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PRITSHMËRITË NGA POLITIKA E JASHTME E SHBA-SË KUNDREJT POLITIKËS SË JASHTME DHE TË SIGURISË SË BE-SË: FORMËSIMI I SË ARDHMES DHE RENDIT TË RI BOTËROR

ОЧЕКУВАЊА ОД НАДВОРЕШНАТА ПОЛИТИКА НА САД НАСПРОТИ НАДВОРЕШНАТА И БЕЗБЕДНОСНАТА ПОЛИТИКА НА ЕУ: ОБЛИКУВАЊЕ НА ИДНИНАТА И НОВИОТ СВЕТСКИ ПОРЕДОК

EXPECTATIONS OF US FOREIGN POLICY VERSUS EU FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY: SHAPING THE FUTURE AND NEW WORLD ORDER

Abstract

The global geopolitical landscape is undergoing significant transformation, driven by the evolving foreign policies of the United States (USA) and the European Union (EU).

This article examines the current expansion of US foreign policy in contrast to the EU's foreign and security policy, focusing on their respective roles in shaping a new world order.

The purpose of the article was to find out the current expansion of US foreign policy in contrast to the EU's foreign and security policy, with a focus on their respective roles in shaping a new world order. It highlights the strategic priorities, challenges, and divergences between the two powers, particularly in the context of rising multipolarity, the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian war, and shifting global governance dynamics.

Using systematic, historical, and forecasting methods, the article provides insights into how these entities navigate contemporary international relations.

The findings underscore the implications of these divergent approaches for global governance and the future of the NATO Alliance.

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The scientific research concept of the article is designed in the present, and comprehensively follows the everyday events and implications that are created.

The world as a whole is creating new rules at a rapid rate. The article concludes with an elaboration of the implications of these divergent approaches for the future of global governance and the emergence of a new world order.

The results of this research can serve as a valuable reference for historians, sociologists, and legal scholars studying current geopolitical antagonisms and power dynamics.

Keywords: US Foreign Policy, EU Foreign Policy, Security Policy, New world order, Divergence, Multipolarity, Global governance, NATO

Introduction

The study focuses on the current expansion of US foreign policy in contrast to the EU's foreign and security policy, with a particular emphasis on their roles in shaping a new world order.

Since the end of the Cold War, the global order has shifted toward Multipolarity, marked by the rise of new powers and the reconfiguration of traditional alliances.

In this evolving landscape, the foreign policies of the United States and the European Union have adapted to address new challenges and opportunities. While the USA has historically been a dominant force in global affairs, the EU has increasingly sought to assert its influence through a unique blend of normative power and multilateral diplomacy.

This research is particularly relevant in light of recent global events, such as the Russian-Ukrainian war and growing tensions among major powers. By analyzing the strategic priorities, institutional frameworks, and geopolitical maneuvers of the US and the EU, this article aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of how these powerful entities navigate complex international relations and shape the future of the modern world.

The expansion of US foreign policy versus EU foreign and security policy is a critical area of study, especially in the context of a rapidly evolving global order.

This article explores the distinct approaches of the US and EU, highlighting their impact on the emerging global order.

While the US emphasizes military and economic power to maintain its global dominance, the EU champions multilateralism, human rights, and sustainable development. In this context, by examining these opposing strategies, the article sheds light on how these two great powers shape and

compete to shape a new world order amidst growing challenges such as multipolarity, technological advancements, and shifting geopolitical alliances.

American exceptionalism is rooted in the belief that the US is uniquely positioned among nations due to its values, commitment to human rights, and political system, having been established as a democratic republic born from a revolution that rejected monarchical rule. ²

This ideology portrays US as a global leader and moral exemplar, framing its actions as guided by principles of democracy, freedom, and opportunity.

According to political scientist *Stephen Walt*, a prominent advocate of realist theory, this belief has long influenced US foreign policy, leading American presidents to govern under the impression that the US is both "destined" and "entitled" to play a dominant role in international affairs.³

This sense of responsibility and entitlement often drives US engagement on the world stage, justified by the conviction that America has a duty to promote and protect its values globally.

The US should continue to position itself as a global leader by championing human rights while recognizing that its leadership in a multipolar world requires strategic flexibility. To avoid appearing hypocritical, the USA must align its actions with its values by adapting its promotion of human rights and democracy to the unique political, cultural, and social contexts of each country, rather than applying a one-size-fits-all approach.

A balanced and transparent strategy will enhance US credibility, allowing it to remain a trusted partner while advancing its values in a sustainable and contextually appropriate manner a balance that its adversaries have often struggled to achieve.

The current EU foreign policy arrangements were developed in an environment in which the world seemed to move toward a rules-based international order and in which Europeans could rely on the benevolent hegemony of the United States.

Over the past fifteen years, geopolitics has come back with a vengeance. Rather than being a tragic one-off event, the Russian invasion of Ukraine marks a particularly dramatic stage in the world's gradual descent into relentless great power competition.

And while Biden's administration has revived a functioning transatlantic relationship after the chaotic years under his predecessor Donald Trump, it is unclear whether this will survive beyond 2024. It is therefore uncertain whether today's fair-weather construction of EU foreign policy will be able to withstand the storms of the new era.

https://www.semafor.com/article/10/04/2024/what-us-foreign-policy-could-look-like-under-harris.

² B. L., Mack, "A brief history of American exceptionalism," Yale University Press, February 28, 2017, https://yalebooks.yale.edu/2017/02/28/a-brief-history-of-american-exceptionalism/.

³ M. Clifton, "What U.S. foreign policy could look like under Harris," Semafor, October 4, 2024,

If the EU wishes to protect its interests in the new international context, it needs something more robust and effective.

The EU's new Strategic Compass will hopefully give a strong impetus to the development of the EU's security and defense dimension. But a better security policy needs to go hand in hand with a more effective foreign policy. The ideas discussed above represent just some of the steps that could be taken. Better decision making through majority vote in the council, an enhanced role of the commission in bringing external economic relations together with foreign policy, and an enhanced capacity for the European Council to lead the policy process could help significantly in making the EU a more resilient and capable international actor.⁴

1. US Foreign Policy: Expansion and Strategic Priorities

Currently, the key direction of foreign policy priorities has become the development of strategies covering the concept of "new challenges" to national security. Threats such as terrorism, regional instability, uncontrolled flows of weapons and drug trafficking, transnational crime networks and illegal migration, ethnic conflicts and political regimes, systematic violation of human rights, growing demand for resources, natural disasters, environmental hazards, and pandemics came to the fore.

The renewal of the complex of strategic threats has caused the modernization of American approaches to ensuring security and defense. As a result of the study, based on the application of political analysis methods, considerable attention is paid to the strategic culture of the US as an answer to fundamental questions about the way of thinking and behavior of the state, the tools of its foreign policy, its perception of key categories for national improvement «security», «enemy», «environment», «threat».

Taking into account the evolutionary dimension of the perception, awareness and overcoming of threats to the US, it is possible to single out certain features of strategic culture that played and continue to play a significant role in the process of making foreign policy decisions of this state, which are discussed in this article.

All US foreign policy actions are aimed at achieving its own national interests, and their structuring, reflection and consolidation in doctrinal documents allow for the synchronization of foreign policy steps and the adoption of important political decisions, despite the turbulence in international relations and the changing geopolitical realities of the 21st century.⁵

⁴ S. Lehne, *Making EU Foreign Policy Fit for a Geopolitical World*, Carnegie Europe, April 14, 2022.

⁵ D. Lakishyk, Formation of US foreign policy strategies and doctrines at the beginning of the 21st century: a practical dimension, Research Gate American History & Politics Scientific edition, January 2023,

The United States has long pursued a foreign policy centered on maintaining its position as the world's dominant superpower. This part examines the key strategic priorities driving the expansion of USA foreign policy in the current geopolitical climate.

Global Hegemony and Unipolarity

Historically, the US has sought to maintain global hegemony through military strength, economic influence, and strategic alliances such as NATO. This unipolar approach has allowed the US to shape international norms and institutions to align with its interests.

China as a Strategic Competitor

In recent years, the US has increasingly focused on countering China's rise, particularly in the Indo-Pacific region. Initiatives like the Quad (USA, Japan, India, and Australia) and AUKUS (a trilateral security pact with Australia and the UK) reflect this strategic pivot. The US views China not only as an economic competitor but also as a challenger to its global leadership.

Energy Independence and Security

Energy dominance has become a cornerstone of US foreign policy. By leveraging its shale oil and gas production, the USA has reduced its reliance on adversarial states and gained significant influence over global energy markets. This strategy was evident during the Russia-Ukraine war, where the USA emerged as a key supplier of liquefied natural gas (LNG) to Europe.

Democracy Promotion

The US often frames its foreign policy around the promotion of democratic values. However, this commitment has been inconsistent in practice, with strategic interests sometimes taking precedence over ideological goals. For example, the USA has supported authoritarian regimes when it aligns with its geopolitical objectives.

2. EU foreign and security policy: Normative power and Multilateralism

The EU: A Champion of Soft Power and Global Cooperation

While the US often relies on military and economic strength to influence the world, the European Union takes a different approach. The EU sees itself as a force for good, promoting peace, human rights, and cooperation through dialogue and partnerships. Its foreign policy is built on the principles of multilateralism, sustainability, and the power of shared values.

The current global context in international relations forks in two distinct directions: on one hand, there are growing tensions that arise from a resurgence of raw power politics, nationalism, authoritarianism, geostrategic competition, a diminishing commitment to liberal values, and an emerging USA-China bi-polar order; on the other hand, we find increasing efforts to establish forms of global governance to address common problems on the global level that are commonly referred to as global challenges. EU define global challenges as complex, planetary-scale issues that are knowledge-dependent and not resolvable by individual countries; they include climate change, sustainable development, food security, and public health.

The EU has sought to make these central to its external actions, and its new strategic agenda states that 'The EU will use its influence to lead the response to global challenges' (European Council Citation 2019, 11).

This foreign policy objective raises two key questions:

- On what basis does the EU derive its purported capacity for leadership in the area of global challenges?
 - And conceptually, what sort of power backs these efforts?⁶

Normative Power: Leading by Example

The EU uses its "soft power" to spread democratic values, human rights, and the rule of law across the globe. This approach is not about coercion but about inspiring others through its actions. For example, in response to Russia's war in Ukraine, the EU has imposed sanctions on Russia while providing Ukraine with humanitarian aid and financial support. This dual approach shows the EU's commitment to standing up for its principles while helping those in need.

The term "normative power" is often used in connection with the European Union. It implies that the EU has both been constructed upon certain values, thus has specific ideational guidelines to regulate its internal functionning, and actively tries to promote these on the world stage. All in all, the Union seeks to set a good example for the rest of the world by advocating for generally appealing ideas and concepts, such as democracy, the rule of law, and human rights.

There are numerous examples of the EU using its political, economic and institutional weight to promote certain values in partner countries.

For instance, the European Investment Bank (EIB) provides significant financial aid to Latin America and the Caribbean. These funds support particular actions, such as climate action and environmental sustainability, which represented 58% of EIB global investments in 2022, in line with EU priorities. Likewise, the EU extends to its partners the extraordinary

⁶ M. Young and P. Ravinet, , *Knowledge power Europe*, Taylor Francis, 13 March 2022

opportunities of its flagship Erasmus+ youth and education programme, which fosters diversity, cultural exchange and international dialogue.

Although the Union is still able to promote its values effectively, the system of international relations is undergoing drastic changes. The process known as "democratic backsliding", which implies spread of authoritarianism and "alternative" value systems, is affecting individuals and communities worldwide. Indeed, people no longer seem to unequivocally recognise the advantages of the democratic model. On the contrary, many prefer to use other indicators, such as economic growth or increasing military strength, in judging a particular regime.

Therefore, choosing a rational strategy under the new circumstances is a highly debated topic among EU officials.⁷

Multilateralism: Solving Problems Together

The EU is a firm believer in teamwork. It actively works through international organizations like the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, and the Paris Climate Agreement to tackle global challenges. Whether its climate change, trade disputes, or security threats, the EU argues that no single country can solve these issues alone. By promoting multilateralism, the EU emphasizes the importance of collective action and shared responsibility

This article is analyzing the foreign and security policies of the EU and comparing them to those of the United States. The specifics provided focuses on the EU's approach, characterizing it as relying on "soft power" and "multilateralism."

In today's world marked by increasing unilateralism and great-power rivalry, multilateralism remains the most effective means to govern global relations in a way that benefits all. Countries need to continue to work together to settle disputes and to achieve common goals. In the face of mounting challenges, the multilateral system and its structures are under strain.

The EU is committed to leading the reform efforts towards a multilateralism fit for the 21st century.⁸

In essence, the provided text describes the EU's foreign policy as a distinct alternative to the US's more hard-power approach, focusing on values, cooperation, and multilateral solutions, but acknowledging limitations, particularly in security matters.

The EU continues to punch below its weight on the international stage, while shifting geopolitical trends mean the stakes are higher than they have been in decades.

ttps://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/multilateral-relations en, 26, August 2021

⁷ EU NEIGHBOURSEAST, *The EU as a normative power - the importance of value driven politics*, Available at https://euneighbourseast.eu/young-european-ambassadors, 31 May, 2023 ⁸ European Union External Actions, *Multilateral relations*, Available at

Conflicts, pandemics, the climate crisis, trade disputes, inequitable technological advances, attacks on human rights the challenges facing us today are increasingly globalized in nature. Despite the magnitude of the agenda and the urgency to act, the international order is broken. Against this backdrop, the gaps in the EU's foreign policy capabilities are becoming clear for all to see.

Diagram 1: A new foreign engagement strategy



Key Messages

The EU needs to urgently restructure its foreign policy apparatus and change its approach to cooperation if it is to play a significant role on today's international stage. This includes a serious debate around Europe's assets for foreign engagement, and how to deploy these most effectively.

The vision for European foreign engagement should be built around three missions which are aligned with the wider European strategic agenda: to build shared prosperity, shared security, and address global challenges for the benefit of the European people and the world.

To achieve these goals, EU should employ its full suite of policy assets. This requires the effective integration of European foreign and domestic policy instruments and coordinated engagement across all countries, including on the development of regulation.

The Strategy should assemble coalitions in partner countries to cocreate and deliver the partnership and must also strengthen the European diplomatic footprint to enable context-sensitive engagement.

The success of EU's shared foreign engagement strategy will be instrumental in its ability to secure its own future prosperity and security, and

that of its partners. It is also key in influencing the protection of a shared planetary ecosystem, and addressing global agendas.

The EU must move beyond old paradigms and enable a new level of ambition, ensuring that it has the strategies, institutions, resources and, above all, political will to deliver this vision. ⁹

3. Divergences and convergences in US and EU foreign policies

The United States in recent years has been abandoning its historical role as a leader in environmental regulation. At the same time, the European Union, spurred by political integration, has enacted many new environmental laws and assumed a leadership role in promoting global environmental sustainability. Green Giants?, one of the most detailed comparisons of the environmental policies of America and Europe yet undertaken, looks at current policy trends in the United States and the European Union, the two largest economic actors in the world and the implications they have for future transatlantic and global cooperation.

The contributors leading European and American scholars and practitioners examine similarities and differences in specific policy areas in order to assess whether United States and European Union policies are diverging, pursuing similar goals and methods, or undergoing a "hybridization" through joint learning and exchanges.

They find that although European and American policies may parallel each other somewhat in domestic regulation, they are clearly diverging in the "third generation" of environmental concerns, which include such global problems as climate change, international trade, and sustainable development. Finally, it has been concluded that transatlantic dialogue and cooperation at the highest level are necessary if these two economic and political giants are to lead the international community toward a stable and secure ecological future. ¹⁰

An overview throughout the History

Although Europe and the United States are at first glance natural partners in supporting democracy globally, since the end of the Cold War they have experienced significant oscillation between divergence and convergence in this domain.

Europe and the United States are at first glance natural partners in the endeavor of supporting democracy globally. Both have long committed themselves to foreign policies with strong values components, extensively

⁹ D. Meredith, ODI Global, Europe and the new world order: an updated approach to foreign engagement, October 24, 2024,

 $^{^{\}rm 10}$ J. B. Wiener, Convergence, Divergence, and Complexity in US and European Risk Regulation, Research Gate, March 20024

cooperate on many areas of diplomatic and security policy, and generally share compatible views about what democracy is and why it is preferable to other forms of governance.

Yet United States - Europe cooperation on democracy-related policy and assistance has been uneven across the thirty-five years since the end of the Cold War, marked by significant oscillations between distance and closeness.

Some substantive differences remain between the US and Europe (European governments individually and the EU collectively) on both the geopolitics of democracy support and more tactical operational questions. And even where US and European democracy supporters are largely aligned, they have often not coordinated their efforts in practical ways.

The limits to transatlantic coordination make international democracy support less effective than it might otherwise be, especially against today's conflictive geopolitical backdrop. Mounting concerns about the outcome of upcoming elections in Europe and the US invite deeper reflection on the transatlantic dimension of democracy support and ways to bolster cooperation.

Geostrategy and Democracy

Europeans have demonstrated a complex and varied reaction to this two-part central thrust of US foreign policy. On the one hand, many Europeans are uncomfortable with the stark geopolitical division that US officials present of a world divided between democratic powers and autocratic powers, seeing it as too reductionist and divisive, and too confrontational. They worry that fusing Western support for democracy with an unadorned geopolitical agenda is likely to dilute buy-in from many countries outside of North America and Europe for that support. Yet at the same time, they worry about the increasing power of China and Russia and are glad the United States is back to standing up vocally for democracy.

European divergence from, or at least ambivalence toward, the Biden line has been greater on China than Russia. The European position toward China has hardened in the past several years but most of this toughening has been in the area of economic security: the EU collectively and individual member states have increasingly sought to protect themselves from Chinese commercial strategies through multiple new trade and subsidy instruments.

The EU has become more robustly concerned with the nature of combative Chinese economic and political-security actions, but hesitant to foreground a concern with the authoritarian nature of its regime. Unlike USA politicians and policymakers who often criticize China's authoritarianism as an integral part of statements about the US aim to constrain China's influence, most European leaders give far less prominence to such criticism and largely hew to expressions of concern about economic issues.

The partial convergence is in some ways a positive trend, yet it still leaves democracy more exposed and vulnerable globally than it might otherwise be, both within and beyond the West.¹¹

4. Implications for the New World Order

Shaping the Future: USA, EU, and the New World Order

In the early 2020s we live in the transition period between two world systems, the Old World Order (OWO) and the New World Order (NWO), in a deep 'polycrisis'.

Therefore, the term transformation has recently appeared in official EU documents as well as in political science literature. The transition to the NWO has begun with this crisis management and it will produce a radical transformation of the entire global architecture in the 2020s.

This contrast symbolizes the US policy, concentrating more on cutting or reducing connectivity among the various policy fields, versus the EU policy turning them safe and interdependent. These approaches represent the US and EU attitude in the emerging New World Order, and primarily in their relationships to China.

The EU has played an initiative and constructive role in the transformation of the world system and the European Challenge has appeared in the elaboration of the sustainable development and multilevel global governance. On that base, the European challenge has also been formulated markedly in its new geopolitical role, balancing the US as transatlantic cooperation and securing the interdependent relationships with China.

Finally, the most radical change has taken place inside the EU towards federalization, including the new efforts for the organization of the European Political Community in its neighborhood.

All these processes are still in their innovative stage with many hurdles and contradictions, but with a good perspective of their consolidation in the NWO framework in the second half of the 2020s.¹²

The foundations of the future world order must undergo certain transformations. Besides, the countries that continue to roughly and selfishly defend their national interests will lose in the final count. The largest states' policy aimed at their forceful global and regional dominance (including the most independent and selfish sovereign the USA) will also undergo radical changes.

The national selfishness will hardly disappear; however, any international action should be both relevant and ideologically justified.

¹¹ T. Carothers and R. Youngs, Endowment for International Peace, European and U.S. Democracy Support: The Limits of Convergence, CARNEGIE, 2024

¹² A. Ágh, , The Emerging New World System and the European Challenge, Politics in Central Europe, SCIENDO (ISSN 1801-3422), Vol. 20, No. 1, DOI: 10.2478/pce-2024-0006

That is why there is a hope and perception that the concept of foreign policy will change and there will gradually increase the claims for common (regional, world, and group) well-being; yet, the formulations like 'the best representative of the world interests' can often conceal selfish goals. But anyway such transformation will lead to significant and mostly positive changes.

The New World Order will call for: 1) a rather solid balance of power and interests; 2) new models of the supranational government and coordination of the global processes; and 3) new ideologies. To solve the first task one should recognize the principle of pluralism of political regimes when any regime (including the democratic one) has its advantages and drawbacks. The refusal from imposing democracy at all accounts can become a crucial constituent in creating a common frame of interests and rules. To solve the second task one should reject the idea of the universal democracy at all levels.

The European Union's experience has shown that at the supranational scale the democratic procedures work rather improperly. Thus, one needs a comprehensive search for new patterns which would lack an ideological bias. Perhaps, here one could employ international expert organizations co-opted by different countries and coalitions as well as a certain quota system for them at the international level. As for a universal ideology, it seems it can emerge only on the basis of the search for new cooperation patterns.

Thus, although we anticipate rather turbulent times of an emerging balance between different countries and coalitions, the humanity will have rather good chances to use globalization to create the foundations of the new world order.

The Need for a New Order, Problems of the Transition Period and the Balance of Power

The assumptions about the principles of a new world order are based on the following findings. First, no hegemon has the same range of leadership benefits as the United States to replace it today (*Grinin 2011, 2012a, and 2012b*).

Second, the weakening of the USA leadership is inevitable and becomes more and more noticeable. However, the USA will preserve a number of advantages for a long time (see e.g., Bremmer 2015; Zakaria 2008).

Third, the world is to some extent interested in the American soft leadership but without dictatorial ambitions to undermine the opponents' power.

Fourth, the transition to a new world order requires a random search for forms, principles, and conditions to create precedents and the desired combinations.

Therefore, it will be a long and difficult search. Fifth, the transition to the new world order will temporarily increase turbulence and strife, as well as the lack of stability and struggle between different patterns of the new order.

Thus, today there are ever clearly visible trends towards the fact that the new world order will be different, it will be the world without hegemon but

with some centers of power and influence, among which the United States is likely to be the most important.

Accordingly, one can suggest the following two scenarios of the USA withdrawal: 1) meaningful and the most profitable path of a new world order in the long-term with maximum possible preservation of its influence, but not a dictate; and 2) a bitter struggle of the United States to maintain the status quo, including various actions to undermine and weaken the opponents. This will inevitably create permanent tension and strife. Meanwhile, the United States seems to choose the second pattern (although a big delay of another economic crisis could make them resort to the first one). But even when following the second path the United States will be increasingly forced to seek new alliances and allies.

Anyway, it is the struggle for the American hegemony and its position in relation to the large and fast-growing countries that keep the main intrigue of the contemporary global contradiction.¹³

The different approaches of the USA and the EU to foreign and security policy are shaping the future of global governance in profound ways. As the world becomes more complex and interconnected, their strategies and how they adapt will determine the balance of power and the rules of the game in the coming decades.

Rising Multipolarity - A World of Many Powers

The USA relies on military and economic strength, while the EU focuses on diplomacy and shared values. These contrasting approaches reflect a broader trend: the world is no longer dominated by one or two superpowers. Emerging powers like China and India are rising, creating a more multipolar world. For the USA and the EU, this means they must rethink their strategies to stay relevant and influential in a world where power is more evenly distributed.

Global Governance - Competing Visions

The USA and the EU will play key roles in shaping the institutions and norms of the new world order. The USA is likely to continue pushing for a rules, based system that aligns with its interests, while the EU's commitment to multilateralism and human rights offers a different vision. Together, they could create a balance where the USA provides strength and the EU offers a more cooperative, values-driven approach. This dynamic could help ensure that global governance remains inclusive and effective.

¹³ L. E Grinin, A.I Andreev, I. Ilyin, *World Order in the Past, Present, and Future*, Social Evolution & History, Vol. 15 No. 1, March 2016 58–84, 2016 'Uchitel' Publishing House

Challenges and Opportunities - Navigating a Complex World

Both the USA and the EU face significant hurdles. Domestic issues like political polarization, economic instability, and the rise of populism make it harder for them to focus on global leadership. At the same time, authoritarian regimes are gaining ground, challenging democratic values. Yet, these challenges also open doors for innovation and collaboration. By working together, the USA and the EU can find new ways to address global problems, from climate change to security threats, and set an example for others to follow.

The Epoch of New Coalitions and the Outlines of the New World Order
The search for a new balance has brought us to the period which we call
the epoch of new coalitions. The alliances can emerge accidentally and due to
unexpected reasons which can be exemplified by the BRICS (Brazil, Russia,
India, China, and South Africa).

Europe researches, US patents

When it comes to scientific research, the new JRC Technical Report shows that Europe holds a strong position for most of the 221 emerging technologies and categories. Especially in the clusters of digital twins (virtual replicas of physical objects), artificial intelligence and machine learning, therapeutics and biotechnologies, energy, and environment and agriculture.

European organisations significantly contribute to scientific publications and are responsible for the top 1% most impactful scientific articles. But, whilst Europe excels in terms of scientific publications, the report shows that the United States and China are leading in patenting and are also at the forefront of producing scientific knowledge across most clusters of the emerging technologies in the study.

In practice, this means that while the United States, China, and Europe are together at the forefront of producing scientific knowledge, European organisations are less inclined to patent their research results than those in China or the United States.¹⁴

5. NATO

The future of NATO and the development of the EU's defense system

A historic time for European defense: 'become a genuine security provider'

- Considers that the EU must act urgently to ensure its own autonomous security, strengthening its partnerships with like-minded partners and

¹⁴ O. Eulaerts, M.Grabowska, G. Joanny, S.Fragkiskos, *Weak signals in science and technologies*, MEU Science Hub ,2024, Available at https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication

significantly reducing its dependencies on non-EU countries; stresses, therefore, that the EU is now at a turning point in its history and construction; insists that a 'business as usual' approach is no longer an option as it would lead to the end of a safe and secure Europe; considers that the EU and its Member States must choose between joining forces and working in unison to overcome the threats and attacks on EU security, and standing alone at the mercy of aggressive adversaries and unpredictable partners;

- Recalls that the EU is a peace project and should strive towards peace and stability, while condemning aggression; underlines that in order to achieve peace and stability, Support Ukraine and become more resilient ourselves;
- Strongly believes that strengthening Europe's security and defense requires not just a simple increase in ambition and action, but a complete overhaul of the way we act and invest in our security and defense, such that from now on we plan, innovate, develop, purchase, maintain and deploy capabilities together, in a coordinated and integrated fashion, and making full use of the complementary competences of all actors in Europe, including NATO, to achieve a common European defense;
- Insists that Europe must take on greater responsibilities within NATO, especially when it comes to ensuring security on the European continent;
- Believes that diplomacy should remain a cornerstone of EU foreign policy. 15

Factors Shaping the Future

The basic factors that shape the future of interpersonal relationships are as follows:

- Geopolitical Developments Evolving geopolitical factors (e.g., Russia's aggression, China's rise, global terrorism) will shape the future of both NATO and the EU's defense systems.
- US-EU Relations The impact of the transatlantic relationship on the future of both defense systems. The essential framework is the potential for increased cooperation or growing divergence depending on US foreign policy priorities and the evolution of the EU's strategic autonomy.
- Internal EU Dynamics -The influence of internal EU dynamics (e.g., differing national interests, budgetary constraints, public opinion) on the development of a robust EU defense system.

The future of European defense: within or outside NATO?

Given Washington's reluctance - preoccupied with other domestic issues and the Asia-Pacific region to unconditionally support and guarantee Europe's security, the European Union has had to roll up its sleeves.

¹⁵ European Parliament, 2024-2029, White paper on the future of European defense European Parliament resolution of 12 March 2025 on the white paper on the future of European defense (2025/2565(RSP),

Dependence on one state is never healthy, as Germany's energy crisis over its dependence on Russian gas has shown. And security dependence, even when the United States is an ally of the Union, is certainly not a safe bet. NATO's security umbrella is too thin for Europe to shelter entirely under, but the growing investment in defense by Member States should convince the USA that Europe is once again taking its security seriously and shouldering its share of the burden. ¹⁶

The future of NATO and the development of the EU's defense system are critical areas of inquiry for scholars of international relations and security studies. From a scientific perspective, the interplay between these two entities will shape the trajectory of global security and governance in the 21st century.

Conclusion

The expansion of US foreign policy and the evolution of EU foreign and security policy reflect the shifting dynamics of the global order.

While the US continues to assert its dominance through military and economic power, the EU is increasingly positioning itself as a normative and mediating force, emphasizing multilateralism and soft power. These divergent approaches have significant implications for the future of global governance and the emergence of a new world order.

As the global geopolitical landscape continues to evolve, the US and the EU will need to adapt their strategies to address the challenges and opportunities of a multipolar world. By leveraging their respective strengths and working together on common goals, the US and the EU can play a critical role in shaping a more stable, just, and sustainable world order.

The future of NATO and the development of the EU's defense system will be shaped by the evolving dynamics of international relations, particularly in response to the USA's aggressive foreign policy. While NATO remains a critical pillar of transatlantic security, its future will depend on its ability to adapt to new challenges and maintain unity among its member states.

At the same time, the EU's quest for strategic autonomy represents a significant step toward reducing Europe's dependence on the US and enhancing its role as a normative and stabilizing force in global affairs.

By strengthening their respective capabilities and fostering greater coordination, NATO and the EU can address the challenges of a multipolar world and contribute to the emergence of a more stable and just global order. However, achieving this vision will require sustained political will, increased defense spending, and a commitment to multilateralism and collective security.

¹⁶ I. Herbelot, *What future for European defense*? Fondation Robert Shuman, Schuman Paper n°762, 1st October 2024

The institutional analysis of foreign policy-making might help to better understand why the EU and the US pursued different approaches, thus integrating realist and constructivist explanations. That analysis shows that the foreign policy strategies of the two compound polities are rooted in different structures of foreign policy making. Although the US and the EU share the features of compound polities, the different institutional organization of the policy process has generated powerful incentives for pursuing different kinds of international action.

These institutional mechanisms have been important, not only in mediating between external challenges and internal adaptation, but also in promoting different ideological justifications of international action. The US has reacted to the Cold War and thus to the 11 September, 2001 terrorist attacks with a further centralization of its foreign policy-making process in the hands of the President and an utmost re-affirmation of its external sovereignty. This has pushed foreign policy instruments (as development aid) not compatible with the security interests in a secondary position.

In the EU, on the contrary, institutional constraints have opposed centralization and decision-making process, including the use of unilateral sanctions. Given these obstacles to centralization of security policy, the EU has reacted to pressures for playing a more active role internationally by developing a civilian, rather than military, policies.

Policies such as development aid which are largely controlled by supranational institutions. If it is true that the EU is a civilian/normative power by self-representation, then it is also true that it has become so also by necessity. In sum, without discarding the influence of 19 external factors and the relevance of ideological justifications, it seems plausible to conclude that the different internal organization of foreign policy making has contributed to the development of different kinds of foreign policies strategies in the US and the EU.¹⁷

Shaping the Future: USA, EU, and the New World Order

The different approaches of the US and the EU to foreign and security policy are shaping the future of global governance in profound ways. As the world becomes more complex and interconnected, their strategies and how they adapt will determine the balance of power and the rules of the game in the coming decades.

Rising Multipolarity: A World of Many Powers

The US relies on military and economic strength, while the EU focuses on diplomacy and shared values. These contrasting approaches reflect a broader trend: the world is no longer dominated by one or two superpowers. Emerging

¹⁷ S. Fabbrini,, Bringing Policy-Making Structure Back In: Why are the US and the EU Pursuing Different Foreign Policies? Research Gate 2008.

powers like China and India are rising, creating a more multipolar world. For the US and the EU, this means they must rethink their strategies to stay relevant and influential in a world where power is more evenly distributed.

Global Governance: Competing Visions

The US and the EU will play key roles in shaping the institutions and norms of the new world order. The US is likely to continue pushing for a rules-based system that aligns with its interests, while the EU's commitment to multilateralism and human rights offers a different vision. Together, they could create a balance where the US provides strength and the EU offers a more cooperative, values-driven approach. This dynamic could help ensure that global governance remains inclusive and effective.

Challenges and Opportunities: Navigating a Complex World

Both the US and the EU face significant hurdles. Domestic issues like political polarization, economic instability, and the rise of populism make it harder for them to focus on global leadership. At the same time, authoritarian regimes are gaining ground, challenging democratic values. Yet, these challenges also open doors for innovation and collaboration. By working together, the USA and the EU can find new ways to address global problems, from climate change to security threats, and set an example for others to follow.

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