

There are many reasons to stand for "America first": no other country has shaped the modern world the way the United States did. American values like democracy and market economy dominate and determine the lives of billions of people; and the United States were the first country that succeeded to create a broad middle-class.

But those who stand for "America first" in the ongoing presidential campaign seem to concentrate on the predominance of American military power, on American military strength. And in today's world it is very questionable if this is the right way to assume leadership among peoples. Why? Because after substantial changes in international relations, the deployment of military power today encounters the greatest difficulties. What are those changes:

- the revolution in non-military affairs concerning the military;
- the new essence of security and power in international relations;
- the new role of leadership.

As far as the revolution in non-military affairs affecting the military is concerned, it has become much more difficult to win wars. The Democratic Revolution, the revolution in information and education have totally changed the environment in which wars take place. People have become more critical, more defiant. They are not anymore willing to allow others to impose their will upon them by force.

Carl von Clausewitz, the great Prussian thinker on strategic affairs defined war the following way: "War means to impose one's will upon someone else by military force". Practicality, that means to destroy and to kill; to violate values recognize under normal circumstances.

Throughout history, that was accepted. Wars were accepted and took place almost on a permanent basis. Wars were waged and to 90% decided on the battlefield. A military victory also meant a political victory. And wars were something great! It was a great honor to die on the battlefield. And there was a strong conviction that wars solve problems.

All that has, after the revolution in information and education, dramatically changed. Destruction and killings watched on television provoke Repulsion.

In addition, the essence of security and power has changed in recent decades. Traditional security was to 90% military security. In the context of the great challenges of human security in today's world, military security covers only 10%. The same can be said as far as power is concerned. Traditionally, 90% of power exerted on an international level was military power. Today, the power of the new players, the markets and the media make up 90%. In this sense, 90% of the changes which took place in the recent decades, globalization, the rise of China, the implosion of the Soviet Union with the unification of Germany had little to do with military power.

Traditionally foreign-policy was oriented towards the security of the state, based on a strong army. Today, foreign-policy is, to a very large extent, also oriented towards human security, towards the security of the individual citizen concerning his social and economic well-being. Many international organizations, countless NGOs and many governments are actively promoting these goals. Today, countless issues, fighting hunger or disease, human rights and the Environment are the essential part of international relations. Finding solutions to those questions does not anymore rely on the strings of the military.

In the same way, leadership among nations has become a question of leadership among peoples of the world. If we define leadership as the ability to motivate others-to accomplish a common goal, to overcome difficulties, to obtain support for decisions taken by a leader, this kind of leadership was also closely linked to military power in former days. Not anymore. Leadership within today's international community has become more complex. Traditionally, managing war and peace was the main tasks of leaders. There are now many new and very different challenges. Leaders have to be aware of the importance of well-being of the people; they have to know how to safeguard human rights, how to protect the environment and how to handle a financial crisis.

Who will be the new leaders? The new leaders will be those who succeeds to combine the additional leadership concerning war and peace with the new kind of leadership concerning the well-being of the people. There is no doubt that the United States of America can also be a great leader of the international community in the future. But they should not only rely on military power.