

*Future of European Foreign Policy Seminar**Biographical sketch***DAVID P. CALLEO**

David P. Calleo is the Dean Acheson Professor and Director of the European Studies Department at the Johns Hopkins University's Paul Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). He is an American scholar with a deep understanding and passion for Europe and one of the most recognized living specialists on Europe. Calleo received his B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Yale University and joined its Faculty in 1960, starting in that way, at the age of 26, a brilliant academic career. He has also taught at Brown and Columbia Universities, at the College of Europe, the universities of Bonn and Munich, the Institut Universitaire de Hautes Etudes Internationales in Geneva and the Institut d'Etudes Politiques of Paris.

In 1968 he started to teach at SAIS in Washington DC. He was named Dean Acheson Professor in 1988 and given the rank of University Professor in 2001. Currently, he teaches several courses of European Studies and Political Economy. In addition, he has also been a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute for Strategic Studies. Among other activities, he served as a consultant to the United States Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs in the Johnson Administration between 1967 and 1968.

Since 1965 he has published several books in the field of international relations, with a special emphasis on European studies, transatlantic relations (from the economic, political and strategic perspectives) and political economy. His method combines the use of history, intellectual history, political science and economics for a deep and multidisciplinary analysis of the international system.

His first book was *Europe's Future: The Grand Alternatives*. In this brief and prescient volume David P. Calleo analyzed the three major proposed models for European construction in that moment: the idea of an Atlantic Europe, de Gaulle's Europe of states and the Federal Europe, together with a fourth possibility: nobody's Europe, or the traditional balance of power. However conceived and written in 1965, *Europe's Future* is still a useful book for understanding the problems of Europe today. More than forty years later, the European Union faces many of the same identity problems outlined in this book.

This work was to be followed by *Coleridge and the Idea of the Modern State* (1966), *Britain's Future* (1968), and *The German Problem Reconsidered* (1978), the book which brought him

intellectual recognition. Calleo's analysis of Europe is based on an attachment to the concept of nation-state and national politics and history, which are the topics of these three books. Grasping the peculiar role of Britain and Germany is key to understand Europe's past, present and future. In particular, the German problem should be considered in the context of the evolution of the European system of nation-states.

His prognosis of the transformation of the international structure and its profound implications stand among Calleo's main intellectual contributions, together with the analysis and evolution of the transatlantic relationship. In *Beyond American Hegemony* (1987), he affirms that "the United States is no longer able to carry the global system on its own shoulders" in this more plural world,<sup>[1]</sup> now a common theme among political commentators, particularly after the intervention in Iraq. America is, thus, "a hegemon in decay," and the only possible way out "lies through Europe," necessary to "restore balance to the New World."<sup>[2]</sup> The European Union, therefore, is emerging as a third big power already before the end of the Cold War, with an increasing autonomous foreign and defense policy. In 1990, he reiterated that the trend towards a plural world is irreversible, even with "a return to reaction in Russia."<sup>[3]</sup> When almost everybody else was celebrating the American unipolar moment, Calleo stuck to the idea of multipolarity as a more appropriate representation of global politics.

Furthermore, for Calleo, there is a great "difficulty in sustaining a separation between political and economic systems."<sup>[4]</sup> In the case of the United States, its "role in the monetary system and ... in the military alliance have been two sides of the same imperial coin."<sup>[5]</sup> American attitude regarding the Bretton Woods system and its own twin deficits has been the same proof of these "habits of hegemony."<sup>[6]</sup>

Thus, the end of the Cold War and the disappearance of the Soviet enemy brought the chance for Europe to start a "major restructuring of the European state system," with the Treaties of Amsterdam and Maastricht and the proposed European Constitution, the enlargement and the plans for the strengthening of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).<sup>[7]</sup>

The trend for a European defense policy is exhaustively analyzed in "Imperial America and its Republican Constitution" (2003). Calleo considers that the transformations suffered since the end of the Cold War made more probable the creation of a "collective and self-sufficient European defence." Among these changes, the "growing divergence of transatlantic interests, particularly in regions on the edge of Europe,"<sup>[8]</sup> is one of the most important. The demise of the Soviet common enemy makes less necessary and improbable the continuation of the close Cold War alliance between the United States and Europe, and their capabilities and interests may now shift towards other objectives and regions.

For Calleo, the redefinition of the international system after the end of the Cold War is intimately related to the transatlantic relationship, which he already examined in his book *The Atlantic Fantasy* (1970), and which includes the political economy of the West. Since his analysis of the "Atlantic Europe" in *Europe's Future*, Calleo has examined the problem of the increasingly divergent relationship within the Western Alliance. In this sense, one major turning point was the end of the Bretton Woods System as a consequence of the American economic policies and the "benign neglect" applied by the US governments.<sup>[9]</sup> Until that moment, America had been "borrowing a large part of the world's capital to support its government spending and general standard of living"<sup>[10]</sup> imposing in that way a kind of "imperial taxation" over the rest of the world<sup>[11]</sup> and against which the Europeans (led by de Gaulle) reacted.<sup>[12]</sup>

The changes in the international system and these transatlantic tensions have also had as a

consequence the increasing integration of the European Community,[13] starting with the European Monetary System in 1979, mainly conceived and pushed after the collapse of the Bretton Woods system and the gold-exchange standard.

The analysis of the transatlantic relationship reflects also in the military sphere. Regarding the Atlantic Alliance, Calleo proposed the Europeanization of NATO in order to achieve a devolution of capacity to an autonomous European defense.[14] According to him, “the trend towards pluralism has created strategic and political conditions to make obsolescent both the bipolar arms race and bipolar arms control.”[15] Nevertheless, the problem has profound implications. Calleo considers that “the American political system finds it very difficult to face the reality of a plural world in which the US is no longer supreme.”[16] It has, in that way, “grown into a conspiracy to avoid reality” and “feels perpetually threatened an over-extended” despite its military power.[17] This situation is, for Calleo, a major danger for America and the world. For this reason, Europe can and must rise as a big power in the world, counterbalancing and even containing its closest ally, the United States,[18] when needed and developing an autonomous foreign and defense policy.

However, in his opinion, and despite of all its success, the European Union has also problems of its own and is currently facing a number of important challenges, including those relative to military capacity and external relations, especially with Russia and the Arab world.[19] According to Calleo, the European countries could and should cooperate with Russia and consider this neighbor and old enemy a partner in political and military issues.[20] For this reason, the continuity of European dependency on the United States regarding security issues is even less advisable. The same conclusion may be entertained, for Calleo, with regard to Middle East countries.[21] Another problem is the increasingly “wider” “transatlantic cultural difference,” and the divergent emphasis the United States and Europe put in military and security issues and Europe’s “civilian view of security.” [22] For all these reasons, Calleo reiterates in his last book an issue he was pointing at since the 1980’s: the devolution of security capabilities to Europe [23].

The transatlantic relationship has been marked, according to Calleo, by the economic relations between the United States and Europe. In *America and the World Political Economy* (1973), he analyzes the external impact of the United States’ economy after the demise of the Bretton Woods system and the first oil crisis. Calleo criticizes severely the way the United States abused its position as the holder of the reserve currency in the Bretton Woods System, especially regarding the twin deficits it run for decades. The ultimate abandon of the gold-exchange system would have proved, in his opinion, the American neglect towards its hegemon position, responsible of monetary stability in the world. In this way, he anticipated the change of the world system, from a bipolar to a plural world.[24]

On the other hand, the end of Soviet empire supposed a “further geopolitical challenge”[25] both for the United States and Europe, as well as for the transatlantic relationship itself. A major issue is the configuration or definition of a “new European system.” Calleo analyzes three basic models, among which the third and “more reasonable” “is a sort of articulated pan-European system, a cooperative balancing of the US, the EU and Russia.” However, this Pan-Europe “requires a strong a cohesive EU – one that reaches out to stabilize the areas around it, but without losing its own balance in the process,”[26] thus a stronger and more ambitious – regarding foreign policy– Europe .

In this sense, European internal processes also had a relevant external dimension. The creation of the European Monetary Union (EMU) was backed by geopolitical reasons and the

need for Europe of restoring its geopolitical self-confidence. The EMU could, thus, represent this necessary “resounding political success for internal and abroad public.”[27]

In 2001, David Calleo referred again to these models for Europe in a book that could be considered a revision or completion of this first work, *Rethinking Europe's Future*. This volume not only deals again with, and updates, some of the subjects already tackled in previous works, but also, and especially, analyzes the major new challenges for Europe in the post-Cold War world and after the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington of September, 11, 2001. Certainly, the EU is the most advanced political achievement of modern times,[28] even if its progress has been “dialectical rather than lineal, with numerous crises, false starts, and failures along the way.”[29] However, the “New Europe” faces nonetheless three “unfinished business” of vital importance: a constitutional renovation, the issue of security and the organization of Pan-Europe.

Yet Europe must also deal with the major world transformations: globalism, the new world order and the growing divergences with the United States. These are, in Calleo's view, the three main challenges for the current and future European Foreign Policy.[30] In particular, globalization may push towards more intense European integration in what Calleo calls “Listian Europe,” for the “need for collective protection can also be an incentive to reinforce rather than undermine political cohesion.” [31] Europe's main challenge is the “recasting” of the transatlantic alliance, the “building [of] a new cooperative relationship with Russia ” and the disposal of “autonomous an effective capabilities for managing security problems withing its own neighborhood.” [32] For Calleo, the construction of a balanced world system needs the birth of Europe as an independent power, especially in one moment, as the current, when the ghost of desire of unipolarity returns to the United States. In this sense, Calleo advocates for a strong and autonomous Europe.

**Maite de Sola Perea**

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[1] Calleo, *Beyond American Hegemony. The Future of the Western Alliance* , 216.

[2] Ibid., 220.

- [3] Calleo, "Rebalancing the US-European-Soviet Triangle," 51.
- [4] Calleo, *America and the World Political Economy*, 14.
- [5] Ibid., 87.
- [6] Calleo, *The Bankrupting of America*, 103.
- [7] Calleo, "Transatlantic Folly: NATO vs. the EU", 19.
- [8] Calleo, "Imperial America and its Republican Constitution", *The New Transatlantic Agenda*, 8.
- [9] Calleo, *The Atlantic Fantasy*, 91
- [10] Ibid., 120.
- [11] Calleo, *America and the World Political Economy*, 116.
- [12] Calleo, *The Bankrupting of America*, 107.
- [13] Ibid., 48.
- [14] Calleo, *Beyond American Hegemony*, 218.
- [15] Ibid., 219.
- [16] Ibid., 219.
- [17] Calleo, *Beyond American Hegemony*.
- [18] Calleo, "The United States and Europe: Rival Visions of the World Order" (lecture, SAIS Bologna Center, Johns Hopkins University, Bologna, November 30, 2006).
- [19] Ibid.
- [20] Calleo, *Rethinking Europe's Future*, 329.
- [21] Ibid.
- [22] Ibid., 330.
- [23] Calleo, "The American Role in NATO," *Journal of International Affairs*, Summer/Fall 1989, Vol. 43, Issue 1, 27.
- [24] Calleo, *America and the World Political Economy*, 8.
- [25] Calleo, "Western Transformation after the Cold War," *No End to Alliance*, 199.

[26] Ibid., 200.

[27] Calleo, "Western Transformation after the Cold War," *No end to alliance: the United States and Western Europe : past, present, and future: Nobel Symposium 105*, 198.

[28] Calleo, "The United States and Europe : Rival Visions of the World Order" (lecture).

[29] Calleo, *Rethinking Europe's Future*, 252.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., 248.

[32] Ibid., 332.

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