

Notes

Introduction

1. In 1931 an American musical entitled “The Band Wagon” introduced what its writers thought was a “dull” song entitled “Dancing in the Dark.” Whatever description is used to refer to American-European undertakings, the themes presented in this book make music that both Europeans and Americans can follow, and produce a tune with a clear message found in the “dull” song’s most famous lyric: “. . . we can face the music together,” even if we’re dancing in the dark.

Chapter I: Differences

1. The “history of winning” and the “history of losing” are descriptions used in a letter to the author by a professor of political science at the University of Bonn, Christian Hacke.

2. A distinctive reference to this subject is found in an article by Tunku Varadarajan, “Right-Wing? Who’re You Calling Right-Wing?” *Wall Street Journal*, May 10, 2002.

3. The Magna Carta was signed in Runnymede, in Surrey, not far from London. The Declaration of Arbroath was drawn up in the Abbey of the same name, not far from the city of Dundee in Scotland.

4. Today, according to Father Allen Duston, international director for the Patrons of the Arts office in the Vatican in Rome, “a great deal of the project’s success [a reference to the recent restoration of the Sistine Chapel] is due to the ‘generous nature’ of Americans Americans have a long tradition of philanthropy.” See Sabrina Arena Ferrisi, “Private donors, most of them American, have financed the restoration of Vatican art treasures,” *www.catholic.net*, World Watch—Catholic world Report, May 2001.

5. Of the exceptions most are in the United Kingdom.

6. See James Kanter, “EU pushes plans for institute to halt ‘brain drain,’” *International Herald Tribune*, February 23, 2006, and also *Wall Street Journal*, August 4, 2006.

7. The term is used here to describe the general juxtaposition between the role of the state and the individual defined by *the essential difference*. It should be carefully noted, however, that there is not one, single European model, embraced by all Europeans. Bel-

gian economist André Sapir, for example, argues in a paper published by the Bruegel Institute in Brussels that one can identify at least four models. All of them, however, to differing degrees, embody the concept and practice of rule from the top down. See André Sapir, "Globalisation and the Reform of European Social Models," Bruegel *Policy Brief*, Issue 2005/01, November 2005. This study is cited in an enlightening paper by Helle C. Dale entitled "Challenges Facing Europe in a World of Globalization" delivered as a lecture at the Heritage Foundation (Washington, D. C.) on November 28, 2005.

8. This phrase comes from former Spanish foreign minister Ana Palacio, who in mid-2005 chaired the Spanish parliament's joint committee on European affairs. See *International Herald Tribune*, June 16, 2005.

9. American author Jeremy Rifkin, for example, does so in his book *The European Dream*, published in 2004.

10. See Nicolas Barotte, "Quand Lionel Jospin regarde le monde . . .," *Le Figaro*, October 20, 2005, and Lionel Jospin, *Le monde comme je le vois*, Gallimard, Paris, 2005.

11. See Robert Aitken, "James Wilson: A Lost American Founder," *Litigation*, summer 2003 (29, no. 4), pp. 61–66, 74.

12. A fascinating discussion of this subject has been written by David Brooks and is entitled *Bobos in Paradise: The New Upper Class and How They Got There*, Simon & Schuster (New York), 2000, 284 pages.

13. James Fullarton Muirhead, *The Land of Contrasts*, John Lane: Bodley Head, London and New York, 1890, p. 280.

14. Kenneth L. Woodward, "Christianity's Place in Europe," *International Herald Tribune*, June 16, 2003.

15. In German it reads as follows: "Ich glaube an die Unantastbarkeit und an die Würde jedes einzelnen Menschen. Ich glaube, dass allen Menschen vor Gott das gleiche Recht auf Freiheit gegeben wurde. Ich verspreche, jedem Angriff auf die Freiheit und der Tyrannei Widerstand zu leisten, wo auch immer sie auftreten möge."

16. Figures for church attendance are generally higher in the ten countries which joined the EU in May 2004. See Alain Barluet, "Une Europe laïque aux confessions variées," *Le Figaro*, April 28, 2004, Kenneth L. Woodward, "Christianity's place in Europe," *International Herald Tribune*, June 16, 2003, and Niall Ferguson, "Why America Outpaces Europe (Clue: The God Factor)," *New York Times*, June 8, 2003.

17. In 1939 Franklin Roosevelt moved the holiday to the fourth Thursday of November.

18. On this subject see the essay by Samuel P. Huntington, "'Under God,'" *Wall Street Journal*, June 16, 2004, and on the same subject the superb study by Jon Meacham entitled *American Gospel: God, The Founding Fathers, and the Making of a Nation*, Random House, New York City, 2006, 399 pages.

19. According to U.S. Census Bureau statistics for 2005 America's population of almost 295 million was made of approximately 238 million Caucasians, with 42.6 million Latinos representing the largest minority group, followed by 37.9 million African Americans and 12.7 million Asians. Of the total foreign-born population in America at the beginning of 2002—approximately 31 million or 11 percent of total population—51 per-

cent were born in Latin America, 25.5 percent were born in Asia, 15.3 percent were born in Europe, and the remaining 8.2 percent were born in other parts of the world. *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 19, 2003, and Ann Morse, "Demographic and the 2000 Census," *www.stateserv.hpts.org*, January 30, 2002.

20. An e-mail, emphasizing this point in an especially memorable way, was given wide and anonymous circulation in America in January and February 2003. See Appendix Two: "An American Is. . . ." See also the books on life in America by Charles Kuralt, especially *Charles Kuralt's America*, G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1995.

Chapter II: On History, Heritage, and Habits of Life

1. In 2004 the Greek portion of the island became a member of the European Union.

2. See Appendix One: A Comparative Chart of European Countries. The number "50" is a consequence of which criteria are used to define a "country." In this case the total includes Andorra, Liechtenstein and Vatican City, as well as the republics which have emerged following the breakup of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

3. Timothy Egan, "Along full-of-surprises Missouri, a way of life is receding," *International Herald Tribune*, June 2, 2003.

4. This impression of America comes from a series of letters written as e-mail messages during 2002 and 2003 from Burkhard Koch.

5. The impressions of the mountains and the effects of space have also been beautifully described by Irving Stone in a famous book called *Men to Match My Mountains* as well as by Bernard DeVoto in *Across the Wide Missouri*, and more recently by Stephen Ambrose in his history of the Lewis and Clark expedition, entitled *Undaunted Courage*. A book of equal merit, about "a nation heading west," is authored by J. S. Holliday and is entitled *The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience*.

6. From Ray Allen Billington's foreword to the reedition of Turner's essays entitled *The Frontier in American History*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1962.

7. This phrase, still in use, which dates from the early nineteenth century and possibly earlier, is a condescending French description of the selfish and self-serving conduct of England's foreign affairs. "La perfide Albion" may be a reference to the white cliffs of Dover, but may have earlier origins.

8. Venture capitalist Hermann Hauser of Cambridge, U.K., as quoted in William Drozdiak, "Old World Reinvents Itself as Model for New Economy," *International Herald Tribune*, February 19, 2001.

9. See the editorial "Merry Philanthropy," *Wall Street Journal*, December 24, 2004. See also, as a detailed reference, Robert D. Putnam entitled *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 2000, page 118. A thorough analysis of American giving is contained in Joel L. Fleishman, *The Foundation: A Great American Secret: How Private Wealth Is Changing the World*, Public Affairs, New York, 2007.

10. CARE (Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe) was founded in 1945. The first 20,000 CARE Packages arrived in Le Havre, France on May 11, 1946, and

millions followed. The first packages were U.S. Army surplus “10-in-1” food parcels intended to provide one meal for ten soldiers during the planned invasion of Japan. Following the surrender of Japan the packages, which had never been used, were obtained by CARE which in turn began a service that allowed Americans to send the packages to friends and families in Europe where millions were in danger of starvation. Ten dollars bought a CARE Package and guaranteed that its addressee would receive it within four months.

11. See *Wall Street Journal*, March 9, 2005.

12. See David Brooks, loc. cit.

13. Tod Richissin, “Crying over Gas? Europeans Cope,” *Alexander’s Gas & Oil Connections (News and Trends North America)*, May 6, 2005. See also “Pursuing Happiness,” *The Economist*, July 1, 2006, p. 50, and “Nearly One Car per Two People in EU,” www.eubusiness.com (September 19, 2006).

14. The ambassador was Jean-Jules Jusserand who later, in 1917, became the first recipient of the Pulitzer Prize in History for his book *With Americans of Past and Present Days*.

15. James Fullarton Muirhead, op. cit. p. 153.

16. “France Blocks Free Trade,” *International Herald Tribune*, September 2, 2003.

17. William Packer, “Untouched Fields of Dreams,” *Financial Times*, February 26, 2002.

18. From the obituary for Françoise Giroud, *The Economist*, January 25, 2003.

19. An excellent essay on this subject is by James F. Cooper, “I Found It at the Movies,” *American Arts Quarterly*, spring 2006, pp. 2–8.

20. No reference is made to folk music, because few Americans and Europeans are familiar with this genre of their respective musical heritage, a genre rich in history but not illustrative of the contrasts drawn here.

21. The role of the state fair in midwestern American life is still of significance. The best description I have found is by Michael Judge, “Some Pig! A Midwestern Rite of Summer,” *Wall Street Journal*, August 16, 2006.

22. Ethan Mordden, “Everything’s Up to Date in ‘Oklahoma!’” *International Herald Tribune*, February 28, 2002.

23. This statistic applies to the original fifteen members of the European Union. The French and German languages are in second and third place, respectively, spoken by 28 and 24 percent of the population. In Europe foreign-language study is obligatory everywhere except in Ireland and Scotland. See “Languages of Europe” (last update 2/22/05) at <http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/education>, and Doreen Carvajal, *International Herald Tribune*, February 18, 2004. See also www.eubusiness.com, “Half of All Young Europeans Are Multilingual,” February 16, 2005.

24. Observance of this distinction is affected by education and social class, and today, among those in their thirties and younger, it is followed less frequently than it was twenty-five years ago. It is of note that European socialists, committed to the idea of equality, do not make this distinction when speaking among themselves. See an unusual article on contemporary usage by Sebastian Hammelehle, *Welt am Sonntag*, April 10, 2005.

25. The ordinance was known as the *Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts*. Until 1606 French dictionaries were French-Latin or other combinations.

26. It is not well known in America, or in Europe, that federal law requires ballots to be printed in non-English languages if 5 percent of the population in a voting jurisdiction, or ten thousand people, speak a language other than English. Ballots and election materials are printed in foreign languages in 375 voting districts in 21 states.

27. A fascinating description of this condition has been written by Sarah Turnbull and is entitled *Almost French*, Gotham Books, New York, 2002.

28. See Peter Schneider, "Conquering Europe, Word for Word," *New York Times*, May 1, 2001. Schneider makes these comparisons and leaves the readers to draw their own conclusions.

29. The International Organization of Francophonie has 51 member states. Of these, 28 countries have French as an official language. French is the only language other than English spoken on five continents. See Richard Shryock, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University at <http://www.fl.vt.edu/french/whyfrench.html>.

30. In Madrid about 600,000 people use a taxi cab every day. See the *International Herald Tribune*, January 26, 2005.

31. As quoted in Simon Schama, "The Unloved American," *New Yorker*, March 10, 2003.

32. Arnold Beichman, *Weekly Standard*, February 28, 2005.

33. In the March 3, 2003, issue of the *New Yorker* Simon Schama's article "The Unloved American" presents a fascinating description of the American manner and character as seen through nineteenth- and twentieth-century European spectacles.

34. Marianne Jacobbi, "The French Know How to Make a Meal of It," *International Herald Tribune*, March 6/7, 2004.

35. Clyde Prestowitz, *International Herald Tribune*, January 27, 2003.

36. The most entertaining and enlightening history of Franklin, France and America I have ever read is entitled *A Great Improvisation: Franklin, France and the Birth of America*, and was written by Stacy Schiff. Henry Holt, New York City, 2005.

37. Oscar Wilde, *A Woman of No Importance*, 1893, Act I.

38. Alan Riding, "EU Cultural Elite Learn to Love the Constitution," *International Herald Tribune*, May 12, 2005, and Neal Gabler, "U.S. Cultural Hegemony Lives on in Movies, not TV," *International Herald Tribune*, January 10, 2003.

39. See Victor Davis Hanson, *A War Like No Other*, Random House, New York, 2005.

40. Peter Schneider, "Separated by Civilization," *International Herald Tribune*, April 7, 2003.

41. Allan E. Goodman (president and CEO, Institute of International Education), from a speech entitled "The Closing of the American Mind: A Progress Report" delivered at Tufts University, November 18, 2004. Goodman writes: "In the sixties . . . almost 90 percent of the 4-year colleges in the United States had a language requirement for graduation. Today the figure is under 60 percent and well under 10 percent for those who actually require the student to take college level courses rather than pass a proficiency exam." See also his address, "It Is not a Pond," delivered to the Tenth Anniversary Conference Academic Cooperation Association held in Ghent, Belgium, May 11, 2003.

42. See the National Geographic–Roper 2002 Global Geographic Literacy Survey, November 2002.

43. Condoleezza Rice, “Campaign 2000: Promoting the National Interest,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2000. President Bush appointed Rice secretary of state in January 2005.

44. As quoted from the review of Berns’s book *Making Patriots*, by Roger Kimball, “The Reason for All Those Parades and Fireworks,” *Wall Street Journal*, July 3, 2001.

Chapter III: Equality, Opportunity, Stability

1. Gregory Viscusi, “French Senators Get Lessons in the Realities of Business,” *International Herald Tribune*, October 19, 2006.

2. Wolfgang Munchau, *Financial Times*, January 26, 2004.

3. Dominique Moïsi, *Financial Times*, November 18, 2002.

4. Larry Siedentop, in 2002 a fellow of Keble College at Oxford University, made a similar point in the February 28, 2002, issue of the *Financial Times*: “The instincts of the *énarques* are bureaucratic rather than constitutional—putting a premium on coherence and efficiency rather than [on] the checks and balances of a constitutional order.” See his excellent study entitled *Democracy in Europe*, Penguin Press, London, 2000. See also John Carreybon, “Is Elite School France’s Failing,” *International Herald Tribune*, January 16, 2006, and Katrin Bennhold, “France’s Murky Mix of School and Scandal,” *International Herald Tribune*, May 15, 2006.

5. An excellent analysis of this subject is by Bruce Bawer, “We’re Rich, You’re Not. End of Story,” *New York Times*, April 17, 2005.

6. Among the most illuminating studies of American life and values are those written by Seymour Martin Lipset and Daniel J. Boorstin. Especially relevant here is Lipset’s explanation of why socialism has never taken hold in America, entitled *American Exceptionalism*, published in 1996, and his lengthy article “Still the Exceptional Nation?” published in the *Wilson Quarterly*, Washington, D. C., winter 2000. Boorstin’s three-volume work, entitled *The Americans*, was published between 1958 and 1973. See also David Brooks, “The American Way of Equality,” *New York Times*, January 14, 2007.

7. Friedrich A. Hayek, *The Intellectual and Socialism*, University of Chicago Press, 1949.

8. See Appendix Three: “The International.”

9. A fascinating description of the effect of *socialism* on the individual was written in 1999 by a German woman, born in 1944, who grew up in West Berlin with her grandmother. When the Berlin Wall was built on August 13, 1961, she was on vacation with relatives in East Germany and awoke the next day to discover that she could not return home. She was locked in, and spent the next twenty-eight years in East Berlin. The book, by Rita Kuczynski, is entitled *Mauerblume*. In German the word means *Wall Flower*, but in the context of divided Germany the title can be given several, very different interpretations. Rita Kuczynski’s life is a painful and powerful account of one of socialism’s twentieth-century legacies.

10. As conveyed in a private conversation with the author in Paris in June 2000.
11. See François d'Orcival, "Le Gros Chèque de Lady Thatcher," *Le Figaro Magazine*, October 29, 2005.
12. Elaine Sciolino, "Outrage at Raffarin," *International Herald Tribune*, July 3, 2003.
13. See the excellent study of the social and political habits of life of twentieth-century America by Robert D. Putnam entitled *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 2000.
14. In the daily life of postwar Europe CARE packages were so important that Europeans still spoke of them in the late 1960s, and Austrians still spoke of the packages sent by Trapp Family Austrian Relief. It was an effort directed by the same Captain von Trapp and his wife who had left Austria for America in 1938, and whose story was told in the American musical *The Sound of Music*. Between 1947 and 1949, thanks to their efforts, more than 300,000 pounds of goods donated by Americans went to Austria.
15. The 1948 Foreign Assistance Act and consequential legislation provided a total amount of approximately \$13 billion for Europe of which about 3.1 billion went to Great Britain, 2.7 to France, 1.5 to Italy, slightly less than 1.5 to West Germany, and the remainder to other western European countries. West Germany, however, received an additional estimated \$1.8 billion (via GARIOA—Government and Relief in Occupied Areas) for a total of \$3.3 billion, of which \$1 billion was repaid to America.
16. A. J. P. Taylor, "The European Revolution," *Listener* (London), November 22, 1945, p. 576.
17. As cited in Dennis L. Bark and David R. Gress, *A History of West Germany. Volume I: From Shadow to Substance, 1945–1963*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford and New York, 1989, pp. 195–96.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 196.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 208.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
21. See Henri Amouroux, "L'histoire à la figure," *Le Figaro Magazine*, March 8, 2003, and *La grande histoire des Français sous l'occupation*, R. Laffont, 1999. See also François-Georges Dreyfus (editor), *Unrecognized Resistance: The Franco-American Experience in World War Two*, Transaction Publishers, 2004.
22. Roger Cohen, "Divided We Grumble: Europe's Loss of Focus," *International Herald Tribune*, June 9, 2004.
23. See Norman Barry, "Germany Must Rediscover the Market," *Financial Times*, January 23, 2003. Barry's citation of the cartel recalls the industrial cartels in Nazi Germany that supported Hitler's rise to power. For this reason one of the four "d's" established by the four powers occupying defeated Germany was decartelization, the others being democratization, denazification, and dismantlement.
24. In the EU the percentage of unionized workers is at an average 30 percent compared with approximately 12 percent in America. See Thomas Fuller, "Day of French Protests Draws Doves Nationwide," *International Herald Tribune*, October 5, 2005, and "In the East, Many EU Work Rules Don't Apply," *International Herald Tribune*, June 15, 2005.
24. See Jeremy Rifkin, *The European Dream: How Europe's Vision of the Future is Qui-*

ety *Eclipsing the American Dream*, Jeremy P. Tarcher/Penguin, New York, 2004. See also John Vinocur, "U.S. Model for Europe: Immigrant Work Ethic," *International Herald Tribune*, December 6, 2005, and Edward C. Prescott, "Why Do Americans Work More Than Europeans?" *Wall Street Journal*, October 21, 2004.

25. See *Key Indicators of the Labour Market*, 3rd ed. International Labour Office, Geneva, 2003 and the *Examiner* (San Francisco), June 25–27, 2004. The value of statistics, of course, depends on which studies are used. So, some argue that growth in productivity during the past ten years has been roughly the same in Europe and America. See, for example, *The Economist*, June 9, 2004, pages 65–67.

26. See David Brooks, "A Tale of 2 Systems," *New York Times*, January 4, 2005, Niall Ferguson, "Why America Outpaces Europe (Clue: The God Factor)," *New York Times*, June 8, 2003, and "Trichet Urges Action to Buoy 'Mediocre' Growth," *International Herald Tribune*, October 17, 2006.

27. European immigration rates are increasing slowly vis-à-vis America, but successful assimilation of foreigners, especially Muslims, is difficult, slow, and the exception. See the extensive commentary in the European and American press on the reasons for the violence that erupted in the suburbs of numerous French cities in late October 2005. It is interesting also to note Roger Cohen's observations in an article entitled "A European Model for Immigration Falts: Dutch Façade of Tolerance under Strain," *International Herald Tribune*, October 17, 2005. Cohen's article appeared ten days before the first French demonstrations.

28. See *ibid.* John W. Miller, "Pension Systems Strain Europe," *Wall Street Journal*, June 17, 2004, Niall Ferguson from a speech delivered at the American Enterprise Institute (Washington, D. C.) on March 1, 2004, the editorial entitled "Europe vs. America," *Wall Street Journal*, June 18, 2004, and "EU Versus USA," a report prepared by economists Fredrik Bergström and Robert Gidehag for the Swedish think tank Timbro, Stockholm, 2004. See also Graham Bowley, "Barroso Underscores Pro-Business Reforms" and the article entitled "European Union Is Advised to Free Up Markets," *International Herald Tribune*, March 2, 2005.

29. These statistics apply to the twelve EU members who use a common currency.

30. In March 2004 former Dutch prime minister Wim Kok was appointed by the European Council to review EU progress toward creating a single market. The "Kok Report," presented to the council in early November 2004, concluded in effect that the EU was "steering its economic future dangerously off course," and cited as reasons an overloaded agenda, poor coordination, conflicting priorities, and a lack of political will. See Graham Bowley, "A Grim Report on Future Grabs Europe's Attention," *International Herald Tribune*, November 12, 2004, and www.euractiv.com.

31. T. J. Rodgers as cited in the *American Spectator*, November/December 2001, p. 44.

Chapter IV: Uncommon Marketplaces

1. In 1970, against \$11 billion dollars in gold reserves in American, \$45 billion dollars were held by foreigners, and the following year President Nixon took America off the

gold standard. See Chris Mayer, "The Poet of Finance," the *Daily Reckoning*, July 27, 2004. The *Daily Reckoning* is a daily online economic newsletter edited by Bill Bonner and Addison Wiggin.

2. See Appendix One: A Comparative Chart of European Countries.

3. The agreement was originally signed in 1985 aboard a ship, *Princesse Marie-Astrid*, on the Moselle River, near the Luxembourg town of Schengen. By 2005 all of the EU's original fifteen members had approved it, with the exception of Ireland and the United Kingdom. Iceland and Norway had endorsed the treaty as well. The EU's ten new members were expected to implement the agreement in 2006 or thereafter, as was Switzerland.

4. See the *Financial Times*, June 5, 2002, and *International Herald Tribune*, June 13, 20, 2002. Jacques Delors served as French minister of finance in the early 1980s, and was president of the European Commission from 1985 to 1994. He is also the father of Martine Aubry, the French minister of labor from 1997 to 2000, who spearheaded the successful effort to create the 35-hour work week in France, a subject treated later in this chapter.

5. Alexei Barrionuevo, "As Europe Seeks A Stronger Voice, Words Get in Way," *Wall Street Journal*, January 5, 2005.

6. In French it reads, "l'Europe se fera par la monnaie ou ne se fera pas." Jacques Rueff, one of the founding members of the Mont Pèlerin Society, served as a judge in the Court of Justice of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), as a judge in the Court of the European Economic Community (EEC) from 1958 to 1962, and later as minister of finance under Charles de Gaulle. See also Carter Dougherty, "A Single Voice for Europe?" *International Herald Tribune*, September 16/17, 2006.

7. Examples of what this can mean in practice were still evident in France at the beginning of 2000. In 1959 one hundred old French francs were exchanged for one new franc. Forty years later many Frenchmen in their seventies and older, particularly in the countryside, still converted new francs into old ones in order to determine if the value being accepted or paid was fair.

8. G. Thomas Sims, "Germans Come Late, but with Enthusiasm, to the Anti-Euro Party," *Wall Street Journal*, May 30, 2002.

9. Martin Feldstein, *Financial Times*, April 22, 2003. Feldstein was chairman of President Ronald Reagan's Council of Economic Advisers from 1982 to 1984.

10. This statistic is for the year 2004, as cited in *Le Figaro* (Paris), October 10, 2005.

11. The Accession Treaty was signed, most symbolically, at the foot of the Acropolis in Athens on April 15, 2003. Bulgaria and Romania joined in 2007. Were Turkey to join as well, altogether another 100 million citizens would be added. It is unclear, however, when and under what circumstances Turkish membership will take place. The subject is a much debated one within the EU. The former president of France, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, has openly opposed admission and Jacques Chirac has publicly endorsed it. If Turkey were admitted, its population of 68 million would be the second largest in the EU after Germany.

12. See Philip Stephens, "Europe's Nations Are Bound Together Despite Everything," *Financial Times*, February 14, 2003.

13. See Laurent Fabius "A Stronger Europe for a Better World," *Financial Times*,

March 27, 2003; Jack Straw, "Don't Write Off Europe's Global Role," *International Herald Tribune*, March 27, 2003.

14. Neal E. Boudette, "Searching for Solutions, Germany May Tackle Taboo," *Wall Street Journal*, February 28, 2003.

15. Carter Dougherty, "VW Workers Agree to a Longer Week," *International Herald Tribune*, September 30/October 1, 2006

16. Judy Dempsey, "Germany's Social Democrats Campaign against Unbridled Capitalism," *International Herald Tribune*, April 20, 2005, and Mark Landler, "Germany Bristles at Foreign 'Locusts,'" *International Herald Tribune*, May 5, 2005.

17. David Rennie and Toby Helm, "Blair Caves in to Chirac over EU Reform Proposal," *Daily Telegraph* (London), March 23, 2005.

18. Katrin Bennhold, "Lawmakers in France Debate Longer Hours," *International Herald Tribune*, February 3, 2005.

19. Kenneth Maxwell, "France Opts for Job Funds in Lieu of Broad Change," *Wall Street Journal*, June 9, 2005.

20. Bennhold, "Lawmakers in France Debate Longer Hours."

21. By the end of 2006 pressure had mounted within the EU to establish a work week of no more than 48 hours. See Dan Bilefsky, "U.K. Fights to Retain Workweek Exemption," *International Herald Tribune*, October 17, 2006, and Gaëtan de Capèle, "Le poison des 35 heures," *Le Figaro*, October 21/22, 2006.

22. Blair was the first, and thus far the only European socialist leader of major stature to proclaim, in 1995, that the era of big government was over. Two years later, after the British Labour Party renounced its historic devotion to class warfare and loyalty to public ownership, his party won an overwhelming election victory and Blair became prime minister. Ironically, none other than Thatcher proclaimed that "Britain will be safe in the hands of Mr. Blair."

23. See the briefing by David Anderson, solicitor and chartered tax adviser, Sykes Anderson LLP solicitors, December 9, 2004, *Financial Times*, May 27, 2005, and *Le Figaro*, July 11 and 12, September 26 and 29, 2005, and the *International Herald Tribune*, November 12/13, 2005.

24. See Yves de Kerdrel, "L'ISF entre injustice, dogme et inefficacité," *Le Figaro*, and *Le Figaro Magazine*, October 22, 2005, and Philippe Alexandre and Béatrix de l'Aulnoit, *Trop d'Impôts tue l'Emploi*, Robert Laffont, Paris, 2005. See also, for example, BNA, Inc. Daily Report for Executives, March 31, 2003; *French Weekly Economic Report*, April 2, 2003; *Le Figaro*, May 7, September 29, October 21 and 22, 2004; David Anderson, Sykes Anderson LLP solicitors (London), December 9, 2004; "Bercy sous-estime le rendement de l'ISK en 2007," *Le Figaro*, October 4, 2006.

25. Technically the tax is a levy imposed at each addition of "value" in the processing of a raw material, the performance of a service, or the production and distribution of a commodity with each payer, except the consumer, reimbursed from payment at the next stage. Originally introduced in France in 1954, it raises government revenue "invisibly." In effect it is a hidden sales tax ultimately passed on to the consumer at the time a good or service is purchased.

26. "Europe's VAT Crisis," *Financial Times*, August 29, 2006.
27. *Le Figaro*, September 2, 2005.
28. See www.eubusiness.com/Finance (December 13, 2006).
29. In the spring of 2005 German chancellor Gerhard Schröder proposed lowering the base corporate tax rate from 25 to 19 percent, creating an effective rate of a little more than 33 percent (the effective rate is the base rate plus a "trading tax" which makes up the difference). See Daniel Altman, "In EU Tax Race to Bottom, Who Wins?" *International Herald Tribune*, March 26/27, 2005. In November 2006 Germany, in fact, did lower its corporate tax rate from an average of 38.7 percent to 29 percent, to begin on January 1, 2008 (see *International Herald Tribune*, November 3, 2006). See also Thomas L. Friedman's fascinating analysis of the Irish economy in the June 30, 2005, issue of the *International Herald Tribune*, entitled "The End of the Rainbow."
30. From an e-mail to the author from Burkhard Koch, March 30, 2004. Columnist Paul Krugman, who does not know Europe as well as he asserts, makes the opposite argument concerning France. See his article entitled "French Family Values," *New York Times*, July 29, 2005.
31. See Christopher Rhoads, "Europe's Division over Deficit Rules Is Intensifying," *Wall Street Journal*, July 16, 2003.
32. See Lionel Barber, "Crocodile Tears for the Pact's Timely Death," *Financial Times*, December 9, 2003.
33. See *International Herald Tribune*, March 21, 22, 23, and 24, 2005.
34. "Europe's Essentials: Barroso Promises to Focus on Jobs, Growth and Investment," *Financial Times*, February 2, 2005.
35. Guy Sorman, *Wall Street Journal*, January 24, 2003.
36. See Eric Pfanner, "In Slowing Europe, Reforms Easier to Take," *International Herald Tribune*, July 22, 2003.
37. In 2005 statistics were published in *Le Figaro* on October 17 and 28. See also Philip H. Gordon, "Liberté, Fraternité, Anxiety," *Financial Times*, January 19/20, 2002.
38. Katrin Bennhold, "France votes to Overhaul 35-Hour Workweek," *International Herald Tribune*, March 23, 2005. The union is known as the CFDT (Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail).
39. See *Le Figaro*, October 19 and 21/22, 2006.
40. Christopher Rhoads, "In Deep Crisis, Germany Starts to Revamp Vast Welfare State," *Wall Street Journal*, July 10, 2003.
41. See Josef Joffe, *Die Zeit*, April 28, 2004.
42. Michael González, "Being Berlusconi," *Wall Street Journal*, July 16, 2003.
43. See Charlie McCreevy, "The Lisbon Strategy: Why Less Is More," European Policy Forum, January 24, 2005, and also "Europe's Essentials: Barroso Promises to Focus on Jobs, Growth and Investment," *Financial Times*, February 2, 2005.
44. Peter Weinberg, "Europe Is Falling Well Short of Its Potential," *Financial Times*, January 28, 2005.
45. Paul Betts and Bertrand Benoit, "Business Wants Both Drive and Decisions," *Financial Times*, February 2, 2005.

46. See an excellent article on this subject by Martin Wolf, "Europeans Must Agree to Disagree for Unity's Sake," *Financial Times*, February 12, 2003.
47. See Robert C. Toth, "What Makes Americans Different?" *International Herald Tribune*, October 3, 1977.
48. Thomas Fuller, "Schröder Aids Chirac in Push for EU Charter," *International Herald Tribune*, April 27, 2005.
49. Eric Pfanner, *International Herald Tribune*, December 4, 2002.
50. See Alison Beard, "Not Just an Ocean Divides European and US Millionaires," *Financial Times*, June 18, 2002, and Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 2000, page 117.
51. Heather Higgins, "Death by Bureaucracy," *Wall Street Journal*, April 4, 2005.
52. See Beard, "Not Just an Ocean Divides European and US Millionaires."
53. Manuel Barroso, "Europe 2010: A European Renewal," a speech delivered in Davos, Switzerland, January 29, 2005.
54. See Jean-Claude Trichet (president of the European Central Bank), "Euro Vision," *Wall Street Journal*, February 24, 2005.
55. Charles A. Kupchan, "The End of the West," *Atlantic Monthly*, November 2002. See also William Pfaff, "Why the U.S. Fears Europe," *International Herald Tribune*, February 11, 2003, and Charles A. Kupchan, *The End of the American Era*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2003.
56. John K. Glenn, "You're OK, but Your President . . .," *International Herald Tribune*, February 22, 2005.
57. See an interview with Manuel Barroso in the *Financial Times*, February 2, 2005, and Thomas Fuller, "France Deals Blow to EU Services Plan," *International Herald Tribune*, February 3, 2005. See also Manuel Barroso, "Working Together for Growth and Jobs: A New Start for the Lisbon Strategy," Brussels, February 2, 2005.
58. See Richard Bernstein, "Europe's 'Revolt against the Establishment,'" *International Herald Tribune*, June 2, 2005.
59. See Graham Bowley, "Barroso Underscores Pro-Business Reforms," *International Herald Tribune*, March 2, 2005, and "EU Seeks to Cut Red Tape with Services Shake-Up" (March 3, 2005), www.eubusiness.com. In the spring of 2006 there were approximately 150 Polish plumbers in France, and about 6,000 unfilled vacancies in the same profession. See *Europe's World*, spring 2006, p. 100.
60. See Mary Jacoby, "Borderless Flow of EU Services Dealt Big Setback," *Wall Street Journal*, March 4, 2005.
61. "EU Seeks to Cut Red Tape with Services Shake-Up" (March 3, 2005), www.eubusiness.com.
62. Nick Prag, publisher of Eubusiness, www.eubusiness.com/topics/SMEs/EU-News.2004-03-02.1753.
63. See an interview with Manuel Barroso in the *Financial Times*, February 2, 2005.
64. Frits Bolkestein, "France's Verdict Tells Us That Europe Has Been Oversold," *Financial Times*, May 31, 2005.
65. Elaine Sciolino, "EU Leaders Step Up the Sniping over Future," *International Herald Tribune*, June 22, 2005.

Chapter V: Legacies, Ancient and Modern

1. The English translation of the first two stanzas is by Daniel Platt, and the third stanza is the author's. The poem in German follows: "Amerika, du hast es besser als unser Kontinent, der alte, hast keine verfallenen Schlösser und keine Basalte. Dich stört nicht im Innern zu lebendiger Zeit unnützes Erinnern und vergeblicher Streit. Benutzt die Gegenwart mit Glück! Und wenn nun eure Kinder dichten, bewahre sie ein gut Geschick vor Ritter-, Räuber- und Gespenstergeschichten."

2. André Malraux, *New York Times*, July 27, 1974. See as useful, Rodney Stark, *The Victory of Reason: How Christianity Led to Freedom, Capitalism, and Western Success*, Random House, New York, 2005.

3. See Renwick McLean, "Spain Backs EU Charter, but Turnout Stirs Doubts," *International Herald Tribune*, February 21, 2005.

4. See the *International Herald Tribune*, March 16, 2003, and March 1, 2004.

5. *International Herald Tribune*, December 30, 2002.

6. See Heather Grabbe of the Center for European Reform in London, as cited in the *International Herald Tribune*, October 30/31, 2004.

7. Elaine Sciolino, "Giscard Puts Blame on Chirac," *International Herald Tribune*, June 15, 2005.

8. See the *International Herald Tribune*, June 8, 9 and 10, 2005, and the *Wall Street Journal*, May 31, 2005.

9. See Katrin Bennhold, "EU Won't Shy from Wider Competition," *International Herald Tribune*, June 8, 2005.

10. Javier Solana, "Toward a United European Voice," *International Herald Tribune*, October 30/31, 2004. Solana served as secretary general of NATO between 1995 and 1999, and is the grandson of the distinguished Spanish diplomat and writer Salvador de Madariaga.

11. See Edward Rothstein, "Europe's Constitution: All Hail the Bureaucracy," *New York Times*, July 5, 2003. See also Hans Werner Sinn, "There Is No European Right to a Place in the Sun," *Financial Times*, February 13, 2003, Philip Stephens, "Europe's Nations Are Bound Together Despite Everything," *Financial Times*, February 14, 2003, Thomas Fuller, "Too Baffling to Bother: Europe's Disconnect," *International Herald Tribune*, June 16, 2004, and Thomas Fuller and Katrin Bennhold, "EU Leaders Forge Accord on Charter," *International Herald Tribune*, June 19–20, 2004.

12. "Spain All but Begs for Votes on EU Charter," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 19, 2005.

13. "Social dumping" is a Western European term that refers to the image of "the Polish plumber"; a euphemism for the ten central European countries which joined the EU in 2004 whose citizens are willing to work longer hours, for less money, in more flexible labor environments than their Western European counterparts: "the easterners' creative ways of skirting EU law amount to 'social dumping,' a term used by trade unions and politicians in the West that implies the erosion of social benefits and labor costs through external competition." In other words labor performed at lower wages by those in the new-member countries enjoys a competitive advantage that is condemned by Western

Europeans. See Daniel Vaughan-Whitehead, "Working and Employment Conditions in the New EU Member States: Convergence or Diversity," financed by the European Commission and International Labor Organization and cited in the *International Herald Tribune*, June 15, 2005.

14. From a private conversation conducted by the author in Paris, May 25, 2005.

15. "French Socialists Set to Vote at 'Historical' Point for Their Party," *International Herald Tribune*, December 1, 2004.

16. See the excellent appraisal of the EU in the aftermath of the French election by Paul Johnson, "What Europe Really Needs," *Wall Street Journal*, June 17, 2005.

17. As cited in *The Economist*, June 23, 2003.

18. May 9 was selected in honor of the French founder of the European Coal and Steel Community, Robert Schuman, born on this date.

19. Saint Benoît was born in 480 in the mountains of Umbria in Italy and was the founder of the first monasteries from which Christianity spread throughout western and central Europe.

20. Edward Rothstein, "Europe's Constitution: All Hail the Bureaucracy," *New York Times*, July 5, 2003.

21. See Philip Stephens, "It Is Time for Old Europe to Turn Back towards Liberty," *Financial Times*, February 25, 2005.

22. William Pfaff, "EU's Problem with 'No,'" *International Herald Tribune*, June 23, 2005. On this subject see also George Weigel, *The Cube and the Cathedral: Europe, America, and Politics without God*, Basic Books, New York, 2005.

23. The French diplomat who negotiated the Treaty of Versailles at the end of World War I and who died in 1929.

24. Steven F. Hayward, *The Age of Reagan: The Fall of the Old Liberal Order 1964–1980*, Roseville, California, Prima Publishing, 2001 (member of the Crown Publishing Group, a division of Random House), pp. 429–30.

25. See Christopher Caldwell, *Financial Times*, February 14/15, 2004. See also William I. Hitchcock's study entitled *The Struggle for Europe: The Turbulent History of a Divided Continent 1945 to the Present*, Doubleday, New York, 2003.

26. Christian Hacke, "Deutschland, Europa und der Irakkonflikt," *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, B 24–25/2003.

27. Henri Astier, *Times Literary Supplement*, January 10, 2003. Revel's book *l'Obsession anti-américaine* was published in Paris in 2002.

28. Dominique Moïsi, "Coming Together in Fear and Trepidation," *International Herald Tribune*, April 30–May 2, 2004.

29. See Richard Bernstein, "A Bridge and a Barrier, and the Chasm Between," *International Herald Tribune*, July 23, 2004.

30. Peter Schneider, "Separated by Civilization," *International Herald Tribune*, April 7, 2004.

31. From a speech delivered to the American Council on Germany in New York City in April 2001, entitled "The Euro and the Enlargement of the European Union: Perspectives for a United Europe."

32. Barry James, "The EU? Poll Finds Public Skeptical and Indifferent," *International Herald Tribune*, July 20, 2001.
33. J. J. Jusserand, *What Me Befell*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1933, page xv.

Chapter VI: The Fly in the Soup

1. Marc Dugain, "Humanisme réaliste," *Le Figaro*, October 29, 2006. Compare this observation with Dominique de Villepin's judgment in May 2005 (see chapter five).
2. José Manuel Barroso, "Europe Must Open Up to the Globalized World," *International Herald Tribune*, September 21, 2005.
3. This book, published in October 2000, was entitled *Professor Bark's Amazing Digital Adventure* (Woodford Press, Emeryville, California). I began writing it in 1997 as I was learning how to use a computer, but by the time of publication few people were interested in reading any more about computers and Silicon Valley. The boom was ending and the timing of publication could not have been worse. In addition, the publisher, unbeknownst to me, declared bankruptcy shortly after publication, so the book was never marketed and less than 1,000 copies are in circulation. The book, in which I wrote about "a flat world" (page 78) long before Tom Friedman announced to his readers that the world is no longer round, was originally entitled "Virtual Certainties"—a much better title than that recommended by the publisher.
4. See Dennis L. Bark, *Professor Bark's Amazing Digital Adventure*, pp. 200–201
5. T. R. Reid, *International Herald Tribune*, May 21, 2002.
6. See Allan E. Goodman (president and CEO, Institute of International Education), from a speech entitled "Franklin in Paris: Lessons for International Education Week," delivered to the NAFSA Region VIII Symposium held in Philadelphia, November 19, 2004, and his speech of the previous day entitled "The Closing of the American Mind: A Progress Report," delivered at Tufts University, November 18, 2004.
7. In fact, the total value of investments on both continents is far greater because the figures cited here do not take into account when the investments were made and their appreciated value thereafter. See T. R. Reid, *International Herald Tribune*, May 21, 2002, and Rockwell Schnabel, U.S. ambassador to the EU, from a speech delivered at the Centre for European Policy Studies in Brussels, Belgium, February 21, 2003.
8. See Diane Ravitch, *The Language Police*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2003.
9. Dominique Moïsi, "Veterans, Teenagers and History," *International Herald Tribune*, June 11, 2004.
10. Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review*, no. 113, 2002.
11. George W. Bush, June 15, 2001.
12. See Frank Viviano, "Europe Won over by War's Success," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 16, 2001.
13. Ibid. Viviano quotes in English from the December 7 French edition of *Le Monde*.
14. Steven Erlanger, "Europe Seethes as the U.S. Flies Solo in World Affairs," *New*

York Times, February 23, 2002. See also Chris Patten, “Jaw-Jaw, not War-War,” *Financial Times*, February 15, 2002.

15. An interview with Pierre Hassner in *Le Figaro*, October 30, 2003.

16. Nicholas D. Kristof, “U.S. Arrogance Comes Home to Roost,” *International Herald Tribune*, February 1–2, 2003.

17. An exception in France is writer Guy Sorman. On September 13, 2001, his superb editorial on the significance of the attack and how America would respond to it was published in *Le Figaro* with the title “l’Amérique va gagner” (“America’s going to win”).

18. See Elizabeth Pond, *Internationale Politik* (transatlantic edition), Berlin, 1/2003.

19. Kagan, loc. cit.

20. Ethan Bronner, *International Herald Tribune*, February 1–2, 2003.

21. Roy Denman, “How to Make Americans Listen,” *International Herald Tribune*, July 16, 2002. Denman served as ambassador between 1982 and 1989.

22. Christopher Caldwell, *Financial Times*, March 19, 2003.

23. The *Wall Street Journal*, February 10, 2003.

24. See Graham E. Fuller, “Old Europe—or Old America?” *International Herald Tribune*, February 12, 2003.

25. Jack Straw, *International Herald Tribune*, March 27, 2003.

26. See www.globalissues.org/Geopolitics/ArmsTrade/Spending.asp

27. As reported by Andrew Bacevich, “The Dark Roots of America’s Security Strategy,” *Financial Times*, March 2, 2005.

28. Richard Bernstein, “From America, Europe Seems a Long Way Off,” *International Herald Tribune*, February 4, 2005.

29. See the testimony by Ambassador R. Nicholas Burns, U.S. permanent representative to NATO, on the future of NATO to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, D. C., April 1, 2003.

Chapter VII: The Force of Things

1. Among the many articles during this period—between early 2002 and early 2003—the following are noteworthy: R. James Woolsey, “Where’s the Posse?” *Wall Street Journal*, February 25, 2002, Charles Moore, “Our Friends in Europe,” *Wall Street Journal*, March 8, 2002, Sebastian Mallaby, “Insults Back and Forth over the Atlantic,” *International Herald Tribune*, May 14, 2002, Steven Erlanger, “Protests, and Friends Too, Await Bush in Europe,” *International Herald Tribune*, May 22, 2002, Gerard Baker, “European Insults Fall on Deaf Ears in America’s Heartland,” *Financial Times*, February 6, 2003, Sarah Lyall, “Europe’s Intellectuals See Freedom ‘Trampled,’” *International Herald Tribune*, February 15/16, 2003, and BBC News, “Analysis: Power Americana,” February 26, 2003.

2. As quoted in the *International Herald Tribune*, November 4, 2002.

3. See, for example, *International Herald Tribune*, November 4, 2002; Elizabeth Pond, *Internationale Politik* (transatlantic edition), Berlin, 1/2003, and Joseph Fitchett, *International Herald Tribune*, February 12, 2003.

4. Richard Perle, "Le jour où les Européens nous ont lâchés," *Le Figaro*, September 12, 2006.

5. A letter to the author of March 30, 2003, from Marie-Thérèse de Maigret, née Poniatowska.

6. See *Die Welt*, April 2 and 3, 2003.

7. The deliberate reference to two Greek names for planets is an irony that Kagan may have ignored or of which he may have been ignorant. The Roman names for Mars and Venus were Ares and Aphrodite. Mars and Venus had a daughter named Harmonia, whose Roman name was Concordia.

8. Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review*, no. 113, 2002.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Thomas L. Friedman, "Bush's Shame," *New York Times*, August 4, 2002.

11. See H. D. S. Greenway, "American Leadership, or Bullying?" *International Herald Tribune*, October 7, 2005, and Stephen M. Walt, *Taming American Power: The Global Response to U.S. Primacy*, W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 2005.

12. Victor Davis Hanson, "Soft Power, Hard Truths," *Wall Street Journal*, February 22, 2005.

13. Olivier Dassault, "La leçon américaine," *Valeurs Actuelles*, November 5, 2004. See also Dennis L. Bark, "The French Lesson," *Hoover Digest*, no. 2, 2005, pp. 96–99.

14. See Jeremy Rifkin, *The European Dream*, Jeremy P. Tarcher/Penguin, New York, 2004, page 3.

15. Judy Dempsey, "Rival Views on EU Are Out in the Open," *International Herald Tribune*, June 20, 2005.

16. Jack Straw, British foreign secretary, from a speech delivered at the Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., May 8, 2002, as cited in Todd S. Purdum, "Powell encounters Parallel Universe of Europe," *International Herald Tribune*, May 16, 2002.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Wolfgang Ischinger, at a forum of the Council on Foreign Relations, March 25, 2003.

19. See Jeremy Rifkin, *The European Dream*, Jeremy P. Tarcher/Penguin, New York, 2004, and T. R. Reid, *The United States of Europe: The New Superpower and the End of American Supremacy*, Penguin Press, 2004. Three other studies also merit attention: Rockwell A. Schnabel, *The Next Superpower?* Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., New York, 2005, Mark Leonard, *Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century*, PublicAffairs (Perseus Books Group), New York, 2005, and Timothy Garton Ash, *Free World: America, Europe, and the Surprising Future of the West*, Random House, New York, 2004.

20. Nicole Bacharan, "L'Europe doit inventer un nouvel Atlantisme," *Le Figaro*, November 11/12, 2006.