

Examples of unilateral behaviour, some tainted by "Cold War thinking" include: resisting the opportunity for a visit to the U.S. of President Vladimir Putin, the expulsion of Russians accused of spying, the shift in approach toward China, the repudiation of talks with North Korea, the embarrassing of South Korean President Kim Dae-jung, insistence on NMD despite international opposition, scepticism about European Security and Defence Policy, the rejection of the Kyoto Protocol, opposition to nation-building in the Balkans, decreased funding for nuclear arms control, and launching a defence review.

A suggestion was made that the incipient U.S. foreign policy aims to fulfil three principles:

- match resources to "basic interests"
- avoid advocating U.S. (military) solutions to every international problem
- avoid "feel good" diplomacy (i.e., pay limited attention to democracy and human rights).¹

The choice between unilateralism and multilateralism determines how the U.S. - the sole remaining superpower - approaches foreign policy issues including: human rights, NMD, and regional conflicts, as well as larger dilemmas, such as, the growing power and wealth disparities in the world. The revival of the term "rogue states" supports the assertion that the new U.S. foreign policy tends to be unilateral. The term (phenomenon) has no standing in international law and allows for inconsistent and selective policy application. It has been useful, however, in rallying public support for NMD and to justify ending talks with North Korea, for instance.

Complementing the "unilateralism *versus* multilateralism" debate, a question was posed whether the U.S. will become an assertive hegemon, as opposed to a multilateral leader. A side-note was made that former President Bill Clinton was not very successful in leading multilateral efforts.

One should keep in mind that many key appointments have not been made yet and that rhetoric may not translate into policy. The anti-Clinton campaign will likely subside, including the irrational desire to banish Clinton-era policies, good or bad. It may also become clear that unilateralism and "black and white Cold War" thinking are not viable in a globalised world, marked by complexity and diversity. Moreover, there are probably 4 or 5 players involved in foreign and defence issues. It is not yet clear who is pulling the strings at the White House and what role President Bush plays. (The actors include: Colin Powell - Secretary of State, Dick Cheney - Vice-President, Condoleezza Rize - National Security Advisor, and Ronald Rumsfeld - Secretary of Defence).

2. Transatlantic Relations

2.1. Europe

¹ Some doubted that the decreased attention to nation-building will actually translate into absolute abandonment of human rights promotion.