 26, 1989. GBPLM (www).
[564]   President Bush's Remarks at a Ceremony Granting Most-Favored-Nation Trade Status to Hungary October 26, 1989; President Bush's Remarks in Prague, Czechoslovakia, at a Ceremony Commemorating the End of Communist Rule November 17, 1990; President Bush's Remarks Following Discussions With Charles

Through the years 1989-1993, the Bush administration used various names to describe the former Eastern Europe. Countries, which President Bush wanted to commend, were often re-defined as belonging to Central Europe, which highlighted the special dimension that they represented in the Bush Administration's definition of Europe[565]. According to Korhonen, Central Europe was a term that referred to the parts formerly belonging to Habsburg Europe, such as Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and was used to show the historical ties of this area with Western Europe[566]. The conceptual transition from Eastern Europe to Central Europe took place gradually and was not completed during Bush's presidency. In several instances, President Bush spoke about the countries of "Central and Eastern Europe" without specifying whether that meant two different groups of countries, or only one[567]. Sometimes President Bush just referred to these countries with the Cold War concept "Eastern Europe"[568]. On certain rare occasions, the Bush Administration used even the concept "east-central Europe"[569]. Korhonen sees names such as Central Eastern Europe as tools for rhetoricians to highlight the socialist legacy of the countries of this region, while at the same time admitting them to be a legitimate part of Europe[570]. It seems also that the years 1989-1993 formed a transition period, and the Bush Administration's usage of Eastern Europe together with Central Europe was part of an attempt to find a toponym that would have neatly described the region that for decades had been simply known as Eastern Europe.

According to Secretary of State James Baker, the reforms in Eastern European countries gave leverage to the Bush Administration's Eastern European foreign policy, which was put into action with Western European, mostly West German, financial support, and American political initiatives[571].

Haughey, Prime Minister of Ireland and President of the European Council February 27, 1990; President Bush's Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters Following Discussions With President Mauno Koivisto of Finland May 7, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[565] President Bush's Toast at the State Dinner in Budapest July 11, 1989; President Bush's Remarks to Participants in the International Appellate Judges Conference September 14, 1990; President Bush's Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for Prime Minister Jozsef Antall of Hungary October 18, 1990; Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Recognition of the Czech and Slovak Republics January 1, 1993. GBPLM (www).

[566] Korhonen 2009, 8.

[567] President Bush's Remarks at a White House Symposium on Eastern Europe July 6, 1989; President Bush's Remarks to the Federal Assembly in Prague, Czechoslovakia November 17, 1990; President Bush's Remarks at Texas A&M University in College Station, Texas December 15, 1992. GBPLM (www).

[568] President Bush's Remarks at a Ceremony Granting Most-Favored-Nation Trade Status to Hungary October 26, 1989; President Bush's News Conference May 3, 1990; President Bush's Remarks to the Conference on Marketing Economics and Management Training for Eastern Europe February 27, 1991; President Bush's Radio Address to the Nation on the Agenda for American Renewal September 12, 1992. GBPLM (www).

[569] President Bush's Remarks at a White House Symposium on Eastern Europe July 6, 1989; White House Fact Sheet on Proposed United States Assistance for Hungary and Poland July 12, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[570] Korhonen 2009, 8.

[571] Baker 1995, 45-46.

Nevertheless the role of the United States, which President Bush described with such terms as "shining example" and "guiding force" behind "the revolution of 1989"[572] were not necessarily actualized. The Bush Administration continously hoped for slower or more gradual change in Eastern Europe and offered only limited economic assistance to the countries that were in critical condition[573]. According to Charles-Philippe David, this led some Eastern European leaders to openly seek help from West Germany, which was a political defeat for the Americans[574]. In the Bush Administration's foreign policy, the question of the independence seeking Soviet Republics 1989-1991 was even more difficult than the fast reforming Eastern European countries, as the Bush Administration wanted to keep the Soviet Union together[575]. This meant that the inclusion of these countries in Europe or new Europe was not portrayed as an option as long as the Soviet Union existed.

One culmination point in the Bush Administration's foreign policy towards the sovereignty seeking Soviet republics was the famous "Chicken Kiev Speech"[576], which President Bush held in the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Ukraine in Kiev August 1, 1991. At the time of Bush's speech, Ukrainians wanted to proclaim independency and were enthusiastically waiting that the President of the United States would show support for their cause[577]. President Bush's speech on the Ukrainian capital caused a shock when against all expectations he warned his listeners of the dangers of seeking independence by the following lines that later were extensively quoted by the press[578]:

> But freedom cannot survive if we let despots flourish or permit seemingly minor restrictions to multiply until they form chains, until they form shackles. Later today, I'll visit the monument at Babi Yar -- a somber reminder, a solemn reminder, of what happens when people fail to hold back the horrible tide of intolerance and tyranny.
>
> Yet freedom is not the same as independence. Americans will not support those who seek independence in order to replace a far-off tyranny with a local despotism. They will not aid those who promote a suicidal nationalism based upon ethnic hatred. We will support those who want to build democracy.[579]

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[572]   President Bush's Remarks at the University of South Carolina Commencement Ceremony in Columbia May 12, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[573]   David 1996, 214.

[574]   Ibid.

[575]   McEvoy-Levy 2001, 97.

[576]   *New York Times* columnist William Safire used the term to describe Bush's foreign policy, which he saw as overcautious and siding with the forces of status quo. Bush took this criticism very personally and was severely stung by it. Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 418. Bush must have been somewhat insulted as he only mentions in his memoirs that he spoke to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, but not what kind of fiasco his speech was. Scowcroft tries to explain that the speech was largely misunderstood. Bush 1998, 515; Scowcroft 1998, 515-516.

[577]   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 417.

[578]   Scowcroft 1998, 515-516.

[579]   President Bush's Remarks to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of the Ukraine in Kiev, Soviet Union August 1, 1991. GBPLM (www). The quotation of the speech is the same that Scowcroft said has been misinterpreted severely. Scowcroft 1998, 515-516.

Bush argued that independence does not necessarily mean freedom but can lead to "local despotism" and "suicidal nationalism based on ethnic hatred". In the context of Ukrainian independence movement, President Bush's words were easily interpreted as an insult, implying that the Ukrainians were just establishing local despotism based on suicidal nationalism, and Americans would not help them because this had nothing to do with democracy. To make his point, Bush even pictured the German massacre of Jews in Babi Yar ravine near the Ukrainian capital Kiev[580] to be "a somber reminder" of what could happen if intolerance and tyranny were not resisted. Although Bush probably only tried to make an example of the dangers of nationalism and intolerance in general, the mentioning of Babi Yar was a very bad usage of a past event as a political argument. Ukrainians had collaborated openly with Germans in the genocide of Jews in Ukraine[581]. Ukrainians had also participated in the Babi Yar massacre that took the lives of 50 000 of Kiev's 100 000 Jews in less than two months between September and October 1941[582]. Ukrainians had also actively participated in the other mass killing of Jews all around the country[583]. By using the Babi Yar as an example of acts against freedom and then claiming that "freedom is not the same as independence", Bush combined a painful and contradictory event in Ukrainian history with the contemporary political situation. Bush's independence seeking audience interpreted this combination as the ultimate insult.

Generally, Bush's message was understood to mean supporting the Soviet central government against Ukrainian independence[584]. The Bush Administration's National Foreign Policy Adviser Brent Scowcroft has claimed that President Bush aimed his warning to all of the Soviet Republics, as well as to the different nationalities of Yugoslavia, who were seeking independence. Nationalism was seen to have become a source of violence[585]. Scowcroft also claims that the Bush Administration did not seek to keep the Soviet Union together[586]. If Scowcroft's explanation is true, why did President Bush give this type of speech at all, and especially in independence seeking Ukraine, as it was the surest way to look like a staunch ally of President Gorbachev? According to Hart, "each persuasive message is produced in a unique rhetorical situation, thereby constituting a unique speech-act"[587]. For Hart every "situation itself can make a statement apart from the statements contained in the words of the message"[588]. This means that the situation where the rhetor gives a speech is equally important factor as the content of the speech in determining how the

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[580] Morgan Lower 2007, 2. In addition to Jews, also communists, partisans, Russians, Ukrainians, Poles and many others who were considered to resist the Nazi ideology were killed in Babi Yar.
[581] Morgan Lower 2007, 3, 6.
[582] Morgan Lower 2007, 3.
[583] Morgan Lower 2007, 5.
[584] Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 418.
[585] Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 516.
[586] Ibid.
[587] Hart 1997, 39.
[588] Ibid.

audience perceives the message. Now the question is, could the professional speechwriters of the Bush Administration have evaluated the situation so badly that they simply forgot where the President was going to speak? Actually, Bush's speech in Kiev would have made much more sense if he had actually supported President Gorbachev and wanted the Soviet Union to remain intact. This interpretation seems likely, as the Bush Administration avoided to the last meddling in the internal matters of the Soviet Union[589], and underlined its support of the Soviet central government until the Communist Party hardliners coup in late August 1991, which crumbled the credibility of the Gorbachev Administration completely[590]. According to McEvoy-Levy, some extracts from Bush's speech revealed his Administration's open support for Soviet central government[591]. President Bush for instance called his Ukrainian audiences "Soviet Peoples" and portrayed Russia and Ukraine as Soviet Republics[592]. The Bush Administration's resistance of the independence demands of the Soviet Republics was tied the to idea of keeping the Soviet-American relations stable, and to prevent the Soviet Union from collapsing into a chaos of warring Republics, where the control of nuclear weapons would be unknown[593]. The Bush Administration's support for the Soviet central government was also tied to the normative traditions of the Cold War superpower relations. The governments of the Soviet Union and the United States had worked bilaterally for decades and the Bush Administration did not want to break the rules and wreck the status quo by bringing in new actors as long as the Soviet Union officially existed[594]. According to McEvoy-Levy keeping of the status quo, however, resembled more of a façade as actually the United States was the sole remaining superpower[595]. Treating the Soviet Union as as superpower was meant to save its face in front of the international community and thus to prevent the Communist Party hardliners and military circles gaining extra leverage in Soviet policies[596].

After the collapse of the Soviet Union that led to Ukrainian independence, the Bush Administration flip-flopped in its Ukrainian foreign policy and called the Ukraine a democratic and free European country[597]. The complete change from the horror image of "local despotism" to democracy was part of the Bush Administration's policy aimed at the de-nuclearization of former Soviet

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[589]   Bush 1998, 500; Scowcroft 1998, 499; Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 418.

[590]   McEvoy-Levy 2001, 97, 102, 104.

[591]   McEvoy-Levy 2001, 100-101.

[592]   President Bush's Remarks to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of the Ukraine in Kiev, Soviet Union August 1, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[593]   McEvoy-Levy 2001, 97.

[594]   Scowcroft 1998, 216-217; David 1996, 215-216; McEvoy-Levy 2001, 60.

[595]   McEvoy-Levy 2001, 60.

[596]   This happened for instance during the German reunification process see: Cox & Hurst 2002, 136-137. Also during the independence struggle of Lithuania this question actualized. See Scowcroft 1998, 216-217, 222; Bush 1998, 222.

[597]   President Bush's Joint Declaration With President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine May 6, 1992. GBPLM (www).

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Republics except Russia[598]. When the Soviet central government was gone, the only way to affect new countries was through good bilateral relations:

> Today's talks mark a historic step in the development of relations between our two great nations. For the first time, an American President has met with the freely-elected President of a sovereign Ukraine. The Ukrainian people are now building their own state, one whose independence and commitment to democracy can make a vital contribution to the creation of a new Europe truly whole and free. The United States places special importance on the consolidation of Ukraine's democracy and independence.[599]

President Bush's meeting with President Leonid Kravchuck of Ukraine on May 6, 1992 signaled the broadening of European borders further to the east in the aftermath of the Soviet collapse. This was the first time the President of Ukraine was visiting the United States[600] and thus it was a defining moment for the American hosts to place the new nation in the map of the world. During the Cold War, Ukraine had been the second largest of the Soviet Republics[601]. As the Soviet Union had been largely considered as non-European[602], it is fair to claim that Ukraine had not been considered part of Europe. The fact that Ukraine had been considered as non-European during the Cold War, or that less than year ago President Bush had not wanted to support Ukrainian independence,[603] did not prevent the naming of Ukraine as part of Europe after the collapse of the Soviet Union. By showing Ukraine as a part of Europe the Bush Administration answered the demands of the people of Ukraine, who looked forward to being part of the West[604]. President Bush's underlining of the role of Ukraine as a valuable source of democracy and freedom for new Europe seems to be in a blatant contradiction with his claim nine months earlier that the independence demands of the Ukrainians were a possible source of local despotism[605]. The nature of politics is, however, irrevocably contradictionary. According to Palonen and Summa, the results of certain policies are unforeseen, relative and open to interpretations, which means that the skill of the politician to act in changing situations is more important than solving any "factual questions"[606]. By warmly welcoming Ukraine to Europe, the Bush Administration was thus reacting to the actual overall change in the polity of the world. The collapse of the Soviet Union meant that the bipolar world order

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[598] Baker 1995, 658; McEvoy-Levy 2001, 97; President Bush's Joint Declaration With President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine May 6, 1992. GBPLM (www).

[599] President Bush's Joint Declaration With President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine May 6, 1992. GBPLM (www).

[600] Ibid.

[601] Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 108.

[602] Jackson 2006, 29; Delanty 1995, 122.

[603] Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 418.

[604] The Ukrainians wanted to take part in the European integration process soon after gaining their independence as they wanted to become a part of "Europe". Karatnycky 1992, 105.

[605] President Bush's Remarks to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of the Ukraine in Kiev, Soviet Union August 1, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[606] Palonen & Summa 1996, 12.

the Bush Administration had wanted to keep alive[607] was gone. The new American dominated world order did not, however, define itself automatically. The Bush Administration needed to draw the borders of the American led world and picture it as positively as possible. This was needed especially in areas that had formerly belonged to the Soviet sphere of interest or the Soviet Union itself like Ukraine. By naming Ukraine as part of Europe and presenting it as democratic, President Bush accepted the former Soviet Republic as an integral part of the new American led world that was following Western values.

At the level of European foreign policy, the inclusion of Ukraine in Europe and thus moving the borders of Europe further east was part of a broad effort of spreading American influence in the former Eastern Europe and Soviet Union. It was started by the Bush Administration and continued during the Clinton era[608]. This spreading of influence was targeted to defend the position of the United States in the future of European security. Countries of the European Community had signed the Maastricht treaty in February 1992, which meant the establishment of the European Union[609]. As part of the deepening Western European integration especially the French had strongly supported the idea of building a common European defense, which the Bush Administration saw as a potential factor in reducing American power in the future of Europe[610]. By seeking new European allies that could be more easily influenced than the Western European countries, the Bush Administration prepared for the possible threat of the deepening Western European integration.

Promoting good relations with Ukraine and tying it to Europe also directly served the military interests of the United States. In the case of Ukraine, the fact that it possessed nuclear weapons its leaders had promised to get rid of[611], was of great interest to the Bush Administration, which wanted to prevent the birth of new nuclear states on the ruins of the Soviet Union[612]. The acceptance of Ukraine to Europe must have been tied to the decision of Ukrainian politicians to denuclearize their country. The democratic European identity in the rhetoric of the President of the United States was one way of rewarding the Ukrainians of their commitment for nuclear non-proliferation. The Bush Administration's de-nuclearization initiatives in former Soviet Republics must also have been connected to the Administration's European foreign policy at a more general level, as new nuclear weapon owner countries could have affected the security of Europe as well. If the leaders of the major non-nuclear European countries such as Germany, Italy and Spain had felt threatened by the possible new

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[607] McEvoy-Levy 2001, 97, 102, 104.
[608] Hoffman 2003, 1031.
[609] Orstrom Moller 1993, 23.
[610] Luoma-Aho 2004, 116-117.
[611] President Bush's Joint Declaration with President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine May 6, 1992. GBPLM (www).
[612] Baker 1995, 658; McEvoy-Levy 2001, 97; President Bush's Joint Declaration with President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine May 6, 1992. GBPLM (www).

nuclear countries, most notably Belarus and Ukraine[613], they could have started arming themselves with nuclear weapons. This would have decreased their dependency on the American nuclear deterrent and security guarantees in general, and would have decreased the position of the United States as the leading European and world power. It was not surprising that the Bush Administration and later the Clinton Administration invested substantial economic assets to the denuclearization of Ukraine[614].

The Old Soviet Republic of Ukraine was not the sole nation whose naming as a European state was in contradiction to the common contents of the concept Europe at the Cold War's end. In his speech of July 21, 1991, President Bush represented Turkey as a European state:

> A decade of free government and free enterprise have made Turkey a rising star of Europe. Politically and economically, Turkey is today a nation transformed. There should be no question that Turkey deserves entry into the European Community and the Western European Union, and Turkey can count on America's strong support. Turkey stands as a model to those who strive for free elections and free markets. Regimes that force a false choice between progress and piety -- between technology and tradition -- stand refuted by your experience. Turkey proves that a nation can build a flourishing democracy and a modern economy, can embrace freedom and tolerance, and still sustain its ancient faiths. Turkey aims at the vision of Ataturk, a vision all around us evident in this city, with its minarets and modern skyscrapers, a vision that marks out Turkey's destiny in the region, in Europe, and in the world beyond.[615]

At the time of Bush's remarks in July 1991, it had been 32 years since the President of the United States had visited Turkey[616]. This meant that Bush's state visit was a remarkable milestone in Turkish-American relations. At the time of Bush's visit, Turkey was preparing itself for the European Community membership meeting of September 20, 1991, which would be held in Brussels[617]. In his speech, President Bush obviously said what his Turkish host President Turgut Özal wanted to hear. Turkey had applied for membership in the European community on April 14, 1987, but was rejected at that time[618]. Two years later on December 18, 1989 the Turkish goverment was told that they could become members after the single market of the European Community starts to work in 1992, if they adjust their economy to the standards of the European Community[619]. In addition, the cultural differences between Turkey and Europe were pointed out during the Turkish membership negotiations of

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[613] At the time of the dissolution of the Soviet Union there were four former Soviet Republics with nuclear capability: Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, and Ukraine. Baker 1995, 658.

[614] President Bush's Joint Declaration With President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine May 6, 1992. GBPLM (www); "Europe's neglect of its own future" 1994, 8.

[615] President Bush's Remarks at a Dinner Hosted By President Turgut Ozal in Istanbul, Turkey July 21, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[616] President Bush's Remarks at the Arrival Ceremony in Ankara, Turkey July 20, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[617] Erdemli 2003, 5

[618] Kütük 2006, 276.

[619] Erdemli 2003, 5.

1989[620]. The Bush Administration's support of the Turkish government in their European Community membership negotiations was tied to the Turkish support against Iraq during the Persian Gulf crisis[621]. In the bitter aftermath of the Gulf War, Turkey had also been helpful for the Bush Administration. In spring of 1991, Saddam Hussein's forces had smashed Kurdish rebellion in Northern Iraq that had been partially provoked by the Bush Administration[622]. The Bush Administration had needed Turkey's support to the United Nations' backed humanitarian missions Operation Provide Comfort and Operation Safe Haven in Northern Iraq to protect the Kurds, thus avoiding even further disgrace to his Administration's Iraqi policy[623]. Interestingly, Turkey had been fighting a brutal war against the Kurd insurgents of Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), and civilians suspected of supporting the movement for years before 1991[624], without any American led intervention to protect them from the Turkish army. Even more interestingly, the Bush Administration did not act to help the Shiite rebels in Southern Iraq, who rebelled almost simultaneously with the Kurds[625]. The Shiia shared the same version of Islamic faith as their fellow believers in Iran, the archenemy of the United States, which can explain the double standards of the Bush Administration in helping Iraqi insurgents[626]. The other likely reason was that the United States did not have such a helpful ally as Turkey bordering Southern Iraq. In addition to supporting Turkey's membership in the European Community, the Bush Administration showed its support for Turkey's membership in the Western European Union[627]. In February 1991 France, Germany, Italy and Spain had proposed the promotion of the Western European Union to the position of a European defense arm for the coming European Union, which had been seen as an attempt to supplement the United States led NATO[628]. The Bush Administration's support to Turkey in its attempts to be recognized as a part of Europe had far-reaching strategic aims. If Turkey had been made a member of the European Community and Western European Union, the United States could have made itself better heard within integrating Europe. The fact that the Western European states were not enthusiastic about the Turkish membership within the European community helped the Americans to strengthen their relationships with the Turks. By showing open support for Turkish membership, the Bush Administration tried to guarantee the future loyalty of Turkey, as one of the important countries east of the EC. If the reluctant Western Europeans had granted the Turks the membership, after delaying the decision for years, the damage to the

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[620]   Kütük 2006, 276.
[621]   Baker 1995, 284.
[622]   David 1996, 207-208.
[623]   Ibid.
[624]   Fuller 1993, 115-116.
[625]   Baker 1995, 439.
[626]   Said 2000, 309-310; Baker 1995, 439.
[627]   President Bush's Remarks at a Dinner Hosted By President Turgut Ozal in Istanbul, Turkey July 21, 1991. GBPLM (www).
[628]   Luoma-Aho 2004, 116-117; Sperling 1994, 271.

relationship would have been already done. The Turks within the European community or Western European Union would have most likely continued to favor their staunch and reliable friend the United States. Loyal Turkey would then give the Americans a backdoor to European matters, which could be used to influence the European Community and Western European Union from within. The close integration of Turkey to Europe would also have meant more responsibility for European countries to take part in the strategically important Middle East where Turkey was an important actor[629].

President Bush portrayed Turkey as an obvious part of Europe. He described Turkey as "a rising star of Europe" and a free European nation[630]. According to President Bush, Turkey was also regaining its historical role as a "trade hub" unifying Europe, Asia and the Middle East[631], which obviously increased its importance further. The fact that Turkey was known for its human right violations[632] did not tarnish its image in President Bush's argumentation. Turkey served as a model country, being an example to the emerging new democracies, which were striving for "free elections and free markets" [633].

The rhetorical role of President Bush speaking on behalf of the Turkish membership in the European Community can be seen to follow the classical "a nation is a person metaphor" that according to Lakoff is a distinguished part of the American culture. The usage of this metaphor explains why there can be rogue states that have a bad character as well as friendly nations. The nation as a person metaphor also explains why the Americans are able to speak about the national interest, or keeping the country healthy (economically) and strong (militarily).[634] Seeing the nations of the world as people also means that "there are adult nations and child nations, where adulthood is industrialization". The backward child nations are called developing nations or underdeveloped states. As the United States is the best and most powerful country in the world it has a moral authority to punish the child nations, tell them how they could develop themselves as well as what rules they should follow.[635] If we look at the way President Bush described Turkey as part of Europe, we can see that the setting resembled a parent speaking on behalf of one his children, whom his brothers had bullied. Bush comforted the Turks, who had been neglected, and implicitly condemned the shortsightedness of the Western Europeans, who had not understood that Turkey was a part of the same democratic free world. To Lakoff, the republicanism that President Bush represented is a political ideology depicted by the strict father morality and values[636]. Lakoff claims that: "just as

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[629]   Kuniholm 1991, 40-41; Aras & Bicakci 2006, 370-371.
[630]   President Bush's Remarks at a Dinner Hosted By President Turgut Ozal in Istanbul, Turkey July 21, 1991. GBPLM (www).
[631]   Ibid.
[632]   Moïsi 1999, 47.
[633]   President Bush's Remarks at a Dinner Hosted By President Turgut Ozal in Istanbul, Turkey July 21, 1991. GBPLM (www)
[634]   Lakoff 2004, 10-11, 69.
[635]   Lakoff 2004, 10-11.
[636]   Lakoff 2002, 33, 70-72.

the strict father has a duty to support and protect his family, so those who have risen to the top have responsibility to exercise their legitimate authority for the benefit of all under their authority". This means that maintaining order and defending authority is important, as authority is needed to protect those under one's authority. By emphasizing the right of Turkey for the membership in the European Community, President Bush was not solely helping the Turks but he was defending the authority of the United States to lead the West and define what would be the best for it. According to Lakoff, the strict father morality presumes that helping those under your authority means showing a proper discipline that right kind of people are raised. This will benefit those under your authority and it is ultimately the right thing to do.[637] By underlining the progress of democracy and economy combined successfully with the "ancient faiths" in Turkey[638], President Bush portrayed Turkey as a country, which was following the proper moral discipline determined by the United States. As such it deserved its place as an equal partner in Europe and in the West.

7.3 Balkans and Baltics – Excluding Regions from Europe

The Bush Administration did not only expand the American sphere of influence by rhetorical inclusion of new areas to Europe. Rhetorical exclusion or separation was needed from time to time to keep problems out of the American defined Europe. During the years 1989-1993, especially problematic issues for the Bush Administration's European foreign policy were the independence struggle of the Baltic States, the Yugoslavian civil war and the divide of Cyprus. These problems needed cautious geopolitical circumlocution. According to Sami Moisio geopolitical actors are participating in political struggles by verbally building regions and establishing collective identities and borders[639]. To avoid entanglement in difficult inter-European conflicts the Bush Administration used geopolitical definitions that distanced the United States from them. By the exclusion of certain problematic areas from Europe to special geographical regions the Bush Administration erected political borders that set the limits for American responsibilities in Europe. The process of geo-graphying Europe to follow the interests and commitments of the United States can be easily spotted in President Bush's remarks December 12, 1991 to the Prime Minister of Greece Constantinos Mitsotakis:

> America sees Greece as a partner in meeting many of the challenges that cross borders and threaten the peace: terrorism, international drug trade, ethnic conflict. In the Balkans, in the new Europe, in Cyprus, Greece remains a factor for stability, a

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[637]   Lakoff 2002, 70.
[638]   President Bush's Remarks at a Dinner Hosted By President Turgut Ozal in Istanbul, Turkey July 21, 1991. GBPLM (www).
[639]   Moisio 2003, 34.

champion of human rights, a partner in the quest to forge a new world order: peaceful, prosperous, and free.[640]

Bush mentioned "the Balkans", Cyprus, and new Europe as separate entities. By picturing Greece as an important actor in the Balkans, new Europe and Cyprus, President Bush broke Europe into geographical regions according to the borderlines of conflicts, with which the political leadership of the United States did not want to be too closely entangled. Cyprus was divided between two nations of the West, the Greeks and the Turks[641] and in the Balkans Yugoslavia was disintegrating violently[642]. The separation of regions with ongoing military conflict from new Europe was meant to help to avoid the impression that two severe conflicts would be part of the American defined new Europe and thus to be under American responsibility. By underlining the partnership between the United States and Greece in the new world order and the regions of conflict the Bush Administration shared the responsibility of these conflicts with its ally. To show responsibility connected with the leadership position of the West, President Bush promised to help arrange the meeting of reconciliation of disputes between the two western nations Greece and Turkey[643]. The conflict in the Balkans was nevertheless a different matter. In his remarks of December 12, 1991, President Bush pressed the role of the European Community to overcome the conflict and promised American support for European initiatives[644]. The Bush Administrion had no interest in interfering in this conflict as it formed no threat to the strategic interests of the United States and, according to James Baker, the main responsibility for resolving the conflict was seen to belong to the Europeans[645].

The former Yugoslavia and Cyprus were not the only geopolitical regions in Europe that needed sophisticated foreign policy argumentation. The question of the Baltic states; Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania was geopolitically difficult during 1989-1991 and from time to time it seemed that these countries were in limbo between Europe and the Soviet Union:

> I'm unhappy about the state of play in the Baltics because I'd like to see them obtain their desire of freedom as soon as possible. But I feel it's important from our standpoint, the important standpoint of Eastern European countries and Western European allies and, indeed, the whole world, that we have these discussions with Mr. Gorbachev.[646]

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[640]   President Bush's Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis of Greece December 12, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[641]   Ibid.

[642]   Baker 1995, 637-638.

[643]   President Bush's Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis of Greece December 12, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[644]   President Bush's Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis of Greece December 12, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[645]   Baker 1995, 636-637.

[646]   President Bush's News Conference May 16, 1990. GBPLM (www).

In President Bush's speech, the Baltics were a separate question, a special case, which needed to be handled carefully and evaluated in the light of American, Soviet, Eastern European and Western European interests. When Bush gave his remarks on May 16, 1990, the situation in the Baltic States was extremely tense and it had negatively affected the superpower relations[647]. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania had *de facto* proclaimed their independence between March and early May of 1990[648]. The Gorbachev regime had responded by using economic sanctions against the Baltic States in April 1990[649]. The Bush Administration had not immediately sanctioned the Soviet Union in response[650]. Actually, the Bush Administration had used an extremely moderate tone when speaking about the independence seeking Republics, which led the Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis to accuse the superpowers of another Munich[651]. According to Bush and Scowcroft, strong countermeasures were not taken in spring 1990, as they would have undermined the position of Gorbachev, who was being heavily criticized by the Communist Party hardliners and the army[652]. Aggressive American foreign policy in the Baltic area could have looked like meddling in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union[653]. To solve the Baltic crisis President Bush even met the Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene at the beginning of May and tried to assure her of the importance of a cautious approach[654]. Bush told Prunskiene that too strong American reaction on behalf of the Lithuanian independence could compromise the future prospects of Eastern Europe, as well as arms reductions[655]. Despite the fact that the Bush Administration remained relatively neutral, it had frozen, after the initiative of the Congress, the Most Favoured Nation status of the Soviet Union on May 1, 1990[656]. The Bush Administration also showed moral support for the Baltic States through the years 1989-1991 whenever representing the Baltic States as captive nations just like the Eastern European countries[657].

The placement of the Baltic countries into a special category reflected inaction by the Bush Administration. It also meant admitting their right to exist on the geopolitical map of Europe. According to Korhonen, any political organization that is unable to essentialize its central names will be unsuccessful in legitimating its policies and even its existence[658]. The leaders of the Baltic States had been successful in legitimating their countries as a special case

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[647]   President Bush's News Conference May 16, 1990. GBPLM (www).
[648]   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 196, 210.
[649]   David 1996, 215.
[650]   David 1996, 215.
[651]   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 203, 205-206; Bush 1998, 226.
[652]   Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 221; Bush 1998, 222.
[653]   David 1996, 214-215.
[654]   Bush 1998, 228-229.
[655]   Bush 1998, 229.
[656]   Bush 1998, 226-227.
[657]   President Bush's Remarks at a Ceremony Commemorating Captive Nations Week July 21, 1989; President Bush's Remarks at a Ceremony Commemorating Captive Nations Week July 25, 1990. GBPLM (www).
[658]   Korhonen 2009, 3.

within the Soviet Union and thus they could argue effectively on behalf of their independence. Historically the Baltic States had been closely connected with Sweden, Germany, and Poland, which helped in giving them a special status. Nevertheless, over the course of history the Baltic States had been under Russian rule as well[659]. After a short period of independence in the interwar period the Soviet Union had annexed the Baltic States in 1940, which had never been accepted by the United States. It was actually an effective argument for the Balts to pressurize the Bush Administration to give support[660]. The situation in the "Baltics", however, was not similar to Eastern Europe, as at the time of President Bush remarks on May 16, 1990 Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were still officially Soviet Republics. The inflammable nature of the Baltic question was complicated as the Baltic countries were strategically important to the Soviet Union[661]. The Baltic countries were also small and had large Russian minorities, which made the question even more sensitive[662].

During the rest of 1990 and the first half of 1991, the Bush Administration avoided open confrontation in the Baltic question. The Bush Administration even took a relatively neutral stance towards the Gorbachev regime's use of force against demonstrators in Lithuanian and Latvian capitals in January 1991[663]. Recognition of the independence of the Baltic States did not move forward until the coup of Communist Party hardliners in Moscow August 19-21, 1991. During the coup, the Baltic States proclaimed their independence again[664]. Even though the coup had wrecked the position of President Gorbachev and the Soviet Union as credible international actors[665], the Bush Administration did not recognize the independence of the Baltic States. Only after Gorbachev had promised to recognize the independence of the Baltic States by the end of August 1991 and then failed to do so by the target date prompted the Bush Administration to act on September 2, 1991[666].

The special position of the Baltic States on the geopolitical map did not end with the recognition of their independence:

> The Baltic peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and their democratically elected governments have declared their independence and are moving now to control their own national territories and their own destinies. The United States has always supported the independence of the Baltic States and is now prepared immediately to establish diplomatic relations with their governments. The United States is also prepared to do whatever it can to assist in the completion of the current process of making Baltic independence a factual reality. To facilitate this, I will be sending the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Kamman, to the Baltics.[667]

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[659]   Sotsokov 2007, 105.
[660]   David 1996, 214-215.
[661]   See for example Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 197; Bildt 1994, 76-78
[662]   Bildt 1994, 78-79.
[663]   David 1996, 215; "Chronology 1991" 1991, 195-196.
[664]   "Chronology 1991" 1991, 201.
[665]   David 1996, 216; Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 438.
[666]   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 443-444.
[667]   President Bush's News Conference in Kennebunkport, Maine September 2, 1991. GBPLM (www).

In President Bush's remarks of September 2, 1991 Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were portrayed as sovereign and free to choose their "own destinies" and control their "own territories". Nevertheless, President Bush did not invite the Baltic States to join a bigger geopolitical category, such as Europe, or new Europe[668]. Bush's remarks portrayed the Baltic States as a special case among the former Soviet Republics[669]. By this definition, the Bush Administration aimed to lower the speed of the disintegration of the Soviet Union, because it was seen as a possible source of instability[670]. If the Baltic States had been welcomed triumphantly into the new Europe, this might have lured other independence seeking Soviet Republics to follow their example. This in turn would have put the Soviet central government in a difficult position. The limited geopolitical status of the Baltic States can also have meant a tacit recognition of special Russian interests in the region. Russia was going to be the successor of the Soviet Union and the Baltic States had substantial Russian minorities[671], which meant that it was wiser for the Bush Administration to keep the image of the Baltic States neutral, rather than adding them to the list of liberated Eastern European countries. Something of the significance of the Russian interests in the former Soviet Union is characterized by the term "near abroad" that Russian politicians have used to legitimate their policies in the areas that had belonged to the Soviet Union[672]. In the Baltic States, this meant that Russia tried to slow down the withdrawal of its troops, whose presence were seen essential for Russian military interests and the defence of the rights of the Russian minorities[673]. In September 2, 1991, President Bush promised to send only a low-ranking official, Deputy Secretary of State Curtis Kamman, to the Baltic States. Moreover, Bush's remarks did not contain information that would have clarified which of the Baltic States Kamman was going to visit first[674], as if the Baltic States were one categorical entity. The bunching up of these states into an internally undifferentiated region is a clear indicator of their minor importance. Actually, in the Bush Administration's foreign policy rhetoric of 1989-1991 there were only the United States and the Soviet Union whose proper names were systematically emphasized. The rest of the world was often categorized into groups like Renegade regimes, African nations, South America, Eastern Europe, and Western Europe[675]. Nevertheless, in

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[668] President Bush's News Conference in Kennebunkport, Maine September 2, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[669] Ibid.

[670] Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 443, 445.

[671] Bildt 1994, 78-79.

[672] Bildt 1994, 76, 80-82.

[673] Bildt 1994, 77-78

[674] President Bush's News Conference in Kennebunkport, Maine September 2, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[675] President Bush's Remarks at the Boston University Commencement Ceremony in Massachusetts May 21, 1989; President Bush's News Conference in Tokyo February 25, 1989; President Bush's Remarks to the United Nations Security Council in New York City January 31, 1992; President Bush Having Toasts at the State Dinner for Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom May 14, 1991. GBPLM (www).

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bilateral meetings between President Bush and representatives of less powerful countries, even the smallest of them was of course appreciated with the best compliments[676], and the independent Baltic States were no exception[677].

Naming of the Balkans, Cyprus and Baltics as separate from New Europe was not just a convenient way of putting the problematic regions of Europe out of the direct responsibility of the United States. These geopolitical definitions were needed to open up space for separate narratives that could be used to legitimize American foreign policy. According to Kuusisto "when foreign policy leaders wish to make statements on international issues, they first have to create the issue as a foreign policy issue, then name and define it, and finally, connect it to an explanatory story with a desired ending"[678]. In the case of Baltics, Balkans and Cyprus the issues were already in the foreign policy agenda and thus they did not need to be politicized. Only the Bush Administration's foreign policy actions had to be legitimized. The narratives that the Bush Administration chose to picture American relations to Balkans and Cyprus emphasized the meaning of sharing responsibility with Greece and Western Europe. Later, when the civil war on Balkans raged more heavily the Bush Administration started to use a narrative that pictured the conflict in Balkans to be unfortunate, but too chaotic for the USA to become entangled with[679]. In the case of the Baltic States the Bush Administration used the narrative of cautious support that kept the Baltic claim for independence legitimate, but left the timing of it open ended. After the Soviet Union had ceased to exist in the latter half of 1991, the Bush Administration openly recognized the independence of the Baltic States, which ended the main part of his less popular foreign policy narrative, but did not end the special category of Baltic States in the geopolitical map of Europe. Naming of the problematic regions out of the success story of New Europe[680] was meant to keep the image of the Bush Administration's European foreign policy untarnished, despite the problems that actually existed.

In addition to the case-based narratives, there were also grand narratives, which were used to argue on behalf of the overall lines of foreign policy. These grand narratives can be also called frames. According to Lakoff the political usage of frames is meant to set the limits of argumentation by controlling political debates by the usage of metaphors that are able to evoke strong cultural images on behalf of a certain policy, and at the same time make the

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676   President Bush's Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters Following Discussions With President Mauno Koivisto of Finland May 7, 1991; President Bush Having Toasts at the State Dinner for Queen Margrethe II of Denmark February 20, 1991. GBPLM (www).

677   President Bush's Remarks to Representatives of the Baltic States September 11, 1991. GBPLM (www).

678   Kuusisto 1999, 28.

679   Kuusisto 1999, 9-10.

680   President Bush's Remarks Following Discussions With President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia February 20, 1990. GBPLM (www); President Bush's Remarks at a Ceremony Granting Most-Favored-Nation Trade Status to Hungary October 26, 1989. GBPLM (www). See also McEvoy-Levy 2001, 48.

language of political opponents look incoherent or immoral, whereas the policy of the "framer" is shown to be the only possible choice representing common sense[681]. According to Lakoff, framing is not solely about language, but is predominantly about ideas, as framing is meant to create language that fits the worldview of the audience[682]. To achieve this goal, language must carry and evoke ideas that are beneficial for the politician's cause[683].

The Bush Administration used at least three different frames in its European foreign policy 1989-1993. First frame was the Cold War, with its clear dualism of world order and rhetorical competition, such as politicking with the common European house versus Europe whole and free. The Cold War frame quickly became old as it did not fit in the context of contemporary world affairs, such a General Secretary Gorbachev's arms reduction proposals. The second frame the Bush Administration introduced was that of neutral negotiator, which legitimized the Soviet Union as a political actor and underlined the meaning of co-operation in ending the Cold War. The starting point for this frame was a summit meeting in Malta in December 1989, where the superpower leaders found a common tone[684]. The third frame was initiated during the building of the international coalition against Iraq, at the beginning of the Persian Gulf crisis in the latter half of 1990. This frame established the new world order[685], and underlined American victory of the Cold War. At the same time it was meant to legitimize American world leadership by offering peace, prosperity and freedom to the world[686]. The role of the superpowers in the new world order was to act together to overcome the world's problems[687], as long as the Soviet Union existed. Depicting the Balkans, Cyprus and the Baltics as separate entities in the geopolitical map of Europe answered the immediate demands of the actual issues of world politics. Yet it was also a matter of polity rhetoric meant to defend the frames of neutral negotiator and the new world order, which the Bush Administration considered as established polities within the world. According to the latter two frames, the Soviet Union was worth keeping together. The new world order frame in addition emphasized the meaning of sharing the security responsibilities within the West instead of unilateral American action for achieving peace in the world.

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[681]   Lakoff 2002, 3-6; Lakoff 2005, xv, 4, 24.
[682]   Lakoff 2005, 4.
[683]   Ibid.
[684]   Bush 1998, 164, 167; David 1996, 214.
[685]   Kuusisto 1999, 90.
[686]   President Bush's Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis of Greece December 12, 1991. GBPLM (www).
[687]   Bush 1998, 361-362, Èlie 2007, 229-230.

8   SOVIET THREAT IN TRANSITION 1989–1991

The Soviet threat had been the central cornerstone for the American foreign policy since George F. Kennan's "Long Telegram" from Moscow in 1946, which had described the Soviets as seeking world revolution and conflict with the capitalist states.[688]. Naming the Soviet Union and communism as an enemy was meant to serve the interests of the United States abroad[689], but it was also meant to prevent disaffected American minority groups from using communism in disturbing the balance of the society[690]. Western Europe also took the Soviet threat seriously and by 1947 the British were organizing joint Western European defense, where the United States was meant to participate to some extent[691]. According to Jackson the role of the United States in the new Western European defense structure was complicated. There was a need to get formal commitment from the Americans but this was hard as British initiatives such as the "Western Union" consisted only of European countries and American formal participation was hard to legitimate[692]. To overcome this problem the idea of a broader community of Western civilization was created[693]. The concept of Western civilization was a rhetorical commonplace that consisted of the United States, Canada, and Western Europe, which were portrayed as sharing "a common cultural community with millenia-old roots in classical Greece"[694]. According to Jackson, the role of the United States within the Western civilization was to be its savior from communism, which made America exceptional within the geopolitical grouping[695]. By saving the rest of the West from communism, the United States was fulfilling the "American mission", namely supporting democratic regimes internationally[696]. The area of the West

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[688]   Harle 2000, 89.
[689]   Bacevich 2002, 4.
[690]   Jackson 2006, 57.
[691]   Jackson 2006, 216-217.
[692]   Ibid.
[693]   Jackson 2006, 217.
[694]   Jackson 2006, ix.
[695]   Jackson 2006, 217.
[696]   Jackson 2006, 59.

was broadened during the Cold War years and as early as 1948 Turkey was made part of the Western defense perimeter[697]. In the later stages of the Cold War all capitalist industrial countries that opposed the Soviet led East could be portrayed as Western[698], which nevertheless did not hinder the fact that the core of the West remained Northern America and Western Europe[699]. In the latter half of 1980s, the Cold War tensions were relaxing as General Secretary Mikhael Gorbachev introduced his reformative foreign policies. Within the West, Western European leaders received with suspicion the ideas of Gorbachev, but this suspicion turned towards acceptance, which the Reagan Administration joined by 1988[700]. When President Bush took office in 1989, the rationale of the Soviet enemy that had been integral in maintaining group cohesion within the American led West, and in stabilizing the American social order, was fast losing ground. This caused a severe crisis in American foreign policy[701].

The Bush Administration's answer to this difficult situation was to continue to follow the Cold War logic of East-West confrontation. Some scholars have pointed heavy criticism towards the Bush Administration's slow actions in ending the Cold War[702], these critics; however, often seem to forget that the contemporaries were not able to see the whole range of events while they were taking place. There was no way the members of the Bush Administration could foresee the tearing down of the Berlin wall or the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the context of early 1989, there was no saying whether the Cold War really was over. Thus, the Cold War was still largely existent in the Bush Administration's foreign policy discourse[703]. Actually, the Bush Administration kept a somewhat suspicious view of Soviet intentions throughout the years 1989-1991 and only after the Soviet Union was in a severe state of disorder did the Bush Administration give its full support to President Gorbachev[704].

The reasons for the Bush Administration's slowness in handling changes in Soviet policies at the end of the Cold War can be found in the nature of the conflict that by 1989 had lasted over 40 years. During the four decades, the Cold warriors of the East and West had spoken about the end of the Cold War on various occasions and by the 1980s, speaking of it seemed to have become nothing more than a cliché[705]. Part of the Bush Administration's suspicion towards the Soviet intentions must have been derived from the mistaken calculations of the intelligence about Soviet foreign policy, which was estimated

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[697] Jackson 2006, 173.

[698] Hummel 2000, 12.

[699] Lewis & Wigen 1997, 7.

[700] About Western European reactions see Rey 2004, 53-55; About Reagan see Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 9.

[701] Harle 2000, 94.

[702] David 1996, 211, 213; Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 469; Bacevich 2002, 57.

[703] Also the American general public had suspicious views about ending the Cold War. A majority of Americans 55 per cent considered the Cold War still ongoing in April 1990. McEvoy-Levy 2004, 41.

[704] David 1996, 213-216.

[705] Stephenson 1995, 122.

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to be more aggressive than it actually was[706]. President Bush had himself led intelligence actions on the Soviet Union while working as the director of Central Intelligence Agency in 1976-1977[707]. Bush's performance in this role had been rather weak, which may be a factor in explaining the Bush Administration's suspicion[708]. While he was director Bush accepted the creation of a special "Team B" outside of the CIA that was highly critical of the common CIA analysis, which suggested that the severity of the Soviet threat was lower than what the highest estimates about it represented[709]. According to Raymond Garthoff, Bush's "Team B" rejected objectivity and followed the hard-line view that a dangerous Soviet Union tried to achieve world domination, which led to disappointing results in improving the estimations of processes within the Soviet Union[710]. The ranks of the Bush Administration were also divided over the treatment of the Soviet Union[711]. Vice-President James Quayle and Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, for instance, were strongly skeptical of Soviet intentions and so were Bush's National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft[712]. On the other hand, the Secretary of State James Baker was more eager to emphasize the profoundness of General Secretary Gorbachev's policies though he had some reservations as well[713]. In his memoirs, President Bush states that he was not as skeptical towards Gorbachev's actions as was the rest of his team though he has also admitted to having been cautious in his actions[714]. The Bush Administration was not only skeptical of Gorbachev's intentions, but also of his possibilities to stay in power[715]. Intelligence reports of the time were picturing a hard economic situation and weakening of internal cohesion of the Soviet Union[716]. The official line of the Bush Administration, however, was that Gorbachev's position was not threatened[717], and a scandal emerged in Soviet-American relations when the Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney publicly expressed doubts on Gorbachev's chances of staying in power on CNN's interview April 29, 1989[718]. In the light of President Bush's hard-line background, the inability of the intelligence to find a common stance about Soviet intentions, the split within the ranks of the Bush Administration and doubt on the stability of General Secretary Gorbachev's position, it was no

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[706]   Garthoff R. 2003, (www); Garthoff D. 2003, (www).
[707]   Garthoff R. 2003, (www).
[708]   Ibid.
[709]   Ibid.
[710]   Ibid.
[711]   Baker 1995, 69.
[712]   Scowcroft 1998, 13, 154-155.
[713]   Baker 1995, 69-70.
[714]   Bush 1998, 9.
[715]   Cox & Hurst 2002, 130; Baker 1995, 70.
[716]   National Intelligence Estimate "Trends and Developments in Warsaw Pact Theater Forces and Doctrine Through the 1990s". February 1989, 267; National Intelligence Estimate "Soviet Policy Toward the West: The Gorbachev Challenge". April 1989, 234. CFSI - *At Cold War's End: US Intelligence on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, 1989-1991* (www); Baker 1995, 62.
[717]   Baker 1995, 70.
[718]   Ibid.

wonder that President Bush chose a conservative path in Soviet relations. Moreover, as the existence of the Soviet Union had also legitimated the American role as the leader of Western Europe[719] and the West[720].

In the European foreign policy of the United States, Gorbachev's initiatives to end the superpower confrontation had challenged the unity of the West by 1988-89, as they were immensely popular in winning the hearts of the Western Europeans[721]. The fear of possible closer Soviet–Western European relationship must have been somewhat deepened by the fact that Bush's predecessor's foreign policy had been quite unpopular among Western European leaders and citizens, except in Margaret Thatcher's Britain[722]. Reagan's policy to confront the Soviets with new arms programs, among them the expensive Strategic Defense Initiate (SDI) and other measures to restore American power[723], had been seen to have deepened the cold war instead of releasing its tensions[724]. However, the last part of Reagan era saw the first signs of the melting of the cold conflict from the American side[725]. In comparison to Gorbachev's initiatives Reagan's policies did, nevertheless remain unpopular in Western Europe[726]. When President Bush took office, he inherited the problematic relations with Western Europe. According to Bush's memoirs, Reagan had had especially cold relations with the French President Francois Mitterand[727]. Relations between West Germany and Washington were shadowed by the question of modernizing NATO's short-range nuclear weapons (SNF), situated in West Germany. The majority of West Germans were fiercely opposed to these weapons. The West Germans considered Gorbachev to be a better hope for peace in Europe[728].

Instead of following Reagan's path of open reconciliation with the Soviets, Bush turned American foreign policies towards caution[729]. In the first half of the year 1989, the Soviet Union was considered a formidable military power in the Bush Administration's security estimates[730]. This view was also projected in foreign policy argumentation that portrayed the Soviet Union and the Warsaw pact as threats to the world and to Western Europe:

> Q. A reduction of conventional arms is said to be the top priority of the Bush administration in the U.S.-Soviet arms negotiations. What is your response to

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[719] Bacevich 2002, 103.
[720] Jackson 2006, 217.
[721] Rey 2004, 54-55.
[722] Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 67, 69-70.
[723] LaFeber 1994, 157.
[724] Olson 1986, 833, Élie 2007, 161-163.
[725] Arkin, Cochran, Fieldhouse & Norris 1989, 3
[726] Yost 1988, 277-278.
[727] Bush 1998, Bush 76-77.
[728] Bush 1998, Bush 77; Cox & Hurst 2002, 131.
[729] Scowcroft 1998, 46; Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 46-47; Bush 1998, 9. Èlie 2007, 167.
[730] National Security Review: Review of National Defense Strategy 12 March 3, 1989, 2-3; National Security Directive 23 U.S. Relations with the Soviet Union September 22, 1989, 2-4. GBPLM (www).

President Gorbachev's announcement to cut 500,000 Soviet troops? Do you foresee a U.S.-Soviet summit by next summer?

The President. It is true that a major priority of my administration is in the area of conventional arms control. Thus we welcome and look forward to the Negotiations on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE). We, along with our NATO allies, will seek in CFE to enhance stability and security at a lower level of forces. To that end, NATO will seek the elimination of the Warsaw Pact's substantial superiority in Europe. Accordingly, we welcome the announcement of Soviet force reductions as a positive step in the right direction and look forward to the full implementation of the force cuts described by Chairman Gorbachev. Even with these reductions, however, the Warsaw Pact has far to go to correct the conventional forces imbalance in Europe.[731]

At the time of his remarks on February 16, 1989, George Bush had been the President of the United States less than a month and the forming of foreign policy towards the Soviet Union was still under construction[732]. General Secretary Gorbachev had made a bold initiative at the end of the Reagan presidency. In his address to the United Nations General Assembly in New York on December 7, 1988 Gorbachev had promised to unilaterally withdraw 500 000 Soviet troops and 5000 thousand tanks from Europe[733]. According to Raymond Garthoff, the implementation of this promise would have meant a great cut in Soviet offensive capability in the European theater[734]. On the other hand, the CIA had seen Gorbachev's move as a way of buying time for the Soviet military, which was suffering from the economic hardships of the Soviet economy[735]. The CIA's National Intelligence Estimates suggested that after the Soviets had been able to revive their economy they would turn towards more militaristic foreign policy, and all western actions to lower defense readiness would only help the Soviets in the long term[736]. In addition, President Bush's National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft was highly skeptical about the unilateral Soviet troop cuts, considering them militarily insignificant[737].

President Bush's words of February 16, 1989 represented typical polity argumentation that was meant for maintaining the Cold War *status quo* of confrontation, whereas General Secretary Gorbachev's proposal to unilaterally cut troop levels had been a politicization move that had undermined the legitimacy of the existing Cold War frame[738]. The Bush Administration, however, had interpreted Gorbachev's move as performative politicking that was just meant to drive a wedge between the United States and its Western European allies[739], while the Cold War *status quo* would remain intact[740]. To

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[731] President Bush's Written Responses to Questions Submitted by the Kyodo News Service of Japan February 16, 1989. GBPLM (www).
[732] Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 46-47.
[733] Garthoff R. 2003, (www).
[734] Garthoff R. 2003, (www).
[735] Garthoff R. 2003 (www).
[736] Ibid.
[737] Scowcroft 1998, 13-14.
[738] The meaning of polity and politicization see Palonen 1993, 13, 11.
[739] Bush 1998, 8-9; Baker 1995, 45, 70.
[740] The role of Politicking see Palonen 1993, 11

overcome Gorbachev's challenge to the integrity of the West, President Bush stressed the role of co-operation between the United States and its "NATO allies", and changed the focus from the unilateral Soviet troop cuts to the overall picture, where the Warsaw Pact still had "substantial superiority in Europe". Bush was taking precautions for the upcoming Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) negotiations. His argument was aimed to clarify that the Soviet Union could not get rid of future reduction claims in the CFE negotiations by simply lowering troop levels beforehand[741]. President Bush also emphasized the word "we" in his remarks. According to Kuusisto we-talk is used "to bridge the distance between the speaker and the audience", and "to create a sense of community and to convey a picture of personal involvement, caring and commitment on the part of the orator"[742]. In Bush's remarks of February 16, 1989, the word "we" mostly implied the Bush Administration. However, it was also used to picture the relations between the United States and Western European nations. By using the subject we, and emphasizing the role of the NATO allies, President Bush signaled to his audience that his Administration's foreign policy represented the common interest of the United States and Western European countries. The Bush Administration's reserved reaction to General Secretary Gorbachev's initiative might be seen as an underestimation of the meaning of the Soviet initiative. It can be also seen as a gesture of power, which emphasized that the United States was in a position where it was able to keep its own defense powerful, while the weakening but unreliable Soviets had to lower theirs to convince the West of their sincerity[743].

Western audiences, which towards the end of the Reagan era had been used to hear that the Cold War was about to end, did not want to hear that the Soviet threat still existed. Instead of answering the Soviet gesture of reconciliation, the Bush Administration had given listings of correct troop levels and weapons systems, which made the United States, appear as the party that wanted to continue the conflict. The fact that General Secretary Gorbachev had become a political phenomenon in the West made President Bush's argumentation look even worse. During 1989, "Gorbymania" was high. In Western Europe, polls showed that Gorbachev was the most popular statesman of the 20th century[744]. In the United States TIME –magazine nominated him the man of the decade[745]. Chairman Gorbachev was also given the Nobel peace prize in 1990[746]. Ironically, the Bush Administration seemed to be winning the Cold War, but losing its final battle.

During the spring of 1989, the Bush Administration was unable to launch a plan that could have taken the initiative from General Secretary Gorbachev in the publicity struggle. This inaction led to a situation where Western media started to

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[741]   Baker 1995, 90.
[742]   Kuusisto 1999, 129.
[743]   Cox & Hurst 2002, 129-130.
[744]   CIA 1999, "1989: The Year that Changed the World".
[745]   Ibid.
[746]   Ibid.

blame the Bush Administration for lack of vision[747]. To defend his policies Bush continuously emphasized the meaning of taking a prudent approach[748]:

> "You'd better hurry up. You don't want Mr. Gorbachev to capture the high ground with his speech at the United Nations, don't want him to mold public opinion further in Europe." Far more important is that we do a prudent review of our foreign policy, of our national security requirements, and then -- in concert with our allies -- move forward. We are prepared to lead this alliance, as the United States has in the past. But I am not going to be pushed into speedy action because Mr. Gorbachev gives a compelling speech at the United Nations, and I hope the Soviets understand that.[749]

According to Bush's remarks in March 16, 1989, prudent view of United States' foreign policy and "national security requirements" formed the base of the Western answer to General Secretary Gorbachev's initiatives. President Bush was underlining the view that the Soviet threat to some extent still existed and the United States was needed to lead the "concert" of allies. Again Bush turned direct criticisms away from his presidency by using the we talk[750]. When Bush stated, "We are prepared to lead this alliance, as the United States has in the past" he signaled that he was speaking on behalf of his whole nation. According to Morgenthau, citizens of great power feel pride and a sense of power by mere belonging to a nation that is more powerful than the others[751]. It was this idea of empowerment of the people through the nation's greatness, which Bush used by portraying the Americans as prudent decision makers, who evaluate their own assets first. The use of the we talk did not, however, mean that President Bush would have given-up his role as the leader of his nation. Bush clearly portrayed that he had made his mind and he was not "going to be pushed into speedy action" because of Gorbachev's "compelling speech". President Bush's argumentation that combined the elements of communal we talk with the underlining of the presidential power, seems contradictory. According to Kuusisto, however, the leaders of major Western powers want to appear "both as powerful and independent international actors and as teammates capable of cooperation, as leaders with clear visions concerning the future and as attentive listeners to the sentiments of their people[752]". For Kuusisto, the readiness of the Western leaders "to explain, persuade and to convince in ever new ways suggests that they attached more importance to the opinions of others than they were willing to directly admit"[753]. According to her, Western leaders are dependent on popular support and high-handed decision making will backfire during the elections at the latest[754]. According to Neustadt, the President of the

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[747] Scowcroft 1998, 46-47, 83.
[748] Preisdent Bush's Remarks at the Annual Conference of the Veterans of Foreign Wars March 6 1989; President Bush's News Conference With President Mitterrand of France May 21 1989. GBPLM (www).
[749] President Bush's Remarks at a Luncheon Hosted by the Forum Club in Houston, Texas March 16, 1989. GBPLM (www).
[750] For the definition of the we talk see Kuusisto 1999, 129.
[751] Morgenthau 1978, 108-109.
[752] Kuusisto 1999, 128.
[753] Ibid.
[754] Ibid.

United States has a wide array of formal powers, which cannot help him, if he just tries to give orders. Despite his status, the President does not get action without argument[755]. President Bush was thus trying to persuade the American audience to accept his cautious line of foreign policy, by underlining the Cold War frame that emphasized national and Western security. The credibility of this frame was, nevertheless, becoming harder and harder to defend, as General Secretary Gorbachev's initiatives had been successful in politicizing the prevailing status quo. His policies removed the "fear factor" from the superpower relations[756], which made Bush's Cold War style politicking with numerical troop levels seem out of context.

The Bush Administration continued its cautious foreign policy towards the Soviet Union almost to the end of 1989. It was only after mutual discussions between the superpower leaders on December 2-3, 1989 in Malta, preceded by negotiations between Secretary of State James Baker and Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze, which led to the ultimate change in the Bush Administration's tone in foreign policy[757]. According to Bush, Scowcroft and Baker the importance of Malta was that it convinced President Bush of the genuineness of Chairman Gorbachev's intentions and vice versa, which had far-reaching consequences on the East-West relations[758]. After Malta, the Bush Administration started to show open support for the policies of Chairman Gorbachev[759], and occasionally Bush proclaimed the idea of East-West confrontation in Europe obsolete[760]. Despite the diminishing tensions, the Soviet threat did not completely disappear from the Bush Administration's foreign policy. The possible revival of the Soviet threat was written in the National Security Strategy of the United States, published in March 1990[761]. Even after the Soviets had accepted that the unified Germany would join NATO in July 1990, which was a major victory for the West[762], President Bush portrayed the Soviet Union as a potential threat to the security of the United States:

> Our strategy will guard against a major reversal in Soviet intentions by incorporating into our planning the concept of reconstitution of our forces. By the mid-nineties the time it would take the Soviets to return to the levels of confrontation that marked the depths of the cold war will be sufficient to allow us to rely not solely on existing forces but to generate wholly new forces.[763]

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[755]   Neustadt 1990, 11.

[756]   MCevoy-Levy 2001, 33.

[757]   McEvoy-Levy 2001, 48; David 1996, 214; Élie 2007, 170-171.

[758]   Bush 1998. 173; Scowcroft 1998, 173. See also Baker 1995, 170.

[759]   President Bush's News Conference Following the Houston Economic Summit July 11, 1990; President Bush's News Conference May 3, 1990; President Bush's Remarks at the Oklahoma State University Commencement Ceremony in Stillwater May 4, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[760]   President Bush's News Conference February 12, 1990; President Bush's Remarks at the Oklahoma State University Commencement Ceremony in Stillwater May 4 1990. GBPLM (www).

[761]   National Security Strategy of the United States, March 1990, 9. GBPLM (www).

[762]   Baker 1995, 259; Cox & Hurst 2002, 145-146.

[763]   President Bush's Remarks at the Aspen Institute Symposium in Aspen, Colorado August 2, 1990. GBPLM (www).

President Bush's speech in Aspen on August 2, 1990 was meant to outline the new national security strategy for the United States as the Bush Administration considered that the Cold War tensions had been eased and thus this speech was an important indicator of the Bush Administration's future foreign and security policies[764]. The timing of the Aspen speech was also strategically important, as the Persian Gulf Crisis had just emerged, with the Iraqi army invading Kuwait[765]. In his speech Bush concentrated heavily on the future challenges to the United States military forces in the world, and reformations that were needed to adapt them in the post-Cold War world. According to Bush the United States had to prepare to meet challenges of "regional contingencies", "terrorism", "hostagetaking" and "renegade regimes" that made the world "a dangerous place with serious threats to important U.S. interests" , which were "wholly unrelated to the earlier patterns of the U.S.-Soviet relationship"[766].

Despite the fact that the new threats were largely replacing the Soviet menace in the Bush Administration's security policy, this did not mean that the Bush Administration would have given up considering the Soviet Union a hostile nation in international relations. The Soviet Union was no more the number one challenge for the United States, but it still was relatively high on the Bush Administration's agenda. In the Aspen speech, President Bush emphasized that the possible re-emergence of the Soviet threat was to be met with old and new American forces and the outcome of the Soviet economic and political transformation was still uncertain[767]. According to McEvoy-Levy, the Bush Administration's lack of clear direction was tied to the President's attempt to follow the different interpretations of the meaning of the changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union[768]. The situation became more complicated due to wide spread domestic criticism of Bush's policies[769]. Simultaneously the Republican Party became increasingly divided. This situation was worsened by the possible loss of the Soviet threat[770]. To overcome the difficult situation the Bush Administration's foreign policy tried "to reconstruct the US-Soviet relationship without declaring the Cold War over, persuade sceptics that Gorbachev was sincere, avoid liberal accusations that old practices remained and conservative complaints that despite the Soviet and Eastern Europe conversions, communism remained intact in countries on three continents"[771]. In the European context, the demands of the United States domestic politics made Bush's foreign policy seem out of touch. While President Bush was speaking about a "Major reversal in Soviet intentions"[772], the Gorbachev

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[764]   McEvoy-Levy 2001, 46.

[765]   Bush 1998, 302-303.

[766]   President Bush's Remarks at the Aspen Institute Symposium in Aspen, Colorado August 2, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[767]   Ibid.

[768]   McEvoy-Levy 2001, 47.

[769]   Ibid.

[770]   Ibid.

[771]   McEvoy-Levy 2001, 47-48.

[772]   President Bush's Remarks at the Aspen Institute Symposium in Aspen, Colorado August 2, 1990. GBPLM (www).

Regime was desperately looking for Western economic and technological help to support the ruined Soviet Economy[773].

Late in 1990, the Gulf War co-operation between the United States and the Soviet Union paved the way for warmer East-West relations. President Gorbachev's support for the UN resolution 678 on November 29, 1990, which allowed the use of force against Iraq, was noticed in the White house as a mark ending the division of the world between the superpowers, and the beginning of a new world order, where the superpowers would act together to deter aggression[774]. At the same time, the Gorbachev's regime was torn by internal disputes as increasing pressures from Communist Party hardliners, the military, and Soviet Republics demanding independence caused more and more problems[775]. By the early 1991, President Gorbachev's position was heavily undermined on a daily basis and the collapse of the Soviet Union had started to seem more likely event[776]. Hardliners in the Communist Party and some representatives of the military wanted him to return order within the ranks of the Soviet Republics by all necessary means and stop making concessions to the West[777]. Reformist nationalists, such as Boris Yeltsin of Russia, wanted to increase the power of the Soviet Republics by loosening the grip of Soviet central government[778]. During 1990-1991, the Bush Administration's support for President Gorbachev became a burden in respect to Western media, as it was easily portrayed as reactionary backing of the Soviet central authority that had lost its legitimacy, and was ready to use force against independence seeking Soviet Republics[779]. Ironically, even in late 1989, any critical analysis of Gorbachev's actions in the Western media or scholarly journals had been rare[780]. The pressures against President Gorbachev led to a coup by the Communist Party hardliners in Moscow on August 18, 1991. The coup raised the largely buried Soviet threat once more into the spotlight of the United States' European foreign policy:

> So, what we'll do is follow the events very carefully as they unfold in order to determine the appropriate response that we, in consultation with our allies, should make. And we expect that the Soviet Union will live up fully to its international obligations. And clearly, any commitments that are outstanding on the part of the West will be judged and acted on in accordance with that statement that the Soviet Government must live up to its obligations. Obviously, the West is not going to retreat from its principles of reform, openness, commitment to democracy.
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773   Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 14.

774   Bush 1998, 364; David 1996, 215.

775   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 467-468; Scowcroft 1998, 494; Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 496.

776   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 348-349; President Bush's Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union January 29, 1991; President Bush's News Conference February 5, 1991. GBPLM (www).

777   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 289.

778   Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 496-497.

779   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 418; Scowcroft 1998, 216-217; Bush 1998, 224; David 1996, 215-216.

780   CIA 1999, "1989: The Year that Changed the World" (www).

> We won't want to go back to the cold war days, and we're not going to do that. - - We're not going to go back to seeing Europe as it used to be with Soviet forces all through Eastern Europe.[781]

When President Bush made his comment on the events of August 19, 1991, the situation inside the Soviet Union was chaotic and it was not at all clear what was going to happen next, and who was going to be in charge in the future[782]. Again, President Bush emphasized the importance of a prudent policy that was needed in solving the crisis. Bush made it clear that whatever the consequences of the coup would be, Soviet leaders had to follow their "international obligations". Bush used the concept of West to make clear that any attempts to slip from international obligations and go back to the Cold War days would meet only opposition from the front of united western allies. By emphasizing, the meaning of the West President Bush started again using Cold War vocabulary. By emphasizing the linkage between Western values and international obligations, Bush was stressing American leadership of the world. This claim was largely based on the preparations for and victory of the Gulf War during which the Bush Administration had proclaimed the new world order foreign policy[783]. The Gulf War had also demonstrated the inefficiency of Soviet technology and their way to wage war[784], which boosted the American sense of power further.

For the Bush Administration, the August coup also offered a way of purifying its tarnished image, which the skeptical approach to Gorbachev's highly popular foreign policy and his possibilities to stay in power had created:

> There's always been a concern. I think if we go back, I think you would see that I've expressed concerns about the hard-liners taking over.[785]

In President Bush's remarks August 19, 1991 the" hard-liners" of the Communist Party were shown as to have been a constant threat to the Soviet reforms and as if it had been just a matter of time when the backlash would take place. Despite the obvious taste of hindsight in Bush's comment, skepticism of the possibilities of real and profound Soviet reform had been part of the Bush Administration's foreign policy since its rise to power January 1989[786]. The problems connected with Gorbachev's position had been crucial in the CIA's National Intelligence Estimates[787] and other intelligence evaluations concerning the Soviet Union of

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[781]   President Bush's Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters in Kennebunkport, Maine, on the Attempted Coup in the Soviet Union 19 August 1991. GBPLM (www).

[782]   Baker 1995, 515-517: Scowcroft 1998, 520.

[783]   LaFeber 1994, 162; McEvoy-Levy 2001, 48, 56.

[784]   Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 490-491; CIA 1999, "The Empire Strikes Back"; Harle 2000, 157.

[785]   President Bush's Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters in Kennebunkport, Maine, on the Attempted Coup in the Soviet Union August 19, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[786]   Scowcroft 1998, 13. David 1996, 213.

[787]   The National Intelligence Estimate represents the views of the Director of Central Intelligence with the advice and assistance of the US intelligence community.

1989-1991[788]. In two National Intelligence Estimates for 1989, General Secretary Gorbachev's position was still portrayed as relatively strong,[789] but there was at least one estimate in 1989, in which his reforms were compared to a gamble that was causing severe disarray in the Soviet society[790]. Estimates about President Gorbachev's staying in power and the future of the Soviet Union were lowered in 1991 as the existence of the state itself seemed to come to its end, and it became more of a question of the direction the collapse would happen[791]. According to Baker, the Bush Administration's answer to the uncertain situation in the Soviet relations was to create a unified West that was strong and ready to encounter any challenge the Soviets could bring in[792]. It was this idea of Western unity that was cherished by keeping NATO strong and alive at the end of the Cold War. Before German reunification, this task had been difficult for the Bush Administration, as the Western unity created during the Cold War was primarily meant to counter the Soviet threat and the reformative policies of General Secretary Gorbachev seemed to make this task obsolete[793]. Also the victorious war against Iraq had helped in gathering the ranks of the West. At the time of the August coup President Bush was able to proclaim that American led West stood together against the possible revival of the Soviet threat[794].

Forces loyal to President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Soviet Republic put down the August coup. After a brief hesitation, the Bush Administration openly showed its support to Yeltsin[795]. In the aftermath of the coup it became obvious that the Soviet Union was on the brink of collapse[796]. The end of the Soviet threat came as the dissolution of Soviet Union took place in December 1991. The successor of the Soviet Union, Russia, was not considered a threat in the Bush Administration's rhetoric during 1992, but rather as a country that needed support in building its democracy[797]. The time of superpower confrontation in Europe was finally over.

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[788]   National Intelligence Estimate "The Deepening Crisis in the USSR: Prospects for the next Year" November 1990. CFSI - *At Cold War's End: US Intelligence on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, 1989-1991* (www).

[789]   National Intelligence Estimate "Soviet Policy Toward the West: The Gorbachev Challenge". April 1989, 229. CFSI -*At Cold War's End: US Intelligence on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, 1989-1991* (www); National Intelligence Estimate "The Soviet System in Crisis: Prospects for the Next Two Years". November 1989, 54; Central Intelligence Agency, Office of Soviet Analysis.

[790]   Intelligence Assesment "Gorbachev's Domestic Gambles and the Instability in the USSR", September 1989, 28-29. *CFSI -At Cold War's End: US Intelligence on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, 1989-1991* (www).

[791]   National Intelligence Estimate "Implications of Alternative Soviet Futures". July 1991, 123. CFSI - *At Cold War's End: US Intelligence on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, 1989-1991* (www).

[792]   Baker 1995, 42.

[793]   Cox & Hurst 2002, 129-131.

[794]   President Bush's Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters in Kennebunkport, Maine, on the Attempted Coup in the Soviet Union 19 August 1991. GBPLM (www).

[795]   Scowcroft 1998, 521.

[796]   Wallander 2003, 153.

[797]   President Bush's Remarks at the Richard Nixon Library Dinner March 11, 1992; President Bush's Remarks at the International Conference on Humanitarian Assistance to the Former U.S.S.R. January 22, 1992. GBPLM (www).

9   THE THREAT FROM RE-BORN GERMANY

The re-birth process of Germany triggered a vivid discussion in transatlantic relations. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 there was wide spread speculation about the future role of Germany in Europe and in the world. Most remarkably, respected Western European political leaders such as Margaret Thatcher and François Mitterrand openly pictured horror images of possible German aggression in public[798]. Grave concerns were also portrayed by Polish and Czechoslovakian leaders, as well as by Chairman Gorbachev[799]. The Bush Administration's answer was two-fold. The first was that the United States was to maintain good relations with the Germanys and show support for the reunification[800]. The second was meeting the security needs of other European countries and the United States[801]. This diplomatic decision of the Bush Administration was actually so effective that it managed to get Germany re-united within NATO. Keeping Germany within the Atlantic alliance strengthened the security ties between Europe and the United States exactly at the moment when American influence would otherwise have been severely reduced because of the diminishing Soviet threat.

The Bush Administration's diplomacy in the German question was adjusted to the demands of changing political situations. President Bush states in his memoirs that he had been a supporter of German reunification even before the issue had been actualized though he also had had some doubts about it[802]. Bush's National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft had seen no point in German reunification and changing the order of Europe until 1989 and even then he approached this question with some reservation[803]. The Bush

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[798]   Pond 1992, 122.

[799]   Ibid.

[800]   President Bush's Remarks Following Discussions With Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany May 17, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[801]   See for example: President Bush's News Conference in Brussels December 4, 1989. GBPLM (www). Germany was to continue its NATO membership and it was to be integrated closely to the European community.

[802]   Bush 1998, 182-183, 187-188; Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 187-188.

[803]   Scowcroft 1998, 188-189, 193.

Administration's Secretary of State James Baker on the other hand was openly positive towards German reunification[804]. Despite the fact that the question of German reunification had somewhat shattered the ranks of the Bush Administration they were able to formulate a coherent policy.

A week after fall of the Berlin wall November 17, 1989 President Bush was avoiding the possibility of endangering the evolving process:

> Q. Back to Eastern Europe. Is reunification of the two Germanys -- is that inevitable?
> The President. I gave my view on that, and I said that that was a matter for the people of the Germanys to determine. And it's a highly sensitive matter as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, and it's better to leave it right there.[805]

Bush was openly stating that it would not be wise from him to make comments one way or another, because the situation remained open. According to Edelman, silence is strategically meaningful in political language "when it represents the avoidance of an issue that is divisive if mentioned"[806]. By hiding the actual support for the German reunification in the form of German self-determination, the Bush Administration tried to please the opponents of the ongoing process by portraying the United States as having taken the middle ground. According to Bush's memoirs, his Administration's stance toward possible German reunification was careful because showing joy over what had happened could have irritated the Soviets and led to deterioration of the relationships between the Soviet Union and the United States, which could have unnecessarily threatened the reunification process[807]. Nevertheless, by making it clear that the United States would not put any obstacles in front of the reunification, the Bush Administration was actually supporting the process by giving the responsibility over the events into the hands of the Germans themselves, who were more than eager to reunite their country. The Bush Administration considered the reunification process of Germany to be inevitable[808], but this could not be said aloud. In this situation, the best way to keep good relations with newly emerging Germany was to show respect to the free will of the German people. The Bush Administration's open support for German reunification was also important as the French, the British and Soviet heads of states had been rather critical towards the process[809]. Supporting the German cause was a highly effective way for the Bush Administration to gain the loyalty of the strongest Western European country that most likely was

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[804] Baker 1995, 197.
[805] President Bush's Interview with Peter Maer of Mutual/NBC Radio November 17, 1989. GBPLM (www).
[806] Edelman 1988, 28.
[807] President Bush's Interview with Members of the White House Press Corps November 29, 1989. GBPLM (www). See also Bush 1998, 190.
[808] James Baker was the member of Bush Administration who noticed this and turned the wheels of American Foreign Policy towards Germany. David 1996, 214-215; Baker 1995, 159.
[809] Pond 1992, 122; Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 186-187.

going to be the leading state of the old continent in the future[810]. It was the best way to strengthen the position of the United States in the future of Europe[811].

President Bush's supportive strategy of German reunification was formulated in personal level phone conversations with Chancellor of Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) Helmut Kohl during autumn 1989 before and after the collapse of the Berlin Wall:

> We are seeing spate of stories about German unification resulting in a neutralist Germany and a threat to Western Security. We do not believe that. We are trying to react very cautiously and carefully to change in the GDR. We have great respect for the way the FRG under your leadership has been handling this situation. You have done a great job.[812]

> I will see Thatcher around the time of our Thanksgiving. It is important to signal the importance I attach to U.S. relations with the FRG, especially when we see some of those mischievous stories around.[813]

> I want to see our people continue to avoid especially hot rhetoric that might by mistake cause a problem.[814]

As can be seen from these extracts of discussions between Bush and Kohl in October and November 1989, the Bush Administration was working as a mediator between West Germany, and the three other occupying powers, the Soviet Union, France and Britain, which opposed the German reunification[815]. The British and the French had combined their forces against Germany in two World Wars during the 20th century and on both occasions; they had been unable to defeat Germany without the help of the United States. The more temporary problem for the British and the French was that they did not want to be overshadowed by a new Germany that would be the most powerful country in Europe in terms of economics and demographics[816]. In military terms, however, Germany was not that strong[817]. It lacked its own nuclear deterrent and it was not interested in maintaining a global reach military like the French and the British[818]. However, the latent military power of Germany was considered remarkable[819]. The Soviet Union and its predecessor Russia had also fought two disastrous wars against Germany in 20th century and did not want to give up the

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[810] Sperling 1994, 216.

[811] Cox & Hurst 2002, 134-135.

[812] President Bush to Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Memorandum of Telephone conversation between President Bush and Chancellor Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany October 23, 1989 9:02-9:26 a.m. EDT at the Oval Office, 2. GBPLM (www).

[813] President Bush to Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Memorandum of Telephone conversation between President Bush and Chancellor Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany October 23, 1989 9:02-9:26 a.m. EDT at the Oval Office, 3. GBPLM (www).

[814] President Bush to Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Memorandum of Telephone conversation between President Bush and Chancellor Kohl November 10, 1989 3:29-3:47 PM. at the Oval Office, 2. GBPLM (www).

[815] Cox & Hurst 2002, 133-134; Pond 1992, 122; Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 186.

[816] Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 193, 202; Baker 1995, 205.

[817] Sperling 1994, 268.

[818] Sperling 1994, 262-263, 268.

[819] Sperling 1994, 276.

gains of defeating Germany in 1945. The Gorbachev Administration was eager to call a Four Powers meeting to discuss German reunification at its early stage. The Bush Administration rejected this[820]. According to Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde ""Security" is the move that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue either as a special kind of politics or as above politics. Securitization can thus be seen as a more extreme version of politicization[821]". The British, French and the Soviet arguments against the German reunification were clear acts of securitization. Reunited Germany was portrayed as so severe a threat to European and even to world security[822] that the only option was to renew the remaining *status quo*, which had kept Germany *de facto* occupied since 1945. The Bush Administration, however, rejected this securitization attempt, and politicized the *status quo* by showing open trust to German re-unification, although in a hands-off manner.

The role of the United States as a mediator between West Germany and the Soviet Union was reenforced in President Bush's telephone conversation with Helmut Kohl November 10, 1989 as Bush promised to Kohl that his staff would avoid using hot rhetoric in the aftermath of the fall of the wall. The Bush Administration's calm response was meant to convince the Soviets that the United States was not going to humiliate them at the moment of their historical defeat. According to Bush and Baker, gloating about the victory of the West could have only provoked a violent counteraction[823]. When the Berlin wall came down on November 9, 1989, it underlined the loss of legitimacy of the socialist system in the whole of Eastern Europe. The German Democratic Republic (GDR) had been one of the main trophies of Soviet victory in the Second World War and it had been a staunch ally of the Soviet Union during the Cold War[824]. Losing East Germany was a severe blow for the Soviets, and the Bush Administration had a mission to persuade the Soviets to accept reunification[825]. The Bush Administration's unemotional stance towards the fall of the Berlin wall incited severe criticism in American media, which portrayed President Bush being indifferent to the German reunification, or even incapable of understanding the meaning of the events[826]. Despite the public criticism, Helmut Kohl and Mikhail Gorbachev appreciated the Bush Administration's policy. They both esteemed President Bush's cautious style during the first moments of German reunification[827]. The cautious surface of Bush rhetoric was meant to guarantee the success of United States's foreign policy in the German reunification process[828].

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[820]   Baker 1995, 197-1998.

[821]   Buzan, Waever, de Wilde 1998, 23.

[822]   Baker 1995, 1997-198; Scowcroft 1998, 300-301.

[823]   Bush 1998, 149-150; Baker 1995, 167.

[824]   Bush & Scowcroft 1998. Bush 183; Bush & Scowcroft 186-187; Cox & Hurst 2002, 140.

[825]   Cox & Hurst 2002, 136.

[826]   Bush 1998, 149-150.

[827]   Chancellor Helmut Kohl to President Bush. Memorandum of Telephone conversation between President Bush and Chancellor Kohl November 10, 1989 3:29-3:47 PM. at the Oval Office, 2. GBPLM (www); Bush 1998, 149-150.

[828]   Bush 1998, 203-204.

After reunification seemed unstoppable, the Bush Administration expressed publicly on December 3, 1989 that unified Germany should be a member of NATO[829]. This political move on behalf of American interests, however, was concealed as an argument for stabilizing the unpredictable changes in Europe[830]. In the context of the transition period of 1989-1990, the predictable world order that had existed over four decades was coming to an end, and the future presented many questions. The German question was not the only source of unpredictability within Europe. The mixed situation inside the Soviet Union was also a possible source of sudden large-scale changes of an unpredictable nature. According to Siobhán McEvoy-Levy, the Bush Administration tried to convince its western audience that the Cold War years had actually offered a period of long peace and the end of it meant the beginning of a new era of instability where the United States was needed to guarantee the peace[831]. Such abstract unpredictability was rather unclear as a new enemy for European security, compared to the Soviet Union, which had been absolutely clear.[832] This caused President Bush to face difficult questions about the role of the United States in European security:

> Q. Mr. President, if I could follow up on the question you were actually asked a week or two ago about who the enemy is these days. It seems that less and less it is the Soviets. So, would one purpose of keeping NATO intact and keeping U.S. troops within NATO in Germany be, as some analysts have said, to keep the Germans down?
>
> The President. No. The enemy is unpredictability. The enemy is instability. And it is for that reason that there are agreed security provisions. And that's the answer to it. Who out here was smart enough to predict for fact-certain the changes that have taken place any time in the last year? Certainly no one up here. Maybe Chancellor Kohl, but not the President of the United States. And so, what I think we want to do in a period of exciting change is to have a stable Western Europe.[833]

At the time of his remarks on 25 February 1990, President Bush had a joint news conference with Helmut Kohl in the United States[834]. The previous day, Bush and Kohl conferred at Camp David. The purpose of this meeting between these two leaders was primarily to discuss a joint policy to German reunification[835]. During the Camp David meeting, Kohl promised that united Germany would remain in NATO and announced that he would do his best to convince the suspicious NATO partners that unified Germany was not a threat[836]. Kohl also asked President Bush to contact Chairman Gorbachev and make clear to him

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[829]   Scowcroft 1998, 197; Bush 1998, 200.
[830]   See for example President Bush's Joint News Conference Following Discussions With Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany February 25, 1990; GBPLM (www).
[831]   McEvoy-Levy 2001, 56-57.
[832]   Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 192.
[833]   President Bush's Joint News Conference Following Discussions With Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany February 25, 1990. GBPLM (www).
[834]   Bush 1998, 255.
[835]   Bush 1998, 253.
[836]   Ibid.

that the United States and West Germany were on the same lines regarding German reunification[837]. In light of the contents of the Camp David meeting both Bush and Kohl knew that German reunification was raising serious fears. Publicly announcing that German reunification within the NATO framework was needed to dampen the fears of other Europeans was not feasible, as it would have been an insult towards Germans[838]. The naming of unpredictability as the main source of threat was quite flexible argumentation. As an enemy unpredictability could not be tied specifically to German reunification, but to the uncertainties of the end of the predictable Cold War world order in general. Instead of having chosen the strategy of confrontation in the German question, the Bush Administration seemed to have selected the strategy of co-operation with the central theme; all actors in Western Europe are against the ultimate enemies –unpredictability and uncertainty that could lead to instability.

Nevertheless, implicitly Bush's words were still showing unified Germany as a potential threat. As unpredictability and uncertainty were open-ended concepts, audiences were given room to make their own conclusions of the potential danger of the re-emerging Germany. However, President Bush offered a strictly defined answer for overcoming these anxieties in the form of keeping the unified Germany within the American led NATO. By showing the German NATO membership as a natural solution to avoid Western European instability, the Bush Administration was actually setting rules for the German reunification. This meant that the Bush Administration was actually interfering in the sovereignty of a re-emerging state in a way that in the case of any other Western European country would have been considered outrageous. The roots of German securitization were, nevertheless, long, as the split of Germany between the four occupying powers had been institutionalized during the Cold War. In the context of February 1990 Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the United States were still officially occupying powers that were holding troops in both German states[839]. The four occupying powers also negotiated with two Germanies about the terms of reunification[840]. This further highlighted the impression that the reunification of Germany was most of all a question of European security.

By July 1990, reunited Germany as a factor of instability ceased to exist as it became certain that the reunited Germany would be a member of NATO and thus an integral part of the American led West. The four occupying powers gave up their occupation rights and responsibilities in Moscow September 12, 1990 and Germany became fully sovereign[841]. At the time of the official German reunification on October 3, 1990, President Bush portrayed Western support for the German reunification as having been unfaltering:

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[837]   Bush 1998, 253.
[838]   Ibid.
[839]   Cox & Hurst 2002, 137.
[840]   Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 238-239.
[841]   Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 298-299.

> For years free men and women everywhere dreamed of the day that the Berlin Wall would cease to exist, when a world without the Wall would mean a Germany made whole once more, and when Germany, united and sovereign, would contribute in full measure as a force for peace and stability in world affairs.[842]

President Bush pointed out how the free world had for decades stood for the idea of the unified Germany that would fully contribute to "peace and stability in world affairs". Bush was speaking in the roles of the leader of the West and the leader of the world who was able to see the true meaning of the reunited Germany for peace and stability within the post-Cold War world. Bush's narrative of Western support for German reunification was thus constructed under the frame of the new world order. According to Edelman, the language of leadership "reduces a complex and historically dynamic scene to individual traits and actions" and it also "displaces key social psychological phenomena from attention as well: the need of opponents for a leader to attack and the need of loyal supporters for a leader to praise"[843]. Bush reduced the German role in 20th century history of Europe to the Cold War times by describing how painful the split of the country had been, and how the free peoples had waited for the reunification. In Bush's argumentation, the Berlin Wall was metonymy for the Cold War. The Wall had not been only a German problem, but it had been a problem of the whole world, and "world without the Wall" was a lot better place. By using the metonymy, Bush turned the attention away from the centrality of the superpower confrontation, and made the fate of Germany the central question of the Cold War. Bush hid his personal ambitions for the praise of the German reunification by underlining the collectivity of the free world. As the negative reactions of most of Western Europe had proved[844], the reunification had not actually been warmly welcomed within the West. Also Bush's claim that the Free World had always resisted the divide of Germany did not follow the actual course of history very accurately. As a matter of fact, the Soviets had proposed before the actual split of Germany in 1949 that Germans could be given back their sovereignty, their country made neutral and even allowed a controlled rearming[845]. American foreign policy makers, however, had seen neutral Germany as a threat that could have started balancing between the superpowers[846]. To avoid the birth of neutral Germany, the United States supported the integration of the British, French and American occupation zones to the Western community[847]. At the Cold War's end, the birth of neutral Germany was again being prevented by American diplomacy. Germany was to remain a member of NATO, not solely because of the security

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[842] President Bush's Remarks on Signing the German-American Day Proclamation at a White House Ceremony Celebrating the Reunification of Germany October 3, 1990. GBPLM (www).
[843] Edelman 1988, 60.
[844] Cox & Hurst 2002, 133-134.
[845] Gardner 1972, 392.
[846] Gardner 1972, 393.
[847] Gardner 1972, 393; Jackson 2006, 2.

concerns it awoke in Europe, but also because of American military interests in Europe[848].

As the birth of neutral Germany had been successfully prevented, Bush showed gratitude for the right choice the Germans had made:

> This has been a year of change for America; for a united Germany; for the Atlantic alliance, of which we are both a part. And I'm certain that our two nations will meet the challenges of the future as we have in the past: as partners in leadership.[849]

President Bush's words on the very day of the German reunification, October 3, 1990, seemed to mark a new era in the bilateral relations of the United States and Germany. Bush pictured the United States and Germany as partners in leadership. By saying this, President Bush emphasized the close ties of the two states within the Atlantic Alliance. Nevertheless, it can be asked if this partnership was a signal from the Bush Administration that Germany was from now on the leading European state, and that the United States accepted this. The leading role of Germany was also portrayed in another part of President Bush's speech:

> But we were profoundly touched by the knowledge that we must entrust the future of our nations to another generation. And looking at these kids here today, I believe I can see the future of the new Germany -- a future of liberty and leadership, good will, and greatness.[850]

President Bush was favourable to the future German generations; "liberty", "leadership", "good will" and "greatness". By emphasizing the word leadership Bush must have meant the role of the leading European state[851], as what else could he have referred to while speaking about Germany? Interestingly, the characteristics that Bush attached to the future of Germany, were more or less the same he used while speaking about the characteristics of his own nation. In Bush's speeches, the United States was defender of liberty and freedom[852]. The United States was also the leader of the free world[853] and

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[848] Scowcroft 1998, 196-197.

[849] President Bush's Remarks on Signing the German-American Day Proclamation at a White House Ceremony Celebrating the Reunification of Germany October 3, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[850] President Bush's Remarks on Signing the German-American Day Proclamation at a White House Ceremony Celebrating the Reunification of Germany October 3, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[851] According to Scowcroft, Germany was NATO's second largest economy and military power only the United States was stronger. Scowcroft 1998, 197.

[852] President Bush's Remarks at the International Conference on Humanitarian Assistance to the Former U.S.S.R. January 22, 1992. President Bush's Remarks on Signing the German-American Day Proclamation at a White House Ceremony Celebrating the Reunification of Germany October 3, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[853] President Bush's Remarks to the Chamber of Commerce in Cincinnati, Ohio January 12, 1990. President Bush's Remarks on Signing the German-American Day Proclamation at a White House Ceremony Celebrating the Reunification of Germany October 3, 1990. GBPLM (www).

the "world's greatest experiment"[854]. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the United States became simply the leader of the world[855]. According to Bush the United States also represented good will and compassion in its foreign policy[856]. Actually, Bush was saying that the future of the re-united Germany would be to follow the ideals of America, and by doing this Germans would share a spectacular destiny with the United States. The idea that Germany should follow the American example was one strain of American exceptionalism according to which the United States leads the world by its example of a model society, and others willingly copy it, as American political values and principles are universal by their nature[857]. Despite the possible self-sufficiency element of President Bush's argumentation, he was openly showing trust to Germany. As Bush was a leader, of a nation, that portrays itself as the most virtuous one and responsible only to God[858], addressing Germany in near equal terms was the greatest compliment that was possible to make.

The way that President Bush portrayed the relationship between Germany and the United States as partners in leadership was not left unnoticed in Western Europe. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was offended the first time Bush referred to the United States and West Germany as partners in leadership on May 31, 1989[859]. Thatcher was worried that the traditional British special relationship with the United States was going to be supplemented by special American ties to West Germany[860]. According to Bush, Thatcher did not trust the Germans nor the French, and she was skeptical about the prospects of European unification[861], which left the British heavily dependent on the United States. Bush's national Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft claims that portraying West Germany and the United States as partners in leadership appeared in its original context on May 31, 1989, when it was intended to encourage Germans towards reunification[862]. Within the context of German reunification on October 3, 1990, Bush's words had, nevertheless, another meaning. President Bush was showing his gratitude to the West German political leadership for choosing to walk up the aisle of reunification with the United States. From the Bush

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[854] President Bush's Remarks at the Texas A&I University Commencement Ceremony in Kingsville May 11, 1990. President Bush's Remarks on Signing the German-American Day Proclamation at a White House Ceremony Celebrating the Reunification of Germany October 3, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[855] President Bush's Remarks at the Richard Nixon Library Dinner March 11, 1992. President Bush's Remarks on Signing the German-American Day Proclamation at a White House Ceremony Celebrating the Reunification of Germany October 3, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[856] President Bush's Remarks at Maxwell Air Force Base War College in Montgomery, Alabama April 13, 1991. President Bush's Remarks on Signing the German-American Day Proclamation at a White House Ceremony Celebrating the Reunification of Germany October 3, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[857] McCrisken 2002, 11.

[858] Galtung 1995, 22, 29-30.

[859] Scowcroft 1998, 83-84. President Bush's Remarks to the Citizens in Mainz, Federal Republic of Germany May 31, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[860] Scowcroft 1998, 83-84.

[861] Bush 1998, 70.

[862] Scowcroft 1998, 83-84.

Administration's point of view, however, there would not have been any legitimate way to stop the reunification[863]. In the end, it had been the choice of the Kohl Administration that connected the future of Germany to the American led West. The way the Bush Administration supported German reunification, however, helped substantially in gaining this outcome, which maintained the United States as the strongest power of Europe and the guarantor of the European security[864].

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[863]   Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 187.
[864]   Bacevich 2002, 57.

10 CONSTRUCTING NEW THREATS

10.1 Fighting the New Threats with Europe

At the Cold War's end, the United States needed new threats to supplement the fading Soviet threat. The diminishing Soviet threat was not, however, the only reason why the American led West was becoming less integrated. Economic factors played a significant part in this process as well. East Asian, Western European and North American economies were forming competing regions at the Cold War's end[865]. According to Hartwig Hummel, the United States overcame this economic regionalism by bringing in new political initiatives to re-new the idea of the Western community[866]. This establishment of the New West happened, for instance, through the Bush Administration's "New world order" foreign policy, as well as by propagating the idea of open regionalism within the West to keep markets in North America, Western Europe and East Asia mutually open[867].

In the Bush Administration's European foreign policy, renewing the idea of Western community meant close co-operation in the tighly entangled spheres of economics and security. The Bush Administration took an active role in this process by politically constructing new threats to maintain the unity of Western Europe and the United States. According to Buzan, Waever and de Wilde, threat constructing is an integral part of securitizing. In this process, something is presented as an existential threat, which requires emergency measures and justifying actions outside of the normal bounds of the political procedure[868]. A successful securitization move demands that the threats imposed are accepted by the audience, before a certain object is actually securitized, which often demands argumentation[869]. The new threats that President Bush introduced in his securitization move to the post-Cold War Western community included

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[865]   Hummel 2000, 14.
[866]   Hummel 2000, 79
[867]   Hummel 2000, 79, 309; Barnett 2004, 229.
[868]   Buzan, Waever & de Wilde 1998, 23-25.
[869]   Buzan, Waever & de Wilde 1998, 25.

drugs. President Reagan had fought an American War on Drugs during his presidency and the Bush Administration continued the fight[870]. In August 1989, the Bush Administration was planning possible military interventions to Colombia, Peru and Bolivia in the case officials of these countries asked for help in fight against drug trafficking[871]. Interestingly also several Western European leaders had portrayed their interest in a G7 meeting[872] of Paris on July 14 1989, to participate in a possible military intervention[873], which would have meant a joint western military action on the American led War on Drugs:

> The President. Well, I have said previously, way back in the campaign, that I would give serious consideration to an invitation from countries to help them [Colombia, Peru, Bolivia]. And I'll tell you what I found at this G - 7 [economic summit participants] meeting. It was a very interesting -- from several of the European leaders, the feeling that maybe we ought to have some kind of international effort to help countries in this regard, going after people where -- in a country, at the invitation of a government of a country, people that have been out of the reach of the law enforcement of the country itself, of the Government.[874]

> So, the United States cannot and should not impose a military armed solution into some sovereign country. And so, that's the way I view this. There is a lot of interest in our G - 7 [economic summit] partners on an international force. And that's a new concept. It's a concept I addressed myself to, I believe, in the campaign. But I don't think you want to risk turning around public opinion in a country that's struggling to do something now by the unilateral intervention of U.S. force into the area.[875]

Bush's claim that Western European statesmen were willing to support an international intervention to South American countries is remarkable. The fact that Bush presented the idea of sending Euro-American international forces must have been to show that the United States was not alone in taking care of the burdens of War on Drugs. President Bush's remarks tell us also about the role of the Western European countries as loyal actors in the scene of international politics at the Cold War's end:

> Q. Sir, what exactly did you ask or talk to Mrs. Thatcher and Mr. Kohl about? And how close are you to a G - 7 task force? Is that still something that's close to reality?

> The President. Well, discussed with her a follow-on to what we discussed in Paris, and that was G - 7 united support for Colombia. And she is enthusiastic about this, and Chancellor Kohl was enthusiastic about this. The ball -- in a sense, really, the leadership of the G - 7 -- is still in the French court, President Mitterrand. Chancellor Kohl is visiting with him this week. And so, I'm hopeful and very much encouraged by this united response.[876]

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[870]   Hawdon 2001, 427, 432.

[871]   President Bush's News Conference August 15, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[872]   G-7 countries were Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States.

[873]   President Bush's News Conference August 15, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[874]   Ibid.

[875]   President Bush's News Conference on the National Drug Control Strategy September 6, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[876]   Ibid.

In September 1989, the leaders of the United States, Great Britain, West Germany and France were discussing a joint effort to help Colombia to overcome the power of drug cartels[877]. The United States had intervened continuously in the internal matters of South American countries before and during the Cold War[878]. The Reagan Administration had also invaded Grenada six years earlier in 1983 and thus the Bush Administration's willingness to use force in South America was just continuing within the footsteps of Reagan Administration[879]. The sending of a joint Western task force was, however, unusual and signaled the severity of the possible intervention. One important reason for preparing the joint G7 task force must have been to intimidate Panamanian dictator General Manuel Antonio Noriega, whom the Reagan Administration, and since early 1989, also the Bush Administration had tried to pressurize to leave power[880]. The Bush Administration accused Noriega of drug trafficking and election fraud as well as compromising the security of American citizens living in Panama[881]. Noriega was seen as a threat to the American built Panama Canal, which according to Secretary of State James Baker possessed strategic importance to the United States[882]. Preparations for building a G7 task force was to show that the ranks of the West were united and drug traffickers like Noriega had no possibility to look for public diplomatic support from any Western country[883].

On the broader context the idea of sending Western military forces to fight drug trafficking in South America was an attempt to broaden the sphere of influence of the West to the Third World. According to Jackson "if a state sends its troops into a neighboring state in a pursuit of a suspected drug smuggler and justifies its action on the grounds of that it has the right to protect its citizens by eliminating threats to their well-being who happen to reside in neighboring countries, that state has just redrawn its boundaries by altering the scope of its responsibility and the extent of its legitimate action[884]". This means that "part of what used to be the "domestic" space of another state, has suddenly become part of the "domestic" space of the first state, subject to the first state's laws and authority. To be more precise, the first state has *advanced a claim* that its boundaries should be so altered - -.[885]" As Jackson points out the state itself of course does not advance any claims, but the politicians who are

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[877] President Bush's News Conference on the National Drug Control Strategy September 6, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[878] Merril 1994, 166, 173.

[879] Baker 1995, 178.

[880] Baker 1995. 180.

[881] Jonhson 2004, 69; President Bush's Interview With Members of the White House Press Corps on the Situation in Panama May 13, 1989. GBPLM (www); Baker 1995, 177.

[882] Baker 1995, 193.

[883] In early 1988 Spain had offered political asylum for Noriega. He refused to leave Panama as Bush Administration had refused to drop the charges against him. Baker 1995, 180, 187-188.

[884] Jackson 2006, 26.

[885] Ibid.

acting in the name of the state[886]. The heads of the states of the leading Western countries led by the United States were thus trying to alter the boundaries of South American countries in the name of the war against drugs. As war always necessitates extreme measures, the idea of violating the sovereignty of other states to protect Western citizens from drugs could be portrayed as completely legitimate action. The portraying of the drug-truffickers of South America as the source of evil, Western leaders were also turning the attention of their citizens away from the complex social problems at home[887], which could have been seen as a cause for the wide spread usage of drugs within the West.

The joint Western European and American task force was never sent to South America. This was no wonder as by October 1989 the German reunification debate had shattered the Western European unity[888]. Even though the G-7 intervention force was never realized, it showed the interest of major Western European powers to act in the name of the West. It also showed that the political leaders of the United States were not the only ones who were active in the search for new threats at the Cold War's end. This was a collective process in the West.

When the German threat in Europe was settled by the German reunification within NATO in October 3, 1990, a new threat that needed a joint Western response had already emerged. Tensions in the Persian Gulf area had heightened, as Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990. President Bush gave his answer to the Iraqi aggression on that very day in Aspen, Colorado:

> Outside of Europe, America must possess forces able to respond to threats in whatever corner of the globe they may occur. Even in a world where democracy and freedom have made great gains, threats remain. Terrorism, hostage taking, renegade regimes and unpredictable rulers, new sources of instability -- all require a strong and engaged America. The brutal aggression launched last night against Kuwait illustrates my central thesis: Notwithstanding the alteration in the Soviet threat, the world remains a dangerous place with serious threats to important U.S. interests wholly unrelated to the earlier patterns of the U.S.-Soviet relationship. These threats, as we've seen just in the last 24 hours, can arise suddenly, unpredictably, and from unexpected quarters. U.S. interests can be protected only with capability which is in existence and which is ready to act without delay.[889]

The Bush Administration rushed quickly to use the Iraqi attack in Kuwait as an omen of the new regional threats that needed strong American military capability all over the world. Bush's vocabulary is full of words that meant to evoke the fears and anxieties of listeners. Instead of being a better place, the post-Cold War world structure was constructed on unpredictability, sudden changes, serious threats, terrorism, renegades, hostage taking and danger, of which Saddam Hussein's "brutal aggression" was a good example. Ironically

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[886] Jackson 2006, 27.
[887] Edelman 1988, 78.
[888] President Bush to Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Memorandum of Telephone conversation between President Bush and Chancellor Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany October 23, 1989 9:02-9:26 a.m. EDT at the Oval Office, 2-3. GBPLM (www).
[889] President Bush's Remarks at the Aspen Institute Symposium in Aspen, Colorado August 2, 1990. GBPLM (www).

this made President Bush look like a man who missed the old world order, which had been characterized by the predictable patterns of superpower rivalry[890]. In addition to the Iraqi aggression, President Bush also listed many other new threats: terrorism, hostage taking, renegade regimes and unpredictable rulers, which all needed a "strong and engaged America"[891]. Bush's remarks were to convince both foreign and domestic audiences of the need to continue high-level military spending that liberals in the United States resisted at the Cold War's end[892]. According to Kuusisto the Persian Gulf conflict was portrayed in Western rhetoric as if the West had a"proper" opponent again. Saddam Hussein's Iraq fit to this frame of a worthy opponent as it could be taken "care of in an impressive manner, at a safe distance from home and with minimal lossess. President Hussein was cruel, powerful and malevolent; he had invaded a specific area and committed a blatant crime. He was suitable for Western purposes in that the threat he represented was credible enough and his aggressive acts concrete and well-defined – and yet, in the end there was no question about who the winner would be.[893]" Saddam Hussein's gamble gave the Bush Administration a good chance to gather the ranks of the West. Fighting President Hussein was a fine opportunity for the Bush Administration to show how important co-operation between European powers, Japan and the United States was in the post-Cold War world[894]. As the East-West divide of the world was about to end in the victory of the West, the Bush Administration had an historical opportunity to proclaim the United States the leader of the world. In President Bush's foreign policy rhetoric, as well as in that of French and British leaders, the Iraqi attack of Kuwait, a *de facto* third-world regional conflict, was portrayed as a threat to the whole humankind[895]. By globalizing the regional conflict, the Bush Administration justified its use of force against Iraq, and simultaneously underlined the world leadership of the United States[896].

The role of the United States as the leader of the world was legitimized when the Bush Administration got the blessing of the UN Security Council for its policies. This was an historical event as during the Cold War the Security Council had been virtually paralyzed[897]. The improved relations of the United States and the Soviet Union made it possible for the Soviets not to oppose American action against Iraq in the Security Council[898]. On the other hand, the

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[890]   About the predictability of the Cold War, see for example Bacevich 2002, 36.

[891]   President Bush's Remarks at the Aspen Institute Symposium in Aspen, Colorado August 2, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[892]   Lakoff 2002, 193.

[893]   Kuusisto 1999, 96-97.

[894]   For instance leaders of France, Germany and Japan emphasized collective action. Bush 1998, 326.

[895]   Kuusisto 1999, 93.

[896]   President Bush's Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters in Paris, France November 21, 1990; President Bush's Radio Address to the Nation on the Persian Gulf Crisis January 5, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[897]   Ryan 2000, 45.

[898]   Bush 1998,303.

Bush Administration's mild reaction to the events of Tiananmen Square a year earlier helped in gaining Chinese support for the American cause[899]. Iraqi aggression was condemned on August 2, 1990 by the UN resolution 660, which demanded the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait[900]. This resolution was followed four days later by Resolution 661, which placed economic sanctions on Iraq[901]. The most important UN resolution came on November 29, 1990. Resolution 678 authorized the use of force to dispel Iraqi armed forces from Kuwait if they had not withdrawn by January 15, 1991[902]. When Iraq refused to obey the deadline, Operation Desert Storm started on January 16, 1991[903].

Saddam Hussein's Iraq was not the only state that was considered a danger to humankind at the Cold War's end. The Bush Administration used the term "renegade regimes"[904] to portray states supporting terrorism and developing or producing weapons of mass destruction, simultaneously being hostile to the West and especially to the United States[905]. Bush's concept was closely related to his predecessor Ronald Reagan's concept of a "rogue regime", which was used to portray Libya as a terrorist supporting state on 7 May 1986[906]. Five years later on May 8, 1991, President Bush portrayed Iran, Iraq, North Korea, Cambodia, Vietnam and Cuba as threats to the national safety of the United States, which eventually meant that these states formed the core of the renegade regimes[907]. This list of the American enemies consisted of old small socialist states that had not been defeated, as well as the newer Middle-Eastern Islamic states that were openly hostile to the United States. The Bush Administration simply enlarged the concept of Reagan's rogue regime to a miscellaneous group of small Islamic and Socialist states, but portrayed the

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[899] Baker 1995, Baker 114.

[900] Bush 1998, 314.

[901] Bush 1998, 336.

[902] Bush & Scowcroft 1998, 414.

[903] Bush 1998, 449.

[904] President Bush's Remarks at the United States Coast Guard Academy Commencement Ceremony in New London, Connecticut May 24, 1989; President Bush's Remarks to the United Nations Security Council in New York City January 31, 1992. GBPLM (www).

[905] President Bush's Remarks at the United States Coast Guard Academy Commencement Ceremony in New London, Connecticut May 24, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[906] President Reagan's News Conference May 7, 1986. President Bush's Remarks to the United Nations Security Council in New York City January 31, 1992; President Bush's Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With the Industrial League of Orange County in Irvine, California June 19, 1992; President Bush's News Conference in Kennebunkport, Maine, on the Attempted Coup in the Soviet Union August 20, 1991; President Bush's Remarks to the United Nations Security Council in New York City January 31, 1992; President Bush's Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With the Industrial League of Orange County in Irvine, California June 19, 1992. GBPLM (www).

[907] Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Foreign Access to United States Ports May 8, 1991. GBPLM (www).

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situation as an opposition to all states that broke against international standards of behavior[908].

The fact that President Bush changed President Reagan's concept of a rogue to a renegade portrayed the change in the world order. During the Cold War, the world had been simply portrayed as a battlefield between two well-organized developed worlds[909]. Beyond these worlds were nevertheless, destructive rogue regimes that from the American point of view did not follow the rules of engament of the superpowers, but instead used questionable measures like terrorism to advance their policies. At the Cold War's end the old world order ceased to exist, and only the First world led by the United States was left to represent the organized world that was destined to set the international standards of behavior[910]. Beyond the organized world there were, however, actors who did not want to follow the rules of the victors of the Cold War. These renegades were criminals beyond law and order, they had turned their backs on the American led international community and they threatened regional stability all around the world[911]. The existence of criminal elements in the new world order meant that there was a need for police operations to prevent the renegades from doing harm to the international community. The fact that these scattered third-world countries were a mere shadow of the former Soviet threat did not prevent the Bush Administration from representing them as a true global menace. According to Edelman it does not matter how powerful the enemy actually is, it is enough that the enemy raises fear that can be used in renewing commitments and mobilizing allies[912]. For raising fears around the world, the Iraqi aggression in August 1990 came at a perfect time. It offered a concrete example of the destructive nature of the renegade regimes and thus helped effectively in mobilizing the old Western alliance to new commitments.

In the Bush Administration's foreign policy, the role of Europe in confronting Saddam Hussein's renegade regime was twofold: First of all, the emerging Eastern European democracies needed the United States as a protector of their economies[913]. The main thesis of the Bush Administration was that when the prize of crude oil went up it had most severe consequences in the economies of Eastern European countries that had to buy oil from the international markets, as they could not rely on their former distributor the Soviet Union[914]. The United States could help Eastern European countries by

[908] President Bush's Remarks to the United Nations Security Council in New York City January 31, 1992. GBPLM (www).

[909] Lewis & Wigen 1997, 5.

[910] Stratton 2000, 23; Layne 1993, 34-35; Ryan 2000, 96.

[911] President Bush's Remarks to the United Nations Security Council in New York City January 31, 1992. GBPLM (www).

[912] Edelman 1988, 66.

[913] President Bush's Address to the Nation Announcing Allied Military Action in the Persian Gulf January 16, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[914] Scowcroft 1998, 360; President Bush's News Conference on the Persian Gulf Crisis August 30, 1990; President Bush's Remarks on the United States Discussions With

opening up the world's oil markets again[915]. This was part of the Bush Administration's economic policy to integrate the Eastern European countries into the American sphere of influence and to open up new markets for American business[916]. In return for the help of the United States, Eastern European countries were ready to support the American policy in the Persian Gulf[917]. Secondly, Western European allies were to support the American policy against Saddam Hussein's aggression in the spirit of the Western alliance[918]. If full support was not given for one reason or another, the Bush Administration would be able to demand something extra for compensation:

> Having said that, I'd go back to Dwayne's question. Both -- particularly Japan has got to give us access, and Germany in agriculture as part of the EC has got to give us access to markets. But perhaps our credibility will be such because we've bitten off this really tough -- decided to bite off this tough assignment and complete it, that we will have some -- I wouldn't say leverage on them but persuasiveness that will lead to a more harmonious trading relationships.[919]

At the time of President Bush's remarks on February 6, 1991 the United States led coalition forces had been conducting air war against Iraq for three weeks. President Bush was asked what measures the United States would take towards its most important trade partners Japan and Germany, which had caused political problems for the war effort and had not sent forces into the battlefield.[920]. Bush emphasized the considerable funding these two countries had given to the war effort[921], and he hinted that the leading position of the United States in the Gulf conflict could be used to open up Japanese and European markets. President Bush's argumentation clearly indicated how American military power was being used as a tool to pressurize western partners towards more favorable trade agreements. Most remarkably, President Bush was taking advantage of the currently disunited situation in the European Community. Bush was bilaterally pushing favorable changes in the EC through Germany, which from the Bush Administration's point of view was already politically indebted by American support for the reunification[922]. On the other hand, the United States itself was economically in debt especially to Germany

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Iraq and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters January 4, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[915] President Bush's Remarks on the United States Discussions With Iraq and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters January 4, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[916] President Bush's Remarks on Signing the Proclamation Granting Special Trade Status to Poland January 5, 1990; President Bush's Remarks at the Richard Nixon Library Dinner March 11, 1992. About the broadening the American sphere of interests to Eastern Europe after the Cold War see Johnson 2004, 20. GBPLM (www).

[917] President Bush's Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters in Paris, FranceNovember 21, 1990. GBPLM (www).

[918] Bush & Scowrcroft 1998. Bush, 336-337.

[919] President Bush's Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session at a Meeting of the Economic Club in New York, New York February 6, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[920] Ibid.

[921] Ibid.

[922] Baker 1995, 299.

and Japan in early 1990s because of Reagan's arms race policy of 1980s[923]. However, even a great economic power is relatively toothless in world politics without military back up, as a strong military with a global reach is a great asset in securing trade and investment activities on the global scale[924]. Despite its debts, the United States was still the biggest economy in the world and it possessed virtual monopoly in fielding violence all over the world[925].

The threat of Saddam Hussein was not long lasting, as the Iraqi army was crushed within a hundred hours of land warfare between February 24 and 28, 1991[926]. Saddam Hussein's Iraq was thus not able to compensate for the loss of Soviet Union as a long-term enemy. Nevertheless, Iraq, or the renegade regimes in general, were not the only threats at the Cold War's end. Terrorism, the spread of nuclear weapons, ethnic strife, and environmental issues were also important factors that Europe and the world needed to confront together with the United States[927]. Many of these threats had been a concern to the Western world during the Cold War, but then they had not been ranked as high on the list of global problems, as the Soviet threat alone had been enough[928]. Globalizing the new threats was closely connected with the rise of economic globalization of the world at the Cold War's end[929], as there was no counter force to meet the spread of the ideology of liberal capitalism. This meant that virtually the whole world was becoming a free market area where western and especially American interests were to be protected[930]. Thomas Barnett, a former senior strategic researcher and professor in United States' Naval War College and senior advisory in the office of the United States' Secretary of the State[931], sees the role of the United States in the post-Cold War world as a global leviathan, the protector of the world of Western values and free trade in the name of the globalization[932]. Barnett considers American dominance clearly positive for the world and especially for the integrating process of peripheral states to the core areas of globalization[933]. Barnett also claims that the economies of the core areas are so interwoven that there is no threat of serious internal disputes, but dangers are lurking in the periphery, where they can be pacified by military means if necessary[934]. According to Barnett, after the Cold War the

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[923]   LaFeber 1994, 158-159; Kennedy 1989, 527-528.

[924]   Barnett 2004, 149, 199.

[925]   Posen 2003, 9-10.

[926]   Scowcroft 1998, 486.

[927]   President Bush's Remarks Upon Departure for Europe May 26, 1989; Remarks to the Citizens in Mainz, Federal Republic of Germany May 31, 1989; President Bush's Remarks to Members of Ducks Unlimited June 8, 1989; President Bush's Address to the 44th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, New York September 25, 1989. GBPLM (www).

[928]   Harle 2000, 2-3; Bacevich 2002, 117-118.

[929]   Bacevich 2002, 217; Posen 2003, 46.

[930]   Posen 2003, 46; Barnett 2004, 82.

[931]   Barnett 2008.

[932]   Barnett 2004, 204; 123.

[933]   Barnett 2004, 87; 124.

[934]   Barnett 2004, 101; 175 .

United States got an important mission to civilize the savage nations or the rogue states of the periphery and bring them, by force if necesary, to enjoy the fruits of freedom and understand the benefits of globalization born from the preeminence of American values[935]. The role of the United States as the defender of the core's integrity that Barnett described was clearly underway when the Bush Administration settled the controversies between European powers during the German re-reunification and thus made the dominant American position legitimate within Europe. It was the American led global core consisting of Western Europe, Japan and North America[936], which hastened the opening of Eastern Europe and former Soviet States for the free flow of investments and trade in the early 1990s. In addition, the same global core punished the peripheral Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein in 1991.

10.2 Globalized NATO in the Face of New European Threats

As NATO was the cornerstone of the transatlantic relationship and the interests of the United States in Europe, the role of the organization had to be altered to better meet demands of the post-Cold War world to keep its existence legitimate. The new role for NATO was outlined in the Rome Declaration November 8, 1991:

> 19. Our Strategic Concept underlines that Alliance security must take account of the global context. It points out risks of a wider nature, including proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, disruption of the flow of vital resources and actions of terrorism and sabotage, which can affect Alliance security interests.[937]

As the quotation from the declaration shows the time had come to proceed towards a global NATO, whose area of operations was the whole world instead of only Europe. The broad definition of security interests left a lot of rhetorical space for politicians to justify actions anywhere in the world. NATO was no longer the defense pact it had been during the Cold War. It was transforming into a security force that could be used in promoting Western values and interests in the world under American leadership[938]. At the time of the Rome Declaration, the Victory of the Western coalition in the Persian Gulf was still freshly in mind. According to Stanley Hoffman it was this euphoria of Western victory that led the United States and the Western European countries, most notably France and Britain, to dream of a "new world order" where the world would be ruled by the member states of the United Nations Security Council[939].

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[935] Barnett 2004, 123; 192.
[936] Barnett 2004, 229.
[937] Declaration on Peace and Cooperation of the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Rome November 8, 1991. GBPLM (www).
[938] Forsberg 2002, 71-72.
[939] Hoffmann 2003, 1030.

As the Bush Administration's vision of new world order meant leading the world by force if necessary, the broadening of NATO's sphere of interest was meant to share the burden of the United States in overcoming the threats of the post-Cold War world[940]. Keeping the status of NATO intact by picturing the new threats to the West, was not just meant to legitimize the leading role of the United States in Europe, it was also meant to hide it. New threats were important for the integrity of Western Europe as common enemies helped to settle the suspicious atmosphere created by the German reunification. Domestically, the new threat images of NATO were also useful to the Bush Administration to argue in the defence of Western Europeans against the wide spread American sentiment that the Western Europeans were "free riding"[941]. The broadening of NATO's interests signaled that the Western coalition was not forced to limit its actions in the defense of Europe.

In the Bush Administration' foreign policy one of the new threats of the post-Cold War security environment, where NATO was needed, was to confront the spread of weapons of mass destruction, which meant especially nuclear weapons. This threat was especially connected to the dissolution of the Soviet Union[942]. Especially worrisome in Bush's argumentation was a scenario where Soviet nuclear technology or knowledge would be diffused to the wrong hands[943]. In addition to containing the weapons of mass destruction, NATO was still needed to counter direct aggression in Europe. From the Bush Administration's viewpoint, the security threat came especially from ethnic and nationalistic strife[944]. A possible civil war inside the Soviet Union formed one threat to Europe, as did the ethnic and nationalistic clashes within Eastern Europe[945]. The bloody revolution in Romania in December 1989 and most notably the Yugoslavian civil war since the summer of 1991 were examples of blood letting in the heart of Europe. Interestingly, the Bush Administration's stance towards the Yugoslavian Civil War was outlined in Hague November 9, 1991 just a day after the Rome Declaration, which had broadened NATO's sphere of interests:

> We see in Yugoslavia how the proud name of nationalism can splinter a country into bloody civil war. America supports, strongly supports, the efforts of the European Community to bring that conflict to an end. We salute Lord Carrington for his indefatigable efforts. And we urge all parties to stop the violence, to seek through peaceful means an immediate end to the suffering. We are ready to join the EC in

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[940] The Gulf War was a sign of changing enemy image and the broadening of NATO's operational environment Forsberg 2002, 89. See also 71-72.

[941] Miller 1990, 318.

[942] Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 445; Baker 1995, 581.

[943] President Bush's Remarks to the United Nations Security Council in New York City January 31, 1992; Remarks to the American Society of Newspaper Editors April 9, 1992. GBPLM (www).

[944] President Bush's Remarks to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Paris, France November 19, 1990; President Bush's Remarks to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of the Ukraine in Kiev, Soviet Union August 1, 1991. GBPLM (www).

[945] Scowcroft 1998, 515-516.

holding accountable those in Yugoslavia whose parochial ambitions are perpetrating this agony.[946]

Bush was showing a strong support for the attempts of the European Community to solve the crisis. Nevertheless, this was not a crisis where the Bush Administration proclaimed that strong American leadership was needed[947]. The lack of American willingness to become entangled with the Balkan conflict in 1991 was highlighted in the narrative of the Bush Administration that portrayed the conflict as unfortunate and sad but beyond the reach of outside influence[948]. According to Kuusisto, the leaders of France, Britain and the United States used this narrative during the later stages of Yugoslavian crises such as the fighting in Bosnia, and it was characterized by the highlighting of the cruelty of this ethnic slaughter, which needed "careful substantiation" and "justifying definitions" on behalf of the Western inaction[949]. The arguments for inaction were built on the claim that it was not wise to try to intervene in a conflict that was characterized by "chaos, uncontrollability and pain", as it could have only meant becoming mired in a new Vietnam or Somalia[950]. In the rhetoric of Western leaders the only right and wise thing to do was to stay away from the conflict. The threat of ethnic and nationalistic strife was thus most of all unfortunate, but not severe enough by itself for determined Western action. In addition to the narrative of unfortunate and chaotic slaughter, the Bush Administration used geopolitical distancing from the Balkan conflict to give reasons for the inaction of the leader of the West and the new world order. The Balkan region was portrayed as a separate entity, which basically was in Europe, but actually formed its own space that was on the list of shared responsibilities of the West[951]. The Bush Administration's support for the European Community's efforts was politically relatively harmless to give, as European action was not going to form a threat to the lives of American citizens. According to Secretary of State James Baker, the decision for the non-involvement of the United States and NATO in the early stages of the Yugoslavian conflict was also that Americans wanted to see whether the Western European states could act militarily through the Western European Union, which was at that time represented as a potential substitute for NATO[952].

The majority of Americans, who did not want to see their troops taking part in the conflict, supported the Bush Administration's cautious stance during the early stages of the Yugoslavian civil war[953]. The fact that the conflict was taking place within Europe, for whose security the American led NATO was

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[946]   President Bush's Remarks at a Luncheon Hosted by Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers in The Hague November 9, 1991. GBPLM (www).
[947]   Baker 1995, 636.
[948]   Morales 1994, 86; Kuusisto 1999, 98-100.
[949]   Kuusisto 1999, 100.
[950]   Kuusisto 1999, 123.
[951]   President Bush's Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis of Greece December 12, 1991. GBPLM (www).
[952]   Baker 1995, 637.
[953]   First poll made on January 1993 showed that 67 % of United States citizens resisted U.S. involvement in the conflict. Kohut & Toth 1994, 53.

responsible, however, evoked some serious questions about the possible participation of the United States in the conflict:

> Q. Mr. President, do you think that you have properly defined to the American people and to Congress the future role of NATO in terms of Europe in the post-cold-war world? That is, does it mean American troops will have to go into every ethnic struggle, every national civil war as they are assigned by NATO, and should we do that?
>
> The President. No, it doesn't mean that American troops will go into every struggle. NATO, in our view, and I think in the view of most of the participants if not all, is the fundamental guarantor of European security. It is in the national interest of the United States in my view to keep a strong presence, a U.S. presence, in NATO. I don't think anybody suggests that if there is a hiccup here or there or a conflict here or there that the United States is going to send troops. Yugoslavia is a good example. What we're interested in doing is moving forward to help, but I've not committed to use U.S. troops there, and nobody has suggested that NATO troops are going to go into that arena.[954]

At the time of President Bush's remarks on July 8, 1992, the War in Yugoslavia had raged for a year. The logic of the conversation between President Bush and reporter shows how difficult the question of Yugoslavian conflict actually was. Bush's arguments were logically mixed-up. President Bush was saying that the United States should have strong presence in NATO also in the future, as this would guarantee the peace within Europe, while at the same time a real war was raging in the continent. Bush's answer seems to portray that the Yugoslavian conflict was not a threat to European or American security as it was just a "hiccup" or minor conflict that did not need to be taken care of by the western military. President Bush's argumentation also showed the dual role of NATO in the conflict and in European security. On one hand, NATO was portrayed as an independent actor, as Bush stated that neither American troops nor NATO troops had been suggested for interfering in the conflict. However, NATO is not a monolith independent actor. The highest position in NATO, the Supreme Allied Commander Europe or SACEUR, always belongs to the representative of the armed forces of the United States[955]. As the supreme power in military matters in the United States belongs to the President[956], it can be argued that the Bush Administration could have acted through NATO if it had wanted to do so[957]. By giving a picture that NATO was a more independent actor than it actually was, the Bush Administration shared the responsibility of inaction in handling the Yugoslavian crisis. The globalized NATO was not used for solving the localized conflict at the heart of Europe until 1995, after the Western European countries asked for help from the United States[958]. The acid test of independent Western European military action had failed.

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[954] President Bush's News Conference in Munich, Germany July 8, 1992. GBPLM (www).
[955] Bacevich 2002, 103.
[956] Johnson 2004, 53.
[957] Baker 1995, 637.
[958] Harle 2000, 157.

11 CONCLUSION: UNITED WITH THE UNITED STATES

This study sought an answer to the question what kind of argumentation President Bush used in his public speeches to legitimize the leading position of the United States in Europe at the end of the Cold War and after it in 1989-1993. Evaluating my work now, I was predominantly following the course of the hermeneutical circle where research literature gives the overall picture and primary sources are used to concretize and check the claims of the literature[959]. As the period under research was four years it often crossed my mind whether I have chosen the right events of the past under evaluation? However, it can be asked what are the right events in the research of past world politics in the case of George Bush's European foreign policy 1989-1993? Which analyst or contemporary commentator should have guided my selection of sources? To overcome this problem, I read through all Bush's speeches that were connected to Europe in one way or another to create a perspective of my own of the past events. It helped to some extent, and gave wider perspective, but while the overall picture became sharper, I realized that the picture I was constructing from the Bush Administration's foreign policy argumentation would be build at an even more general level than I had originally thought. I also realized that my study emphasized heavily the years 1989-1991, whereas Bush's speeches in the years 1992-1993 were relatively little covered. This implied that my research basically followed the rather typical pattern of the end of the Cold War studies, where the death throws of the Soviet Union, the German problem and the Gulf War as a manifestation of the new world order are analyzed in detail.

This raises the question of whether there were relevant changes in Bush's Administration's lines of European foreign policy in 1992 and early 1993, which would have been meaningful to cover in more detail? Maybe a more detailed evaluation of the handling of the Yugoslavian civil war between Western Europeans and Americans could have offered some interesting points of view to the question of the Western dissidents. It also seems that I could have emphasized more the meaning of the *de facto* establishment of the European Union by the Maastricht Treaty in February 1992 and its meaning to the Bush

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[959] Jackson 2006, 51.

Administration's foreign policy. When it comes to the year 1993, it can be said that the term of President Bush ended in January 1993 and thus it was natural that I did not analyze many speeches from that year. In the future, the unanswered questions would be interesting to take a closer look at, as they could offer new aspects to the Bush Administration's European foreign policy. However, the main changes in the Bush Administration's European foreign policy had taken place by the end of the 1991. The post-Cold War polity, highlighting the leading role of the United States in Europe, had been established through the re-legitimization of NATO through German reunification and by emphasizing the meaning of the unified Western community during the Gulf War. What was left in the Bush Administration's argumentation in European foreign policy was most of all administrative politicking over questions of the new world order, such as how the United States should lead the world, or how the West was going to handle the dangers of the world, and there seemed to be only little to be analyzed within this framework compared with the turmoil of the years 1989-1991. Nevertheless, further research of the years 1992-1993, could show how Bush Administration maintained and added new elements to its European foreign policy after the American role as a European power and the leader of the West had been guaranteed. In addition to the so-called general lines of the Bush Administration European foreign policy, my study covered such rarely approached issues as the Bush Administration's naming of European regions and Western identity building between Western and Eastern Europe and the United States. I have also analyzed the myths of American foreign policy and their appearance in Bush's argumentation, which is seldom done beyond the Anglophone world. I also think that my combined usage of sources such as intelligence documents, President Bush's speeches and memoirs of the members of the Bush Administration was able to bring some new perspectives to the already familiar topics such as the German reunification, especially as some of the documents I used were declassified relatively recently.

Despite the seasonal feelings of inadequacy, I came to realize that, to the best of my knowledge, the picture of the Bush Administration's European foreign policy argumentation has not really been evaluated in this scale ever before. Maybe this is derived from a notion that President Bush's public communicating skills are said to have been relatively poor[960] and maybe thus uninteresting for the researchers of political communication, especially as Bush's predecessor Ronald Reagan and successor Bill Clinton have both been skilful public speakers[961]. I also realized that the Bush Administration's foreign policy at the Cold War's end was often evaluated in hindsight[962], which tended to imply that his Administration was unable to cope with the fast phase of events at the Cold War's end, and was left the prisoner of the Cold War *status*

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[960] Bush openly admitted that he was not as good as Reagan was in public performaces. See Bush 1998, 17. See also David 1996, 206.

[961] About Reagan, see for example Neustadt 1990, xiii. About Clinton, see for example Bacevich 2002, 89.

[962] This hindsight is also criticized by Élie 2007, 143.

quo[963]. The Bush Administration, along that of Clinton's, is also blamed for having been unable to build a grand strategy for the United States' post-Cold War foreign policy in 1990s[964]. When it comes to the "out of touch critic", it is worth remembering that the situation the Bush Administration faced was extremely turbulent and considering the results of his foreign policy, Bush's legacy should not be underestimated, though its public justification was not always smooth. It is also worth noticing that the Bush Administration actually had a clear grand strategy that guided his policies throughout most of the years 1989-1993. The central flaw in the grand strategy critique, like that of David's claim that Bush's foreign policy was conducted on an ad hoc basis of "putting out of fires" without a coherent "long-range vision"[965], or that of Huntington, who portrays the Bush Administration's new world order as a mere example of fruitless euphoria over the ending of the Cold War[966] is that they both silent on the point that the Bush Administration had actually to choose between the option of giving space for the birth of multipolar world order[967], and the keeping of American involvement high in the post-Cold War world. The former would have meant strong American focus on domestic economy that was in a ruinous state due to the military spending of the Reagan years and the recession at hand[968], whereas the latter meant keeping up the American Cold War commitments as well making military interventions despite the weak state of the economy[969]. In the Bush Administration's European foreign policy argumentation, this selection between the grand strategies was seen in President Bush's refusal to say that the United States should withdraw from Europe or from anywhere else in the world. However, it is reasonable to ask was there actually any other choice? The United States had such global level economic, military and political commitments at the Cold War's end that simply withdrawing from the world would have been extremely difficult to execute. This decision can be of course questioned by asking if the Bush Administration did this to maintain the American empire, like Andrew Bacevich and Chalmers Johnson have claimed[970]. This point of view, however, tends to ignore the fact that many European governments asked the United States to stay and solve their security problems at the end of the Cold War. This role of the United States as the leader that other nations can lean on was clearly highlighted in the Western European willingness to keep American led NATO intact, or in the Eastern European eagerness to seek American support for their emerging societies. What this means is that the role of the United States' was legitimate in Europe at the Cold War's end as Europeans wanted rather to be

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[963] David 1996, 215; Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 170-171, 471; Hoff 1994, 223.
[964] Joffe 1995, 94; Bacevich 2002, IX.
[965] David 1996, 213.
[966] Huntington 1997, 31.
[967] Hummel 2000, 12-14.
[968] Miller 1990, 316; LaFeber 1994, 158-159; Beschloss & Talbott 1993, 474.
[969] The United States had to borrow money for the Gulf War from its allies Hoff 1994, 211; LaFeber 1994, 162.
[970] Bacevich 2002, 2-4; Johnson 2004, 1.

united with the United States than taking the risk of going alone into the post-Cold War world.

In its European foreign policy argumentation the Bush Administration pictured the historical role of the United States in Europe in extremely positive terms. In President Bush's grand narrative of the history of transatlantic relations, Western Europe and the United States had shared the same ideals and enemies and had been able to prevent serious internal strife within the West for 40 years.The future would look as bright if this practice was continued. The Bush Administration was thus using polity rhetoric that underlined the continuity of the well-established Cold War structures such as NATO despite the fact that the Cold War itself was about to end. This was possible as Bush reframed the meaning of the Western community in the context of the post-Cold War, and his vision of the new world order portrayed the Western European countries as important partners in sharing the burdens of world leadership. The common western identity did not mean that members of this community would have been equal, as the American role was to lead the West. In the speeches of President Bush, Europe was the one that learned the righteous values of the West from the United States and followed the American example. The leadership position of the United States in Europe was morally and logically unrivalled in Bush's argumentation, as history had shown that Europeans tended to fight each other continuously if left alone. Bush reminded constantly in his speeches how the United States had saved Europe three times during the 20th century. President Bush proclaimed time after time that there were no guarantees for peace in Europe or in the whole world if the United States withdrew from Europe and thus it was in the common interests of both Europeans and Americans that the United States would remain a European power after the end of the Cold War. While visiting European countries, President Bush also portrayed the history of the United States and Europe as positively entangled. In Bush's argumentation, the ties of blood and culture were binding, as many Americans were descendants of European immigrants. Europeans and Americans shared the same western values: democracy, market economy and appreciation of freedom. This praise of European hosts was first and foremost meant as a compliment, but it was also meant to soften the image of the unquestionable leadership of the United States. Emphasizing the common roots and values was thus polity rhetoric that took place under the framework of the American leadership of Europe. The key message was that it did not matter who was the leader as all belonged to the same community, which had common goals.

In addition to being the leader of Western Europe, the Bush Administration portrayed the United States as the staunchest supporter of Eastern European nations on their road to sovereignty. The Cold War divide shaped the space of political argumentation still in 1989, but a year later, this division was gone, as the Soviet Union had lost its grip on Eastern Europe. As the Cold War was ending in the victory of the United States led West, the Bush Administration needed to define the borders of Europe anew, especially to

attach Eastern Europe to the American sphere of influence. In its foreign policy argumentation of 1989-1993, the Bush Administration defined the borders of Europe by renaming certain regions and countries. This was a process of selective politicization of the map of Europe, which followed the Bush Administration's defined interests of the United States in Europe. The Bush Administration moved or politicized into the core of Europe a number of Eastern European countries that were seen as positive gains for the American led West by placing them under new names. Countries like Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were portrayed as elementary parts of Europe by using names like Central Europe. The Bush Administration's map of Europe also included Turkey and Ukraine. The inclusion of Turkey in Europe served American interests in Middle East. Ukraine was included in Europe as part of the Bush Administration's efforts of denuclearizing the former Soviet Republics. On the other hand, some regions formed geopolitical spaces of their own, which were not on the American list of responsibilities. During the Baltic crisis, 1989-1991 President Bush admitted the sovereign nature of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and used the name Baltic States to conceptualize these Soviet Republics as separate from the Soviet central government. The Bush Administration did not however name the Baltics as a part of Europe. This meant leaving the three Baltic countries in limbo where they had to fight alone for their independence because the Bush Administration wanted to avoid entanglement in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. Ukraine, the largest of the Soviet Republics faced even harsher treatment. The Bush Administration opposed the independence demands of the Ukrainians while the Soviet Union existed, which meant that it was not counted as a part of Europe, but of the Soviet Union. Treatment of the Baltic States and Ukraine as something non-European emphasized the Bush Administration's reluctance to move beyond the bipolar world order in its foreign policy. Especially in the case of Ukrainian independence, the Bush Administration's foreign policy was characterized by conservative polity argumentation, aimed to overcome the politicization of the existence of the Soviet Union. The Yugoslavian civil war taking place in the Balkans on the other hand was portrayed as a European problem, which, however, was not a problem of NATO or the United States. The process of naming European geopolitical regions was thus guided by political expediency. By altering the messages, the Bush Administration tried to keep the credibility of its European foreign policy as high as possible and American commitments to potentially dangerous situations as low as possible. This did not always work, as President Bush's famous "Chicken Kiev speech" proved.

The position of the United States as a leading European nation was challenged various times during the years 1989-1993. Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev challenged it by geographically excluding the United States out of Europe with his Common European Home initiative and by the public gestures meant to show the Soviet commitment for ending the Cold War. General Secretary Gorbachev's reformist ideas of ending the superpower confrontation were politicization attempts that questioned the meaning of the Cold War *status*

quo of confrontation and appealed broadly to Western audiences. When George Bush came into office January 1989, he started using the polity rhetoric of the Cold War that his predecessor Ronald Reagan had already discarded. According to Bush's argumentation, nothing had profoundly changed in the superpower relations. The Bush Administration's underlining of the Cold War polity was unappealing in Western Europe, especially as Gorbachev continued to use politicization rhetoric showing that the Cold War was over, and for a while, it seemed that the integrity of the West itself was being challenged. As General Secretary Gorbachev's politicization of the American presence in Europe had already started during the Reagan era and continued through the beginning of the Bush presidency in 1989 it had actually started to turn to more established politicking rhetoric. During the year 1989 President Bush, however, started skirmishing with Gorbachev in terms of politicking rhetoric that actually followed the Cold War pattern of superpower competition. Both superpower leaders introduced their own visions for the future order of Europe and wanted to portray their country in a central role. To answer General Secretary Gorbacev's politicization challenge the Bush Administration introduced the policy of "Europe Whole and Free", which portrayed the future of Europe without the Soviet Union. The Bush and Gorbachev Administrations also raced in the disarmament initiatives during 1989. The fall of the Berlin wall in November 1989 showed that the scales of power had turned decisively in favor of the United States. In the aftermath of this great Western victory, the Bush Administration started to use conciliatory polity rhetoric in its relations to the Soviet Union by portraying the former adversary still as a superpower. Nevertheless, the potential re-emergence of the Soviet threat was an option that was occasionally presented in the Bush Administrations rhetoric still in 1990. By 1991, the internal political situation of the Soviet Union was quickly moving towards confusion as the central government in Moscow was losing its power. The disintegration of the Soviet Union itself culminated in August 1991 when Communist Party hardliners removed President Gorbachev from power. In the face of the possible reappearance of the Soviet threat, the Bush Administration in a practiced way dragged out the Cold War rhetoric of superpower confrontation and re-grouped the ranks of the West. When the Soviet Union dissolved in December 1991 the reappearance of the Cold War was finally excluded from the Bush Administration's foreign policy argumentation.

The European integration process also questioned the presence of the United States in Europe 1989-1993 especially as the winding down of the Cold War at first seemed to make the United States more dispensable for the future of the old continent. Even though the fading Soviet threat was no longer enough to legitimize American leadership of Europe at the Cold War's end, the successful American solution to the German problem in 1990 helped in re-legitimizing the role of the United States as the leading power of Europe. In President Bush's policy argumentation, the German threat was not named directly, but it was implicitly portrayed in the way President Bush described the unpredictability connected with German reunification that could be solved by

continuing the central role of the United States in European security. This policy was successful as the Bush Administration was able to assure East and West European countries as well as the Soviet Union of the benefits of keeping NATO intact, and attaching the new Germany to it. The Bush Administration also strengthened relations between Germany and the United States by supporting German reunification openly, which made the reluctant European major powers like France and Britain appear anti-German.

The settlement of the German threat and the disappearance of the Soviet threat in Europe did not mean an end to securitization in George Bush's European foreign policy. New dangers were presented to the European countries, and especially to the rich Western European countries. New threats were global in nature and they were used to justify the sharing of costly responsibilities in managing the post-Cold War world. They consisted of a disparate array of drug trafficking, nationalism, ethnic hatred, terrorism, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and regional conflicts. New threats needed global level American led countermeasures that were to be supported by the Western European allies and the international community. Overcoming these new threats was part of President Bush's vision of the new world order, which had been forged during the Persian Gulf crisis. This vision pictured a new polity of the world where peace, freedom and democracy would prevail under the leadership of the United States and the West. This better world looming on the horizon was not going to be gained without a fight, and the only right policy was to overcome the new threats even by military means if necessary. During the Gulf crisis, a regional problem had been quickly turned into a threat to the whole humankind. At the level of President Bush's argumentation, the Gulf War was fought between a delusional dictator, who sought world dominance and the global coalition for peace and stability led by the United States. The role of the Western European countries in this crusade was to support the war against Iraq militarily and give financial support, whereas the moral support of Eastern Europeans was needed to justify the use of force. Countering the new threats was successfully institutionalized after the victorious Gulf War, when Western European countries committed themselves to the new global commitments of NATO.

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991, American power in world politics was at its peak. In Europe, the United States was the leading European state. Simultaneously the United States was the sole superpower, which had interests all over the world and Europe was just one continent dominated by the global American set of rules. During the Clinton era this polity became incorporated into the concept of "globalization"[971].

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[971]   Johnson 2004, 71, 255.

YHTEENVETO

Tutkimus tarkastelee minkälaisella ulkopolitiikalla ja siihen liittyvillä argumentaatiostrategioilla Presidentti George Herbert Walker Bushin hallinto edisti Yhdysvaltojen säilymistä osana Eurooppaa kylmän sodan lopussa ja sen päättymisen jälkeen 1989–1993. Kylmän sodan loppuvaiheissa Yhdysvallat oli nimittäin taloudellisesti, kulttuurillisesti ja NATOn kautta integroitunut läntiseen Eurooppaan niin pitkään ja voimakkaasti, että sen ulkopoliittinen johto nimitti maataan eurooppalaiseksi suurvallaksi. Kylmän sodan päättyminen järkytti tätä identiteettiä. Kylmän sodan päättyessä Yhdysvaltojen ulkopoliittiselta johdolta vaadittiinkin toimivista argumenteista rakentuvaa ulkopolitiikkaa, jotta turvallisuuspoliittinen yhteistyö Länsi-Euroopan maiden kanssa saatiin pidettyä kylmän sodan tasolla ja jotta vaikutusvaltaa voitiin laajentaa Itä-Euroopan alueen valtatyhjiöön. Bushin kauden aktiivinen Euroopan ulkopolitiikka kylmän sodan lopussa loi pohjan Yhdysvaltojen turvallisuuspoliittisen vaikutusvallan ennennäkemättömälle kasvulle Euroopassa: Yhdysvallat vastaa nykyisin lähes koko vanhan mantereen puolustuksesta. Identifioitumalla aktiivisesti uudenlaiseksi eurooppalaiseksi toimijaksi George Bushin hallinnon onnistui siis legitimoida uudelleen Yhdysvaltojen keskeinen rooli ja vieläpä vahvistaa otetta vanhasta mantereesta.

Rakenteeltaan tutkimus on kaksiosainen. Ensimmäinen osa keskittyy aineiston ja tutkimuskysymysten esittelyyn sekä ajallis-kontekstuaalisen argumentaatio -lähestymistavan rakentamiseen. Tutkimuksen aineisto koostuu George Bushin julkisista puheenvuoroista ja keskustiedustelupalvelu CIA:n dokumenteista sekä Bushin hallinnon turvallissuusneuvontaja Brent Scowcroftin ja ulkoministeri James Bakerin muistelmista. Metodina käytetyssä ajallis-kontekstuaalisessa argumentaatiotutkimuksessa on elementtejä historian tutkimuksen, poliittisen retoriikan tutkimuksen ja kansainvälisen politiikan kriittisen realismin koulukunnan lähestymistavoista. Metodin rakentaminen on tapahtunut yhdistämällä muun muassa Roy Bhaskarin, David Lowenthalin, Heikki Patomäen, Kari Palosen, Hayden Whiten, Geoffrey Eltonin ja Quentin Skinnerin ajatuksia tiedon, menneisyyteen liittyvän tiedon sekä politiikan luonteesta. Lähestymistapana ajallis-kontekstuaalinen argumentaatiotutkimus perustuu näkemykseen, jonka mukaan menneisyyden argumentaatiota tutkitaan: ajasta aikaan, kontekstista kontekstiin ja argumenteista argumentteihin. Toisin sanoen aikaa, kontekstia ja argumentteja ei voida erottaa toisistaan, vaan tutkijan tulkinta menneestä on sidottu aikaan kontekstin kautta nykyisyyden ja menneisyyden tasoilla. Menneisyyden poliittisten argumenttien tutkimus tapahtuu peilaamalla käytettyjä argumentaatiostrategioita ja niiden rakennetta erityisesti oman aikansa tapahtumahistorialliseen ja aatteellis-ideologiseen kontekstiin. Muun muassa Skinnerin ja Palosen mukaan käytettävä konteksti on kuitenkin aina tutkijan nykyisyydestä käsin luoma konstruktio, ja sen uskottavuus perustuu tutkijan kykyyn argumentoida oman tulkintansa uskottavuuden puolesta, mikä tekee tutkijasta myös osan tutkittavaa poliittista ilmiötä. Tutki-

musprosessin kautta tuotetun tulkinnan pätevyyttä voidaankin arvioida vain vertaamalla siinä esitettyjen argumenttien uskottavuutta muihin samasta aiheesta tehtyihin tulkintoihin ja niiden argumentteihin.

Tutkimuksen toinen osio keskittyy aineiston analysointiin. Tässä osiossa konstruoidaan Bushin puheiden kautta hänen hallintonsa Euroopan ulkopolitiikan kolme keskeistä argumentaatiostrategiaa, joita kaikkia yhdisti pyrkimys legitimoida Yhdysvaltojen roolia eurooppalaisena toimijana. Kaikki kolme argumentaatiostrategiaa rakentuivat lukuisien yksittäisten argumenttien kautta. Nämä argumentit vaihtelivat puolestaan lukuisten kontekstuaalisten tekijöiden mukaan, kuten esimerkiksi puheen pääasiallisen yleisön, tapahtuman luonteen ja Yhdysvaltojen ja Neuvostoliiton suhteissa vallitsevan poliittisen tilanteen mukaan. Näiden yksittäisen argumenttien toimintaa havainnollistetaan aineisto-osuudessa suorilla lainauksilla ja niiden analyyseillä.

Bushin hallinnon ensimmäinen argumentaatiostrategia korosti Yhdysvaltojen roolia Euroopan jälkeläisenä ja historiallisena pelastajana. Yhdysvaltojen ja Länsi-Euroopan maiden välisissä suhteissa tätä roolia rakennettiin pitkälti kylmän sodan ideologisten ja puolustuksellisten rakenteiden kautta, jossa NATOlla oli keskeinen rooli. Bush esitti Yhdysvallat ja Länsi-Euroopan toisiinsa tiukasti sitoutuneina niin intressien, kulttuurin, historian kuin arvojenkin tasolla. Toisaalta Bushin puheissa Yhdysvaltojen rooli läntisen Euroopan puolustajana ei tarkoittanut vain Neuvostoliiton uhan patoamista, vaan Yhdysvallat oli myös pelastanut Euroopan fasismilta. Bushin mukaan Yhdysvaltojen johtajuus Länsi-Euroopassa oli myös lopettanut eurooppalaisten sisäisen kilpailun, joka oli johtanut maailmansotiin. Yhdysvaltojen ja Itä-Euroopan maiden suhteissa Bush korosti kylmää sotaa aikaisempia historiallisia juuria. Puheissaan Bush myös toivotti Itä-Euroopan maat osaksi uutta maailmanjärjestystä ("new world order") eli Yhdysvaltojen johtamaa maailmaa, jossa demokratia, markkinatalous ja vapaus kukoistaisivat ja Yhdistyneet Kansakunnat voisi keskittyä maailman ongelmien ratkaisemiseen.

Bushin hallinnon Euroopan ulkopolitiikan toinen argumentaatiostrategia koostui Euroopan uudelleen määrittelystä. Tälle argumentaatiostrategialle leimallista oli, että kylmän sodan voittaneiden Yhdysvaltojen valtiojohto määritteli Eurooppaan kuuluvaksi alueita, jotka se näki omille poliittisille tarkoitusperilleen suotuisiksi. Euroopan uudelleen määrittelyillä Bushin hallinto sekä korosti voittoaan kylmässä sodassa että piirsi uudelleen oman valtansa ja vastuunsa rajoja Euroopassa. Tässä prosessissa suurin osa entisen Itä-Euroopan maista luokiteltiin osaksi Eurooppaa, tai sitten Yhdysvaltojen kylmässä sodassa saavuttaman voiton mahdollistamaa uutta Eurooppaa ("New Europe") tai kokonaista ja vapaata Eurooppaa ("Europe Whole and Free"). Myös esimerkiksi Turkki, joka oli ollut Yhdysvaltojen lojaali liittolainen kylmän sodan aikana, oli Bushin puheiden mukaan osa Eurooppaa siitä huolimatta, että konventionaalinen länsieurooppalainen näkemys oli vahvasti eriävillä linjoilla. Toisaalta samanaikaisesti sellaiset Itä-Euroopan maat, joista katsottiin olevan enemmän harmia kuin hyötyä Yhdysvalloille, luokiteltiin usein Eurooppaan kuulumattomiksi, ellei sitten eurooppalaiseksi maaksi määrittelyyn liittyvää vastuuta voi-

tu jotenkin hälventää. Hyviä esimerkkejä tästä käytännöstä olivat esimerkiksi itsenäisyyttä tavoitelleet neuvostotasavallat Viro, Latvia ja Liettua sekä Ukraina, joiden potentiaalinen eurooppalaisuus ei tullut ajankohtaiseksi kuin vasta Neuvostoliiton romahtamisen myötä. Myös entisessä Jugoslaviassa riehunut sisällissota aiheutti ongelmia Bushin hallinnolle. Hankala alue pyrittiin toisaalta esittämään tavallaan muusta Euroopasta erilliseksi erityisalueeksi Balkaniksi. Toisaalta taas alueen kuuluminen Eurooppaan myönnettiin ja sitä korostettiin erityisesti sen jälkeen kun Länsi-Euroopan maat olivat ilmoittaneet ottaneensa vastuun kriisin ratkaisemisesta.

Kolmas argumentaatiostrategia koostui erilaisista uhista, joita Bushin hallinto käytti Euroopan ulkopolitiikkansa yhtenä keskeisimmistä rakennusaineista. Uhat olivat tärkeitä erityisesti Yhdysvaltojen sotilaallisen läsnäolon uudelleen legitimoimiseksi Euroopassa sekä läntisen turvallisuusyhteistyön ylläpitämiseksi NATOn säilyttämisen kautta. Vuosien 1989–1991 aikana Bushin hallinnon Euroopan ulkopolitiikassa Neuvostoliitto oli vielä keskeisellä sijalla, joskin sen uhan merkitys Bushin puheissa yleisesti ottaen väheni suuresti näinä vuosina. Korvatakseen Neuvostoliiton uhan vähentymisen ja suoranaisen loppumisen joulukuussa 1991, Bushin hallinto myös esitteli uusia globaaleja uhkia legitimoidakseen Yhdysvaltojen roolin maailman johtajana uudelleen. Erityistä lisäpontta uusien globaalien uhkien ilmapiiri sai Bushin puheissa Irakin hyökkäyksestä Kuwaitiin, joka Yhdysvaltojen virallisen linjan mukaan oli uhka koko kylmän sodan jälkeiselle maailmanjärjestykselle. Lännen ja erityisesti Länsi-Euroopan rooli uusien uhkakuvien kuten terrorismin, etnisen vihan, huumeiden ja alueellisten sotien vastustamisessa oli toimia yhteistyössä Yhdysvaltojen kanssa. Sen lisäksi, että Eurooppaan kohdistui uusia uhkia kylmän sodan päättyessä, myös Euroopan sisällä kuohui. Bushin hallinto osallistui keskeisellä tavalla Saksojen yhdistymisen tuomien uhkakuvien hälventämiseen tarjoamalla poliittista ratkaisua, jossa Yhdysvallat pysyi Euroopassa ja Saksa sidottiin osaksi NATOa. Ratkaisu hyväksyttiin yleisesti, ja se on epäilemättä ollut yksi keskeisimmistä tekijöistä Yhdysvaltojen säilymisessä Euroopan turvallisuuden takaajana.

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