

US TRANSATLANTIC POLICIES AND US-EU TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS FROM A HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIO-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

The relations between the United States of America (USA) and Europe have evolved over the centuries from the past to the present, encompassing political, economic, security and socio-cultural dimensions. The relations, which started with the discovery of the Americas by Europeans and gained a historical dimension with the establishment of colonies in North America, resulted in the loss of European influence in North America and the establishment of the United States after the US War of Independence in 1775-1783, and were named Europe-US relations, or in other words "Transatlantic Relations". This set of relations has survived to the present day both as bilateral relations between the US and its European allies and as relations between international and supranational organizations established by the US and its European allies. In this study, it is hypothesized that "US transatlantic relations have a historical process and were determined on the axis of US self-interest after the Second World War; however, although transatlantic relations were affected by the personal attitudes and doctrines of US Presidents and conjunctural developments during and after the Cold War, in the end, the institutional relations between Europe and the US continued in the context of interdependence, solidarity, alliance and unity of power and the problems were overcome". In this study, the historical process, events and developments are discussed and bilateral relations are analyzed in historical, political, economic and socio-cultural dimensions.

Keywords: Europe, European Union, USA, Cold War, Transatlantic Relations.

ABD'İN TRANSATLANTİK POLİTİKALARI VE TARİHİ, SİYASİ, EKONOMİK VE SOSYO-KÜLTÜREL AÇIDAN ABD-AB TRANSATLANTİK İLİŞKİLERİ

ÖZ

Amerika Birleşik Devletleri (ABD) – A(B)vrupa arasındaki ilişkiler geçmişten günümüze yüzyıllar içerisinde evrilen, siyasi, ekonomik, güvenlik, sosyo-kültürel boyutları olan süreçleri içerisinde barındırmaktadır. Avrupalıların, Amerika kıtasını keşfi ile başlayan ve Kuzey Amerika'da koloniler kurması ile tarihsel bir boyut kazanan ilişkiler, 1775-1783 ABD Bağımsızlık Savaşı sonrası, Avrupalıların, Kuzey Amerika'daki etkilerini kaybetmesi, ABD'nin kurulması ile sonuçlanmış ve Avrupa-ABD ilişkileri ya da bir diğer ifade ile "Transatlantik İlişkiler (Atlantik Ötesi)" olarak isimlendirilmiştir. Bu ilişkiler bütünü, hem ABD-Avrupalı müttefikleri arasındaki ikili ilişkiler, hem de ABD-Avrupalı müttefiklerin kurdukları uluslararası ve uluslar-üstü örgütler arasındaki ilişkiler olarak günümüze kadar gelmiştir. Bu çalışmada, "ABD'nin transatlantik ilişkilerinin tarihsel bir süreci barındırdığı, İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası ABD'nin kendi çıkarları ekseninde belirlendiği, bununla beraber transatlantik ilişkilerin, Soğuk Savaş ve sonrasında ABD Başkanlarının kişisel tutumu ve doktrinleri ile konjonktürel gelişmelerden etkilense de, son durumda Avrupa – ABD kurumsal ilişkilerinin karşılıklı bağımlılık, dayanışma, müttefiklik ve güç birlikteliği bağlamında devam ettiği ve sorunların aşıldığı" hipotezi öne sürülmektedir. Çalışmada tarihsel süreç, olaylar ve gelişmeler ele alınmış, bu bağlamda ikili ilişkiler tarihsel, siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyo-kültürel boyutta analiz edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Avrupa, Avrupa Birliği, ABD, Soğuk Savaş, Transatlantik İlişkiler.

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INTRODUCTION

The transatlantic policies of the United States and the U.S.-Europe transatlantic relations have gone through various stages in their historical, political, economic, and socio-cultural dimensions from the discovery of the Americas to the establishment of the United States until the present day. These stages, which can be grouped into security, economic, and socio-cultural dimensions, have not only influenced U.S. transatlantic policy but also caused changes in the political, economic, and socio-cultural structure of Europe. The U.S. transatlantic policy was established after the post-establishment period, with the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine (1823) and the failure of the League of Nations initiative after World War I, transforming into global politics and shaping European politics in its own interest. The United States aimed to both facilitate Europe's post-World War II political, economic, and security recovery in collaboration with its European allies and create a market out of the newly recovering Europe. To achieve these goals, the Truman Doctrine was announced, the Marshall Plan was implemented, support was provided for European integration efforts, the institutionalization of NATO was ensured, and an alliance and the concept of "shared destiny-unity/we" were advocated against the Soviet threat.

This strategy was pursued both in the early years of the Cold War and during the "détente" period, despite the changes in Europe through its integration processes since the 1960s, questioning of U.S. hegemony, and debates over the changing international economic system (Nixon Doctrine in 1971), as well as crises in transatlantic relations (such as the Vietnam War, France's withdrawal from NATO's military wing, etc.), the institutional structure has maintained its continuity. In the post-Cold War period, the disappearance of the Soviet threat, the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, and the definite victory of the United States and the liberal capitalist world were seen. During this period, the existence of NATO was questioned, debates arose about the institutional structure of the EU and its own army, and many new problems emerged, such as the United States' unipolar world politics and jointly responding to new threats. During President George H.W. Bush's term (1989-1993), the concept of the "new world order" was introduced, support was given to the reunification of Germany, and the expansion of the EU and NATO, while President Bill Clinton's term (1993-2001) saw the introduction and support of globalization, transatlantic cooperation, free trade agreements, and joint action plans. During President George W. Bush's term (2001-2009), the September 11, 2001 attacks created a rupture in transatlantic relations. The invasions of Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) caused disputes among allies, and the "war on terror" declared as the Bush Doctrine, the rhetoric of

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"either you're with us or with the terrorists," and the prioritization of "unilateralism" in policy, different approaches to the Iran nuclear issue, and the emphasis on the use of hard power by President George W. Bush led to a negative period in transatlantic relations until the Obama era. During President Barack Obama's term (2009-2017), transatlantic relations improved compared to the previous period and entered a phase of recovery. Obama advocated "multilateralism" instead of "unilateralism," made trips to Europe to mend the deteriorated relations due to the invasion of Iraq, and both the increasing importance of NATO and the trade agreements reached contributed to the improvement of relations. During President Donald Trump's term (2017-2021), transatlantic relations entered a period of crisis. Trump stated that NATO did not serve U.S. interests and that Europeans should pay for using NATO resources, causing a trauma in transatlantic relations with his "America First" policy. During President Joe Biden's term (2021-), efforts were made to address the problems of the Trump era, the importance of NATO and traditional alliance relations was increased, and the aim was to strengthen relations between the United States and the EU. The invasion of Ukraine by Russia during Joe Biden's presidency increased the importance of NATO in the context of transatlantic relations, and while European states increased defense spending, the United States conducted arms sales to Europe and Ukraine. In other words, a sense of shared destiny and alliance similar to the early years of the Cold War has been revived. This article argues that U.S. transatlantic relations are based on a historical process, determined by its own foreign policy agenda and interests, and that transatlantic relations and organizations have overcome various periods of negativity influenced by U.S. presidential doctrines or global developments. Historical analysis has been conducted, and the causes and consequences of events in bilateral relations have been examined.

Bilateral Relations between the United States and its European Allies

The Concept of Transatlantic Relations

Transatlantic Relations refer to the political/security, economic, and socio-cultural relations between the United States and its European allies. It is a concept used in the literature to explain the extent of the relationships and interactions between the United States and European countries from the discovery of the Americas to the present day. These relations encompass the political, security, economic, and socio-cultural ties and interactions that have developed between the United States and Europe over time (Hanhimaki et al. 2012: 47-55).

From this perspective, Transatlantic Relations encompass both the "bilateral relations between the United States and European allies" and the "relations established between the United States and European allies within international organizations (NATO, Council of Europe, UN, etc.) and supranational entities (EU) (Hanhimaki et al. 2012).

Dimensions of Transatlantic Relations

Transatlantic relations symbolize the existence of a common Western world between Europe and the United States. From this perspective, transatlantic relations can be understood through three dimensions: the political and security dimension, the economic dimension, and the socio-cultural dimension. In terms of the security dimension, the foundation is laid by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In the economic dimension, factors such as being each other's largest trading partners, economic interdependence, and shared understanding of free-market economy and open trade can be highlighted. From a socio-cultural perspective, processes of migration between Europe and the United States, language, cultural and religious beliefs, and the European influence on American identity can be considered (Lagadec 2012: 32-45).

Security Dimension

The political and security dimension of relations between the United States and Europe encompasses a historical process. Following World War I, President Woodrow Wilson's idea of establishing the League of Nations was proposed but ultimately failed to gain approval from the U.S. Congress. As a result, the United States remained outside of European politics until the outbreak of World War II. The establishment of NATO after World War II was seen as a significant step towards institutionalizing transatlantic relations. Many researchers have defined transatlantic relations as the security organization of the Western bloc, represented by NATO, in the context of the bipolar system and its opposition to the Warsaw Pact. NATO aimed to ensure collective security. Throughout the Cold War, NATO implemented various strategies, and after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, the disappearance of the "common enemy" led to the emergence of new challenges (such as combating international terrorism, drug trafficking, human trafficking, migration, etc.), creating a common ground for military cooperation and adaptation between the United States and the EU. Despite debates within the EU about establishing its own army and external interventions, as well as questioning its role in ensuring international peace and security, NATO's presence continues to shape

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transatlantic relations from their inception to the present day, maintaining a common denominator (Lagadec 2012: 32-45; Simoni 2013: 51-60).

Economic Dimension

From an economic perspective, Europe and the United States are each other's largest trading partners in transatlantic relations. This is supported by investment, trade, and financial integration tools. Alongside economic interdependence, free-market economy, rule of law, and a commitment to open trade are prominent values accepted by both allies. In the European economic model, which is considered prevalent, the emphasis is placed on the welfare state, with the government assuming a role in sectors such as healthcare and education. In the United States, while the government plays a significant role, it does not intervene in the free-market economy. However, this situation has not remained the same throughout history, as different US presidents have exhibited variations in economic policies. For instance, Democrats tend to consider the concept of the welfare state, while Republicans prioritize limiting the government's role in the economy. The changes and transformations witnessed in the past approximately 20 years, as well as economic crises, have also contributed to shifts in the understanding of the market (Laursen 2012; Lagadec 2012).

Socio-Cultural Dimension

The socio-cultural dimension of transatlantic relations encompasses the sum of "shared values, beliefs, cultural heritages, and practices" between the United States and Europeans. These values can be summarized as democracy, acceptance of human rights, the rule of law, and a common religion (Christianity) and denominations (Catholicism, Protestantism) that are part of both Europe's historical evolutionary process and the founding of the United States. In addition, there are many supporting subjects such as literature, music, and art, which can be seen as historical continuations of each other. In other words, the socio-cultural interaction in bilateral relations has a complementary nature reflected in the common texts and documents of both sides. However, alongside these similarities, there are also differences. American society is more religious and holds more libertarian and liberal values compared to Europeans. The level of secularism in European countries is higher than in the United States (Laursen 2012).

Due to being a younger and newer society, the United States is argued to have a head start in creating a homogeneous culture compared to Europeans. It is also suggested that social mobility and wealth accumulation are easier in the United States compared to Europe when it

comes to addressing issues such as racism and xenophobia. Another observation is that the periods when White, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant Americans held power in the United States were characterized by better US-EU relations, and the diversification of the US society through immigration after the Cold War eroded the sense of "common identity" between the US and Europe (Sola et al. 2009; Lagadec 2012).

Regarding socio-cultural values, the joint participation of the US and Europeans within NATO, their shared efforts in upholding liberal universal norms, and their collaborations in defending these norms are also significant. Throughout the Cold War and the post-Cold War period, the US and European allies have fought together in numerous missions (such as Bosnia, Kosovo) and made efforts to preserve these values that can be expressed as a common identity (Testoni 2021; Lagadec 2012).

Organizations Established by the US and European Allies

The United States and European allies have established numerous organizations and have jointly participated in the formation of many organizations to promote economic and socio-cultural cooperation, ensure common security, and collaborate on various issues. One of the primary organizations in this regard is the United Nations (UN), which was founded after World War II in 1945. The Security Council of the UN includes countries with transatlantic ties such as the United States, the United Kingdom, and France. Another organization mentioned in terms of security is NATO. Established in 1949, NATO constitutes the military dimension of transatlantic relations and is structured as a security organization. Additionally, the United States has supported economic integration efforts in Europe, endorsing the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Economic Community (EEC), and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) (McCormick 2015; Lagadec 2012).

These structures would later evolve into the European Union (EU) in the 1990s, transitioning towards a supranational entity. Furthermore, in order to establish peace and security in Europe, ensure the inviolability of borders and territorial integrity, uphold human rights, and foster intergovernmental cooperation, the European Security and Cooperation Initiative (1973) later transformed into the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (1995). Apart from these, Germany, the United States, the United Kingdom, Italy, and France are part of the Group of Seven (G7), while Turkey is included in the Group of Twenty (G20), which consists of 20 major economies. These international and supranational organizations play significant roles in shaping transatlantic relations, maintaining international peace and security

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in Europe and around the world, and providing a platform to address issues related to welfare, socio-cultural aspects, and economic challenges (Hampton 2013).

Historical Process of US- Europe Relations

Transatlantic Relations from the Founding of the United States to the First World War (1783-1914)

During the period from the founding of the United States to the First World War, transatlantic relations played a significant role in shaping the history and development of both Europe and the United States. The historical roots of the relationship between the US and Europe can be traced back to the early days of US establishment. The influence of European powers in North America occurred through the British colonies, with a population of 400,000 people in the 13 British colonies in the 1700s, where trade was conducted between the colonies and the United Kingdom. Following the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), the British imposed new taxes on the colonies, which led to the acceptance of this situation by the colonies and eventually resulted in the victory of the 13 colonies, united between 1776 and 1783, leading to the establishment of the United States. During this period, the US also received support from France against the United Kingdom. Transatlantic trade between Europe and the United States flourished during this time. European powers, especially the United Kingdom, maintained economic and diplomatic relations with the United States. The 1783 Treaty of Paris officially recognized the independence of the United States and established diplomatic relations between the new nation and European countries (Zinn 2009; Viotti 2020).

After the establishment of the United States, there was a desire to distance themselves from European politics and the competition among great powers, as it was believed that European diplomacy would harm the US. The Monroe Doctrine, named after President James Monroe, stated that "the United States would not interfere in the political affairs of Western European states, and European powers should not interfere in the affairs of the United States." This highlighted the principles of "isolationism, anti-colonialism, and non-interference" for the United States (Zinn 2009; Viotti 2020).

The Industrial Revolution influenced both Europe and the United States in terms of manufacturing, transportation, and communication, which also had an impact on transatlantic relations. The United States, as a country that implemented the Monroe Doctrine from 1823 to 1898, continued to expand its influence in the American continent and experienced the Civil

War from 1861 to 1865. With the victory over Spain in the 1898 Spanish-American War, the United States emerged as a global power, marking the beginning of its rise. The increasing power of the United States also influenced transatlantic relations. Following the First World War, which started between the Triple Entente (UK, France, Imperial Russia) and the Central Powers (Germany, Austria, Bulgaria), Woodrow Wilson's ideas of establishing a new world order emerged (Zinn 2009; Viotti 2020; Lagadec 2012).

Transatlantic Relations in the Interwar Period (1919-1939) and the Second World War (1939-1945)

The increasing power and capacity of the United States had a significant impact on transatlantic relations, and the involvement of the US in both World Wars contributed to the rapid conclusion of these conflicts. Following the end of World War I, the idea of establishing collective security through the League of Nations (1920) was put forward to ensure that no major war would occur again and that secret agreements would be avoided. However, the United States, unable to join the League of Nations due to non-approval by the US Congress and President Wilson's loss in the elections, negatively affected transatlantic relations. During the Interwar Period (1919-1939), economic interdependence between Europe and the United States became prominent. However, the Great Depression of 1929 hindered the idea of trade and cooperation in economic terms. This led to a decrease in trade between the two continents and the reintroduction of protectionist policies. The United States returned to isolationist policies, choosing to stay away from Europe's problems and prioritizing its own domestic issues, economic development, and public policies. In the period leading up to World War II, totalitarian and fascist regimes, such as Nazi Germany under Adolf Hitler and Fascist Italy under Benito Mussolini, gained strength. The aggressive expansionist policies and ideologies of these regimes created instability in Europe and damaged transatlantic relations (Zinn 2009; Viotti 2020).

The failure of the Treaty of Versailles (1919) to establish peace in Europe and the revisionist policies of Germany and Italy led to the outbreak of World War II. The United States and the United Kingdom accepted the Atlantic Charter in 1941, which included principles such as "freedom of the seas, self-determination of nations, rule of law, prevention of hunger and fear, prohibition of territorial acquisition" in the post-war world. The US entered World War II following the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. It joined the Allies (United Kingdom, France, USSR, and China) and supported European allies through the Lend-Lease Program, strengthening transatlantic cooperation (Zinn 2009; Viotti 2020).

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The Axis powers' gradual defeats on all fronts from 1942 onwards led to discussions between the US, the UK, and the USSR at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences regarding the post-war situation in Europe, the establishment of the United Nations, and the status of Germany. In other words, by actively participating in World War II, the US completely abandoned its isolationist policies and emerged as one of the two major superpowers in the post-war world (Lagadec 2012; Zinn 2009; Viotti 2020).

Cold War Period (1945- 1991) Transatlantic Relations

US European Policy and Developments during the Cold War

During the Cold War, the United States pursued three main strategies to counter the Soviet Union's leadership in the Eastern Bloc, fight against communism, and strengthen its influence and hegemony over Europe. Firstly, the US facilitated the establishment of NATO, ensuring the security of Europe against the threat posed by the Soviet Union. (Additions) Secondly, the US supported efforts for integration in Europe, aiming to end the enmity and competition between Germany and France. This enabled the economically, politically, and militarily united Europeans to both eliminate the destruction caused by World War II and be strong against the Soviet threat. Thirdly, the US provided economic support and assistance to European allies in their post-World War II reconstruction and development efforts. The process of economic and political aid, known as the Truman Doctrine (1947) and the Marshall Plan (1948-1951), was backed by the establishment of the Bretton Woods System, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The US's desire to revive Europe economically was motivated not only by the threat posed by the Soviet Union but also by the opportunity to expand the free-market economy and make Europe a lucrative market for American goods, as well as to raise the standard of living in Europe (Orallı 2007; Alcaro et al. 2016).

During the Cold War, the United States pursued three main strategies in the European region. The first strategy aimed to counter the Soviet threat. Although the United States was not located in Europe, it supported its allies. To achieve this, the Truman Doctrine was declared, NATO was established, and the European integration process was supported. European efforts to establish the European Defense Community (1952-1954) were unsuccessful, leading to West Germany's membership in NATO in 1955 and the subsequent establishment of the Warsaw Pact by the Soviet Union. NATO attempted to maintain its deterrence through strategies of "massive retaliation" and "flexible response" throughout the Cold War. The increasing strength of NATO

bolstered transatlantic relations and showcased the military power of the United States. The second strategy of the United States during the Cold War in transatlantic relations focused on supporting the post-World War II recovery process in Western Europe (McCormick 2015; Akçay et al. 2012: 43-46).

The United States supported the integration efforts of its European allies and provided military assistance, particularly through NATO, to enable Europeans to redirect their resources to economic development. The United States also supported initiatives such as the European Coal and Steel Community (1951), the European Economic Community (1957), and the European Atomic Energy Community (1957). This approach aimed to end Franco-German hostility, counter the Soviet threat in Europe, strengthen Europe economically, institutionalize NATO's presence, and create a new and robust market for the United States in Europe. The third strategy of the United States during the Cold War was to assume the leadership role in the Western camp economically. With the establishment of the United Nations, a new international order for peace and security was created in the political arena. Economically, the Bretton Woods System (1944) and the internationalization of the U.S. dollar, along with the prominence of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in global balance of payments and credit, were significant steps. The establishment of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1947, which later transformed into the World Trade Organization in 1995, also played a role (Akçay et al. 2012; Güngör 2013).

The United States provided economic aid to Greece and Turkey through the Truman Doctrine in 1948, in the context of combating international communism, and supported Europe through the Marshall Plan from 1948 to 1951. The perceived reduction in the Soviet threat in Europe following Stalin's death in 1953, as well as France's refusal to accept U.S. hegemony with the rise of Charles de Gaulle as its leader in 1959, resulted in France's withdrawal from the military wing of NATO in 1966. The "gold-dollar balance" policy pursued by the United States from 1944 to 1971 was undermined by factors such as the Vietnam War in the 1960s, De Gaulle's opposition to U.S. hegemony in Europe, and inflationary policies. In 1971, U.S. President Richard Nixon announced the end of the "gold-dollar balance" and the decision to print more money, marking the beginning of a transition period known as Neoliberalism, characterized by a shrinking state and the growing importance of international regimes. This period also saw the culmination of the "Détente era" that began with the Cuban Missile Crisis, as well as disarmament processes through agreements like SALT I and SALT II, which aimed to end the division in Europe and establish security and stability. The Conference on Security

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and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which started its work in 1973 and culminated in the Helsinki Final Act in 1975, confirmed borders in Europe and reduced tensions between East and West. The CSCE later became the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in 1995, assuming an institutional structure. However, in the 1980s, the United States, questioning the policies of the Carter era, developed defense plans against perceived intercontinental missile attacks from the Soviet Union through projects like the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) during the Second Cold War under President Reagan. This raised security concerns among European states as well. Nevertheless, the ascension of Mikhail Gorbachev as the General Secretary of the Soviet Union in 1985 and his principles of "glasnost" and "perestroika" initiated a transformation within the USSR, leading to the fall of the Berlin Wall, the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, and the breakup of the Soviet Union. The reunification of Germany and the end of the Iron Curtain in Europe marked the beginning of a new era in U.S.-European transatlantic relations (Wiarda 2011; Hastedt 2020; Roy et al. 2014).

Transatlantic Relations after the Cold War

The end of the Cold War and the subsequent demise of the bipolar world order also had an impact on transatlantic relations. However, post-Cold War transatlantic relations were primarily shaped by four factors. Firstly, the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the disappearance of the common enemy eliminated the crucial shared interest that had held the bilateral relations together. As a result, the existence of NATO came under scrutiny, and a transformation began from its identity as a "collective defense organization" towards a "global defense organization." NATO started expanding towards the former Eastern Bloc countries in search of legitimacy and began organizing actions, activities, and operations in areas beyond its traditional focus, including preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction, combating international terrorism, tackling immigration smuggling, and fighting drug trafficking (Rizas 2022; Cole et al. 2017).

Secondly, European states accelerated their integration processes in the post-Cold War era and aimed to transform the EU into a structure that could act collectively, particularly in the fields of foreign policy, defense, and security. To achieve this goal, the EU reopened discussions on establishing its own military force. While the U.S. urged European countries to contribute more to NATO's budget, it expressed concerns about the emergence of an independent security unit within the EU that could have a negative impact on NATO and transatlantic relations (Rizas 2022; Cole et al. 2017).

Thirdly, post-Cold War crises occurred on the European continent and its surrounding regions. Problems like the Bosnian Crisis (1992-1995) and the Kosovo Crisis (1998-1999) were resolved through interventions by the U.S. and NATO. In other words, despite facing scrutiny, NATO remained the most important security organization for Europe in the post-Cold War era (Rizas 2022; Cole et al. 2017).

Fourthly, the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the decline of communism resulted in the victory of the liberal capitalist world economy and reinforced the United States' position as the advocate of free markets in a unipolar world. NATO's expansion and the identification of new threats were evaluated based on U.S. interests. While European allies pursued the establishment of their own security structures, they also wanted the U.S. to continue contributing to European security. The seemingly paradoxical nature of this idea stemmed from the fear of Germany's reunification and the potential weakening of the EU's integration and deepening processes, which could leave Europeans unable to cope with challenges on their own (Rizas 2022; Cole et al. 2017).

George W. H. Bush Era (1989 – 1993) Transatlantic Relations)

The fall of the Berlin Wall, the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union marked the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the bipolar international system. During the George H. W. Bush era (1989-1993), the concept of a "new world order" emerged, signaling the beginning of a new era, particularly after the expulsion of Saddam Hussein's Iraq from Kuwait. President Bush declared the start of a unipolar world and proclaimed the victory of the United States and liberalism. George H. W. Bush supported Europe's integration process and, although initially concerned about the disruption of the status quo caused by German reunification, ultimately accepted it within the framework of the NATO alliance. During his presidency, the United States supported the expansion of the EU and NATO, believing that it would contribute to the democratization of former Eastern Bloc countries and their transition to a free market economy. President Bush aimed to maintain the significance of NATO in the European security architecture and sought to preserve the gains made during the Cold War (Wiarda 2011; Viotti 2020).

Bill Clinton Era (1993- 2001) Transatlantic Relations

The Bill Clinton era (1993-2001) stands out as a period of deepening transatlantic relations. President Bill Clinton, as a Democrat, embraced the policy of "globalization" and declared that the United States would defend democracy, the rule of law, free market economy,

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and liberal values in the unipolar world order. Clinton stated that he did not want to make the United States a "world police" and emphasized the importance of "soft power" alongside the elements of hard power. He pursued a "multifaceted foreign policy" approach. During the Clinton presidency, transatlantic relations between the United States and Europe flourished. Clinton set goals of ensuring sufficient military capacity for U.S. security, supporting the revitalization of the U.S. economy, and promoting democracy abroad. In 1991, a "bilateral competition agreement" was signed between the United States and the EU. Talks were held for the creation of a Transatlantic Free Trade Area, and the New Transatlantic Agenda document was signed to emphasize the alliance dimension of the U.S.-EU relationship. This document outlined a joint action plan, highlighting areas of cooperation such as environmental issues, terrorism, migration, trade, and organized crime. The United States, along with its allies, intervened in the Balkan crises (Bosnia and Kosovo), supported EU integration and deepening processes, and focused on political dialogue, economic cooperation, common security, and shared values in U.S.-Europe relations. During this period of significant transformation in Europe, Clinton's policies were well-received by Europeans, who were culturally closest to him (Akçay 2017; Hastedt 2020).

George W. Bush Era (2001- 2009) Transatlantic Relat

In the year 2000, George W. Bush became the President of the United States, and during this period, U.S.-EU relations took a negative turn. The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, were met with a response from the United States based on the "new conservative foreign policy" approach, known as the Bush Doctrine, which emphasized "unilateralism" in its policies. In the pursuit of the "war on global terrorism," the U.S. administration approached everyone, including European allies, with the rhetoric of "either you are with us or you are with the terrorists." Following the September 11 attacks, the policies implemented by the United States, distancing itself from allies and the institutions they established, created areas of contention in transatlantic relations (Orallı 2007; Salter 2010).

The invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and the invasion of Iraq in 2003 became sources of problems in transatlantic relations. The United States labeled Iraq, Iran, and North Korea as an "axis of evil" and faced difficulties with its European allies in the context of policies driven by hard power. The U.S. defense of the concept of "preemptive strike" by pushing the boundaries of international law during the invasion of Iraq strained its relations with European countries regarding the use of force and legitimate self-defense. Germany and France, referred

to as "Old Europe," took a stance against the invasion of Iraq, while Poland, Denmark, Spain, and the United Kingdom acted in concert with the United States. The United States' withdrawal from the Kyoto Protocol received criticism from Europe, and its withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty in 2001 heightened Cold War tensions in Europe, resulting in reactions from its allies (Salter 2010; Lorenzo 2021).

The anticipation of a possible invasion of Iran after Iraq increased anti-Western sentiment in the Middle East, and approaches such as the Greater Middle East Initiative led to Western countries being characterized as new imperialists seeking to impose top-down democracy and change borders in the Middle East. Additionally, the rise of China and the divergent policies of the United States and Europeans on this issue became another source of conflict. The idea of lifting the arms embargo on China, coupled with China's increasing influence in the Asia-Pacific region, which could affect relations with countries like Japan and Taiwan, was viewed as an economic issue by Europeans but met with resistance from the Bush administration (Salter 2010; Larres et al. 2022).

Barrack Obama Era (2009- 2017) Transatlantic Relation

The Obama era focused on repairing the damage caused by the previous President, George W. Bush, to transatlantic relations. Coming to power with the goal of "change," Obama aimed to end the war in Iraq, bring an end to the conflicts with Al-Qaeda and the Taliban, take measures for energy security, prevent terrorist organizations from accessing nuclear weapons, renew relations with traditional allies, strengthen the United States, share global responsibilities with allies, control and encircle China's rise in Asia, pursue a balanced approach in intervention/diplomacy during the Arab Spring, bring Iran's nuclear program under control and integrate Iran into the international system, and more. During the Obama administration, transatlantic relations were positive. Obama sought to change the anti-American sentiment prevalent in the world due to the Iraq invasion in 2003 and repair the strained relationships with European allies by emphasizing "multilateralism" instead of the "unilateralism" policies of the George W. Bush era. NATO was prioritized during Obama's tenure, allowing European allies to utilize NATO's resources. France's return to NATO's military command structure was facilitated in 2009, and a policy of cooperation and harmony with Germany and France, led by Merkel and Sarkozy, was pursued. The positive transformation in U.S.-EU relations during the Obama era aimed to strengthen historical ties on both sides of the Atlantic economically as well, with initiatives such as the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) agreement (Akman 2014; Viotti 2020).

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Transatlantic Relations under Donald Trump (2017- 2021)

The relationship between the EU and the US was negatively impacted by Donald Trump's presidency, which began in 2016. Trump's "America First" policy had a detrimental effect on cooperation processes in transatlantic relations. President Trump emphasized that the US would pursue a different approach than the Obama administration regarding Russia, China, and the Middle East, while highlighting the perceived lack of functionality and service to US interests of the United Nations (UN) and NATO. He opened discussions on the nuclear agreement with Iran, which had been painstakingly negotiated by both Obama and European allies in 2015, and his recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel generated significant backlash among Muslims both in Europe and around the world. Trump questioned the multilateral trading system with both NATO, the UN, and the EU, causing concern among European allies. He accused Europe of implementing economic measures against US interests and creating a trade surplus. Europeans argued that if they wanted to benefit from NATO's capabilities, they should bear the cost. This situation revived the idea of establishing a European army in Europe. Against this backdrop, transatlantic relations were severely strained and experienced trauma during the Trump era from 2016 to 2020 (Arvanitopolous 2020; Kocamaz 2020: 232-242; Özdemir 2019: 206-211; Riddervold 2018).

The US attempted to corner Europeans, its traditional allies who share common origins and culture, and supported the UK's departure from the EU to weaken the EU. However, Trump's policies did not strengthen the US but rather isolated it, particularly in its containment policy towards China in the Asia-Pacific region and its involvement in international political issues such as ISIS in the Middle East. The Trump era was a period in which the founding values of the US and traditional alliance relations were questioned. Despite the tension in his political approach, Trump's success in economic policies in the US made him a favorite in the 2020 elections. However, the COVID-19 pandemic and his immigration policy, as well as economic and socio-cultural policies, put him in a difficult position, leading to his defeat against Democratic candidate Joe Biden in the 2020 elections (Kocamaz 2020: 243-246; Aggestem and Hyde-Prive 2019; Bustinduy 2022; Ekşi 2021).

Joe Biden Era (2021-) Transatlantic Relations

Democrat candidate Joe Biden was elected as the President of the United States in 2020. During President Trump's term, it was promised that the "traditional US foreign policy" would

be followed. The US demands regarding NATO and the UN, which caused crises during the Trump era, were attempted to be overcome through "confidence-building measures." Biden, emphasizing the traditional alliance relationship with Europe, stated that he would strengthen the ties between Europe and the US. The US, which had withdrawn from the Paris Climate Agreement during the Trump era, rejoined it under Joe Biden. Biden appointed diplomats who had served as Deputy Secretaries during the Obama administration to ministerial and other positions, leading to his presidency being referred to as the "Third Obama Term". He also abandoned the hawkish policies of the Trump era regarding the Iran nuclear issue and made efforts to resolve the nuclear issue through an agreement. Biden stated that the US would continue its policy of containing China but with a different approach, utilizing the advantages of its allies and employing diplomacy and other soft power elements, rather than Trump's hawkish policies. Biden inherited the fight against Covid-19 from Trump but increased health measures and expenditures, working in global cooperation with European allies. During Biden's tenure, the US-Europe relations underwent change and transformation due to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which began on February 24, 2022, and is still ongoing. The invasion of Ukraine by Russia and the possibility of its success raised concerns among EU members, especially Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. NATO and the US, along with European countries, provided support to Ukraine in the form of special forces, tanks, artillery, and aircraft. The US increased defense spending to 2% of GDP for European NATO members, Germany participated in the F-35 project, and almost all European states imposed economic, political, socio-cultural embargoes on Russia (Janes 2021; Bustinduy 2022; Peterson 2018).

CONCLUSION

The transatlantic policies of the United States and the US-EU transatlantic relations have undergone numerous historical processes from the founding of the US to the present day. From the founding of the US until the end of World War II, the relationship between the two sides took the form of a process based on mutual interests and encompassing political and economic interactions. The end of World War II and the establishment of the Bipolar System shaped transatlantic relations, which developed around mutual interests in security, economic development, and socio-cultural common ground, influenced by US policies. This situation was also observed in the formation of international (NATO, OSCE, G7, etc.) and supranational (EU) organizations that both sides jointly established or contributed to. From the perspective of the US, the Cold War period's transatlantic policies were built on preventing the Soviet Union and

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international communism from threatening Europe, revitalizing Europe after the war, and ensuring that Europe became a market for the growing US, particularly in the military-industrial sector.

This situation was beneficial for Europe as well, as it allowed them to allocate all their resources to economic development, prosperity, and restoration processes by accepting US hegemony under the NATO umbrella. However, the changes that occurred in the international conjuncture in the 1960s had an impact on transatlantic relations. The beginning of the *détente* period after the Cuban Missile Crisis and the economic repercussions of the Vietnam War brought about a change in the US policy of the dollar-gold balance after 1971. However, the entry of the Cold War into a period of *détente* did not disrupt the integration processes from the perspective of Europe. The process that began with institutions like the EEC, EFTA, and EECR evolved into the European Union (EU) with deepening and expansion processes in the 1990s. While the steps taken by the CSCE in Europe regarding power balance, border issues, and human rights after the 1970s created a balance in the competition between the US and the USSR through disarmament treaties, the arms race and the rhetoric of the "Star Wars Project" and the "Second Cold War" initiated by US President Ronald Reagan in the 1980s resulted in the dissolution of the USSR despite Gorbachev's arrival and his policies of openness and transparency, the disappearance of the Warsaw Pact, and the reunification of Germany. In the post-Cold War period, transatlantic relations revolved around the disappearance of the common enemy, the USSR, the questioning of NATO's existence, the US discourse of a unipolar world, globalization, and debates surrounding the establishment of a European army. This period was marked by various partnership initiatives and discussions such as globalization, cooperation, and free trade agreements based on the discourse of the "new world order" throughout the 1990s. The September 11 attacks and the George W. Bush era policies of the US, with its doctrine of unilateralism and the "war on terror," damaged transatlantic relations. The invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq deepened this rift. However, during the Obama era, efforts were made to repair the damaged relations.

The importance of NATO was emphasized, France was reintegrated into the military branch, and priority was given to relations with allies and sharing global responsibilities in US foreign policy (such as the Iran nuclear issue, the fight against Al-Qaeda, and ending the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan). US-EU economic relations and progress in trade-related issues were achieved. However, the Trump era was a period similar to the George W. Bush era, where

transatlantic relations suffered. Trump's "America First" policies negatively affected transatlantic relations. Engaging in disputes with European allies through NATO and the multilateral trading system, Trump's policies shook traditional alliance relationships. Taking sides in Europe's internal problems, as seen in the Brexit crisis, drew criticism. Additionally, his policies aimed at surrounding China to the detriment of Europe also received backlash from allies. The Biden era attempted to overcome the problems in transatlantic relations that existed during the Trump era. Biden prioritized traditional alliance relationships with Europeans through confidence-building measures. Following Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the US provided political and military support, leading to increased defense spending by European allies and the initiation of a new Marshall Plan-like process. Transatlantic relations have been shaped around solidarity, a common enemy, and a "we" understanding similar to the Cold War period.

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