WORKING PAPERS
Global and Area Studies
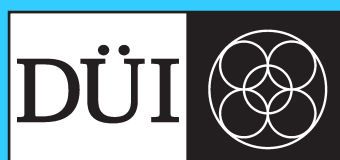
www.duei.de/workingpapers

German Overseas Institute (DÜI)
Research Unit: Violence and Security Cooperation
_____

**Culture and Collective Action – Japan, Germany and
the United States after September 11, 2001**

Dirk Nabers

N° 9   **September 2005**

DÜI

Culture and Collective Action –
Japan, Germany and the United States after September 11, 2001

Abstract

In order to provide a lens to the issue of international security cooperation after 11 September 2001, this paper will examine the question of how collective action in international relations becomes possible. The author maintains that it is possible to understand, if not explain, a fair amount of inter-state collective action by analyzing the culture of the international system. Using discourse analysis as a tool, the analysis addresses the underlying ideas, norms and identities that constitute the relationship between the United States and Japan on the one hand and Germany and the United States on the other hand as it evolved since September 2001. As a result, the paper argues that even if the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington have led to strong pressure on states like the United States, Germany and Japan to form a collective identity, rivalling identities have yet not given way.

Key Words: collective action, culture, constructivism, discourse analysis, terrorism, Japan, Germany, United States

Dr. Dirk Nabers

is a Political Scientist at the Institute of Asian Affairs. He currently is a Feodor Lynen Scholar of the Alexander von Humboldt-Foundation, in 2005-2006 researching at the Department of Political Studies, University of Otago, New Zealand; his research interests include IR theory, security studies, and Asian and European politics in comparative perspective; his latest monograph "Allianz gegen den Terror. Deutschland, Japan und die USA" (Alliance against Terror – Germany, Japan and the United States) will be published in November 2005 (Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften).
Contact: nabers@ifa.duei.de · Website: http://www.duei.de/ifa/nabers

Zusammenfassung

**Kultur und kollektives Handeln – Japan, Deutschland und die USA nach dem
11. September 2001**

Die grundlegende Frage des vorliegenden Beitrags lautet, wie kollektives Handeln in der internationalen Politik möglich wird. Es wird argumentiert, dass durch die Analyse der Kultur des internationalen Systems eine Antwort auf diese Frage gefunden werden kann. Mit Hilfe einer Diskursanalyse werden die Ideen, Normen und Identitäten aufgespürt, die die Beziehungen zwischen Japan und den USA auf der einen sowie Deutschland und den USA auf der anderen Seite nach dem 11. September 2001 konstituiert haben. Obwohl die traumatischen Ereignisse des 11. September massiven Kooperationsdruck auf „westliche" Staaten erzeugte, haben sich hier doch nicht durchweg kollektive Identitäten entwickeln können.

Article Outline

1. Introduction

Even before the guerrilla fighting in Iraq has died out, ever more academics and journalists are rushing into print to tell us what has *really* happened in the Afghanistan and Iraq wars, how international politics changed after 11 September 2001. But just how valid are their conclusions? What were and are the warring sides' 'real' objectives? Are the sources of information they are citing reliable? Or do they present only a narrow approach that shuts out some interpretations from the outset as illegitimate? This paper follows a simple purpose: to search for 'the truth behind the truth', for thesis and antitheses in official explanations.

The basic theoretical question to be answered in the analysis is the following: *How is collective action in international relations possible?* Empirically, I will try to solve the problem by looking at international security cooperation after 11 September. The question is then formulated as follows: *How was collective action between the United States, Japan and Germany possible in Afghanistan and Iraq, and what were the difficulties that – in some cases – prevented collective action?* Collective action shall be understood as the joint actions of a number of states. It is based on intersubjective understandings about *self* and *other*.[1] The totality of intersubjective structures in the international system shall be understood as its culture. I assume that it is the culture of the international system that is responsible for the prospect and the degree of collective action.

---

[1] The term 'intersubjectivity', frequently used by constructivists, is equivalent to that of 'common knowledge', which is used in everyday language. Both refer to the beliefs held by individuals about each other.

The analysis proceeds in four steps: Following this introduction, in the second section, I will refer to Alexander Wendt's *Social Theory of International Politics* as a promising tool to answer the main question of this article. As far as the ontological structure of the international system (culture as an ideational phenomenon) is concerned, the argument builds on his theory. However, several authors have blamed Wendt for neglecting the inextricable link between the role of ideas/culture on the one hand, and language/discourse on the other hand (Brglez 2001; Smith 2000; Suganami 2001; Zehfuß 1998; Zehfuss 2002), and thus of having no concept of speech and communication. In the third section, I will try to close this methodological gap. I will show how the process of systemic culture transformation can be analyzed. At the center of the approach stands the analysis of discourses, i.e. the exploration of speeches, writings, interviews, conversations and so on. The study of identities through discourse analysis has become common in IR (e.g. Doty 1996; Larsen 1997; Waever 1998; Diez 1999; Milliken 1999; Beard 2000; Jackson 2005). In the fourth section, I will analyze post-September 11 security cooperation between Germany and the United States as well as Japan and the United States along the lines of the developed methodological framework. As a result of the analysis, I expect to detect an irrefutable link between the cultural structure of the international system and the degree of collective international action.

2. Identity, Culture and Collective Action

Even where common interests exist, collective action often fails. On the contrary, states' interests are sometimes not concurring, yet, cooperation does take place. Puzzled by the existing difficulties in explaining international cooperation, IR scholars have offered numerous different theories to explain the origin and development of international institutions, the most prominent among them being (neo-) realism, liberalism and (neoliberal) institutionalism. Suggesting that the success of classic IR scholarship in helping us understand the processual character of international cooperation has been quite limited, I will introduce one of the most widely accepted and processed constructivist approaches in IR, developed by Alexander Wendt, in particular his monograph *Social Theory of International Politics* (1999). His theory offers intriguing insights into the ontological structure of international politics. His basic level of analysis is the international system as an ideational structure that gives meaning to the material capabilities of states. The state itself remains an analytical concept in that it never really becomes visible: it consists of an aggregation of (governmental) individuals. Since the nature of international relations is determined by the ideas and beliefs that states have about each other, and these are constituted principally by social rather than ma-

terial structures, Wendt's unit of analysis has to be the state (Wendt 1999: 8-10). According to Wendt, the nature of international relations is determined by the ideas and beliefs that states have about each other. This does not suggest that material power and interests are irrelevant, but rather that their implications and effects are constituted by the social structure of the system.

Step by step, Wendt develops a theory of the international system, of cooperation and conflict. Using institutionalist insights, he assumes that states initially engage in pro-communicative activities for egoistic reasons, e.g. because state goals cannot be pursued unilaterally. The argument depends on a mechanism of functional institutional efficiency in order to account for social change. Yet, it is widely conceded that institutionalist theories can only explain initial short-term, behavioral cooperation, i.e. the impetus for engaging in communicative action, but fail to account for the development of long-term communal collaboration (Drulák 2001; for a critique cf. also Sterling-Folker 2000). On the other hand, his social constructivist model maintains that agents themselves are in process when they interact, which means that their very properties rather than just behaviors are at issue. Interdependence, common fate and a homogenous culture – what Wendt calls his 'master variables' – can in this sense be seen as independent variables, good for instigating states' engagement in communicative processes (Wendt 1999: Chapter 7).

These variables serve the purpose of setting off a state's engagement in communicative processes. Yet, they seem to be inadequate for explaining the erosion of egoistic identities over time and the creation of collective ones. International institutions are likely to be unstable if states are engaged by an on-going reckoning over whether norm-conformity serves their individual interests. Consequently, I assume that identities and interests are a continuing outcome of interaction, not just an input into the communicative process, as for example the concept of 'rhetorical action' would have it.[2]

However, the question *how* identities and their corresponding interests are transformed in the cultural context in which they are embedded cannot be answered satisfactorily by just pointing to their endogenous character. One more question has to be asked in this context: What makes states change their respective standpoints in the communicative context? Interdependence, common fate and homogeneity can be 'efficient' causes of pro-communicative engagement, which will eventually lead to a transformation of state identities. But this process can only develop if states can overcome their anxiety of being cheated by those with whom they would identify. The principle of 'reflected appraisals' introduced into IR theory by Wendt is only a first step that helps us solve this problem. If one state treats the other as if

---

[2]   While rhetorical action refers to "the *strategic* use of arguments, communicative action is best characterized as the non-strategic, *appropriate* use of arguments" (Schimmelfennig 2004: 203).

it were a friend, then by this principle it is likely that the state internalizes that belief (Wendt 1999: 327). Creating a basic confidence is therefore the fundamental problem of international identity-building. Wendt describes this process as 'complex learning' (Wendt 1999: 330-331): The political acts of the states that communicate with each other constitute signals about the role that one wants to play and about the corresponding role into which it wants to cast its opponent. If State B modifies its ideas because of State A's political action, then learning has taken place. If this is the case, the actors "will get to know each other, changing a distribution of knowledge that was initially only privately held (a mere social structure) into one that is at least partly shared (a culture)" (Wendt 1999: 331). From a constructivist standpoint the mark of a completely internalized culture is that actors identify with it, and include the wishes, ideas, and intentions of others into their own ideas. If identity is nothing else than to have certain ideas about who one is in a given situation, then the sense of being part of a group "is a social or collective identity that gives actors an interest in the preservation of their culture" (ibid.: 337). Certainly, State A can also take the role of an egoist or cast State B in a position to be manipulated for the satisfaction of its own needs. Then this might threaten State B's needs, who will probably adopt an egoistic identity himself and act accordingly.

On the basis of his interactionist model, Wendt argues that endless conflict and war, as predicted by realists, is not the only logic of the international system as an anarchic structure. Even the tentative optimism of liberals about international institutions and deepening interdependence facilitating international cooperation within anarchy might not go far enough. To illustrate this, Wendt introduces three distinct cultures of the international system, Hobbesian, Lockean and Kantian, which are constituted by certain ideas about the general condition of human association, norms of appropriate behavior and specific roles constituting rivalling or collective identities, respectively (Wendt 1999: ch. 6; cf. also Wendt 2003).

Table 1: Anarchic Cultures[3]

	Idea/Belief	**Norm**	**Identity**	
Hobbes	Force	Self-help	Enemy	*Realism*
Locke	Egoism	Mutual Recognition	Rival	*Institutionalism*
Kant	Legitimacy	Self-restriction	Friend	*Idealism*

---

[3] In a later work, Wendt differentiates between five different stages in world history, each responding to the immanent instabilities of the system before: a system of states, a society of states, world society (security community), collective security, and a world state; see Wendt 2003.

One can derive three different hypotheses from this work, referring to different theoretical approaches to the study of the international system, and leading to different grand strategies. With Realism, one might expect the familiar arms race, conflict and war to be the dominating features of anarchy; with institutionalism, one might expect an independent role for international institutions and absolute gains seeking; with constructivism, or idealism, actors might also have a well-developed sense of collective identity, each state identifying with the fate of the other.

Wendt proclaims that the current condition of the international system is characterized by a Lockean culture and the creation of a universal pluralistic security community (Wendt 2003: 521), with a strong tendency towards a Kantian culture or collective security system, at least in the Western world. A fundamental question is whether this can be proven empirically. A Kantian culture does not only postulate that disputes will be settled without war or the threat of war (as has undoubtedly been the case in the North-Atlantic community), but that states will fight as a team if the security of any one is threatened by a third party (Wendt 1999: 298-299). Specifically, I will ask whether actors in the international system (in our case the United States, Japan and Germany) actually demonstrate a sense of collective identity with respect to security and whether each identifies with the fate of the whole, as Wendt seems to suggest in a recent article:

> "The ease with which the US was able to put together coalitions to fight the first Gulf War and the War on Terrorism, the persistence of NATO after the Cold War, and even the Concert of Europe are all best explained by perceived common fate. In all these cases mutual recognition had positive rather than just negative behavioral requirements" (Wendt 2003: 521-522).

This is a good starting-point for a critique of Wendt's work. His predictions about the development of the international system are somehow misleading because his theory lacks a linguistically informed concept of agency (for a critique cf. Herborth 2004). The relationship between structure and agency remains unclear at some points. It seems as if the causal power of a static reality (a Hobbesian, Lockean or Kantian reality) guides states' behavior. Although Wendt advocates the idea that his model "can be readily extended to situations in which culture already exists" (Wendt 1999: 328), some authors contend that the underlying conservative nature of a cultural structure represents an impediment to change (e.g. Sáváry 2001). Two questions evolve: How can actors change their identities in a process of complex learning if one assumes that identities are embedded in pre-existing cultural structures? And how can culture itself change?

An answer to these questions might be that structures rest on their continuous instantiation through social practices, thereby making them coterminous with process. Wendt himself

acknowledges that "[d]espite having a conservative bias, therefore, culture is always characterized by more or less contestation among its carriers, which is a constant resource of structural change" (Wendt 1999: 188). This is a tentative introduction of agency into a systemic theory. If we assume that cultural structures always exist through process, then we have to go a step further and ask what process actually is about. To start with, process is constituted by meaningful acts of social agents, and can thus only be grasped by analyzing meaning. Then again, the question remains how meaning can be analyzed by social scientists. Wendt argues that social relationships are constituted by discursive structures (Wendt 1999: 84), and that contestation occurs through communication. Surprisingly though, his arguments offer no concept of language, as Maja Zehfuss has criticized (Zehfuß 1998; Zehfuss 2002; see also Guzzini/Leander 2001). His model of 'complex learning' does not rely on language and discourse, but seems to be reduced to physical gestures (Zehfuss 2002: 48).

At a closer look, however, the version of *scientific realism* that Wendt makes the basis of his theory neither precludes linguistically informed epistemology, nor does it restrict the choice of methodology in any way. His metatheoretical position basically says that there is a world out there that is independent of our thinking (Wendt 1999: 51). In this category one may include both empirical realism, which refers to those material facts that are directly observable, and linguistic realism, referring to what is present (and thus observable) within discourses (Brglez 2001; Wolf 2003). Wendt maintains that phenomena normally seen as material, such as power, are actually constituted by ideas: "And these ideas exist and have effects because of the discursive forms (norms, institutions, ideologies) in which they are embedded [...]" (Wendt 2003: 495). At a prominent place in his Social Theory, he even underlines the inextricable link between identities, culture, and discourse:

> "Thinking depends logically on social relations, not just causally. Human beings think through culture. And since the structure of shared beliefs is ultimately a linguistic phenomenon, this means that language does not merely mediate thinking, it makes thinking possible" (Wendt 1999: 175).

However, though pointing out the relevance of discourses, what is missing in his arguments is a discussion of epistemological questions (see also Kratochwil 2000). He does not offer a clear idea about how to study the international system, because he fails to develop a language-based research agenda. That might also explain his failure to view the construction of the alliance against terror correctly – as we will see later. As Hayward Alker criticizes, "not much is said [in Wendt's book] on how to fill in the large, nearly empty, more or less grey, boxes of his three cultural ideal types of anarchic socialization practices" (Alker 2000: 146).[4] And Petr Drulák consequently poses the question whether Wendt's master variables actu-

---

[4] See also Krasner (2000) who argues that Wendt's argument is unsupported by empirical data.

ally work without reflexivity and communication (Drulák 2001: 371-373). Eventually, it is the communicative reflection of a group of actors that creates the 'We-feeling' which is necessary for the development of a collective identity.

To conclude, one has to emphasize with Wendt that it is possible to assume that the culture of the international system is responsible for what is going on in international politics. After all, identity relates to intersubjectivity, and can only be understood in relation to other identities. Eventually, I am interested in the distribution of ideas/identities in the international system. What is missing in Wendt's work is an epistemological elaboration of the fact that it is language that expresses ideas and identities, and constructs social reality. Meaningful language is never reducible to individual speakers. It is a social act. In the following, I will call this process *discourse*. I will turn to the relevance of speech and discourse in the next section, developing an analytical framework that allows for a proper conceptualization of the international system from a constructivist perspective.

3. Systemic Culture and Discourse

It is the social interaction within the international system that is of interest for the analysis. In order to explain what is going on, to grasp the intersubjective quality of convergent expectations (Kratochwil/Ruggie 1986: 764), one has to look at discourses within the international context. Before explaining the way how discourses can be studied, though, let us just briefly clarify how they are defined in the following empirical investigation. The theory of discourse considers communication as the production and exchange of meanings; discourses constitute and construct the world in meaning (Schreiber/Moring 2001). Van Dijk, one of the leading modern discourse theorists, also points out that discourse should be understood as an act of communication (van Dijk 1977). There can in principle be no objective starting point and no conclusion of a discourse, since every speech act is connected with many others and can only be understood on the basis of others. As an act of communication,

> "[…] discourse is socially constituted as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it" (Wodak 1996: 15).

In that sense, discourses also have transformative effects on culture. When people communicate with each other, they negotiate about meanings. Through their communication, they produce and reproduce reality. This point has to be emphasized because we expect current discourses in the international system to have ongoing effects on the culture of cooperation.

Altering values and norms are in a changing relationship with the social production of discourse and must therefore be included in the analysis (Titscher et al. 2000: 27). To put it shortly, the context of discourse is constantly being recreated through the discourse, and it in turn influences the latter.

The next important question then is how to study discourses as a means of explaining the transformation of the culture of the international system. Since our units of analysis are states, the first aspect that is of relevance here is the exploration of repetitive statements in major speeches of government representatives because those speech acts "convey the logic of the government as they wish to express it" (Hoffmann/Knowles 1999: 17). The question whether the speakers really mean what they say is of relative irrelevance in this respect, for it is not their deeper intentions or convictions that we are interested in:

> "An advantage of this approach (discourse analysis) compared with psychological approaches studying perceptions and belief systems is that it stays totally clear of any relationship to what people really think. It is not interested in inner motives, in interests or beliefs; it studies something public, that is how meaning is generated and structured […]" (Waever 1995: 254).

Whether or not political actors really mean what they say is of minor weight because agents will always put forward their arguments strategically; both opportunistic and honest arguments have real consequences for their advocates and the outcome of the debate. In reality, politicians will always have to argue what the consequences of their policies are (Schimmelfennig 2001: 66).

Neither can one expect with absolute certainty that a dominant discourse will evolve. The battle between discourses to become the leading interpretative structure actually tends to reveal the configuration of power relations in a given historical moment, but they are so multifaceted that we cannot foresee their exact outcomes (Smith 1998: 57). However, once a discourse reaches the stage of establishing a dominant perception of reality for all those participating in the communicative process, it reveals a lot about the course of action in collective identity formation. If the same 'reality' is reflected in the speech acts of all interacting agents, one can speak of collective identity and a 'Kantian culture'.

I assume that particularly in so-called 'organic crises' (Laclau 1977: 103, referring to Gramsci), existing cultures are apt to collapse and new dominant discourses can evolve. In such a crisis, more and more actors open themselves up for innovative discourses, and hegemonic strategies can be successful. The network of existing social structures is increasingly considered an obstacle on the path to one's 'true self'; the evolving hegemonic discourse, on the other hand, reinforces a specific actor's identity crisis by offering alternative identity concepts.

This transition is a highly complex venture, encompassing a fundamental reconstruction of existing values and identities. As an ideal type, it can be summed up as follows: (1) At the beginning there is the crisis, an external catastrophe like 11 September, that might weaken dominant discourses, i.e. dominant perceptions of reality, opening up cultural borders. (2) Alternative discourses start to compete in their interpretation of the crisis. Sooner or later, one predominant interpretation will evolve, which institutes the framework that determines what action is appropriate and what action is inappropriate to end the predicament (Laclau 1990: 64). (3) Old identities tend to dissolve with the construction of newly established dominant interpretative frameworks.[5] (4) The new cultural structure will then generate new kinds of political action along the lines of the dominant interpretative framework (cf. also Laclau 1977). In short, the process evolves as follows:

Figure 1: Culture and collective action in International Politics
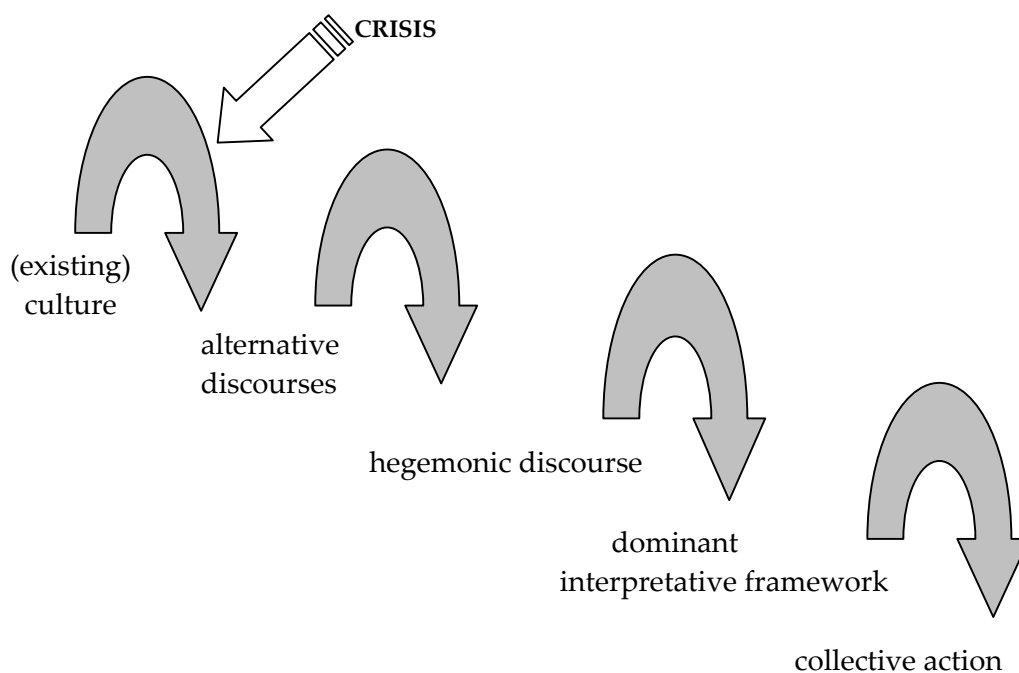
Specific cultural forms like norms, rules, (political) institutions, conventions, ideologies, customs, and laws are all influenced by this process. It ends up in transforming actors' beliefs about each other's rationality, strategies, preferences, and beliefs. Different actors are competing for hegemony in this process by offering their specific 'systems of narration' as a compensatory framework, and they will represent that framework as the only one that can

---

[5]   Wendt at one point (Wendt 1999: 264) introduces the concept of the 'tipping point', which he considers to be the threshold beyond which structural change becomes possible. At this point, according to Wendt, the representations of individual actors take the logic of the system, making structural change possible. For a critique see also Drulák 2001: 369.

resolve an identity crisis (Laclau 1977: 103). This shows that reflexivity can transcend the conservative nature of culture. Identities play a crucial role in this process. However, they only make sense by means of the recognition through others. Eventually, what counts is the cultural structure of the international system, which can nonetheless be transformed through social interaction. The concept of 'crisis' is most welcome in this sense because it represents a situation in which our everyday beliefs of how the world works are rigorously disrupted by an event that is out of our control. In that sense, it can be compared to trauma, i.e. a situation that is hard to describe and yet demands to be communicated: "[…] it is outside the frameworks of normal social reality and thus outside the linguistic and other symbolic tools we have at our disposal for making sense of the world" (Edkins 2002: 246). A likely result of this process is community-building and the construction of a collective identity.

I will consider 11 September 2001, as a traumatic event and ask how the incidents of that day influenced security discourses between states in the international system. There is no standard method to analyze a discourse. However, one has to take into consideration that in communication flows between states more than one discourse may be active at the same time. It is therefore necessary to introduce the concept of 'interdiscursivity' (Fairclough, 1995). Interdiscourse refers to the structure that underlies various discursive events. The interdiscourse – which Fairclough also called the order of discourse – has primacy over the particular types or 'fragments' of discourses. The different fragments are also called discursive practices. If we choose a specific organisation for investigation, we may find various discursive practices. It is an important task to evaluate the practices for their effects on collective action and conflict. The interdiscourse is therefore not necessary a harmonious entity. In most cases it may be characterised by incoherence, inconsistency, conflict and dilemma.

In the next section, I will arrange the particular types of discursive practices we find in the chosen field, i.e. the fight against global terrorism after 11 September. I will investigate how the reality of the international system is socially constructed by discourse. The discourse will show us that some actions are adequate and others unthinkable; it will show us where intersubjectivity exists and where it does not; finally, it will show us where collective action between states is possible and where it is not. The analysis should start out with the definition of the discursive event (discursive context) as a basis for the developing interdiscourse (Jäger 1999); I will restrict myself to a few words about the events of 11 September 2001. In the first major investigative step I will analyze various discursive practices, on the basis of which I will try to evaluate the dominant culture of the international system after September 2001. I will ask how particular ideas are represented

and whether others are exluded, how compexities are reduced and what other ways of representing them are available (Fairclough 2005). As has been pointed out earlier, anarchic cultures comprise ideas and beliefs about the world (e.g. the nature of world security), norms of proper behaviour (e.g. questions of international law and the appropriateness of the use of force) and identities (constituting the three cultures introduced by Wendt: Hobbes, Locke and Kant).[6] Discursive practices revolve around these three concepts. They will be the focus of the analysis.

In the last section, I will briefly give an answer to the overall question of this article, how collective action becomes possible in international politics and why it fails so often.

4. Systemic Culture after 11 September 2001

The main argument of the following analysis is that it is not the terrorist attacks as such that shaped world politics in the years that followed, as some observers would have it. If we watch the twin towers' fall from the perspective of a constructivist social scientist, we are not interested in the material process of two skyscrapers and a government building being hit by airplanes, but in the interpretational process that is mobilized by this event. What follows is a complex struggle between different interpretations of the situation, in which different state actors do not only participate to achieve their individual or collective goals, but – more importantly – try to determine who they are, what their position is vis-à-vis the United States is, and what their place in the international system should be.

It would be wrong to stereotype the positions of the 'Americans', the 'Germans' and the 'Japanese' in the debate following 11 September 2001. It is however possible to discover predominant views that shape the thoughts of the respective other. As has been said, these include certain ideas/beliefs about the general condition of international politics, norms and identities. I will analyze these three elements of the discourse in the following sections.

Ideas of world security

As Laclau has pointed out, a discourse can only generate a dominant interpretative framework if its 'system of narration' operates as a surface of inscription for a wide variety of demands. Its success is due to its abstract form, which in turn makes it possible for more identifications to become possible (Laclau 1990: 64). In the case of the discourse starting with 11 September, 2001, it is the concepts of liberty and freedom – encompassing ideas such as

---

[6] For an alternative approach to the study of the international system as an ideational structure, see Frederking 2003.

legitimacy and democracy, and ruling out force and egoism as tolerable means of human association – that structure the field and signify the only possible alternative to absolute chaos in world politics. The terms occur in most of the speeches held by American government officials in the days after the terrorist attacks, and they are mirrored in speeches held by the German and Japanese heads of governments. By using the words as a 'horizon', it becomes possible to create a dominant discourse in the early phase of the war against terror. The term serves political purposes by making it possible to differentiate between countries that enjoy freedom and those that do not:

> "Germany, Indonesia, Japan, the Philippines, South Africa, South Korea, Poland, Taiwan and Turkey show that freedom manifests itself differently around the globe – and that new liberties can find an honored place amidst ancient traditions. In countries such as Bahrain, Jordan, Morocco and Qatar, reform is underway, taking shape according to different local circumstances" (Rice 2002).

The international discourse after 11 September 2001 can be characterized as a continuous process of re-imagining international security. In this game, the United States represents itself as the archetype of freedom and justice. As Bush emphasizes, "[we] must stop the evil ones, so our children and grandchildren can know peace and security and freedom in the greatest nation on the face of the Earth" (The White House 2001a). In this example, the meaning of the American identity is purposely shaped by its differential relationship to the rest of the world, especially those countries that are characterized by a lack of freedom. The freedom metaphor is frequently employed by the German and Japanese governments as well, segregating the civilized western world from the rest of the planet. As the German government puts it:

> "It is mainly religiously motivated extremism and fanaticism in combination with the worldwide reach of international terrorism that threaten the achievements of modern civilization such as freedom and human rights, openness, tolerance and diversity" (Bundesministerium der Verteidigung 2003).

And the Japanese Prime Minister declares on 27 September 2001:
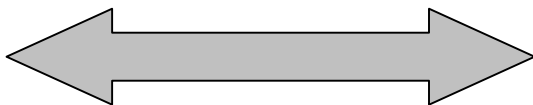
> "The entire global community stands undaunted and ready to fight resolutely the unprecedented cowardly acts of terrorism. […] Now is the time for our nation to confront the present difficulties with its full power in a spirit of international cooperation in order to defend peace and freedom for all humankind" (Prime Minister's Office 2001g).

Other concepts regularly used by the Bush administration – in particular 'peace' and 'security' – serve the same function. As Condoleezza Rice once explained, both refer to the prevention of violence by terrorists, to the extension of the benefits of freedom and prosperity across the globe and – what should be noticed here – to the creation of good relations among the world's great powers (Rice 2002). This was also expressed in various statements of top

US government representatives, most prominently in President Bush's defining speech at West Point in July 2002: "We have our best chance since the rise of the nation state in the 17th century to build a world where the great powers compete in peace instead of prepare for war" (The White House 2002a).

Accordingly, President Bush declared terrorism as the 'mother of all threats', asserting that modern terrorists are "the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the twentieth century" (The White House 2002a), omnipresent in the world and always prepared to attack 'our civilization'. Textual analysis (see Fairclough 2005) unveils a bifurcation of the world into protagonists and antagonists in Bush's speeches, representing the latter as malign and evil. Critical linguists call this mechanism 'overlexicalization', meaning that antagonists are lexicalized in various ways. The language thereby tries to naturalize a binary opposition (Jackson 2005: 62), as shown in table 2:

Table 2: Overlexicalization in the 'war on terror'

USA	Rest of the world
Peace	War
Security	Insecurity
Freedom	Tyranny
Order	Instability
Civilization	Barbarism
Western	Non-Western
good	evil
etc.	etc.

Relations of equivalence are textured between the USA, freedom and civilization on the one hand and the rest of the world, tyranny and barbarism on the other. Eventually, it is the American self-image of cultural superiority over the rest of the world[7] where opposition in some parts of the world becomes visible. The more a construction of an idea is specified, the more conflict arises and hegemonization of a discourse becomes unlikely (see table 3).

---

[7]   As the American President stated on September 11th: "America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining" (The White House 2001b).

Table 3: Discursive construction and potential for conflict

low ➜	specification	➜ *high*
Freedom	Security	War
Peace	Democracy	Threat
Order	Welfare	Terrorism
		Axis of Evil
low ➜	potential for conflict	➜ *high*

Conflict between Washington and Berlin first arose when the discourse involved more specific terms. "The phrase 'axis of evil' leads nowhere", German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer balked.[8]

Diverging views also manifested itself with regard to the quality of terrorism and the far reaching threat creation by the Bush administration. In the U.S., threat creation became functional to political purposes (Jackson 2005, for a detailed account). Life as normal had been interrupted by a new form of insecurity, and from now on, it was not only the United States but the whole 'civilized world' which was vulnerable and which might be attacked by terrorists. Constructing fear served the function of maintaining quiescence and de-legitimizing dissent both within the United States and the international community (Hariman 2003). In the constructivist literature, it has been argued that the very concept of the political is based on the identification of the enemy. This idea is related to the second dimension of the war on terror: The 'new kind of terrorism' that is now also threatening American allies and draws a line between the Western, peace-loving world and some radical Islamic societies.

The Japanese worldview seems to be entirely harmonious with the American one when it comes to threat perceptions. Prime Minister Koizumi constructed terrorism as "a despicable act that threatens the lives and lifestyles of the people all over the world and the peace and security of all the countries in the world" (Prime Minister's Office 2001e). This is an imaginary of one single international community with the same values, mystifying actual diversity and noticeably disregarding the roots of terrorism. Therefore, the new Japanese National Defense Program Outline (NDPO) focuses on terrorism as the most imminent threat to the country's security, stipulating the establishment of a special force aimed at responding promptly to terrorism and guerrilla warfare.[9]

---

[8]   Cit. in Hamilton 2002: 8.

[9]   New defense plan urges flexibility for new threats, The Japan Times, 6 September 2004.

Interestingly, after 11 September Germany did not feel threatened by insecure surroundings in Europe, as did Japan with regards East Asia. While Tokyo time and again pointed into the direction of North Korea as its principal threat,[10] and the Japanese government drew a direct line from North Korea to global terrorism and weapons of mass destruction (WMD),[11] the German defense policy guidelines, describing the European security environment, speak of "politically advantageous changes in the last years" (Bundesministerium der Verteidigung 2003). Moreover, while the German government conceded that the terrorist threat has aggravated in the last years,[12] the constitution of a relation of equivalence between Iraq, terrorism and weapons of mass destruction has not become accepted by the German government. This is pronounced in a very clear manner by foreign minister Joschka Fischer during the German election campaign in August 2002:

> "Our deep scepticism and thus our rejection [of an invasion into Iraq] stem from our belief that the wrong priority has been set here. Our analysis shows that the threat comes primarily from Islamic terrorism. To date no-one can rule out another major attack. Nor, however, has anyone proved so far that Saddam Hussein has any links with organizations such as al Qaida. […] I do not believe that the threat from Iraq has changed so much that military intervention has now become necessary. Incidentally, you can be certain that if the situation were different then the election campaign would be of secondary importance. If there was a growing or immediate threat to Germany and its population I would devote all my attention to my duties as Federal Foreign Minister" (Iraqwatch 2002a).

The problem of deviating ideas of international security could certainly be bridged by adhering to the same existing norms of appropriate behavior in international security policy. In this regard, however, the gap between the transatlantic and the transpacific relationships has also been widening since 2002. This is an interesting finding, since Japan and Germany have traditionally adhered to the same standard norms of appropriate behavior, hence being labeled 'civilian powers' (Maull 1990, 2000, 2004; Aoi 2004; Nabers 2004) or 'cultures of an-

---

[10]   As foreign minister Yoriko Kawaguchi put it on the occasion of Assistant Secretary of State of the United States James Kelly's visit to North Korea in October 2002: "Japan is very concerned about the issues of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons and missiles." See MOFA, 2002.

[11]   As Toshimitsu Motegi, Senior Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, put it on the Munich Conference on Security Policy in March 2003: "The Iraq problem may have started with a classic war of invasion. However, when it was linked with the 'new threats' such as proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and terrorism, it came to represent the challenges facing the global security order in the post-cold-war era. The problem of North Korea, a country located next to us, has its roots in the cold-war legacy of a divided state, but it does have a similar character in posing the threat of WMDs proliferation" (MOFA 2003b).

[12]   "Subsequent terrorist attacks have heightened the awareness of asymmetric threats that may occur anywhere in the world and may be directed against anyone" (Bundesministerium der Verteidigung 2003: 6).

timilitarism' (Berger 1998) respectively. I will turn to the discourse about norms in the next section.

Norms of appropriate behavior

Norms are defined as "collective expectations about proper behavior for a given identity" (Jepperson/Wendt/Katzenstein 1996: 54). They constitute actors' identities and interests, delineate collective goals and prescribe or proscribe behavior. Both Japan's and German's foreign policies adhered to the norms of what has been dubbed a 'civilian power' after the second world war, promoting multilateralism and institution-building, and trying to restrict the use of force in international relations by reinforcing national and international norms:

Figure 2: Civilian Powers in international politics
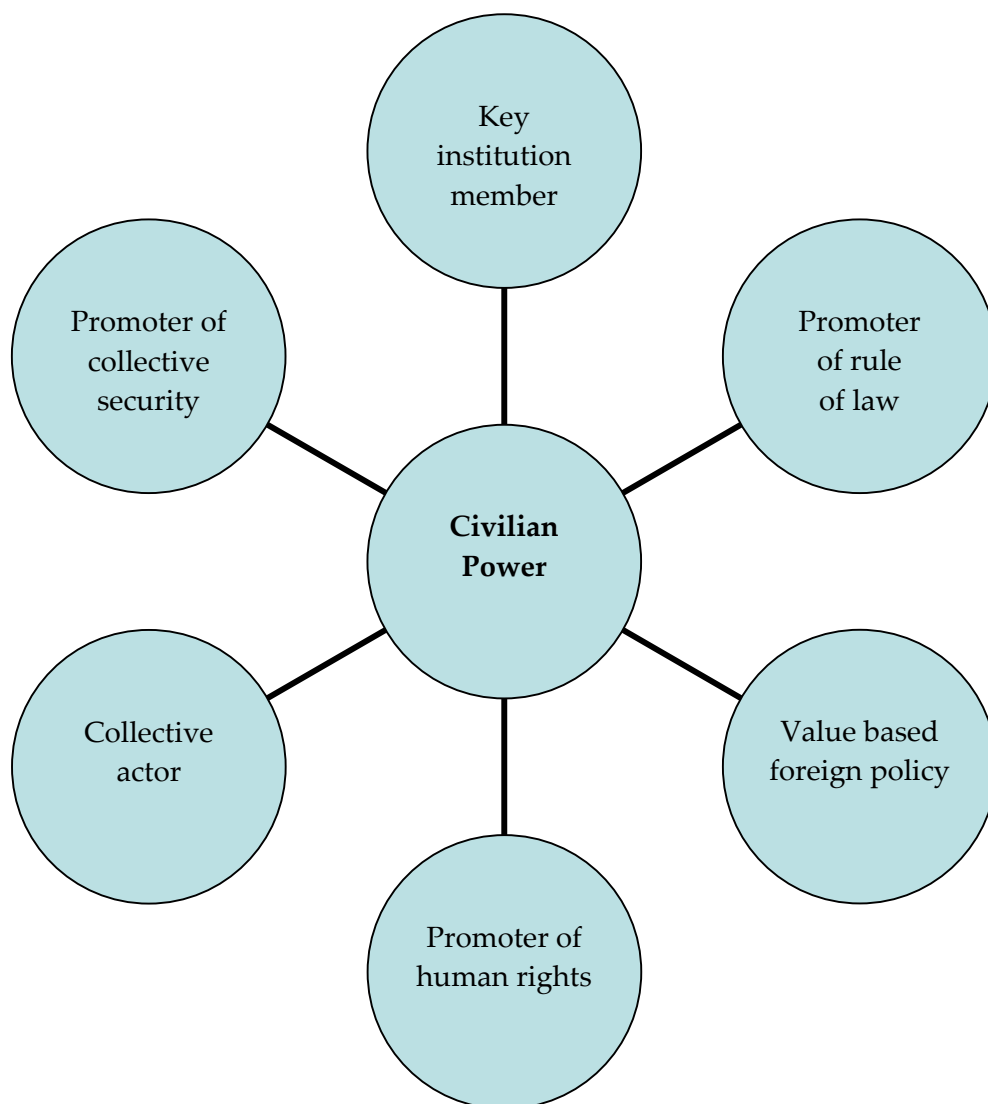
As central players in international institutions, both Germany and Japan strongly supported the United Nations; as collective actors they were generally opposed to unilateral action in the past. This foreign policy role identity was particularly visible in Japan's adherence to its pacifist constitution and policy of UN-centrism, but also in Germany's integration into the transatlantic alliance and the European Union (for a historical view Berger 1998). In the 'war against terror', central norms constituting the civilian power role identity were put to a test. The first challenge to standard international law came with Washington's interpretation of the September attacks as an act of 'war'. The United States constructed the war against terror on the basis of the right to self-defense as put forward by Article 51 of the UN Charter. Marc Grossman, Assistant Secretary of State, advocated in October 2001 on the height of the Afghanistan war:

> "I believe that Security Council resolution 1368 that was passed on the 12th of September, offers all of the legal basis and requirement that we need, in addition to Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, which is the right of self-defense. And we believe the United States was attacked on the 11th of September and that we have a right of self-defense in this regard" (U.S. Department of State 2001).

It is significant that the U.N. Security Council adopts the American version of the right to self-defense in that it "unequivocally condemns in the strongest terms the horrifying terrorist attacks which took place on 11 September" while recognizing "the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense in accordance with the Charter"[13]. Without accepting the 'war' terminology of the Bush administration, on 28 September the UNSC again unanimously condemned the terrorist attacks, explicitly "reaffirming the right of individual or collective self-defense as recognized by the Charter of the United Nations"[14].

Washington's change in language in the days after 11 September, from 'despicable acts of terror' to 'acts of war' opens the door for a legitimate, good war, with sovereign nation-states as the primary targets. This stance has widely been criticized from a legal perspective. Some observers argue that the attacks do not qualify as acts of war under contemporary international law because they were not carried out by a sovereign state (Lawler 2002: 154-155). Moreover, declaring war on terrorists dignifies the criminals with the status of belligerents, thereby conferring on them a kind of legitimacy (Howard 2002). By doing this, they qualify as combatants under the Geneva convention and have to receive a certain protection under contemporary *ius in bello*.

Given the traumatic impact of 11 September 2001 and the evocative language of members of the Bush administration, it comes as no surprise that no sign of criticism was audible from

---

[13] S.C. Resolution 1368, U.N. SCOR, 56th Session, 4370th Meeting, at 1, U.N. Document S/RES/1368 (2001).

[14] Ibid.

Japan or Germany in the first weeks after 11 September. Prime Minister Koizumi declared on 7 October, the start of the Afghanistan war: "Japan strongly supports these actions to fight against terrorism" (Prime Minister's Office 2001b), and German Chancellor Schröder went even further in acknowledging the right of self-defense on the basis of Article 51 of the UN Charter. On 19 September he said:

> "On the basis of the decisions of the Security Council, the United States can take measures against instigators and brains behind them […]. These are consistent with international law. On the basis of this reinterpretation of international law, [the American government] can also take measures against states that give shelter to those criminals" (Bundesregierung 2001a).

Widely overlooked at that time, the German stance corresponded with the traditional role concept of a civilian power. This is emphasized by foreign minister Fischer: "The position of the Federal Government is clear: We want the United Nations resolutions to be implemented promptly with no ifs or buts" (Iraqwatch 2002b). The German government emphasized that Afghanistan was made possible by a UN mandate. The International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) was mandated under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter (Peace Enforcement) by UN Security Resolutions 1386, 1413, and 1444. The ensuing bill to make a dispatch of German forces to Afghanistan possible included a clear restriction of the geographic scope of the mandate for German forces in Operation Enduring Freedom: "German forces will participate in missions against international terrorism outside Afghanistan only with the consent of the governments concerned" (Deutscher Bundestag 2001). In Afghanistan, Germany eventually found the political counterweight to its engagement of troops after the fighting was over by bringing the conference on forming an interim government to Königswinter, close to the former capital of Bonn.

Perceptive problems, misrepresentations and misunderstandings, especially on the transatlantic axis, occurred when the Bush administration shifted its attention towards Saddam Hussein in 2002. The potential means to deal with Iraq favored by the Bush administration differed from those preferred by the Germans. The alliance started to crumble when the U.S. appeared committed to widening the war to a more general attack on terrorism and states supporting terrorists. In his January 29, 2002 State of the Union Address, President Bush explicitly identified Iran, Iraq and North Korea as constituting "an axis of evil" (The White House 2002c). After that, the differences went beyond bad word choice. They concerned different opinions with regard to the right to preemptive military action in international affairs. Already at the German-French summit meeting in the northern German city of Schwerin, both Chancellor Schröder and French President Jacques Chirac announced that

any military action in Iraq would require previous UN Security Council legitimization.[15] According to Foreign Minister Fischer, the containment policy pursued by the United Nations had been on the whole successful. Hence, no immediate action was needed (Iraqwatch 2002a).

On the American side, although President Bush implied in his 12 September 2002 United Nations speech that the United States might forgo an Invasion of Iraq if the regime noticeably gave up its WMD programmes, Vice-President Cheney and Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld have always shown great doubt that weapons inspections could ever provide enough insurance of Iraqi disarmament to make an invasion unnecessary. On 26 August 2002, Cheney for example maintained that "A return of inspectors would provide no assurance whatsoever of [Saddam's] compliance with UN resolutions. On the contrary, there is a great danger that it would provide false comfort that Saddam was somehow back in the box."[16] The case for action against Iraq was put forward as follows by Washington:[17]

- nuclear weapons could lead Saddam to invade neighboring countries and seek to dominate the Middle East,

- with Saddam as Iraq's leader, the risk of WMD falling into the hands of terrorists is high,

- the Iraqi government prevents effective inspections of facilities in the country,

- the status quo – the humanitarian suffering, the deployment of troops in Saudi Arabia, the periodic disorder of oil markets – is costly to maintain,

- international law – which Saddam time and again hurt in the last decade – needs to be upheld,

- the pressure on Iraq to disarm must be upheld – even if one believes that using force is not a solution to the problem.

The United States finally started the invasion of Iraq on March 19th, 2003, calling it a preemptive strike against an enemy state. President Bush explains how his administration defines preemptive action:

> "We are now acting because the risks of inaction would be far greater. In one year or five years the power of Iraq to inflict harm on all free nations would be multiplied many times over. With these capabilities, Saddam Hussein and his terrorist allies could choose the moment of deadly conflict when they are strongest. We choose to meet that threat now where it arises before it can appear suddenly in our skies and cities" (The White House, 2003a).

---

[15] See 'UN must sanction Iraq strike', The Guardian, 31 July 2002.

[16] See 'In Cheney's words: The Administration Case for Removing Saddam Hussein', New York Times, 27 August 2002.

[17] For a summary see Gordon 2002.

This definition implies a reformulation of traditional *ius ad bellum* in two ways: First, it reserves the right for the United States to intervene in any country that is judged to be a threat at any time in the future; second, it leads to a new concept of sovereignty. On the one hand, governments are held responsible for what goes on within the borders of their states, on the other hand, those who fail to act in accordance to the norms set by the United States will lose their sovereignty (cf. Ikenberry 2002: 53).

At the moment the invasion started, no higher worldwide legal authority seemed to exist than the American government. The Bush administration was more dependent on the Congress than on the UN Security Council, which the President put in plain words in a global message on 17 March 2003: "Some permanent members of the Security Council announced they will veto any resolution that compels disarmament. The Security Council has not lived up to its responsibilities – so we will rise to ours" (The White House 2003a).

While this view is perfectly mirrored by Japan,[18] the German government has from the beginning been suspicious that the United States would seek to take the slightest sign of Iraqi non-compliance as a pretext for using force. In spite of declaring his 'unconditional solidarity' in the immediate aftermath of 11 September 2001, the German Chancellor had already at that point made clear that there would be no participation in any foreign 'adventures' (Bundesregierung 2001c). Preemption as defined by the Bush administration is widely seen as illegal under international law. While Washington's justification for preemptive war refers to the dangers and costs of inaction, current international law requires showing that the threat to be preempted is (a) clear and imminent, such that immediate action is required to meet it; (b) direct, that is, threatening the party initiating the conflict in specific concrete ways, thus entitling that party to act preemptively; (c) critical, in the sense that the vital interests of the initiating party face unacceptable harm and danger; and (d) unmanageable, that is, not capable of being deterred or dealt with by other peaceful means (Falk 2002; Schroeder 2003). In view of that, German Foreign Minister Fischer reiterated that "our fight must always be legitimized under international law. It must respect national and international law, human rights and the UN Charter. Human rights in particular should not be suspended under the pretext of combating terrorism" (Iraqwatch 2003).

---

[18] As put forward by Koichi Haraguchi, Permanent Representative of Japan at the Open Meeting of the Security Council on the Situation in Iraq, 26 March 2003: "Japan has stressed that the United Nations Security Council must act in unity and fulfill its responsibility for the peace and security of the world. It is regrettable that the Security Council ultimately could not reach a common view and thus failed to stand united." (MOFA 2003c)

Moreover, Fischer emphasized that a requirement for functioning alliances is prior consultation (Ibid.).[19] The rhetoric of "not only but also" (Fairclough 2005), textured together with conjunctions such as 'as well as' or 'yet', conveys a strong message of distrust from Berlin to Washington. Consequently, the German government was skeptical with regards to an American intervention in Iraq. In sum, Berlin put forward the following arguments (Bundesministerium der Verteidigung 2003: 28):

- since no one knows if Saddam really has WMD at his disposal, the potential military risks are too high,

- after removing Saddam from power, the stability of the country remains uncertain and a long-term engagement looks inevitable,

- a unilateral invasion – even if it was backed by a 'coalition of the willing' – would set a dangerous precedent and would violate international law if it was not legalized by the UNSC.

Where the German government openly demonstrated its concern that the Bush administration is seeking a pretext for war even if Saddam does give up his WMD programme, Japan candidly showed its support for the U.S. Whereas Tokyo clarified it favors the alliance, Berlin made clear it would work to maintain international law. Moreover, the Koizumi government showed trust in the Bush administration although multilateralism was dismissed by Washington, while Berlin repeatedly pointed to its standard option of diplomacy as a tool to resolve the crisis.

During the course of the year 2002, Germany once again had to choose between long-held foreign policy principles. Certain interest-shaping norms, such as the defiance of the use of force and the protection of human rights, as well as the legality of the operation and the commitment to multilateralism, contradicted each other when Germany tried to take an active stance on the Iraq issue. Germany opted for the rejection of force by all means. Peter Struck, Schroeder's defense minister, was quoted with the following words in the International Herald Tribune: "As long as I am defense minister, the Bundeswehr will not be deployed in Iraq" (IHT, 9 September 2002).

In East Asia, Japan underlined its basic commitment to the alliance with the United States several times. The Japanese government officially informed the United States in December 2002 that it would back the U.S. if it launched military operations against Iraq (MOFA 2003a). Tokyo also urged the U.S. to create an environment in which the international community could jointly back the U.S. if it commenced an attack against Iraq, but eventually the

---

[19] See also Schröder's speech on the day after the terrorist attacks: "Certainly: Every right corresponds with a duty. On the other way round, every alliance duty corresponds with a right, which means information and consultation" (Bundesregierung 2001b).

failure to achieve a multilateral solution under the heading of the United Nations was no obstacle for Japan to support the U.S. On the day after the war had begun in Iraq, Prime Minister Jun'ichirô Koizumi reiterated his support for the U.S.-led attack, saying it is 'natural' for Japan to back Washington as an ally, even if public sentiment tends into another direction, as Koizumi put in plain words: "The U.S.-Japan Security Treaty acts as a major deterrent against actions by North Korea. My actions are based on careful consideration of the importance of the Japan-U.S. alliance and the international cooperative situation" (The Japan Times, 24 March 2003). 'Interest', 'alliance' and 'partnership' are textured as equivalent in Japanese speech acts. While Japan institutes its policy towards the USA on an alliance logic, it is certain norms of a 'civilian power' that guide Germany's stance.

This is an interesting case of norm reformulation on the Japanese side. Müller explains that constitutive norms – such as those inherent in the civilian power model – are hard, but not impossible to change (Müller 2004: 418). Constitutive as well as regulative norms may change as a result of a reflective process of 'assessing' the value of a norm with regards to their utility or appropriateness, or when certain norms contradict each other. Then actors have to judge these norms in terms of their relative weight, as was the case with the Japanese decision against international law and for solidarity with the United States. However, as norm change is difficult and slow in most cases, not all norms constituting the role concept of a civilian power were abandoned at the same time. When it came to the war in Iraq, Tokyo again made it clear that no military role could be expected of Japan. However, soon after the initial fighting in Iraq was over, the dispatch of the troops – which would come under the special measures bill for providing support to Iraq's reconstruction implemented in the Summer of 2003 – was taken into consideration by the Koizumi government. In the political debate over the bill, the Japanese government indicated that troops would not be sent to 'combat areas' (XNA, 27 March 2003); and the US had to wait until December for a final decision over the dispatch. The activities of the Japanese forces, which started in January 2004, do not involve the use of force, but are limited to humanitarian and reconstruction activities, such as the provision of medical services and drinking water, repairing of public buildings, and transport of humanitarian supplies, as well as support activities for other countries' efforts in the restoration of security.

In the German case, the basic stance towards the use of military force remained unchanged for the time being. The traditional 'culture of restraint' dominated the foreign policy agenda and shaped the German-American relations in the months to come. Schröder would not go further as to offer to help train Iraqi police and security forces in the neighboring United Arab Emirates. There was no indication Germany would contribute peacekeeping troops. To try to accommodate the German wish for multilateralism on the basis of international law,

Bush reassured Schröder – when they met in Berlin in September 2003 – that the United Nations would play a larger role in Iraq's reconstruction (The White House 2003b), but Berlin and Washington remained split on key normative issues.

All in all, the discourse about central norms in international security did not lead to the establishment of a dominant interpretational framework as the basis of collective action between Germany and the United States, determining what action was appropriate and what action was inappropriate in the war against terror. This leads us to ask for more general differences in intersubjective understandings of states, because it is assumed here that collective action is not only constituted by ideas about the world and expectations of appropriate behavior, but also by certain understandings about self and other, i.e. identities.

In the next section, especially two kinds of identities are of interest for the analysis, one emphasizing the differences between various actors, called 'role identity', the other accentuating identification, labeled 'collective identity'.

Collective and rivaling identities

Given the far reaching agreement on fundamental pillars of world security in the weeks after the attacks on New York and Washington, the formation of a 'western' collective identity in security affairs looked possible. As Jenny Edkins has convincingly shown, trauma is directly related to political community and political power (Edkins 2002). It triggers a sense of collective identity. Accordingly, the German, Japanese, and world wide support and the open demonstration of solidarity with the United States in the days after 11 September 2001 were overwhelming. On the day after the attacks, Japanese Prime Minister Jun'ichirô Koizumi pledged his government would "spare no effort in providing the necessary assistance and cooperation" (Prime Minister's Office, 2001c). One week later, Koizumi promised that "Japan [would] take its own initiative towards the eradication of terrorism, in cooperation with the United States," and committed his government to taking the necessary measures for the eventual dispatch of the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) to support the United States (Prime Minister's Office 2001d).

However, it soon became apparent that there would be first and second class friends of the United States, depending on the extent of support an ally was willing to provide. While the President asserts that "America has no truer friend than Great Britain" (The White House 2001b), and emphasized that "Japan is one of America's greatest and truest friends" (Prime Minister's Office 2002), there's no such word in President Bush's speech to the German Bundestag in May 2002. Instead, he challenges the growing skepticism in Germany towards the American-led war on terror: "Our histories have diverged, yet we seek to live by the same ideals. We believe in free markets, tempered by compassion. We believe in open socie-

ties that reflect unchanging truths. We believe in the value and dignity of every life" (Deutscher Bundestag 2002). In a clear indication of America's intentions to build 'coalitions of the willing', Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld dispatched his deputy, Paul Wolfowitz, to politely decline the NATO offer of sending troops to Afghanistan, stating that "the mission would define the coalition".[20] Washington announced its interest in military cooperation only for the time after the removal of the Taliban from power.

In terms of self-esteem, the United States simply pulled away from its own allies. The U.S. administration left no doubt that future world security would lie in the hands of Washington, and that it is America that will take the lead both politically and militarily. As the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs put it: "To support all these means of defending the peace, the United States will build and maintain 21st century military forces that are beyond challenge" (Rice 2002). This kind of military dominance naturally excludes the rest of the world. Hence, the construction of collective identities in the 'western world' was not an easy enterprise in the months that followed. Attempts by Bush moderates such as Powell to push a more all-embracing global agenda and construct a wider collective identity faltered. Problems evolving from different representations of 'Self' and 'Other' arose when Iraq was put on the agenda by the United States. By going to the United Nations on 12 September 2002 to demand fulfillment of UN Security Council resolutions, President Bush deliberately tried to show the importance the United States attaches to winning allied support. Yet, this strategy was only partly successful. In Europe, the new U.S. understanding of NATO's strategic doctrine – defense of common interests, reaching beyond collective defense of members' territories, was not backed by all allies. This became more evident after the first phase of the fight against terrorism – the removal of the Taliban from power in Afghanistan – was over. French Foreign Minister Hubert Vedrine said that Europe was "threatened by a new simplistic approach that reduces all the problems in the world to the struggle against terrorism", and when President Bush came up with his notion of an 'axis of evil', German Defense Minister Rudolf Scharping said he favored a political strategy for dealing with Iraq rather than a military one (International Herald Tribune, 7 February 2002). American Secretary of State Colin Powell reiterated that Europe still plays an important role in the United States strategic considerations, but on the other hand indicated that Washington would not sacrifice its interests in the pursuit of multilateralism (U.S. Department of State 2002). In other words: The USA is willing to act unilaterally in case the alliance partners do not agree.

Bush himself explicated before the German Bundestag that collective identity does not imply sameness as a precondition: "Different as we are, we are building and defending the same

---

[20]   Quoted in Hirsh 2002: 21.

house of freedom – its doors open to all of Europe's people, its windows looking out to global challenges beyond" (The White House 2002b). In this context, the *freedom* metaphor was again deliberately employed to unite different countries behind the same objective. As one can see from the discourse over the intervention in Iraq, the metaphor was yet not able to serve this task appropriately; it did not lead to bridge identity gaps between Europe and the United States, while identification with Washington obviously occurred in Tokyo. Collective identity involves shared characteristics, it even induces actors to be altruistic in some cases. Altruism, though, did not play a noticeable role in the German-American relationship after 11 September 2001.

As we have heard from Wendt, a culture is internalized and we can speak of a collective identity when actors include the wishes, ideas, and intentions of others into their own ideas. This process undoubtedly worked better on the Japanese-American than on the German-American axis. What is remarkable, is the incremental reversal of long-held principles by Japan, again visible on the height of the Iraq debate. To quote just one very significant example, the Cabinet Legislative Bureau (CLB), in late January 2003 announced that preemptive strikes against North Korean missile bases by the Japanese military would be legal and that the refueling of American warplanes, as they prepared to attack Iraqi targets, would not "correspond to our country's use of force or exercising of the right to collective defense," as Osamu Akiyama, cabinet Legislation Bureau director general, put it (The Japan Times, 31 January 2003). Keeping in mind the government's interpretation of Article 9 of the constitution, that all sovereign nations have a right to collective self-defense, but, in Japan the exercise of that right is prohibited by the constitution, this policy turn represents a remarkable shift that can be interpreted as a new identity of Japan in international security. In this context, altruism definitely plays a role. This does not exclude rationality, but the basis on which interests are calculated is the alliance with the USA – a factor that seems to be weaker on the German-American link.

5. Culture and Collective Action

The analysis of discourses between states is able to reveal why cooperation in international politics happens and why it is sometimes so difficult to achieve. The method exposes how some ideas are privileged over others, how norms are maintained, reformulated and abandoned, how identity is constructed and how power is legitimized. Ideas, norms, identity, and culture do play an important role in the construction and reconstruction of the international system. Although it is difficult to actually measure the strength of 'identity', the sali-

ence of the distinction between 'self' and 'other' and the price governments are actually willing to pay for the group that they identify with make it possible to grasp the meaning of collective identities in world politics (Risse 2003).

Our discourse starts with the catastrophe of 11 September 2001. Alternative visions soon started to compete in their interpretation of the events of that day. Especially the American government tried to institute a 'cognitive framework' that would determine what reaction was appropriate and what reaction was inappropriate to react to the terrorist attacks. However, the more specific the discourse gets, the more difficult it gets to develop intersubjective understandings of world security.

The speech acts emanating from the United States seem to violate constitutive norms on which especially the transatlantic community and the German-American relationship had been based for decades, such as multilateralism and close consultation. Over time, the more Washington acted unilaterally, the more it encouraged opposition from Europe (in particular Germany and France), that saw itself as the warden of the rule of international law. What is even more dangerous from a European/German perspective is the prospect that Washington pursued a course of building 'coalitions of the willing' to deal with international crises, at the same time perceptibly abandoning its former alliances like NATO. American 'imperial ambition' (Ikenberry 2002) embraces temporary alliances, but it rejects stable partnerships, such as the transatlantic community.'

In the second phase of the war against terror, the United States failed to create what Laclau and Mouffe (1985) call a 'hegemonic discourse'. Key signifiers in the discourse, such as 'freedom', 'liberty', 'democracy' and 'peace' embodied different meanings in German and American speech acts. It might be necessary for a hegemonic discourse to be able to include a wide variety of demands, even if these are antagonistic at the beginning. Then the discourse must strive to neutralize these demands by representing them as a bloc that stands opposed to a common enemy.

That was not achieved from 2002 onwards. States did not always define their interests in terms of the norms set by international law, but followed a path that was guided by certain role-specific or collective identities. In the Japanese case, it is the North Korean threat, coupled with the awareness that American leadership best serves the country's aims, that eventually shaped Japan's position in international security relations. The range of collective action obviously depended on the membership of a country to what Buzan and Waever called a 'security complex', a constellation of security concerns (Buzan/Waever 2003: 44). Realists would argue that this is exactly what balance of threat theory puts forward. The approach maintains that the level of threat against any state is affected by geographic proximity, offensive capabilities, and perceived intentions of adversary states (Walt 1987: 5; see also Walt

1997). For example, the immediate threat that offensive capabilities of states like North Korea or Iraq pose for surrounding states may create a strong incentive for those states to balance against the threat. By offering a plausible situational analysis of the different sources of threat (Katzenstein 2003: 735), balance of threat theory – though pretending to be realist in nature – goes far beyond traditional accounts in that it refers to perceptions and ideas in explaining alliance formation. The same is true for Glenn Snyder's *Alliance politics* (1984, 1997), which introduces concepts such as norms, thereby softening his realist assumptions and contradicting the rationalist paradigm that dominated IR theory for the last decades. In sum, both approaches stop where social constructivism starts; while focusing on perceptions of states and norm-guided behavior, they neglect the interactive moment that is inherent in any social relationship, even on the interstate level. In contrast, constructivist theorizing recognizes that international reality is a social construction driven by collective understandings emerging from social interaction. The principal quality of structure, then, consists of the meaning ascribed to it by the agents whose practice reproduces and changes it. As Peter Katzenstein has convincingly shown, the ideas of the world that generate different threat perceptions cannot be reduced to material capabilities of states. Quite the opposite, threat perceptions of groups of states "are embedded instead in systems of meaning that affect what is and what is not defined as a threat" (Katzenstein 2003: 736).

Japan, following its collective identity with the United States in security affairs, will most probably continue to slowly and incrementally remove the manacles on its defense policy. In this context, responsiveness to external expectations also plays a role in building identities. The Japanese decision to participate in the war against terror was undoubtedly prompted by repeated comments of U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, who bluntly advised the Koizumi government to 'show the flag' in any military action taken by the United States. Furthermore, Colin Powell repetitively called on Japan to express support for a UN-resolution allowing the disarmament of Iraq. Likewise, the United States left no doubt it would provide Japan with a security guarantee against a potential North Korean attack.

With regards to identity-building one has to emphasize once again the structural quality of the concept. Identity is rooted in actor's self-understandings. However, the meaning of those understandings will often depend on whether other actors represent an actor in the same way. Actors 'learn' identities as a result of how they are treated by others. Japan's identity becomes meaningful through its alliance with the United States, and Germany's identity relates to the European Union and its liaison with France. In other words: Whether states consider themselves as enemies, rivals or friends is determined by the quality of the culture they live in.

While collective identity refers to identification, role identities constitute different identities of Self and Other. Collective identity, one has to add, is usually issue-specific and rarely total, which means Japan and the USA can be very close in security affairs but can have disputes in other policy fields, for example trade affairs. Analyzing the German-American and Japanese-American alliances after 11 September 2001 admittedly illustrates only a small part of the culture of the international system. Future research will have to answer the question how states and regions perceive themselves in relation to others in the global security architecture. This, in turn, will determine the decision for or against collective action, not so much the material capabilities of states. The German case is an intriguing example of a country refusing to collaborate although this might have led to material gains (oil, resources, veto power in world politics). In the end, it depends on intersubjective representations whether collective action becomes possible or not. For the time being, one can say that the stage of a Kantian culture has definitely not been reached in today's international system. Even if the events of 11 September 2001 have led to strong pressure on states like the United States, Germany and Japan to form a collective identity, rivaling identities have yet not given way at least in some part of what is often referred to as the 'Western world'.

Bibliography

Alker, Hayward R. (2000): On learning from Wendt, in: Review of International Studies, 26, pp. 141-150.

Aoi, Chiyuki (2004): Asserting Civilian Power or Risking Irrelevance? Japan's Post-Cold War Policy Concerning the Use of Force, in: Katada, Saori N., Maull, Hanns W., and Inoguchi, Takashi (eds.), Global Governance: Germany and Japan in the International System, Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 111-128.

Beard, Adrian (2000): The Language of Politics. London/New York: Routledge.

Berger, Thomas U. (1998): Cultures of Antimilitarism. National Security in Germany and Japan. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Brglez, Milan (2001): Reconsidering Wendt's Meta-theory: Blending Scientific Realism with Social Constructivism, in: Journal of International Relations and Development, 4, 4, pp. 339-362.

Bundesministerium der Verteidigung (2003): Defence Policy Guidelines. Berlin: The Federal Ministry of Defence.

Bundesregierung (2001a): Stichworte zur Sicherheitspolitik Nr. 11. November, 2001, www.bundesregierung.de/Anlage256835/November+2001.pdf [20 March 2002].

Bundesregierung (2001b): Stichworte zur Sicherheitspolitik Nr. 9. September, 2001, www.bundesregierung.de/Anlage255644/SEptember+2001.pdf [14 August 2004].

Bundesregierung (2001c): Regierungserklärung von Bundeskanzler Gerhard Schröder zu den Terroranschlägen in den USA und den Beschlüssen des Sicherheitsrates der Vereinten Nationen sowie der NATO vor dem Deutschen Bundestag am 19. September 2001 in Berlin. www.bundeskanzler.de/Regierungserklaerung-.8561.46891/Regierungserklaerung-von-Bundeskanzler-Schroeder...htm [12 March 2004].

Buzan, Barry/Waever, Ole (2003): Regions and Powers. The Structure of International Security. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Der Derian, James (2002): In Terrorem: Before and After 9/11, in: Booth, Ken/Dunne, Tim (eds.), Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Deutscher Bundestag (2001): Einsatz von Bundeswehrsoldaten in Afghanistan gebilligt. www.bundestag.de/bic/hib/2001/2001_300/01.html [20 February 2002].

Deutscher Bundestag (2002): Speech by U.S. President George W. Bush to the German Bundestag. Berlin, 23 May, 2002, www.bundestag.de/bic/presse/2002/pz_0205233.html [10 August 2004].

Diez, Thomas (1999): 'Speaking Europe': The Politics of Integration Discourse, in: Journal of European Public Policy, 6, 4, pp. 598-613.

Roxanne Doty (1996): Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North/South Relations. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Drulák, Petr (2001): The Problem of Structural Change in Alexander Wendt's Social Theory of International Politics, in: Journal of International Relations and Development, 4, 4, pp. 263-379.

Edkins, Jenny (2002): Forget Trauma? Responses to September 11, in: International Relations, 16, 2, pp. 243-256.

Fairclough, Norman (1995): Discourse and Social Change. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fairclough, Norman (2005): Blair's contribution to elaborating a new 'doctrine of international community', in: Journal of Language and Politics, 4, 1, pp. 41-63.

Falk, Richard (2002): Einer flog über das Völkerrecht. Der mögliche Irakkrieg und das Völkerrecht, in: Le Monde Diplomatique, December 2002.

Frederking, Brian (2003): Constructing Post-Cold War Collective Security, in: American Political Science Review, 97, 3, pp. 363-378.

Gordon, Philip H. (2002): Iraq: the transatlantic debate. European Union Institute for Security Studies, Occasional Papers No. 39, November 2002.

Guzzini, Stefano/Leander, Anna (2001): A Social Theory for International Relations: An Appraisal of Alexander Wendt's Theoretical and Disciplinary Synthesis, in: Journal of International Relations and Development, 4, 4, pp. 316-338.

Hariman, Robert (2003): Speaking of Evil, in: Rhetoric and Public Affairs, 6, 3, pp. 511-517.

Harnisch, Sebastian (2000): Deutsche Außenpolitik nach der Wende: Zivilmacht am Ende? (Paper presented at the 21st Congress of the German Association of Political Science, Halle, 1-5 October, 2000).

Harnisch, Sebastian (2004): German Non-Proliferation Policy and the Iraq Conflict, in: German Politics, 13, 1, pp. 1-34.

Herborth, Benjamin (2004): Die via media als konstitutionstheoretische Einbahnstraße. Zur Entwicklung des Akteur-Struktur-Problems bei Alexander Wendt, in: Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen, 11, 1, pp. 61-87.

Hirsh, Michael (2002): Bush and the World, in: Foreign Affairs, September/October 2002, pp. 18-43.

Hoffmann, Arthur/Knowles, Vanda (1999): Germany and the Reshaping of Europe. Identifying Interests – The Role of Discourse Analysis. ESRC-IGS Discussion Paper 99/9.

Howard, Michael (2002): What's in an Name? How to Fight Terrorism, in: Foreign Affairs, January/February 2002, pp. 8-13.

IHT (International Herald Tribune), 7 February 2002, Suzanne Daley: France Upbraids U.S. as 'Simplistic'.

IHT (International Herald Tribune), 9 September 2002, Paris and Berlin remain split on key Iraq issue.

Ikenberry, G. John (2002): America's Imperial Ambition, in: Foreign Affairs, September/October 2002, pp. 44-60.

Iraqwatch (2002a): Remarks by Joschka Fischer, German Foreign Minister. 7 August, 2002, www.iraqwatch.org/government/Germany/germany-mfa-fischer-080702.htm [20 August 2004].

Iraqwatch (2002b): Speech by Joschka Fischer, German Federal Foreign Minister. 22 February, 2002, www.iraqwatch.org/government/Germany/germany-mfa-022202.htm [24 February 2002].

Iraqwatch (2003): Speech by Joschka Fischer, German Foreign Minister, United Nations Security Council. 20 January, 2003, www.iraqwatch.org/government/Germany/germany-mfa-fischer-012003.htm [20 August 2004].

Jackson, Richard (2005): Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counterterrorism. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Jäger, Siegfried (1999): Kritische Diskursanalyse. Eine Einführung. Duisburg: DISS.

Jepperson, Ron/Wendt, Alexander/Katzenstein, Peter J. (1996): Norms, identity and culture in national security, in: Katzenstein, Peter J. (ed.), The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics, New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 38-78.

Katzenstein, Peter J. (2003): Same War—Different Views: Germany, Japan, and Counterterrorism, in: International Organization, 57 (Fall), pp. 731-760.

Krasner, Stephen D. (2000): Wars, hotel fires, and plane crashes, in: Review of International Studies, 26, pp. 131-136.

Kratochwil, Friedrich (2000): Constructing a New Orthodoxy? Wendt's 'Social Theory of International Politics' and the Constructivist Challenge, in: Millennium, 29, 1, pp. 73-101.

Kratochwil, Friedrich/Ruggie, John Gerard (1986): International Organization: a state of the art on an art of the state, in: International Organization, 40, pp. 753-775.

Laclau, Ernesto (1977): Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory: Capitalism, Fascism, Populism. London: Verso.

Laclau, Ernesto (1990): New Reflections of the Revolution of Our Time. London: Verso.

Laclau, Ernesto/Mouffe, Chantal (1985): Hegemony and Socialist Strategy. Towards a Radical Democratic Politics. London: Verso.

Larsen, Henrik (1997): Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis. Franc, Britain and Europe. London and New York: Routledge.

Lawler, Peter (2002): The 'Good War' after September 11, in: Government and Opposition, 37, 2, pp. 151-172.

Maull, Hanns W. (1990): Germany and Japan: The New Civilian Powers, in: Foreign Affairs, 69, 5 (Winter), pp. 91-106.

Maull, Hanns W. (2000): Germany and the Use of Force: Still a 'Civilian Power'?, in: Survival, 42, 2 (Summer), pp. 56-80.

Maull, Hanns W. (2004): Germany and the Use of Force: Still a Civilian Power?, in: Katada, Saori N./Maull, Hanns W./Inoguchi, Takashi (eds.), Global Governance: Germany and Japan in the International System, Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 89-110.

Milliken, Jennifer (1999): The Study of Discourse in International Relations: A Critique of Research Methods, in: European Journal of International Relations, 5, 2, pp. 225-254.

Müller, Harald (2004): Arguing, Bargaining and All That: Communicative Action, Rationalist Theory and the Logic of Appropriateness in International Relations, in: European Journal of International Relations, 10, 3, pp. 395-435.

MOFA (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan) (2002): Visit of Assistant Secretary of State of the United States James Kelly to North Korea (Explanation to Japanese Side). www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/n_korea/us0210.html [20 November 2004].

MOFA (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan) (2003a): Press Conference by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi. 20 March, 2003. www.mofa.go.jp/region/middle_e/iraq/issue2003 /pmpress0320.html [3 April 2003].

MOFA (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan) (2003b): Speech by Mr. Toshimitsu Motegi, Senior Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Japan, at the Munich Conference on Security Policy 'The Global Challenge of International Terrorism'. 8 February, 2003, www.mofa.go.jp/policy/terrorism/speech0302html [3 April 2003].

MOFA (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan) (2003c): Statement by H. E. Mr. Koichi Haraguchi, Permanent Representative of Japan, at the Open Meeting of the Security Council on the Situation in Iraq. 26 March, 2003, www.mofa.go.jp/announce/speech/un0303.html [3 April 2003].

Nabers, Dirk (2004): Germany's Security Policy between Europeanism and Transatlanticism, in: Katada, Saori/Inoguchi, Takashi/Maull, Hanns W. (eds.), Germany and Japan in International Relations, Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 53-70.

Prime Minister's Office (2001a): Statement by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi at the Press Conference. Tokyo, 12 September 2001, www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/koizumispeech/2001/0912kaiken_e.html [20 August 2004].

Prime Minister's Office (2001b): Prime Minister Koizumi Expressed Japan's Strong Support to the United States to Fight Against Terrorism. Tokyo, 7 October 2001, www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/koizumispeech/2001/1008sourikaiken_e.html [12 March 2004].

Prime Minister's Office (2001c): Statement at Press Conference. 12 September, 2001, www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/koizumispeech/2001/0912kaiken_e.html [3 March 2004].

Prime Minister's Office (2001d): Opening Statement at Press Conference. 19 September, 2001, www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/koizumispeech/2001/0919sourikaiken_e.html [29 December 2003].

Prime Minister's Office (2001e): Statement by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, Tokyo. 8 October, 2001, www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/koizumispeech/2001/1008danwa_e.html [20 April 2004].

Prime Minister's Office (2001g): Policy Speech by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi to the 153rd Session of the Diet. 27 September, 2001, www.mofa.go.jp/announce/pm/koizumi/state0927.html [20 August 2004].

Prime Minister's Office (2002): Opening Statements by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi and the U.S. President George W. Bush at the Joint Press Conference. 18 February, 2002, www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/koizumispeech/2002/02/18kyodo_e.html [7 July 2004].

Rice, Condoleezza (2002): A Balance of Power that Favors Freedom. Article adapted from the 2002 Wriston Lecture, delivered to the Manhattan Institute in New York City on 1 October, 2002, http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/1202/ijpe/pj7-4rice.htm [12 February 2004].

Risse, Thomas (2003): Beyond Iraq: Challenges to the Transatlantic Security Community. AICGS/German-American Dialoque Working Paper Series, Washington, D.C.: American Institute for Contemporary German Studies.

Schimmelfennig, Frank (2001): Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Enlargement of the EU, in: International Organization, 55, 1, pp. 47-80.

Schimmelfennig, Frank (2004): The EU, NATO and the Integration of Europe: Rules and Rhetoric. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schreiber, Trine/Moring, Camilla (2001): Codification of knowledge using discourse analysis. 11th Nordic Conference on Information and Documentation, Reykyavik, Iceland, 30 May-1 June, 2001.

Schroeder, Paul W. (2003): Iraq: 'The Case Against Preemptive War: The administration's claim of a right to overthrow regimes it considers hostile is extraordinary – and one the world will soon find intolerable', in: The American Conservative, www.amconmag.com/10_21/iraq.html [20 August 2004].

Smith, Anna Marie (1998): Laclau and Mouffe. The radical democratic imaginary. London/New York: Routledge.

Smith, Steve (2000): Wendt's World, in: Review of International Studies, 26, 1, pp. 151-163.

Snyder, Glenn H. (1984): The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics, in: World Politics, 36, 4, pp. 461-495.

Snyder, Glenn H. (1997): Alliance Politics. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Southgate, Edward J. L. (2003): From Japan to Afghanistan: The U.S.-Japan Joint Security Relationship, The War on Terror, And the Ignominious End of the Pacifist State?, in: University of Pennsylvania Law Review, Vol. 151, pp. 1599-1638.

Sterling-Folker, Jennifer (2000): Competing Paradigms or Birds of a Feather? Constructivism and Neoliberal Institutionalism Compared, in: International Studies Quarterly, 44, pp. 97-119.

Suganami, Hidemi (2001): Alexander Wendt and The English School, in: Journal of International Relations and Development, 4, 4, pp. 403-423.

The Japan Times, 6 October 2001, Japan's response satisfactory, Baker say'.

The Japan Times, 31 January 2003, Fuelling U.S. planes that attack is legal: official.

The Japan Times, 24 March 2003, No SDF dispatch without new UNSC resolution: lawmakers.

The White House (2001a): President Outlines War Effort. www.whitehouse.gov/news /releases/2001/10/20011017-15.html [8 March 2004].

The White House (2001b): Address of the President to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People. 20 September, 2001, www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09 /20010920-8.html [20 November 2003].

The White House (2002a): President Bush Delivers Graduation Speech at West Point. www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/06/20020601-3.html [20 July 2003].

The White House (2002b): President Bush Thanks Germany for Support Against Terror. Re-
marks by the President to a Special Session of the German Bundestag. 23 May, 2002,
www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/05/20020523-2.html [20 February 2003].

The White House (2002c): President Delivers State of the Union Address. 29 January, 2002,
www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html [20 December 2003].

The White House (2003a): Global Message, President George W. Bush, 17 March, 2003,
www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030317-10.html [10 August 2004].

The White House (2003b): President Bush, Chancellor Schroeder Meet at United Nations
Remarks by President Bush and Chancellor Schroeder of Germany in a Photo Opportu-
nity, Waldorf Astoria, New York, www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/09
/20030924-6.html [20 January 2005].

Titscher, Stefan/Meyer, Michael/Wodak, Ruth/Vetter, Eva (2000): Methods of Text and Dis-
course Analysis. London/Thousand Oaks: Sage.

U.S. Department of State (2001): Transcript: Grossman on War against Terrorism. 25 Octo-
ber, 2001, http://usembassy.state.gov/islamabad/wwwh01102502.html [20 July 2003].

U.S. Department of State (2002): Statement on President Bush's Budget Request for FY 2003,
Secretary Colin L. Powell, House International Relations Committee, Washington, D.C.
6 February, 2002, www.state.gov/secretary/former/powell/remarks/2002/7857.htm
[20 January 2005].

van Dijk, Teun A. (1977): Text and Context: Explorations in the Semantics and Pragmatics of
Discourse. London: Longman.

Waever, Ole (1995): Resisting the Temptation of Post Foreign Policy Analysis, in: Carls-
naes/Smith (eds.), European Foreign Policy: The EC and Changing Perspectives in
Europe, London et al.: EPCR/Sage, pp. 238-273.

Waever, Ole (1998): Explaining Europe by Decoding Discourses, in: Wivel, Anders (ed.),
Explaining European Integration, Copenhagen: Copenhagen Political Studies Press,
pp. 100-146.

Walt, Stephen M. (1987): The Origins of Alliances. Ithaca and London: Cornell University
Press.

Walt, Stephen M. (1997): Why Alliances Endure or Collapse, in: Survival, 39, 1, pp. 156-176.

Wendt, Alexander (1999): Social Theory of International Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge
University Press.

Wendt, Alexander (2003): Why a World State is Inevitable, in: European Journal of Interna-
tional Affairs, 9, 4, pp. 491-542.

Wodak, Ruth (1996): Disorders of Discourse. London: Longman.

Wolf, Reinhard (2003): Zum praktischen Mehrwert aktueller Theoriebeiträge. Die Zukunft der innerwestlichen Beziehungen im Lichte konkurrierender Beiträge, in: Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen, 10, 1, pp. 111-141.

XNA (Xinhua News Agency), 27 March 2003, US envoy asks Japan to send SDF to postwar Iraq.

Zehfuß, Maja (1998): Sprachlosigkeit schränkt ein. Zur Bedeutung von Sprache in konstruktivistischen Theorien, in: Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen, 5, 1, pp. 109-137.

Zehfuß, Maja (2002): Constructivism in International Relations. The Politics of Reality. Cambridge: CUP.

WORKING PAPERS
Global and Area Studies

Edited by the German Overseas Institute (DÜI) in Hamburg.

Recent issues:

No 8   Patrick Köllner: The LDP at 50: The Rise, Power Resources, and Perspectives of Japan's Dominant Party; September 2005

No 7   Wolfgang Hein and Lars Kohlmorgen: Global Health Governance: Conflicts on Global Social Rights; August 2005

No 6   Patrick Köllner: Formale und informelle Politik aus institutioneller Perspektive: Ein Analyseansatz für die vergleichenden Area Studies; August 2005

No 5   Ruth Fuchs: ¿Hacia una comunidad regional de seguridad? Las Fuerzas Armadas en la percepción de las elites parlamentarias en Argentina, Chile, Brasil, Uruguay y Paraguay; July 2005

No 4   Andreas Mehler: Major Flaws in Conflict Prevention Policies towards Africa. The Conceptual Deficits of International Actors' Approaches and How to Overcome Them; June 2005

No 3   Susan Steiner: Decentralisation and Poverty Reduction: A Conceptual Framework for the Economic Impact; June 2005

No 2   Bert Hoffmann: Emigration and Regime Stability: Explaining the Persistence of Cuban Socialism; June 2005

No 1   Matthias Basedau: Context Matters – Rethinking the Resource Curse in Sub-Saharan Africa; May 2005