Toward the European Army: Theory, Practice and Development of a European Defence Identity, 1945-2004

By

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Abstract

This dissertation traces military integration in Europe from the 1940s to the early 2000s in order to reveal the growth of a common European defence identity. Four factors characterize its approach. First, European defence identity is analyzed in relation to the broader path of European integration and its historical context, showing connections with key turning points in European integration, with the evolution of Franco-German relations and European-American relations, with the Cold War and subsequent Collapse of Communism, etc. Second, the dissertation applies theories of identity formation to guide the historical analysis. This approach draws attention, for example, to the important roles that borders and symbols played in European defence identity formation. Third, the thesis adopts a hybrid "top-down" and "bottom-up" approach; one side considers formal programs, policies, and institutions that promoted a European defence identity, while the other takes stock of public perceptions, actions by "rank and file" soldiers, etc. This dual approach helps to reveal more fully the complex, negotiated character of European defence identity formation. Finally, this thesis traces the growth of a European defence identity as a path of ideological and emotional change, growing commitment, and trust-building that spanned decades.

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List of Acronyms

AFMED	Allied Forces Mediterranean
BAe	British Aerospace
CASA	Construcciones Aeronáuticas SA
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CINCHAN	Commander-in-Chief Channel
CISA	Convention Implementing the Schengen Agreement
CSCE	Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe
DASA	Daimler Chrysler Aerospace AG
EADS	European Aeronautic Defence and Space Company NV
ECF	European Collaborative Fighter
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDC	European Defence Community
EDF	European Defence Forces
EEC	European Economic Community
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
EPC	European Political Co-operation
ERP	European Recovery Program
ESDI	European Security Defence Identity
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
EUROMIL	European Organization of Military Associations
FEFA	Future European Fighter Aircraft
IAR	International Authority of the Ruhr
IFOR	Implementation Force
IGC	Intergovernmental Conference
IMEF	Interim Multinational Emergency Force
INF	Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces
MBB	Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm
NACC	North Atlantic Cooperation Council
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OEEC	Organization for European Economic Co-operation
SAC	Standard Armaments Committee
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander Europe
SACLANT	Supreme Allied Command – Atlantic
SEA	Single European Act
SED	Socialist Unity Party of East Germany
SHAPE	Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe
TEU	Treaty of European Union
WEU	Western European Union
WUDO	Western Union Defence Organization

Table of Contents

Abstract…………………………………………………………………………………ii

Acknowledgements…………………………………………………………….………iii

List of Acronyms…………………………………………………….…………...iv

Table of Contents……………………………………………………………………….v

Introduction:
The Question of 'Identity' and Elusiveness of a European Identity…………………..….1

Chapter 1
Solving The German Problem: American and European Attempts at European Cooperation Post-Second World War – 1945-1950………………………………..…..17

Chapter 2:
The German Problem Solved: NATO, the European Defence Community, the Western European Union and the Grassroots of a European Defence Identity, 1948-1955…..…47

Chapter 3
From a European-NATO Approach to a European Only Approach: Attempts to Reinvigorate a European Defence Identity – 1959 to 1977……………………..……77

Chapter 4
The Great Shift: A European Defence Identity for Europeans, 1984-2004…………..109

Conclusion: The Future of a European Defence Identity……………………………..151

Bibliography…………………………………………………………………………...161

Introduction: The Question of 'Identity' and Elusiveness of a European Identity

In July 1994, German soldiers marched down the Champs-Élysées for the first time since 1944. Far from serving as a reminder of Germany's victory over France in 1940, the German troops were part of a joint European force — Eurocorps — that was invited to participate in the events of Bastille Day, France's national day of celebration. German soldiers marching on the Champs-Élysées in 1994 represented both Franco-German reconciliation and European military integration. From the beginning of the 1950s, following the political divisions in the aftermath of the Second World War, until the creation of EU Battlegroups in the early 2000s, military integration had taken place within Europe. However, not all academics agree about the degree or significance of European integration in military matters.

There is also a larger debate surrounding the question of a European defence identity. Currently this question is discussed in relation to several formal European initiatives and programs, including the European Security Defence Identity (ESDI), intended to define a specifically European identity within NATO; the European Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), a policy structure of the European Union; and the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), which functions within the CFSP framework. Yet can the question of European defence identity be traced back further? This idea of tracing European defence identity back before ESDI seems to contradict key NATO releases suggesting that an ESDI still had not been established by 1994.[1] It also seems to contradict the European Union itself,

[1] "Development of the European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI) Within NATO" NATO Press Release, May 29, 2013. http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/1999/9904-wsh/pres-eng/05esdi.pdf

which held a colloquium between May 4 and May 6 1998, in which one of the topics of discussion was about promoting an ESDI.[2]

Nevertheless, historians prefer to take a longer, more contextual view of events, and this is the approach that will be taken in this thesis. In fact it is possible to trace the foundations of a European defence identity back to the 1950s, to efforts to establish a European Defence Community (EDC), and to the failure of these efforts, which demonstrated the need for appropriate foundations of a common identity to exist before an integrated army could be formed. The history of the growth of a European defence identity continues throughout the 1960s and 1970s, within the context of the general path and progress of European integration. The general path of European integration led a growing number of contemporary observers and European strategists to see a need for greater defence cooperation, integration, and indeed for a more unified approach to defence matters in Europe. And by the late 1980s and early 1990s, these ideas were taking root and were leading to growing material signs of an emergent European defence identity.

Scholars dispute the start of a European defence identity. Many authors, such as Jolyon Howorth, focus solely on the most recent decades (since the 1990s) and the first 'official' attempts as establishing an EDSI.[3] Others, such as Ralph Dietl, take the story back somewhat further, although not far enough to encompass the efforts in the 1950s to establish a European Defence Community.[4] And none of the authors looks very closely (or theoretically) at the process through which a European defence identity either could or did form

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[2] Assembly of Western European Union, *The European security and defence identity Colloquy – Madrid, 4-6 May 1998* (Paris: Office of the Clerk of the Assembly of WEU, 1998), 14.
[3] Jolyon Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union* (Hampshire: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2007), 13.
[4] Ralph Dietl, "The US, Western Europe and European Defence Identity," In *Europe, Cold War and Coexistence, 1953-65*, ed. Wilfred Loth. (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2004), 130.

So how does identity actually form? Is the formation of identity a 'top-down' process where society's leaders create an identity that people follow, or is it a 'bottom-up' process where identity is pieced together and negotiated collectively through the experiences of many people? With reference to a European military identity, is a soldier told they are European first, or do they feel European first?

This thesis will explore the historical path of (West) European military cooperation and integration since the Second World War, in order to pinpoint the foundations needed for a European defence identity to form, as well as to understand the historical process by which these changes occurred. It will look at the original motivations to establish a "European army" in the 1950s, and it will trace the progression of military integration initiatives up to the first decade of the 21st century, when the idea of a European army began to be realized in a practical form with the establishment of EU Battlegroups, intended to serve as rapid reaction forces for the European Union. It will also explore the development of the formal symbolism attached to the European military and its role in promoting a European military identity. The time frame covered in this study extends from the first debates over the 'German problem' in 1946 until 2004 when the first EU Battlegroups became operational.

This study draws upon cultural theories of identity to help understand the establishment of the foundations for a European defence identity. It will be argued that the European Union did not simply start creating a defence identity in the 1990s, when the term "European defence identity" became part of official discourse. Rather, it will be argued, Europeans were, sometimes inadvertently, slowly creating a defence identity with the progress they made toward the European Union itself. That is, the growth of a European defence identity was linked in important ways to the broader path of European integration. At the same time, it will also be shown that the growth of a pan-European defence identity

was linked more specifically with the process of Franco-German rapprochement and with French and German efforts to promote greater military cooperation between themselves. These Franco-Germanic efforts served as a 'vehicle' for a European defence identity to advance.

The thesis is organized into four chapters. Chapter one explores the post-Second World War origins of European military integration, focusing on the solution to the German problem and how it led, on one side, toward greater American involvement in European affairs, while on the other side contributed toward the first major step in European integration. Chapter two will analyze the three main efforts at building defence organizations in Western Europe in the 1950s, specifically focusing on European reliance on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), European rejection of the European Defence Community, and it final acceptance of the Western European Union. Chapter three will examine the initial French separation from NATO and French efforts to create an independent European political, and eventual military, union among Western European nations. Chapter four will show how the foundations, established throughout chapters one to three, helped to prepare the European Union for more extensive military integration that occurred from the mid-1980s to the first decade of the 21st century. In order to position the historical narrative theoretically and historiographically, the remainder of this chapter examines theories of identity formation and briefly reviews the historiography related to European military and defence integration in the post-WWII era.

The Elusiveness of 'Identity': Where does Identity Come From?

Identity, as James Coté and Charles Levine explain, can have many different manifestations, but these primarily fall into three types: social identity (where a person fits in

society), personal identity (personal behaviours and attitudes of the individual), and the ego identity (the sense of who someone is and where that person is going in life).[5] Parts of Coté's and Levine's arguments coincide with arguments put forward by Michael Billig. Billig argues that identity is not a 'thing,' in that it does not exist in the real world. Instead, Billig proposes that identity is a form of shorthand that people use to express themselves and the communities they live in, such as the nationalism/patriotism that people express in identifying themselves as an individual and as a member of a specific national community.[6] These two theories help to explain the idea that identity is a way of connecting to something or showing who we are. But where and how does identity begin to form?

One possibility, as explained by Ted Hopf, stems from the theory of language. Hopf explains that the formation of a common identity begins at home where children are socialized through language.[7] Yet, both Jeffrey Checkel and Peter Katzenstein posit that "identity construction often begets a process of 'othering'," rather than producing a set of complementary or mutually compatible nested identities.[8] Billig made a similar point when he used Michael Hogg and Dominic Abram's ideas to understand 'in' and 'out' groups. 'In' groups, according to Hogg and Abrams, are groups of people who associate with one another due to one or more commonalities. Examples of such groupings include national groups, such as Italians and Germans, religious groups, such as Buddhists and Muslims, or gender groups and university faculty groups.[9] Thus, these groups may form around culture, lifestyle,

[5] Personal identity can be summed up by the social interactions with others. This is different from ego identity which is the personality of a person. - James E. Coté and Charles G. Levine, *Identity Formation, Agency and Culture: A social Psychological Synthesis* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2002), 121.
[6] Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Centre for European Reform, 1999), 60.
[7] Jeffrey T. Checkel and Peter J. Katzenstein, "The politicization of European Identities," In *European Identity*, Ed. Jeffrey Checkel and Peter Katzenstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 8.
[8] Ibid. 8.
[9] Billig, 67.

profession, or interests. ‘Out’ groups, on the other hand, are described as distinctive from those within an ‘in’ group. These distinctions are in some respects the opposite of the characteristics that distinguish the ‘in’ group. To Hogg and Abrams, though, the differences between groups of people are less important than their psychological similarities. Although these theories provide ideas about what forms a “group” or identity, the question of how two identities can be similar, yet simultaneously different, remains. More importantly, what is / are the distinguishing features of identities? What makes identities different from each other?

Benedict Anderson explores some of these questions in his work, *Imagined Communities*, by defining a nation as an imagined political community. Anderson explains that communities are imagined because the residents of even the smallest nations in the world can never all meet one another, yet each individual of the nation perceives the commonalities that unite them as a group.[10] In this regard, identity is first of all in the imagination. Yet, how do people identify with this “imagined community”? To Clifford Geertz, the answer is simple: culture is what allows people to identify with one another and express meaning.[11] But if this is true, is culture also imagined or is it concrete? Before exploring the notion of culture and identity more in depth, it is important to consider the geographical dimension of this question – that of borders and their potential for creating identity. Anderson explains that “the nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic,

[10] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 6.
[11] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1973), 27.

boundaries, beyond which lie other nations."[12] Thus, borders play a defining role in determining identity and culture.

Hastings Donnan and Thomas Wilson argue that identities emerge from attempts by the state to define specific borders. Identities can also form as a result of state efforts to define and control a nation's people.[13] These two authors suggest that borders are 'liminal zones' where residents, wayfarers, and the state within that zone contest the roles and the nature of the zone. As such, these borders and the people living along them have identities that are constantly shifting due to the nature of the zone in which they live.[14]

Similar arguments tie identity and territory together. Mabel Berezin explains that identity is linked to territory by way of emotion. She refers to the "emotional dimensions of territory," and she finds that "parsing identity from various angles suggests that emotion is its underspecified core."[15] Thus, identities partly grow out of the specific territory that one lives in and within which one feels a sense of familiarity, emotional comfort, and belonging. This theory can also be linked back to both Donnan's and Wilson's arguments about borders, and also to Hopf's argument about language and Billig's argument about 'in' and 'out' groups, because national borders have come to define language boundaries and citizenship (official belonging) as well as geographical boundaries. Berezin's argument also explores an additional facet of identity: the existence of a person feeling multiple identities within one region. Berezin explains that "identity has dualities that yield different types of analytical questions. Identity is noun and verb, singular and plural […] who am I becomes who are

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[12] Ibid. 27.
[13] Hastings Donnan and Thomas Wilson, *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1999), 64.
[14] Ibid. 64.
[15] Mabel Berezin, "Territory, Emotion, and Identity," in *Europe Without Borders: Re-Mapping Territory, Citizenship and Identity in a Transnational Age,* eds. Mabel Berezin and Martin Schain (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003), 11.

we?"[16] Although Berezin begins to explore this idea, she does not do so in depth, leading to further questions.

Both plural identities and hybridity of identities are seen along borders, but also in other cases where a citizen or people have left one boundary for another. An example of this is the identity of French Canadians who still associate with French culture and language, but now live within the Canadian borders and also associate with Canadian culture, thus creating a distinctive 'Québécois' culture. Other examples of plural identities use Billig's arguments of belonging to different identity groups, where a person can be an Italian citizen, but also a Milanese who is Christian, part of the Faculty of Social Science, and a female who associates herself with the A.C. Milan soccer club.[17] In this example, the individual displays multiple identities through various institutions, thus suggesting that multiple identities can form within a single individual. Billig explains that the differences between 'out' groups rather than the similarities of 'in' groups is what is important when studying social identity theory. His group identity argument explains a portion of the identities presented in the previous case. In addition, Anderson's argument of imagined communities and imagined identities helps to explain how some of the other types of identity form, namely the association to one's profession and sports interests.

While exploring the dualities of identity, one can use the notion of borders to help understand how identities are created and distinguished (kept separate). But, in this case, culture begins to creep into the fold as borders also serve as a dividing line between cultures,

[16] Ibid. 11.
[17] Alexander B. Murphey, "Rethinking the Concept of European Identity," in *Nested Identities: Nationalism, Territory and Scale,* eds., Guntram H. Herb and David H. Kaplan (Lanham; Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), 54.

a point agreed upon by many sociologists, psychologists, and historians. But how do culture and identity relate, and is culture an integral part of identity?

Culture and Identity: A Necessary Co-existence

The debate surrounding how to define culture has raged among sociologists, psychologists, and historians for decades.[18] Ultimately, authors like Rebecca Friedman and Markus Thiel explain that culture "represents probably one of the most ambiguous concepts in social science and the everyday, and it is similarly difficult to conceptualize."[19] This is because culture encompasses a wide range of behaviour, and has historical, institutional and other socio-political connotations, but it is still a social phenomenon.[20] These connotations, as Friedman and Thiel explain, have correlations to the establishment of identity among individuals, but also link back to the social phenomenon put forward by Anderson in his theory of 'imagined communities.' Other authors also support this idea. One such author is Anthony Cohen who explains that society is composed of individuals who become integrated through culture. This integration of individuals through culture then transforms the individuals and the common culture and determines their behaviour in many ways.[21]

Other theories seek to explain how and why cultures differ. Craig Calhoun explains that to understand the differences between cultures one must compare how internal cultures[22]

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[18] Ann Swindler, "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies," in *American Sociological Review* 51, no. 2 (1986): 273-286, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2095521 (accessed March 15, 2013), 273.
[19] Markus Thiel and Rebecca Friedman, "Culture and Narratives of Transnational Belonging," in *European Identity and Culture: Narratives of Transnational Belonging* ed. Rebecca Friedman and Markus Thiel (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), 3.
[20] Ibid. 3.
[21] Anthony P. Cohen, *Self-Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity* (Oxford: Routledge, 1994), 118.
[22] Internal cultures are cultures that are similar in style within a geographical area. To citizens with an internal culture, an external culture appears different in some regards, yet still coherent enough to call a culture.

are similar in style while external cultures are distinctly different.[23] Calhoun's argument reflects the notion of borders having an impact on the formation and distinction between people and is in line with Berezin's, Donnan's, and Wilson's argument on borders influencing identity, although Calhoun replaces identity with culture. However, are these two terms synonymous? Is culture what defines a person's identity, or is it but one part of what defines a person's identity?

In his book, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Geertz defines culture as a set of public symbols that people can use to express memory. Thus, these common symbols, much like Anderson's 'imagined community', help to integrate people on a common basis through these public symbols. Ann Swindler takes Geertz's argument further by explaining that "culture consists of such symbolic vehicles of meaning, including beliefs, rituals, practices, art forms and ceremonies, as well as informal cultural practices such as language, gossip, stories and rituals."[24] In addition, Swindler also helps identify what makes cultures different by explaining that "real cultures contain diverse, often conflicting symbols, rituals, stories and guides to action."[25] Swindler posits that a culture is not a unified system, but more like a "tool kit" where people select different pieces of the culture to use.[26] Swindler's theory is similar to Donnan's and Wilson's argument in that culture is based on shared symbols, and all social and political systems are structured and expressed through the complex relations of

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[23] Calhoun actually implies a territorial aspect to identity. When using the expression "internal culture", Calhoun is referring to the culture of a people in one specific area, whereas in contrast, when Calhoun uses the expression "external culture", he is referring to the culture of a people in a different area. The example that Calhoun uses is that of America and Japan. The stylistic similarities of American cars and clothing distinguish an internal culture, where the differences between these two styles between Japan and the United States distinguish a different, and thus an external culture.
Craig Calhoun, "The Virtues of Inconsistency: Identity and Plurality in the Conceptualization of Europe," in *Constructing Europe's Identity: The External Dimension* ed. Lars-Erik Cederman (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2001), 35.

[24] Swindler, "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies" in *American Sociological Review*. 273.

[25] Ibid. 277.

[26] Ibid. 277.

symbols and rituals.[27] To Donnan and Wilson, one of the most important ways for anthropologists to study ethnic and ritual identities is through the study of their symbols and rituals.[28] Thus, culture contains different symbols that help connect people to religious beliefs, cultural practices, or even politics, and symbols act something like pathways to bring individuals to common understandings, priorities, and allegiances. In this regard, the study of symbols can help to explain how culture helps to structure identity.

Pierre Bourdieu observes that individuals and groups express themselves and their national identities through their taste in the daily life. This taste, or these tastes, are an aesthetic choice, which creates a culture for that individual. Bourdieu explains that through one's acquired tastes, a person can express his or her identity, be it gender, class, nation or supranational identity.[29] In Bourdieu's theory, it is possible for people to connect to a supranational identity.

The theories surveyed here will help to guide the analysis and interpretation of empirical evidence pertinent to this thesis, relating to the emergence of a European military identity in the decades following the Second World War and up to the early years of the 21st century.

The Case for a European Supranational Identity: Culture, Identity, Politics, and Heritage

The concept of a European identity has existed for decades. Early forms of the idea can be seen through authors such as Richard Nikolaus von Coudenhove-Kalergi who wrote

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[27] Donnan and Wilson, *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State*, 65.
[28] Ibid. 65.
[29] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (New York; Routledge, 1984), 6.

in the 1920s about the need for Europe to unite under its common identity.[30] In more recent academic research, and following the formation of the European Union, authors have taken a different approach to the debate, asking whether or not a unified identity has actually formed.

Willfried Spohn posits that the debate over European identity can be broken down into three positions. The first position sees a European identity as a weak formation added onto the national identities of the different European countries. The second position is that the formation of a European identity necessarily involves a simultaneous process of deconstructing and then reconstructing national identities. This process would involve the decoupling of a European collective identity from the different collective identities of the nation-state. However, Spohn explains that from these two positions, a third position can be discerned: a mix of the different national and European identifications.[31] Although Spohn explains that all possibilities are plausible, the debate thus far has focused on the relationships between (fixed) national identities and the acceptance of some form of European Union identity. However, he explains that this focus neglects the two basic meanings of a European identity.[32] The first meaning is to have loyalty or attachment to European integration, while the second meaning is a cultural attachment of sorts to Europe.

Thus, to Spohn, there is more than a single definable European identity. There may be a European civilization identity in which people connect with the culture and civilization of Europe. Or there may be a European integration identity where people connect with the idea of an integrated Europe. Yet a third form of European identity is anchored within a national identity. This form of identity is characterized by a European identity that

[30] Richard Nikolaus von Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Pan Europa* (New York: A. A. Knopf., 1926). 21.
[31] Willfried Spohn, "National Identities and Collective Memory in an Enlarged Europe," in *Collective Memory and European Identity*, ed. Klaus Eder and Willfried Spohn (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), 2.
[32] Ibid. 3.

incorporates various national identities into a pan-European framework.[33] For example, a British citizen self-identifies with their home nation, Great Britain, but since Great Britain is a part of Europe, this citizen may also feel as though they are a European citizen as well as a British citizen. Spohn's three positions reflect many of the qualities seen within the debates surrounding the question of identity and the role that culture plays in identity formation.

In another approach to understanding European identity, Luigi Barzini describes how language plays an important role in Europe, thus tying into the idea that language is an avenue of identity formation. Barzini explains that young Europeans learn each other's languages, with many becoming bilingual or multilingual. Barzini further explains that many European families also raise bilingual children by speaking multiple languages at home, thus often making it difficult to determine what part of Europe these children come from.[34] Barzini's argument of language being a key building block in establishing, merging or tying identities together to create a European identity resonates with Ted Hopf and Clifford Geertz and, to a certain extent, Benedict Anderson.

Other arguments that address how a European identity has formed include works by authors like Neil Fligstein, Lars-Erik Cederman, John Borneman, Nick Fowler, and Mike Featherstone. Fligstein explains that the process of creating a European society involves people originally from different countries in Europe getting to know each other.[35] This argument ties in with Hastings Donnan and Thomas Wilson's argument that borders create an identity. This also ties into Tim Edensor's 'us and them' argument. In this regard, borders created the national identity of each European nation, which are distinguished from each

[33] Ibid. 4.
[34] Luigi Barzini, *The Europeans* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983), 27-28.
[35] Niel Fligstein, *Euroclash: The EU, European Identity and the Future of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 2.

other, forming the 'us and them' dynamic of identities. But, after the creation of the EU began, new borders were created, which led to a new identity – the European Union identity. This idea is supported by Cederman who explains that a European identity forms through its emerging boundaries and in relation to the way people within national boundaries of EU states interact with the external boundary of the European Union.[36]

John Borneman and Nick Fowler's argue that European identity is characterized by the creation of symbols that Europeans identify with. These include the European currency (Euro), the flag, newspapers, television stations, and even universities. Larger examples include the European parliament and the European court of law.[37] This idea of creating symbols is something agreed upon by many, including Clifford Geertz, as discussed earlier, but also Cris Shore and Matthias Kaelberer.[38]

Historiography: Toward the European Army

This study will explore the different European Community / European Union developments and institutions that have contributed over time (specifically from the late 1940s to the first decade of the 21st century) to the development of European military integration and the formation of a European defence identity. Applying theories of culture and identity formation, this thesis demonstrates that even failed European institutions contributed to identity formation through their ability to encourage goals and ideas directed toward military integration and the growth of a common outlook and common policies on defence matters. In addition, this study demonstrates the advantage of adopting a hybrid

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[36] Lars-Erik Cederman, "Political Boundaries and Identity Trade-offs,"iIn *Constructing Europe's Identity: The External Dimensions*, ed. Lars-Erik Cederman (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, inc., 2001), 2.
[37] John Borneman and Nick Fowler, "Europeanization," in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 26: 487-514. (1997), 487-488
[38] Matthias Kaelberer, "The Euro and European Identity: Symbols, power and the Politics of European Monetary Union," in *Review of International Studies*, vol. 30: 161-178 (2004), 1.

approach that considers both "top-down" and "bottom-up" processes of identity formation. The top-down approach looks at the development of formal programs, policies, and institutions, and well as the elaboration of identity symbols, all of which assisted the growth of a common European defence identity. The bottom-up approach, which was in many ways more difficult to track, looks at public responses to projects in European military integration (e.g. as made evident by political cartoons). It also takes stock of actions by "rank and file" soldiers that contributed to the formation of a common European defence identity. And it pays attention to historical situations that promoted feelings of a common European defence identity, such as the elimination of internal borders within the EU.

Many studies have looked at European defence institutions as well as European defence cooperation.[39] However, none of these studies have examined European defence identity formation as a path of ideological and emotional change and commitment spanning decades, and as a *human* rather than just an institutional story. Some existing studies do

[39] For studies on initial forms of European defence cooperation see Michael Quinlan, *European Defence Cooperation: Asset or Threat to NATO?* (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Centre Press, 2001) and Trevor Taylor, *European Defence Cooperation* (London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1984).
For studies on the European Defence Community (EDC) see Kevin Ruane, *The Rise and Fall of the European Defence Community: Anglo-American Relations and the Crisis of European Defence, 1950-1955* (London: MacMillan Press LTD, 2000), Edward Fursdon, *The European Defence Community: A History* (London: MacMillan Press LTD, 1980) and Jasmine Aimaq, *For Europe or Empire?: French Colonial Ambitions and the European Army Plan* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1996).
For studies looking at the WEU, see G. Wyn Rees, *The Western European Union at the Crossroads: Between Trans-Atlantic Solidarity and European Integration* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998) and Ralph Dietl, "The US, Western Europe and European Defence Identity," In *Europe, Cold War and Coexistence, 1953-65*, ed. Wilfred Loth. (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2004).
For studies on the Fouchet Plan, see Jeffrey Vanke, "An Impossible Union: Dutch Objections to the Fouchet Plan, 1959-1962," in *Cold War History* 2, no 1 (2001): 95-112, http://journals1.scholarsportal.info.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/tmp/12838739957955493227.pdf (Accessed July 7, 2013), Miriam Camps, "The Six and Political Union," in *The World Today* 20, no 11 (1964): 473-480, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40393558 (Accessed July 7, 2013), and Robert Bloes, *Le Plan Fouchet et le problème de l'Europe politique* (Bruges: Collège d'Europe, 1970).
For studies on the European Political Cooperation, see Simon Nuttal, *European Political Co-operation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
For studies on Franco-German Reconciliation, see Stephen Kocs, *Autonomy or Power? The Franco-German Relationship and Europe's Strategic Choices, 1955-1995* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1995).
For studies looking at Charles de Gaulle and his relations with European integration, see Frédéric Bozo, *Two Strategies for Europe: De Gaulle, the United States, and the Atlantic Alliance*, trans. Susan Emanuel (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001).

provide glimpses of how institutions could serve as foundations for identity formation, but they do not give enough detail about how or why. Existing studies also neglect to apply theories of identity formation to help analyze the emergence of a European defence identity. In addition, existing studies of European military integration and identity formation have not sufficiently tied these developments to the broader historical context of European integration and world affairs. The present study shows, however, that the growth of a European defence identity was consistently linked in important ways to broader political trends in European integration, to the evolution of European-American relations, to the Cold War, and to various international events and trends.

Several overviews of recent European Union developments relating to European defence identity questions exist, but these tend to be presentist, in the sense that they rarely look more than a decade back into the past. Moreover, their authors tend to consider only whether the developments they examine should be counted as "successes" or a "failures." These studies are not fundamentally concerned with the issue of how, when, and to what extent a European defence identity emerged in a larger historical sense. And because they largely ignore earlier historical developments, they do not show how recent events and formal policies grew out of earlier developments.[40] In short, the distinctive approach of this thesis, compared with existing studies of European military integration, is that it places the study of European defence identity into a broad, post-war historical context that is informed by theories of identity formation.

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[40] For studies on ESDI, see Jolyon Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union* (Hampshire: Palgrace-MacMillan, 2007) and Simon Duke, *The Elusive Quest for European Security: From EDC to CFSP* (Oxford: St. Anthony's College, 2000).
For studies on ESDP, see Seth Jones, *The Rise of European Security Cooperation*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), Jolyon Howorth and John T.S. Keller, "The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy," in *Defending Europe: The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy* ed. Jolyon Howorth and John T.S. Keeler (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2003) and Robert Hunter, *The European Security and Defense Policy: NATO's Companion – or Competitor?* (Santa Monica: Rand, 2002).

Chapter 1
Solving The German Problem: American and European Attempts at European Cooperation Post-Second World War – 1945-1950

This chapter analyzes the roots of military cooperation in Western Europe following the Second World War, from 1945 to the early 1950s. It focuses on the challenges posed by a knot of problems that Europe faced in the immediate postwar period: problems of reconstruction; the emerging Cold War and European security; the problem of how to handle Germany in the wake of its defeat; and the problem of the shifting balance of power between Europe and the United States. In many ways, this difficult period was hardly fertile ground for broad-based European military cooperation, let alone for the growth of a European military identity, but it must be examined here in some detail because it helps to understand not only how and why military cooperation *did* eventually occur, but also why the path toward European military integration was so fraught with difficulty compared to other integration efforts.

The End of the Second World War, the Monnet Plan, and German Destruction

Following the conclusion of the Potsdam Conference (July 1945) and the Moscow Conference (December 1945), politicians in France turned to reconstructing both their economy and infrastructure. At the end of 1945, the task of creating a reconstruction and modernization plan fell to Jean Monnet, a French civil servant. In the preliminary outline, Monnet set out to address two of France's main problems. The first was that "France had to catch up with the technological revolution that had begun to leave her behind even before the war."[1] Monnet deemed this as one of the most important challenges for French recovery

[1] Jean Monnet, *Memoirs*, trans. Richard Mayne (Garden City: Double Day & Company, Inc., 1978), 237.

since he believed that the root problem stemmed from France's failure to sufficiently recover following the First World War. The second problem that Monnet addressed was France's production. Monnet believed that France needed to "produce more at lower prices in order to pay for the raw materials that were vital for her export industry."[2] Finally, Monnet explained that no time could be wasted in revitalizing the French economy, and he noted that American loans were desperately needed to help kick-start his plan.[3]

Although Monnet rarely mentioned the Saar region[4] in the context of the Monnet Plan in his memoirs, he did mention the problems concerning the Saar in other sections of his memoirs. Monnet's discussion of the Saar is interesting in that he not only highlighted the Saar's importance to France and to the Monnet plan, but he also predicted that French policies in the Saar would ultimately fail because of short-sightedness. From the beginning, Monnet knew that coal was a crucial asset for economic revitalization—France needed access to the coal of the Saar and Ruhr[5] regions of Germany. In 1946, France took control of the Saar, separated it from Germany, and incorporated it into the French economy. Gilbert Grandval, the French High Commissioner, was appointed governor of the Saar in 1946 and Alain Poher was appointed as France's representative on the International Ruhr Authority in 1949.[6]

The idea of French control over German coal resonated in different aspects of French policy, but was most importantly seen through the "French Thesis." In August 1945, Charles

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[2] Ibid. 237.
[3] Ibid. 238.
[4] The Saar region was a part of Germany that was occupied by France and separated into the Saar Protectorate under French control. The problem was that the people of the Saar region were of German decent, but France wanted to annex the Saar region because of coal production, which caused contention between Germany and France.
[5] The Ruhr was detached from Germany and established as an international entity on 28 April 1949.
[6] Monnet, *Memoirs*, 283.

de Gaulle informed US President Harry S. Truman of his intentions regarding both the future of Germany and the French occupation zone in Germany. De Gaulle stated that

> in three invasions in seventy years the Germans had robbed France of men, property, and national unity. France therefore had the right and the duty to demand guarantees for its own security. These were: the separation of the Rhineland from the future German state or states, internationalization of the Ruhr, the economic fusion of the Saar with France and the destruction of centralized power in Germany.[7]

De Gaulle's policy to accomplish these aims became known as the French Thesis, whereby France vetoed any attempt to give Germany any kind of centralized power in 1945 and again in 1946. The French Thesis would also place further limitations on Germany in order to keep the nation in a weakened state. Namely, de Gaulle wanted a buffer zone on the German side of the Rhine River in the event that German aggression was ever revived. However, de Gaulle's ideas were never well received among the other Allied powers, which led to frustration within France, and culminated in the French resolving not to enact any decisions made by the Allied powers if they were not consulted first. The most important decision that France did not enact was Clause 8(iv) of the Potsdam agreement, which provided for some centralized German administrative departments, namely finance, transport, communications, foreign trade, and industry.[8]

Because of the French Thesis, there was no immediate chance of military cooperation with Germany following the end of the Second World War. Germany was not allowed to have any military resources or military institutions that could be used as a basis for military cooperation, including any type of police force.[9] In addition, fears among the Allied powers

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[7] Quoting Charles de Gaulle from Roy Willis, *France, Germany and the New Europe, 1945-1967* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 15.
[8] Ibid. 16.
[9] Robert McGeehan, *The German Rearmament Question: American Diplomacy and European Defence After World War II* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 50.

prevented any attempt at military cooperation with Germany, highlighted not only by French policy regarding the French occupation zone, but also by policies of Great Britain, the United States, and to some extent, the Soviet Union.

From German Destruction to German Isolation: The Fear of Returning German Militarism

Because of the fear of a revival of German aggression, several European countries signed treaties with each other in the event that another war with Germany would break out. An early example was the Treaty of Dunkirk signed in March 1947.[10] The basics of the Dunkirk Treaty were simple: "an obligations [*sic*] between the United Kingdom and France to help each other if they became again involved in hostilities with Germany either in consequence of armed attack […] or as a result of agreed action taken against Germany."[11] Historians have sometimes ignored this treaty since it can be viewed as a narrow, backward-looking post-war alliance that soon became irrelevant to the changing dynamics of the European political landscape. However, the Dunkirk Treaty is relevant to the history of European military integration because it led to the more broadly based Treaty of Brussels, which in turn became the foundation for an enduring and encompassing institutional system of European military cooperation.

The Treaty of Brussels was signed in 1948 and the signatory nations included France, the United Kingdom, Luxembourg, Belgium, and the Netherlands, thus including more countries in the mutual defence pact that already existed between France and the United Kingdom. The Treaty of Brussels also addressed economic, social, and cultural

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[10] Sir W. Eric Beckett, *The North Atlantic Treaty, The Brussels Treaty and the Charter of the United Nations.* (London: Stevens and Sons Limited, 1950), 18.
[11] Ibid. 19.

collaboration, although it, like the Dunkirk Treaty, was still heavily focused on the fear of renewed German aggression. This was highlighted by Resolution Six: "To take such steps as may be held to be necessary in the event of a renewal by Germany of a policy of aggression."[12] The Treaty also consisted of several economic clauses aimed at aiding post-war Europe. These included organizing each member's economic interests so that they did not conflict with another signatory's economic interests and organizing the supply and demand system to ensure that nations would not compete against each other to sell goods. The contents of these two treaties show an interest in achieving at least limited forms of European cultural, economic, and social integration through greater cooperation and economic coordination. The Treaty of Brussels, in particular, reveals not only the intent to fuel European recovery, but also to begin European integration on a larger scale.[13]

While the Treaty of Brussels included provisions for cultural, economic, and social integration, citing the "necessity of uniting," the need to "coordinate their economic activities to produce the best possible results," and the aim of making "every effort in common to lead their peoples toward a better understanding . . . of their common civilization," it also contained clauses pertaining to military cooperation. Articles Four and Five provided mutually assured defence to all European nations that signed the treaty. Article Four stated that "If any of the High Contracting Parties should be the object of an armed attack in Europe, the other High Contracting Parties will, in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, afford the Party so attacked all the military and other aid and assistance in their power [in the form of personnel, equipment or

[12] "'The Brussels Treaty': Treaty of Economic, Social and Cultural Collaboration and Collective Self-Defence". 17 Mar. 1948. NATO ebookshop. January 12, 2013. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_17072.htm. Resolution 6
[13] Ibid. Article 1

aid]."[14] In many ways, Article Four of the Treaty of Brussels resembled clauses from earlier treaties, notably the Anglo-Russian Entente of 1907, as well as similar treaties that predated the Second World War. Further, Article Five of the Treaty of Brussels stated that any actions taken as a reaction to Article Four should be submitted to the United Nations Security Council and, once submitted, any actions taken by the undersigning countries must cease once the Security Council had taken the necessary actions to restore peace.[15] The Treaty of Brussels established cooperative defence as a key element in post-war Europe. Since the Brussels Treaty signatories had established a collective defence for their own nations, when they negotiated for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), there was a push to have collective defence (Article V) as a part of the NATO Treaty.

But just how effective was the Brussels Treaty initially? The signatories intended to establish a permanent military committee, which, in turn, would establish defence plans and coordinate military activities within Europe.[16] In particular, articles Four and Five of the Treaty of Brussels demonstrated an increased willingness for military cooperation among Western European nations. Nevertheless, the Treaty of Brussels was still aimed at the fear of renewed German aggression and both Italy and Germany were excluded from the treaty. As a result, military cooperation among European nations could not reach its full potential within this treaty's framework, and historians such as Michael Quinlan have concluded that the Brussels Treaty did not accomplish anything of note.[17]

Quinlan explains that multiple events occurred, including the Communist Coup in Prague in February, 1948, the Soviet Berlin Blockade, in June, 1948, and the formation of

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[14] Ibid. Article 4
[15] Ibid. Article 5
[16] Michael Quinlan, *European Defence Cooperation: Asset or Threat to NATO?* (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Centre Press, 2001), 1.
[17] Ibid. 1.

NATO in April, 1949, which led to a change of focus among the member states within the Brussels Treaty. After the Berlin Blockade ended in May 1949, almost a full year after it first went into effect, signatory members of the Brussels Treaty changed their focus toward the newly created, multinational organization, NATO. This was done with the goal of stopping the "perceived menace" of communism and the Soviet Union. Jean Monnet argued that the need for a shift in focus was already evident at the Moscow Four-Power Conference, in April of 1947: "When [George] Marshall returned to Washington, he knew that for a long time there would be no further genuine dialogue with Stalin's Russia. The 'cold war', as it was soon to be known, had begun."[18] With European fears turning from German aggression to Soviet expansion, many began to accept the view that, despite bitter opposition from France, Germany must be allowed to return to European political and military affairs, albeit not without checks and balances. As Soviet aggression increased, Europe increasingly turned to the United States for support, partially so that Germany would not be remilitarized.[19] And this growing European reliance on economic support and military protection from the United States allowed the US to exert increasing influence in European affairs—whether military, economic, political or cultural.

Ever-changing European Affairs: The Marshall Plan and Positive American Influence in European Affairs

American influence on European affairs is an important facet of the history of European military integration because it played a vital part in establishing a unified front

[18] Monnet, *Memoirs*, 265.
[19] Kevin Ruane, *The Rise and Fall of the European Defence Community: Anglo-American Relations and the Crisis of European Defence, 1950-1955* (London: MacMillan Press LTD, 2000), 2.

during the Cold War, and eventually helped to establish military cooperation among Western European states.

America began considering the need to reorganize European affairs in the midst of the Second World War. In 1942 the US State Department drew up possible post-war plans for Europe, later knows as the Harley Notter State Department report.[20] One of these plans included the post-war economic unification of all European countries west of the Soviet Union.[21] The State Department concluded that after Nazi domination, national economic institutions, economic controls, and private ownership within conquered European states had changed significantly to the extent that an administrative economic unification had been achieved.[22] The plan explained that the decision to "restore pre-war institutional structures? [could not] be taken for granted without careful examination of other possibilities."[23] The State Department report did not describe any form of military cooperation between European countries, however. Instead, State Department papers show the extent to which the United States was planning to influence economic and political affairs within Europe after the war.

Although the Harley Notter report did not directly influence European affairs at the time, the military and economic power of the United States (relative to Europe's battered nations) insured that American views and priorities strongly shaped policy and debate in Europe in the postwar years. A notable instance was the European Recovery Program (ERP), or the Marshall Plan, and Europe's need to continue receiving financial aid from the United States following the conclusion of the war. The nature and extent of its influence can be seen in relation to France's economic recovery and its establishment and continuation of the

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[20] "Post-War Economic Unification of Europe," E Document 36, 19 November 1942, NARA 2, RG 59, Entry 498, Records of Harley Notter, 1939-45, Box 81.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.

Monnet Plan. When reading Jean Monnet's memoirs and more specifically, the sections that cover France's dire economic situation in 1947, it becomes clear why the US became involved, not only in France, but also in the economic recovery of Europe. The European economy was faltering due to both a lack of financial aid and because of the harsh winter Europeans experienced in 1946-1947. Supply shortages caused strain on Plan. For example, the Blum-Byrnes agreements[24] required France to buy expensive American wheat to replace their own lost crops. Monnet had anticipated the value of this wheat to be 30 million, but France paid the US a total of 200 million.[25] In addition, France was also forced to buy coal from the United States at a time when American coal prices had drastically increased.[26]

France was not the only nation facing economic hardships at the start of 1947. Britain too was forced to cut back, causing the United States to get involved. In February 1947, Britain ceased providing aid to Greece and Turkey, thus leaving these areas vulnerable to Soviet influence.[27] In response to this vacuum left by Britain, in March 1947, the United States Congress enacted the Truman Doctrine to help provide military and economic aid to the governments of both Greece and Turkey.[28] The main reason for the Truman Doctrine was to ensure that neither Greece nor Turkey fell within the Soviet sphere of influence. By consequence, the Truman Doctrine had the added effect of pushing the United States to get further involved in the region, as well as other international affairs.

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[24] In May 1946, the Blum-Byrnes Agreements were reached. The goal of the agreements was for the United States to help France eliminate its debt to the United States in exchange for opening French markets to American products. One of the most important products that the United States pushed to be included in the Blum-Byrnes Agreements was American made movies.

[25] Monnet explains this as costing 200 million dollars. However, he does not confirm whether this is U.S dollars or Francs as he earlier refers to "France's dollar resources", but was also receiving American aid in U.S. dollars.

[26] Monnet, *Memoirs,* 264.

[27] Without financial aid flowing to Greece and Turkey, many in the United States feared that both nations would be too weak to forgo a Communist takeover

[28] Monnet, *Memoirs,* 264.

The reasoning for the European Recovery Program was clearly linked to the Truman doctrine and shift to Cold War. A year earlier, in February 1946, George Kennan, American diplomat in Moscow, had sent his famous "Long Telegram" to Washington, which acted as one of the signals to the start of the Cold War. The European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan) was part of U.S. Cold War policy, while at the same time being a "program designed to place Europe on its feet economically,"[29] and thus keep the European reconstruction effort in line with predictions. The Marshall Plan embodied latent motives in the form of provisions for American diplomatic and commercial influence, but it did positively impact economic recovery in Europe.

American Aid With Strings Attached: The Marshall Plan, London Conference and Changing Views Within France

One of the underlying motives of the Marshall Plan was the American desire for some form of integration within Europe. Historian Michael Hogan outlined this by expressing his views that the United States looked for ways of "liberalizing intra-European Trade, making currencies convertible, and using central institutions to coordinate national policies. […] Together with supranational institutions of coordination and control, economic integration would also help to build a viable balance of power among the states of Western Europe and a workable correlation of forces on the Continent."[30] Thus, with the Marshall Plan, the United States hoped to push forward its own agenda of European integration as it was seen as both an economic and strategic advantage.[31]

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[29] George C. Marshall, "The World Situation is Very Serious," in *Pioneers of European Integration and Peace 1945-1963: A Brief History with Documents* Sherrill Brown Wells (New York: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2007), 64.
[30] Michael Hogan, *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain, and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-1952* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 54.
[31] Ibid.

Although the Marshall Plan aid to Europe was a sorely needed source of funds to help with European recovery, the ulterior motives attached to the economic aid package cannot be ignored. The Prime Minister of France, Georges Bidault, expressed one of the most important of these motives on July 9 1947. In a meeting with the Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs to the United States, William Clayton, Bidault expressed the French suspicion that the Marshall Plan was being proposed in a way so as to block French objections to German economic recovery.[32] Jean Monnet had presented the idea to Bidault who, along with other French officials, became suspicious following the implementation of the Marshall Plan.[33]

It is a far stretch to interpret the Marshall Plan as merely a US strategy to block French interests, but French suspicions were not entirely unwarranted, as shown by the German bizone[34] debates. Although the formation of the bizone predated the implementation of the Marshall Plan, the Marshall Plan ultimately influenced France's position on this development. American and British attempts to bring their respective German occupation zones into a bi-zonal entity represented the first of many shifts in Western thinking regarding solutions to the German Problem. Although the Economic Council of the Bizone was not officially created until May 29 1947, the ideological shift began to take hold in September 1946 with US Secretary of State James F. Byrnes' Stuttgart speech.[35] With the zonal merger, a German centralized government started to take root, notably with the creation of a German

[32] Since the end of the Second World War, France had attempted to keep Germany as weak as possibly. This was illustrated earlier by France's refusal to allow any form of centralized power within Germany, and later within their portion of Germany. The idea behind this was to prevent any return of Germany militarism.
[33] William Hitchcock, *France Restored: Cold War Diplomacy and the Quest for Leadership in Europe, 1944-1954* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 75.
[34] The term bizone refers to the merged American and British occupation zones of Germany after the war, but before the merger of the French occupation zone with the bizone.
[35] Willis, *France, Germany and the New Europe, 1945-1967*, 19.

high court and a German upper house.[36] Moreover, with the formation of the Bizone council, German industry was allowed to increase and German coal mining was placed within the hands of German officials, which threatened not only French coal interests, but also the entire French Thesis.[37]

France had been receiving American aid following the end of the Second World War, but this preliminary aid had been set to end before the Marshall Plan came into effect. The first instalment of Marshall Plan aid reached France between October and December 1947, amounting to 337 million aid credits. A secondary, interim aid was received in January 1948, amounting to 284 million aid credits.[38] Finally, the Marshall Plan allotted France 989 million aid credits for the period of April 1948 to April 1949. The first receipt of aid corresponded with France's declaration on February 13 1948, that "the solution – and there is no other – is the integration of a peaceful Germany in a united Europe, a Europe where the Germans, feeling secure in their position, will have been able to get rid of the idea of dominating Europe."[39] Following this announcement, Bidault nevertheless attempted to pursue elements of the French Thesis, namely the "permanent occupation of the Rhenish provinces and the limitation of prohibition of certain particularly dangerous industries, an international regime for the Ruhr which would assure control of that essential region and an equitable distribution, by international decision, of the coal and coke it produces [*sic*]".[40] Although Bidault eventually received his demand for an internationalized Ruhr area[41] following the first London Conference (February 23 to March 9 1948), other elements of the French Thesis were never realized due to the influence of American aid. This was mainly because the

[36] The Länderrat
[37] Ibid.
[38] Willis, *France, Germany and the New Europe, 1945-1967*, 20
[39] Roy Willis, *The French in Germany: 1945-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962). 52.
[40] Ibid.
[41] The International Authority of the Ruhr

United States deflected the majority of French demands at the London Conference so that American desires to harmonize the differences between France and Germany would be achieved, and could create an effective counterbalance to the threat of the Soviet Union.[42]

The Marshall Plan, however, was not the only global policy that affected French policies; the Soviet Union also played a role in influencing France's foreign policy towards Germany. The Soviet Union's role is only important to note because it initially forced France toward the United States. Following the ratification of the Marshall Plan aid package on April 13 1948, France's position against a 'centralized German government' and the idea of 'trizonal fusion' radically shifted from one staunchly against, to one of acceptance. The first London Conference shifted international affairs toward a stronger divide between the West and the Soviet Union. On March 20, 1948, Vassily Sokolovsky, Marshall of the Soviet Union and head of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany, exited the Allied Control Council, which effectively broke down the wartime alliance. Within ten days, the Soviet Union implemented the Berlin Blockade. Historian Roy Willis explains that these two events, as well as the earlier Prague coup in February, overshadowed French demands for aspects of the French Thesis.[43] With the Soviet Union exerting pressure on Europe, France was forced to turn to the United States and the Marshall Plan. With France securely under American influence, the potential for American aid to influence French decisions significantly increased.

During the reconvention of the London Conference on April 20, 1948, France conceded and agreed to allow Germany to have some centralized government powers in exchange for two demands of their own. Despite the concessions, the French refused to allow

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[42] Hogan, *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain, and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-1952*, 62.
[43] Willis, *France, Germany and the New Europe*. 20.

Germany to have control over any military, defence, or, to a certain extent, policing of its territory.[44] The French demands were that the Ruhr had to be internationalized and the United States had to provide security guarantees to France.[45] The French concessions can be linked to the supply of Marshall Plan Aid as April 1948 was also the first month that France received its initial aid payment under the Marshall Plan. Carolyn Eisenberg explains that the prospect of receiving foreign aid from the United States influenced Western Europe's negotiations at the London Conference.[46] However, Eisenberg also argues that Western Europe was willing to disagree with the United States to the point that it became an influential factor in establishing the International Authority of the Ruhr (IAR), which was one of the French demands.[47] However, the negotiations to establish the IAR were troublesome from the start.

Willis outlined the problems for the Bizone portion of Germany that were created by the negotiations to establish the IAR. The military government had proclaimed Law No. 75: the reorganization of German coal, iron, and steel.[48] This law threatened French interests for coal and steel in the area, something that Monnet had explained as being of significant importance to the French reconstruction effort. This threat hampered the negotiations. Ultimately, the IAR came into existence on December 17 1948, and guaranteed the division of German coal, coke and steel between German consumers and industries, as well as

[44] The only way Germany could exercise any policing powers was through the occupying powers, thus France, Russia, the United States and Britain would continue to retain control over the police force.
[45] Willis, *France, Germany and the New Europe*. 21.
[46] Carolyn Eisenberg, *Drawing the Line: The American Decision to Divide Germany, 1944-1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 371.
[47] Ibid. 371.
[48] Willis, *France, Germany and the New Europe*, 21.

provisions to block discriminatory practices by German administrators for the export of coal to France.[49]

Throughout the London Conference (1947) negotiations, and specifically with regard to the International Authority of the Ruhr, France continued to receive payments through the Marshall Plan aid package, which led to French policy to slowly change. Essentially, France was forced to trade away portions of its French Thesis to gain concessions from the Americans. Yet these concessions were not guaranteed, as seen through the IAR and the promulgation of Law No. 75 in the Bizone. France continued to oppose the merger of the French occupation zone with the Bizone, but by 1949 Bidault had come to the realization that France had lost this battle during the London Conference. As Willis explained, Bidault "could do little but apologize for the Agreements [made at the London Conference]."[50] French demands decreased following the final decisions of the London Conference on December 28 1948. Once the negotiations to create the IAR were completed, France was again placed in a precarious position outlined by Bidault's realization that the French zone needed to be merged with the Bizone of Germany.[51]

France's change in policy was foreseen by the United States, which had drawn up an internal Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) document outlining France's position at the London Conference. This document explained that although France did not agree with the American or British stances, which were considered synonymous, it had been drawn towards the American sphere because of the resistance shown by the Soviet Union following the

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[49] Ibid. 22.
[50] Willis, *France, Germany and the New Europe*. 24.
[51] Ibid. 24.

Moscow Conference in 1945.[52] Yet, it also explained that the European Recovery Program and the elimination of communists from the French government were factors in France's eventual acceptance of American goals, including the merger of the French occupation zone with the Bizone. Ultimately, France merged its occupation zone with the bizone in April 1949, the month it received its last payment under the European Recovery Plan and the International Authority of the Ruhr was officially established.

Historian Alan Milward rejected the idea that the European Recovery Plan significantly impacted European affairs. Milward argued that the economic force of the United States was not actually a significant factor in European affairs. He used the examples of bilateral agreements between the United States and the different OEEC countries to secure Marshall Plan aid. Within these agreements, the United States wanted to secure more favourable trading rights for both Germany and Japan.[53] Despite this, the British government negotiated a watered down version of trading rights for Germany. Milward posited that the trading rights were reduced to the point that they were insignificant. This reduction in trading rights showed the still-pervasive fear of German resurgence.[54] Milward also used two other examples to demonstrate that the Marshall Plan did not significantly influence European affairs: namely the neutrality of Switzerland and the ability for Western European nations to set their own exchange rates. Milward, however, did not adequately consider how Marshall Plan aid may have impacted the French decision to merge their occupation zone with the bizone of Germany in April 1949. Although Milward's specific examples show the lack of influence of the Marshall Plan on certain aspects of European affairs, the same cannot be

[52] Woodrow J. Kuhns (ed), *Assessing the Soviet Threat: The Early Cold War Years* (Washington: Center for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, 1997). 152.
[53] Alan Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945-51* (London: Methuen & CO. LTD, 1984), 114.
[54] Ibid. 120.

asserted for the bizonal fusion between Britain, France, and the United States. Ultimately the US did not have full control over the use and impact of Marshall Plan aid, but its influence over policies affecting Germany—particularly through the bizonal fusion—was significant.[55]

Based on former West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's accounts, Germany welcomed the Marshall Plan with great enthusiasm; however, the Soviet Union was not as keen to allow the Germans to accept Marshall Plan aid. In Under-Secretary of State Dean Acheson's initial speech outlining aid to Europe, he made reference to helping rebuild "the great workshop of Europe," or in Adenauer's words, Germany.[56] Economic aid was welcomed in Germany since many believed that the West and the Soviet Union would never agree upon a common recovery program for Europe.[57] Secret talks between Vyacheslac Molotov and the foreign ministers for Britain and France occurred during the Foreign Ministers' Conference of Paris on June 27 1947. During these secret talks, the Soviet Union put forward a plan where nations received aid according to their needs, but this aid would also be based on the contributions each country gave to the defeat of Germany.[58] This was in part due to the Soviet's fear of American intrusion through the Marshall Plan in their Eastern European sphere of influence. Molotov also strongly opposed Germany's participation in the Marshall Plan. To Adenauer, financial aid to Germany was imperative during the post-war years. Like Germany, France was also in desperate need of the post-war financial assistance offered by the United States.[59]

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[55] Ibid. 115.
[56] Konrad Adenauer, *Memoirs 1945-53*, trans. Beate Ruhm von Oppen (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1978), 93.
[57] Ibid. 96-97.
[58] Ibid. 97.
[59] In fact, the United States offered financial aid to the Soviet Union with the introduction of the Marshall Plan. However, it was generally assumed that the Soviet Union would refuse this aid as a threat of the spread of Capitalism.

Monnet explained that France was in such dire financial circumstances while the Marshall Plan was being negotiated between the sixteen beneficiary countries[60] that additional interim aid had to be pushed forward by Truman before negotiations for Marshall Plan had finished.[61] The interim aid, signed into law by Truman, allowed France to import wheat, coal, oil, and cotton, all of which were in short supply within France. Thus, to Monnet as well as to French politicians, the Marshall Plan aid was a 'saving grace' for their plan of economic reconstruction. After the Marshall Plan aid took effect in France, Monnet outlined the significant improvement of the French economy.

Monnet viewed the Marshall Plan aid as instrumental for the survival of the Monnet Plan and French economic reconstruction. The Marshall Plan allowed for some supplies to be sent from the United States free of charge to help reconstruct the local French economy. The French benefited from this by selling a portion of the free supplies, and reinvesting the money into the domestic economy.[62] Yet assistance from the United States came with underlying motives and influences, including the desire to prevent Communist takeovers throughout Europe, but especially in France and Italy, whether through democratic elections or hostile coups.[63] And OEEC countries like France and Britain feared American reprisal if their decisions surrounding European post-war rebuilding did not coincide with American policy preferences.

A Final Solution to the German Problem? The American Demands for German Rearmament and the Preceding European Fears

[60] The sixteen countries that registered for Marshall Plan aid eventually set up the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC).
[61] Monnet, *Memoirs*, 268.
[62] Ibid. 269.
[63] Gerhard Wettig, *Stalin and the Cold War in Europe: The Emergence and Development of East-West Conflict, 1939-1953* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2008), 139.

Following the merger of the bizone with the French occupation zone in April 1949, Germany was allowed to form its own independent government: the Federal Republic of Germany, known informally as West Germany and with this change, the debate about rearmament was revived in the United States. In November 1949, Konrad Adenauer, who had recently been elected Chancellor of the newly unified West Germany, signed the Occupation Statute.[64] This Statute initially had a clause written into it that the federal government of Germany would maintain the demilitarization of its territory and prevent the restoration of armed forces of any kind.[65] Despite this, the idea of a rearmed Germany became prominent mainly within the United States due to the potential threat of Germany's proximity to the Soviet Union.[66]

By the time the Occupation Statute was signed, politicians in the United States had made suggestions for a 'limitedly armed' Germany. Former commander of the US forces in Germany Lucius Clay expressed this desire at a speech in Boston, stating: "a composite military force to include German infantry, might be formed for the defense of Western Europe."[67] This was one of the first suggestions that Germany should be allowed to have its own troops, although not direct control over them. Another suggestion came from Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma, during an interview. Thomas suggested that there should actually be several divisions of German troops defending Western Europe; however, he also suggested that in lieu of Germany manufacturing weapons and arming its own citizens, the

[64] This statue is also known as the Petersburg Agreement.
[65] C. G. D. Onslow, "West German Rearmament," *World Politics* 3 (1951): 450-485, accessed January 12, 2013,
http://www.jstor.org/stable/2008892, 450.
[66] Ibid. 451.
[67] Ibid. 451.

United States should manufacture and arm the German troops, allowing outside forces to control the extent to which the Germans had access to weapons.[68]

European governments, however, did not respond positively to the suggestion of a rearmed Germany. Pierre-Henri Teitgen, the French Minister of Information, was quoted as stating that "it must be realized that France could not remain part of a security system that encompassed German rearmament."[69] In Germany, Chancellor Adenauer stated that German citizens did not want to form a new army. This was highlighted during a public statement where he simply said: "I do not want a German army."[70] Thus, the question of rearmament was not a question of *when,* as the United States may have wished, but a question of *if* it might happen, since Europeans, including many Germans, simply did not want to see Germany rearmed. Historian T. W. Vigers outlines that many former German soldiers and students did not want to see Germany rearmed largely because of its militaristic history. However, the feelings among ex-soldiers were stronger because of the sacrifice these soldiers had been forced to make during the Second World War. Soldiers also did not want to suffer again under the "arrogant treatment they received at the hands of the German officer," making reference to the often harsh treatment of German soldiers under Nazi officers.[71] Vigers also includes newspaper polls from the *Frankfürter Zeitung*, which showed that sixty-seven percent of citizens polled were against German participation in defence.[72]

Yet there were those who felt that Germany could benefit from re-establishing its army. German intellectuals in particular played the devil's advocate in regards to the

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[68] Ibid. 451.
[69] Ibid. 452.
[70] Ibid. 452.
[71] T. W. Vigers, "The German People and Rearmament," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs1944-)* 27 (Apr. 1951): 151-155, accessed January 12, 2013, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2606138, 152-153.
[72] Ibid. 153.

question of rearmament. They were, however, also caught in a precarious position with this question. They pointed to the fact that Germany could not serve in defending Western Europe as a second rate power.[73] And as Vigers explains, intellectuals were willing to distribute what they saw as the 'necessary propaganda' in order to change German public sentiment from one of anti-rearmament to pro-rearmament. To do this, as Vigers highlights, German intellectuals demanded further rights for Germany and the German people, thus aligning German demands with American demands.[74]

Aversion to German rearmament remained high, especially among those in France and Germany, but quickly changed due to world events in 1950. On May 1 1950 the Chinese Civil War came to an end with a communist victory, and a short time later it was discovered that the Soviet Union had engaged in nuclear espionage, which had enabled it to manufacture nuclear weapons of its own. Because of these events Europe considered anew the idea of German rearmament, albeit hesitantly. Meanwhile, the United States was debating how best to defend Western Europe against the increasing communist threat.

The New York *Times* ran an article asking how the US planned to defend Western Europe, which now included Berlin, against an estimated one hundred and seventy five Soviet divisions without the help of German troops.[75] Despite this, according to historian C. G. D. Onslow, the question of German rearmament actually fell out of popular discussion in the United States by the early 1950s.[76] A likely reason for this was the fact that a new initiative was taking root to establish strong control measures over Germany. This initiative

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[73] The argument for further rights as proposed by these German intellectuals was known as *Gleichberechtigung*.
[74] Vigers, "The German People and Rearmament," 152.
[75] Ibid. 152.
[76] Ibid. 454.

was the European Coal and Steel Community first proposed in May 1950 by Robert Schuman, when he introduced the Schuman Plan.

Solution Unavailable: Attempts to Rectify the German Problem without Rearming Germany – The Establishment of the Schuman Plan and the European Coal and Steel Community

The European Coal and Steel Community, and subsequently the Schuman Plan, seemed to be the answer politicians in France had been looking for to keep Germany from rearming. As Gregory Treverton explained it, "if Germany could not be beaten, then better to join it in ways that offered hopes of making its capacity for aggression in Europe a thing of the past."[77] The root idea behind the European Coal and Steel Community was announced in what has come to be known as the Schuman Plan, on May 9 1950 in a radio address to the French people.[78] Yet, the true mastermind of the Schuman Plan was Jean Monnet, who developed the scheme while he was working toward the reconstruction of France. The Schuman Plan proposed to establish a common entity to manage the heavy industry and mining of not only France and Germany, but also of other willing European countries. The idea was to raise the common living standards in the participating countries, while concomitantly reducing the possibility of future wars in Europe. [79] The Schuman Plan soon grew into the idea of the European Coal and Steel Community, and planning for the community started within a few months.

[77] George Treverton, *America, Germany, and the Future of Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 103.
[78] John Gillingham, "From Morgenthau Plan to Schuman Plan: America and the Organization of Europe," in *American Policy and Reconstruction of West Germany, 1945-1955*, ed. Jeffry M. Diefendorf et al. (Washington: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1993), 132.
[79] Ibid. 132.

The European Coal and Steel Community was meant to bring about Franco-German reconciliation.[80] However, by managing the coal and steel capacities for France and Germany, France also hoped to curb any future German aggression. Treverton outlines how this was Monnet's main focus when he proposed the idea, as it solved both the economic problem of France requiring German coal and steel, and the political issue of weapons in Germany.[81] Nevertheless, there were many other potential benefits of the European Coal and Steel Community, namely solving the problem of Germany's place in Europe.[82] The belief was that by linking these two vital economic industries, the old rivalry between Germany and France would be buried.[83] Furthermore, the European Coal and Steel Community would also create a situation in which future wars between Germany and France were deemed to be nearly impossible.[84] This was done, as Herbert Tint explains, by providing a device to keep Germany divided, but also bypassing Soviet complaints that the West had sole control of setting the amount Germany could produce through its industry.[85]

Each nation had its own motive for wanting the European Coal and Steel Community to succeed. As previously mentioned, France was seeking the integration of coal and steel on the grounds that it could potentially solve the problem of future wars in Europe. However, managers of the French coal and steel industry were generally against the plan, believing that nations integrated this closely would experience too much competition from low-cost

[80] Doreen Collins, *The European Communities: The Social Policy of the First Phase: Volume 1: The European Coal and Steel Community, 1951-1970* (London: Martin Robertson & Co. Ltd., 1975), 4.
[81] Treverton, *America, Germany, and the Future of Europe*, 103.
[82] Ibid. 5.
[83] Ibid. 4.
[84] M. C., "The European Coal and Steel Community: An Experiment in Integration," *The World Today* 11 (Jun., 1955): 263-270, accessed January 12, 2013, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40392824, 263.
[85] Herbert Tint, *French Foreign Policy since the Second World War* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd, 1972), 47.

producers.[86] Germany supported the European Coal and Steel Community because it had the potential to end Allied control over industry, and it allowed hope to emerge that Germany would one day regain political equality with other Western European states.[87] The United States supported the European Coal and Steel Community for multiple reasons, the most significant being that the community was a variant of a proposal from the Schuman Plan, which had gained popularity among Americans when first announced in May 1950.[88] The United States also wanted the European Coal and Steel Community to succeed because it had the potential to bring a further degree of integration to Europe, something that the US had strived towards since the end of the Second World War.[89]

Yet the European Coal and Steel Community was proposed for additional political reasons, namely the question of what to do with the German Saarland. The French had campaigned to merge the Saar region with French territory, thus securing continued access to the coal mines in the Saar. However, the majority of the population of the Saar were ethnic Germans who wished to return to Germany. Because of the lack of a solution for the Saar area, Franco-German tension rose again, which led to fears of renewed conflict between the two.[90] Through the European Coal and Steel Community, France could return the Saar region to Germany while still achieving its goal of influencing the production of coal from the Saar.

But why was the introduction of the European Coal and Steel Community important to the emergence of military cooperation within Europe? Quite simply, after five years of peace, Europe was still not willing to trust Germany with its own weapons and army. By

[86] Collings, *The European Communities: The Social Policy of the First Phase: Volume 1: The European Coal and Steel Community, 1951-1970*, 6.
[87] Ibid. 6.
[88] John Goormaghtigh, *European Coal and Steel Community* (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1955), 346.
[89] Geir Lundestad, *"Empire" by Integration: The United States and European Integration, 1945-1997* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 29.
[90] Ibid. 29.

proposing the European Coal and Steel Community, Germany's coal and steel production would be monitored by other European nations, thus providing a safeguard against any future conflicts. Moreover, the Community also had the added benefit of possible German reconciliation with Europe. By proposing the Community, the basis for a future reintegrated Germany within Europe was set. This reintegration through the Community would include economic cooperation, but also had the potential for setting the foundations of military cooperation as well.

The European Coal and Steel Community was also important in two other ways. First, it represented an important model for how to structure a supranational organization, and thus was influential as an example in future negotiations for other supranational organizations, notably the European Defence Community[91] Second, the European Coal and Steel Community was one of the first authentic European attempts to solve the German problem. Herbert Tint explains that the French parliament refused earlier efforts in this direction in April 1949. But this stance quickly changed as world events showed that Germany no longer posed the immediate threat, but rather the Soviet Union was. Realizing this, General Charles de Gaulle and General Pierre Billotte[92] started linking world issues to the rearmament of Germany, stating that rearmament was becoming necessary so that West Germans could defend themselves against the Soviet threat.[93] The shift toward original European efforts to overcome the German problem in new, creative ways helps to explain later proposed projects like the European Defence Community, which essentially extended the supranational foundations of the European Coal and Steel Community. Indeed,

[91] Lundestad, *"Empire" by Integration: The United States and European Integration, 1945-1997*, 31.
[92] A Gaullist general who was also one of France's representative to the United Nations.
[93] Tint, *French Foreign Policy since the Second World War*, 47-48.

negotiations for both initiatives overlapped, thus influencing the debates surrounding them both, as will be shown in the next chapter.

Changing World Events: The American Rearmament Package and the German Problem Reopened

American influence also continued to be felt as plans for the European Coal and Steel Community were taking shape. With fear shifting from Germany to the Soviet Union, the United States reintroduced the topic of German rearmament in Western Europe in September 1950. This brought back French fears. Many believed that German rearmament was something they could not embrace for fear of German aggression, despite the Soviet threat.[94] Yet American demands prevailed in the form of a rearmament package consisting of increased American troops to Europe, an integrated force, and a supreme commander as part of NATO.[95] This package also included troops to be sent from Germany under the command of NATO, which was received by France with hesitation not only because of the history between the two European nations, but also because of the recent tensions surrounding the Saar problem.

Jules Moch, then French Minister of National Defence, expanded on what the American rearmament package asked for, but also what the United States wanted out of the rearmament package, which he perceived as being different. The United States had asked for ten German divisions to be incorporated with other allied armies stationed in Germany for defence. But what the US, more specifically Dean Acheson, wanted was an integrated army

[94] McGeehan, *The German Rearmament Question: American Diplomacy and European Defence After World War II*, 40.
[95] Ibid. 48.

that had an integrated command structure, and was led by one American commander. Under this integrated command structure, German units and divisions would play a minor, yet important role, although the number of German divisions was not specified.[96] From the French perspective, there was no control arrangement[97] set up for the rearmed German troops other than being integrated under the NATO command structure, which would require some form of German high command, a provision that the French staunchly opposed.

Yet there were still many issues with the proposed package. For one, the Federal Republic of Germany was not receptive to a Federal Republican army, but was, however, receptive to a strong police force to counter the German Democratic Republic's (East Germany) militarized police force, which had been established by the Soviet Union.[98] The idea of a police force instead of an army received mixed opinions from the three western allies. While there was sympathy from the United States and the United Kingdom in this regard, the request for a police force over an army was rejected by the US on the grounds that it did not consider a strong police force as comparable to an army in the event of a conflict in the area. Meanwhile, France continually insisted that Germany remain politically and militarily inferior to the rest of Europe.[99] Finally, the British were initially hesitant towards German rearmament believing that this action was premature, both politically and militarily. However, despite this view the British agreed to American terms in exchange for the United States' agreement to place General Dwight D. Eisenhower as the commander of

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[96] Ibid. 42.

[97] The French brought up the question of the control arrangement. French fears led them to believe that the only way for German rearmament was through the establishment of a German General Staff and thus would control their troops. In this situation, the French believed that German militarism could return.

[98] McGeehan, *The German Rearmament Question: American Diplomacy and European Defence After World War II*, 50.

[99] Ibid. 51.

American forces in Europe, along with American reinforcements to be stationed in Germany.[100]

Although European nations started to concede in their views that Germany should eventually be allowed to rearm, France continued to resist. Some historians, like McGeehan, believe that France resisted because the impact of the Korean War was being felt more in Washington than in Paris.[101] Thus, France did not see the immediate need to rearm Germany whereas the US, which was actually fighting in Korea, felt an immediate need to rearm Germany in the event of further Soviet aggression. Whatever the reason, the issue of political backlash toward René Pleven from opposition French politicians still existed if France accepted an American policy for German rearmament. Therefore, French officials never agreed to the most basic aspects of the rearmament package until the September 18 1950 NATO meeting. During this meeting, Schuman showed some willingness to consider a German contribution in the fields of production and military construction, but reiterated the refusal of the French National Assembly to agree to any plan to raise German troops.[102] No decision was reached during this meeting, however.[103]

After much debating and deliberation, a decision was finally made to end the German Problem. On September 26 1950, the North Atlantic Council released the "Resolution on the Defence of Western Europe." This resolution explained that after "having fully discussed the measures taken and planned for the defence of Western Europe […] the aggregate of the efforts so far reported is still far short of the recruitments for the defence of Western

[100] Ibid. 51.
[101] Ibid. 52
[102] Ibid. 56.
[103] "North Atlantic Council, Fifth Session, New York, Summary Record No. 5, C5-R/5, Summary Record of the Fifth Meeting held in New York, 18 September 1950 at 10:30 a.m., 19 September 1950," NATO ebookshop, January 22, 2013, http://www.nato.int/ebookshop/video/declassified/doc_files/C_5-R_51.PDF.

Europe."[104] The resolution explained that the defence of Europe required the establishment of an integrated force under a centralized command. This centralized command would control the composition of forces made available by the governments of Western Europe.[105] After establishing the requirements for defending Western Europe, the resolution approved "the concept of an integrated force adequate to deter aggression and ensure the defence of Western Europe, including West Germany."[106]

Despite this, the resolution did not offer any specific idea as to how this new integrated army would form or what it would look like, just that it would exist. The resolution only explained that the Defence Committee would eventually make the specific recommendation regarding how Germany would make its contribution to this new integrated force.[107] Thus, after five years of meetings and debates, an agreement was reached that Germany should contribute to European defence, but there was no agreement about *how* German would contribute to European defence. Yet these five years showed the thought process in Europeans shifting from a predominant fear of Germany to a growing fear of the Soviet Union. France had conceded to allow Germany some centralized governmental powers and finally in April 1949, it agreed to the political and economic merger of the French occupation zone with the bizone. Yet these concessions were not made by France alone and had required a great deal of 'persuasion' from the United States in the form of economic aid to Europe.

Conclusion: From Military Cooperation to Military Integration

[104] "North Atlantic Council, Fifth Session, New York, Document No. 11, C5-D/11, Resolution on the Defence of Western Europe" 26 September, 1950. NATO ebookshop. January 22, 2013. http://www.nato.int/ebookshop/video/declassified/doc_files/C_5-D_11-FINAL.PDF.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.

This chapter has analyzed the years immediately following the Second World War, from 1945 to the early 1950s as a series of phases in Western Europe's path toward the beginnings of European military integration. The first phase – focused on economic recovery – lasted from the end of the Second World War until early 1947. During this phase European countries initiated the rebuilding of their economies but remained hostile to the thought of any cooperation with Germany. This dominant thinking is most strongly evident in the case of France, notably in the Monnet Plan and the French Thesis. Both the Monnet Plan and the French Thesis attempted to foster recovery in a way that suppressed Germany economically and militarily.

Following the slow start to recovery, the second post-war phase began - the political isolation of Germany. This phase saw the continuation of European fears of German aggression resulting in the ratification of European treaties aimed directly against Germany as a potential future aggressor. These treaties nevertheless helped to establish the foundations of European military cooperation, which later contributed to the establishment of organizations like the Western European Union (WEU). Added to the dynamic of this phase was the uncertainty about the motives of the Soviet Union. Although the Soviet Union had fought alongside the Allies during the Second World War, Soviet foreign policy was beginning to be seen as a threat to Western Europe due to its perceived expansive nature.

Beyond 1947, European recovery entered a new phase involving US encouragement for a united Europe. Some of the underlying ideas in American thinking on this subject were already evident in the Harley Notter State Department papers drafted in the midst of the war, but they did not take root in a practical way until the formation and acceptance of Marshall Plan aid. Although perceived as benefitting European recovery, the Marshall Plan was a means to not only influence European decisions, but also to prevent the spread of

Communism in Western Europe, all while aiding American commercial interests. And it was during this phase that the debates about the need for German rearmament and reconciliation started.

The final phase – which saw the beginnings of a shift from dominant American influence to a European takeover of European affairs began in the 1950s. The predominant effort in this direction was the plan to establish the European Coal and Steel Community. Through the ECSC, the goal was to control German coal and steel production, while helping Europe recover, and to provide an organizational context for future German reconciliation with France and other European states. At the time, the ECSC also played a significant role in future European integration because it showed Europe that supranational organizations like the ECSC could work effectively, which in turn opened a door for future plans, such as the European Defence Community, to take root.

Although no recognizable European defence identity formed throughout these phases, the important aspect of this time period was the military cooperation that started to take place among European nations. It was through this initial cooperation—including under American-led auspices like NATO—that a defence identity could begin to form.

Chapter 2:
The German Problem Solved: NATO, the European Defence Community, the Western European Union and the Grassroots of a European Defence Identity, 1948-1955

Introduction

This chapter examines three developments that changed the military landscape in Europe in the 1950s and that, together, formed the historical context in which military integration in Europe occurred and the circumstances in which a European military identity began to form. These developments included, first, the formation of NATO in the context of the growing Cold War; second, an effort (which ultimately failed) to create a monolithic "European army" by means of an international treaty establishing a "European Defence Community" (EDC); and finally, the successful creation of a new European defence organization in 1954, the Western European Union (WEU), which followed directly from the EDC failure and was linked closely to NATO. The analysis that follows will show how these initiatives were shaped by the larger contexts of the Cold War, US influence, European national interests, and inter-European tensions. It will also explain the interrelations among these initiatives, and their influence on the process of building a European defence identity.

The Origins of NATO: The Atlantic Charter and the Path to NATO

In September 1943, Winston Churchill called for the continuation of the wartime alliance between the United States and Britain, in a speech at Harvard University. Churchill stated that: "It would be a foolish and improvident act on the part of our two governments, or either of them, to break up this smooth-running and immensely powerful machinery at the moment the war is over …. We are bound to keep it working and in running order after the

war – probably for a good many years."[1] He also alluded to fears about the aims of the Soviet Union following the war. Churchill's speech was reinforced by a classified report written by the British Chiefs of Staff, which concluded that Britain's security lay with Western Europe, the British Commonwealth, and the United States, which became some of the founding members of NATO.[2]

The Atlantic Charter represented an important foundation for the establishment of NATO, but also differed from it. The Atlantic Charter focused on the "federal union of English-speaking people," which was a common notion from the nineteenth century.[3] In contrast, the NATO proposal sought to include France, the Benelux countries[4], and the nations of Scandinavia. In the words of historian Ira Straus, NATO defence was to be "based on the universal democratic enlightenment culture of the Atlantic rather than the particular culture of the Englishmen."[5] The war experience itself contributed to this enlarged vision through the common aims and sense of comradeship and community that the war effort engendered.[6]

With the North Atlantic Treaty being viewed as an extension of the Atlantic Charter, the dual question remained: who dominated and who influenced the creation of NATO? In 1941 Britain and the United States entered into discussions to secure a post-war policy of Atlantic safety. These negotiations came at a time when Britain was virtually alone in the war, with the exception of its Dominions, and sought allied help. Thus, one cannot ignore the dominant role that Britain played in pushing for an Atlantic Charter

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[1] Sean Kay, *NATO and the Future of European Security* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998), 13.
[2] Ibid. 13-14.
[3] Ibid. 3.
[4] Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.
[5] Ira Straus, "Atlantic Federalism and the Expanding Atlantic Nucleus," *Peace & Change* 24, no. 3 (1999): 284.
[6] Carl Cavanagh Hodge, *Atlanticism for a New Century: The Rise, Triumph, and Decline of NATO* (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2004), 3.

NATO, a European Alliance? The Western European Push for an Atlantic Alliance

Starting in December 1947, the British, through Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin, initiated discussions with US Secretary of State George C. Marshall about the possibility of creating an alliance to include Western Europe and the United States. Bevin's timing for these talks corresponded with two meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers (a body established by the 1945 Potsdam Agreement), held in Moscow (March-April 1947) and London (November-December 1947). Marshall responded positively to the idea of a Western alliance and proceeded to inform Jack Hickerson,[7] who was attending the London Council of Foreign Ministers meeting.[8] Hickerson then proceeded to inform John Foster Dulles[9] within a few days of learning of the plan, while he travelled back from London to Washington.[10] Although the initial outlook was positive from Marshall, Hickerson, and Dulles, there were still reservations about again involving the United States in European affairs.

Following the initial positive response received from Marshall, American support for an Atlantic Pact waned for several reasons. First, the United States did not want to get involved prematurely in a European initiative before there was any material evidence of its acceptance by the Europeans themselves. This view was highlighted by US Under Secretary of State Robert Lovett's February 2 1948 letter to British ambassador Lord Inverchapel, where Lovett stated that

> the Secretary of State [George Marshall] feels that [the] European initiative is of first importance. Therefore, the injection of the United States into the matter, before agreement under the proposal of Mr. Bevin has been developed abroad, would be unwise and would certainly be subject to serious challenge

[7] Chief of the Division of European Affairs – State Department
[8] Sir Nicholas Henderson, *The Birth of NATO* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1983), 1.
[9] Then U.S. delegate to the United Nations
[10] Henderson, *The Birth of NATO*, 5.

> here as premature on our part. When there is evidence of unity with a firm determination to effect an arrangement under which the various European countries are prepared to act in concert to defend themselves, the United States will carefully consider the part it might appropriately play in support of such a Western European Union, established presumably in harmony with the charter of the United Nations.[11]

A second reason for the initial lack of direct American support for such an alliance was political: an Atlantic alliance and the Marshall Plan could not be pushed through the U.S. Congress at the same time. The European Recovery Plan (ERP) was still being debated in Congress, and it was not a sure thing that the ERP would be passed if it were presented together with the proposition of an Atlantic alliance.[12] Finally, some high-ranking politicians, like former president Herbert Hoover, who favoured plans of global rather than European scope, would not be likely to back a European-oriented defence pact. In fact these high-ranking politicians had already called on Congress to scrap the ERP and replace it with a $3 billion world destitution relief fund along with a $1 billion loan to help revive European industry.[13]

American views on an Atlantic alliance quickly changed within the first four and a half months of 1948. During that interval the Foreign Ministers' Council meetings completely collapsed, the Communists initiated a coup in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union began the Berlin Blockade, and Western Europe signed the Brussels Treaty signalling serious European efforts towards European defence. Combined, these world events gave the United States a greater sense of urgency in world affairs. An article from the *Washington Post* on March 1, 1948, called for collective self-defence to be modeled upon Article 51 of

[11] "United States Department of State *Foreign relations of the United States, 1948. Western Europe* Volume III U.S. Government Printing Office, 1948," University of Wisconsin Digital Collection, July 1, 2013. http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS1948v03. 17-18. It is important to note that Secretary of State James Byrnes left his position on January 21, 1947 and was replaced by George Marshall
[12] Henderson, *The Birth of NATO*, 10.
[13] Lawrence Kaplan, *NATO 1948: The First of the Transatlantic Alliance* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), 31.

the United Nations Charter.[14] Compounding the issue, on March 8 1948, the Norwegian government informed the United States of demands being made upon them from the Soviet Union.[15] Thus, by April 1948, the stance of the United States had changed significantly, mostly due to growing conflicts with the Soviet Union.

Given the circumstances of its origins, some historians have viewed the emergence of NATO as more of a European than an American initiative. NATO was inspired by Western Europe – mainly by Britain and to a lesser extent France – because they needed American assurances of security and defence against any potential aggression from the Soviet Union or Germany.[16] Since Europe was economically weak and needed to use its limited finances to rebuild, it could not hope to mount an effective defence effort without outside support.[17] Europe also recognized that the Brussels Pact was an inadequate foundation upon which to counteract Soviet power.[18] The Brussels Pact nations simply lacked the means to conjure up a strong defence if the Soviet Union were to attack. According to this view, the Brussels Pact was thus largely symbolic: it showed the United States that Europe was willing to take unified action toward establishing a viable system for European defence. In addition to being economically weak, Western Europe was also susceptible to communist subversion from within, mainly from France and Italy because the Communist party leaders in those countries

[14] Henderson, *The Birth of NATO*, 10. Article 51 of the United Nations Charter calls for the collective self-defence of members of the United Nations.
[15] Henderson, *The Birth of NATO*, 11. These demands were similar to the demands being made upon Finland by the Soviet Union and consisted of a defensive pact
[16] David Yost, *NATO Transformed: The Alliance's New Roles in International Security* (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1998), 28.
[17] Ibid. 28.
[18] Ibid. 28.

– Maurice Thorez in France and Palmiro Togliatti in Italy – publicly stated that they would view Russian troops on their soil not as invaders, but as liberators.[19]

American Domination of NATO: From European Initiative to American Control

Following approximately a year of negotiation, both secretly at the Pentagon and later through the Ambassadors' Committee,[20] the framework for NATO was established through the Washington Treaty.[21] However, NATO had no standing organizations in Europe in the early years, and no system was established to direct joint military operations in the event of an attack. In fact, NATO had to rely initially on the Western Union Defence Organization, established as part of the Brussels Treaty, for military planning.[22] Defence planning, though, quickly started to take form following the first atomic test conducted by the Soviet Union in August 1949. A few months later in October 1949, the Mutual Defence Assistance Act was signed after the United States had announced that it had detected nuclear weapons testing in the Soviet Union.[23] The idea behind this act was to provide military assistance to each NATO signatory country that needed it, thus helping to maintain collective security, but also to help European countries re-establish their own defences.[24]

By June 1950, NATO underwent further structural changes following the outbreak of the Korean War. It is at this time that the United States started to take a dominant role within NATO. Because of the North Korean invasion of South Korea, NATO was transformed from a "transatlantic mutual assistance treaty into an integrated military alliance, run by the United

[19] M. Margaret Ball, *NATO and the European Union Movement* (Westport: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1974), 37.
[20] The Ambassadors' Committee, which brought together the American, British and Canadian ambassadors, met in the United States to discuss the possibility of an Atlantic alliance.
[21] Also known as the North Atlantic Treaty
[22] Kay, *NATO and the Future of European Security*, 33.
[23] Lord Ismay, *NATO: The First Five Years, 1949-1954* (Netherlands: Bosch-Utrecht, 1954), 24.
[24] Ibid. 23.

States."[25] Whereas the first phase of NATO's existence was dominated by Western European influence, the Korean War, together with growing fear of Soviet power and Communist takeovers, fostered a new phase in NATO's evolution, in which the United States played the dominated role.[26] One of the most important structural changes that signalled this shift in NATO was the creation of the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) and the appointment of General Dwight D. Eisenhower to this position in late 1950. The appointment of Eisenhower symbolically marked the long-term reversal of American foreign policy aims from isolationism to global military leadership.[27]

The Role of NATO in the Origins of European Military Integration

The negotiations to establish NATO affected many different facets of European political life, but two in particular are relevant here: their influence on economic integration and on military cooperation and integration. Significantly, NATO helped to link economic and military integration by placing the defence of Western Europe at the forefront of post-war planning for European economic recovery. This idea was expressed by Eisenhower in his personal letters when he stated: "One of the reasons for the initiation of the NATO defence effort by the United States was its realization of the existence of a bewildered, defeated, neutralistic [*sic*] attitude among large sections of the European masses. Among other things, our country has undertaken the job of helping to lead them into a better frame of mind."[28] The United States believed that recovery was a long road ahead for European

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[25] David Calleo, *The Atlantic Fantasy: The U.S., NATO, and Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1970), 25-26.
[26] Ibid. 26.
[27] Lawrence Kaplan, *NATO and the United States: The Enduring Alliance* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1988), 1.
[28] Louis Galambos, et al. (ed) *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower: NATO and the Campaign of 1952: XII* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1970), 393.

nations, and that this recovery would have been hampered by security concerns, mainly from the Soviet Union, had it not gotten involved.[29]

American involvement in European security allowed Europe to focus on both integration and military cooperation. This was evident in the case of the European Coal and Steel Community, but also, to a lesser extent, in the Brussels Treaty Organizations, both discussed earlier. The argument can be made that the phases of negotiation that led to the NATO treaty helped force Europe to establish the framework of the Western Union Defence Organization (WUDO). One main reason for the quick establishment of the WUDO was the unwillingness of the United States to get involved in European defence until a framework similar to what was being proposed under NATO had been set up first in Europe.[30] In this sense, the NATO negotiations pushed the Europeans to form their own defence organizations, which they might otherwise have done less quickly or not at all.

Despite the establishment of the WUDO, there was not a strong public belief that the WUDO would solve the defence issues of Europe. A February 1949 cartoon vividly portrays these European doubts.[31] In the cartoon, the balance of power is shown to lie in favour of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe who, instead of squabbling, had devoted time to arms productions and military expansion. In contrast, Western Europe is seen as participating in debates to sign treaties, agreements, and defensive pacts. Indeed, Western Europe is shown having those pieces of paper but no material defensive capability. The Balance of Power cartoon underlines the belief that Europe did not need yet another agreement or defensive pact, but a real fighting entity to counteract the Eastern power.

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[29] Ball, *NATO and the European Union Movement,* 32-33.
[30] Kaplan, *NATO 1948: The First of the Transatlantic Alliance, 31.*
[31] "Balance of Power." 23 February 1949. Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l'Europe (CVCE). August 10, 2013.
http://www.cvce.eu/obj/cartoon_by_illingworth_on_relations_between_the_western_countries_and_the_soviet_union_23_february_1949-en-55c95cd5-8ab7-46b2-8fb6-f19e65ab709f.html.

Similar to the "Balance of Power" cartoon, an earlier British cartoon was released in November 1948. This cartoon – the "Western Union on Parade" depicted the several councils and committees that had been set up in Western Europe with the aim of establishing a coordinated defence of Western Europe.[32] Yet these councils and committees were only on paper and did not create a real fighting force to defend Western Europe – something that Western Europeans looked for during the 1940s.

NATO's influence on the European Coal and Steel Community was linked to the question of Germany's admittance into NATO. The Schuman Plan was originally proposed to help solve the problem of German rearmament, which was needed but also feared, yet the ECSC eventually led toward broader economic integration in Europe, in particular toward the 1957 Treaty of Rome that founded the European Economic Community, or Common Market. At the same time, however, the initial reintegration of Germany into European economic affairs through the ECSC not only began to show positive economic results almost immediately, but also began to significantly defuse tensions between Germany and its Western neighbours, which in turn paved the way for Western European (and particularly French) acceptance of German rearmament and reintegration into European military affairs, under NATO auspices.

NATO's influence on European military cooperation and integration came in two forms: first was through the eventual direct relationship that was to occur following the ratification of the proposed European Defence Community, to be discussed in the next section. The second way that NATO contributed to the process of European military

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[32] "Western Union on Parade." 3 November 1948. Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l'Europe (CVCE). August 10, 2013.
http://www.cvce.eu/obj/cartoon_by_shepard_on_the_weaknesses_of_western_union_3_november_1948-en-e619c252-6410-40af-a2ea-de41bec5fb5c.html.

integration was its involvement with the Western European Union (WEU), starting in 1954, as will be discussed.

Toward the European Defence Community: Prior Proposals Leading to the Pleven Plan

Although proposed in October 1950, similar ideas to the European Defence Community had been proposed earlier. In August 1950, while at the Council of Europe at Strasbourg, Winston Churchill suggested that there should be an immediate creation of a European army.[33] His idea was that the 'European Army' should be comprised of fifteen French divisions, six British divisions, six American divisions, five West German divisions, and three Benelux divisions.[34] During the Strasbourg Speech, Churchill proclaimed that after two years of the Western Union Pact signed as part of the Treaty of Brussels, no new military initiative had actually been taken in Western Europe with the exception of an American bomber base in England.[35] This, in conjunction with the perceived threat from the Soviet Union, worried Churchill to the point that he called for the creation of a European army.[36] In his proposal, Churchill explained that a unified European army should be "subject to proper European democratic control and acting in full co-operation with the United States and Canada."[37] This statement demonstrates Churchill's belief that a European army needed to be part of a larger Atlantic defence force, a clear reference to NATO.

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[33] The Council of Europe had been looking at the idea of and plans for European integration. It also looked over the Treaty of Brussels (1948). The August 11 1950 meeting was the first meeting where Germany was allowed to participate along with the Saar region as an associate member. Hereafter the August 11 1950 speech will be referred to as the *Strasbourg Speech*

[34] Martin J. Dedman, *The Origins and Development of the European Union-1945-2008: A History of European Integration 2nd Edition* (New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2010), 65.

[35] "Address Given by Winston Churchill to the Council of Europe (Strasboug, 11 August 1950)." 11 August 1950. Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l'Europe (CVCE). August 19, 2013. http://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1997/10/13/ed9e513b-af3b-47a0-b03c-8335a7aa237d/publishable_en.pdf. 3.

[36] Ibid. 4-5.

[37] Ibid. 5.

In addition to being subservient to NATO, Churchill's plan is also important to explore in another regard. Although Churchill's plan called for the creation of a "European army", the fact of the matter remained that the troops involved were to be separate groupings of national troops. At no point does Churchill suggest that these troops would feel "European." Churchill's "European army" was merely a gathering of national troops that was to act in concert with the United States – insurance that the US would remain involved in European affairs.

Although Churchill's idea met with broad support, the French disliked the British Prime Minister's plan because it was not purely European, since the United States would contribute seventeen percent of the troops.[38] Despite the lack of French support, the Council of Europe was enthusiastic about Churchill's plan and voted overwhelmingly in favour of it—eighty-five votes in favour, with only five opposed. This vote, too, is important to look at. In 1950, most European nations, with the exception of France, deemed that American influence in Europe was vital to Western Europe's survival from any potential Soviet aggression. In securing American forces in Europe, Western Europe was willing to allow their troops to be led (controlled) by the United States.

Although the Council of Europe voted in favour of an integrated army idea, no planning took place in the succeeding month. The United States was eager to solve the German problem of rearmament, and pushed for German rearmament within NATO. Presumably because of these circumstances, the integrated army plan was abandoned within the Council.[39] Despite this, Churchill's speech proved to be instrumental in two different

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[38] The French National Assembly did not want to rely on American involvement for the fear that the United States may withdraw troops from Europe.
[39] Dedman, *The Origins and Development of the European Union-1945-2008: A History of European Integration 2nd Edition*, 65

regards. The first was that it influenced both European and North American countries to look for a solution to German militarism through its integration into NATO. The second was that Churchill's proposal at the Council of Europe encouraged diplomat Jean Monnet to work with René Pleven to create the Pleven Plan.[40]

Because of their fear of German rearmament, and fear of France being isolated within NATO, René Pleven insisted that Jean Monnet once again help plan a post-war European integration project. Since much of the planning for the European Coal and Steel Community had been completed and was awaiting ratification, Monnet was able to shift his energies toward planning the European Defence Community, as it came to be known. Monnet feared that a breakdown in European affairs over German rearmament might dash the yet unsigned European Coal and Steel Community, which was awaiting ratification, thus causing his grander plans for European integration to dissolve.[41]

In just under one month, Monnet established a planning committee consisting of Étienne Hirsch, Pierre Uri, Bernard Clappier, Paul Reuter, Herve Alphand, and Jacques van Helmont, and created the Pleven Plan. The Pleven Plan aimed at creating a common defence of Europe through the creation of a unified European Army. Pleven argued that nations could not just join troops together, as this constituted a coalition of troops, but that the only way for the plan to work was to have each nation's troops *completely* fused into a European army. Thus, each nation would lose sovereignty over its troops. In addition to the European army, the Pleven Plan called for a European Minister of Defence to be elected by the signatory members. The minister of defence was to be tasked with carrying out rearmament and

[40] Ibid. 65.
[41] Edward Fursdon, *The European Defence Community: A History* (London: MacMillan Press LTD, 1980), 86.

equipment programmes within the unified European army, and also maintaining the materiel and supply of the common army.[42]

In order to garner French support, two clauses were put into the Pleven Plan. These clauses were instrumental in allowing the Plan to move beyond the French Assembly so that negotiations with other Western European nations could begin. The first was that nations that maintained international troops overseas would be able to retain their sovereignty over those troops, something that was important to the French because of their troops in Algeria and Indochina. The second clause was that troops were to be integrated at the smallest unit possible, consisting of one thousand men. The idea behind this clause was to ensure that any German troops could not rebel or take control of a European army since they were to be organized in such small units.[43]

The plan was first presented to the French Cabinet on October 23 1950, and later to the French Assembly on October 24 1950, both to mixed reactions. Both Jules Moch, the Minister of Defence, and Guy Mollet, the Minister of European Relations, at first rejected the proposal.[44] However, the initial proposal passed within the French Assembly. The key clause that allowed for the proposal to pass was the second clause: "for [there to be] no German Army or general staff," which received a vote of 402 for and 168 against.[45] The second clause would have meant that German troops were to be controlled by the other participants of the Pleven Plan – and not by Germany itself.

The Petersberg Conference and the Paris Conference: Between a NATO Solution to German Rearmament and a European Solution

[42] Ibid. 89.
[43] Ibid. 89.
[44] Ibid. 89.
[45] Ibid, 88.

By 1950, the question of German rearmament had caused a number of ongoing debates among European nations and the United States. Originally, the question of German rearmament had been discussed at the NATO meeting on September 16, 1950. Following this meeting, it was agreed that Germany had to provide some form of military assistance to Europe. This agreement was outlined in the "Resolution on the Defence of Western Europe." Despite this, there was no definitive answer on what assistance it would give to NATO, whether the production of weapons and materiel, or combat units. Because of this, the allied powers called for the establishment of the Petersberg Conference to determine an acceptable solution for allowing German military assistance.

The Petersberg Conference started on January 9 1951 and was tasked with looking at a 'NATO solution' to potential German rearmament and how a German component could be incorporated into NATO. At the Petersberg Conference, the German delegation initially talked with the occupation allies about German contributions to a NATO force, but as the force was unspecified and the conference parameters vague, the Germans ended up demanding equal treatment of Germany in exchange for German troops.[46] The military leaders of the conference were able to agree on purely military aspects of the meeting – the need for German assistance within European defence, but political matters caused the breakdown of the Petersberg Conference. One of the biggest causes of the breakdown was a dispute about how large a German fighting unit could be.[47]

By the end of March 1951, the Petersberg Conference to determine a NATO solution for the rearmament of Germany had essentially failed. An important reason for the failure was the unwillingness of the French to budge on any of their negotiating points, which

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[46] Ibid, 109.
[47] Ibid. 111.

effectively stalled the conference. This outcome left the Pleven Plan as the only active solution for German rearmament, but full American support was needed for the Pleven Plan to succeed.

The Paris Conference looking at the proposed Pleven Plan started on February 15 1951. France, West Germany, Belgium, Italy, and Luxembourg attended as participants, while Canada, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Portugal, Britain, and the United States attended as observers.[48] The chair of the Paris Conference, Herve Alphand, opened the conference by presenting a memorandum to the participants. This memorandum essentially looked at three facets of the Pleven Plan. The first facet was the military side, which envisioned the creation of the European army, along with a unified structure and administration. The second facet, the political side, intended to move toward the federalization of Europe. The European Defence Community was to stand as one component of federalization alongside the Council of Europe and the European Coal and Steel Community. The third and final facet of the Pleven Plan was the financial side, which sought to create a common budget for the European army.[49]

In working out details of the Pleven Plan, Jean Monnet also had to work with American leaders to ensure American support. Toward this end, Monnet met with Eisenhower at the end of June 1951. During this meeting Monnet made clear that the solution to the German rearmament question was not a military solution, but a political one. Monnet meant, in effect, that the integration of Europe would help to solve the German problem. In his memoirs, Monnet detailed his meeting with Eisenhower:

> Without unity, I said, everyone will go on seeking power for himself – and Germany will be tempted to seek it in an agreement with the East. Even at

[48] Ibid. 109.
[49] Ibid. 109.

> best, that would mean neutrality, which would be a blow to all Europe's morale. The strength of the West does not depend on how many divisions it has, but on its unity and common will. To rush into raising a few Germany divisions on a national basis, at the cost of reviving enmity between our peoples [France and Germany], would be catastrophic for the very security of Europe that such a step would be intended to ensure. If, on the other hand, you give France, Germany, and their neighbours common resources to exploit and defend, then Europe will recover the will to resist.[50]

By common resources, Monnet was not only referring to the European Coal and Steel Community, but also to the European Defence Community, as highlighted by Eisenhower's response to Monnet: "to sum it up […] what you're proposing is that the French and the Germans should wear the same uniform. That's more a human problem than a military one."[51]

After Eisenhower's meeting with Monnet, the United States gave the European Defence Community strong support. This was not a hard feat for Monnet to accomplish considering Eisenhower himself had written in his diary on June 11 1951 that he believed "that Europe's security problem is never going to be solved satisfactorily until there exists a U.S. of Europe – to include all countries now in Nato [*sic*]; West Germany & (I think) Sweden, Spain, & Jugoslavia [*sic*]."[52] Eisenhower expanded on this idea in a top-secret letter to George Marshall on August 3 1951, where he explained that,

> Because of the great efficiency, economy, and general progress that could result from a more effective union […] I recently decided to intervene in the plan for developing a "European Army." For a long time I was firm in my refusal to get tied up in the project because it seemed almost inherently, to include every kind of obstacle, difficulty, and fantastic notion that misguided humans could put together in one package […] But contingent upon unequivocal commitments from the new French Government, when formed, that it will support the program to the limit, and will address itself to problems

[50] Monnet, *Memoirs*, 359
[51] Ibid. 359.
[52] Galambos, et al., (ed), *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower: NATO and the Campaign of 1952: XII*, 340.

> of joint financing, etc., and quit blocking progress because of inconsequential military details, I am shifting my position.[53]

Thus, although still cognizant of the challenges involved, Eisenhower gave his support to the Pleven Plan, which was instrumental in securing full American support.

Both Monnet and Eisenhower's comments here are important because they reveal the identity dimension of the European Defence Community. Already in 1951, Monnet was talking about identity features of military forces. Although the discussion was shrouded in the discussion of a military organization, Monnet's main focus was not the military aspect of the European Defence Community, but the political aspect, highlighted by Monnet's lack of involvement of military personnel when initially developing the Pleven Plan.[54] In addition, Eisenhower's comments highlight the human aspect of the European Defence Community – except that in Eisenhower's reference to "human problem," he more both political and identity issues of German integration into Europe. Thus, Monnet was not only trying to create a political solution to the German rearmament question, but he was also, at least implicitly, trying to create a merger of identities to help start Franco-German reconciliation.

The Climax and Decline of the European Defence Community: Lack of British Support and the 'Change of Heart' in 1952

Gaining British support for the Pleven Plan was initially hampered on November 29 1950 when British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Ernest Bevin, announced that it was not the "policy of His Majesty's Government to contribute United Kingdom forces to a European Army … Europe is not enough, it is not big enough."[55] Initially, the United Kingdom had accepted ideas from the Pleven Plan; however, the British still preferred the

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[53] Ibid, 458-459.
[54] Fursdon, *The European Defence Community: A History, 87.*
[55] Dedman, *The Origins and Development of the European Union-1945-2008: A History of European Integration 2nd Edition*, 67.

American "NATO" proposal for several reasons. First unlike France, Britain believed that German forces should be organized into divisional units rather than battalion units. Battalions comprised approximately one thousand soldiers whereas divisions were composed of approximately ten thousand soldiers. The French believed that if units were organized at the battalion level, there would be no chance of any form of uprising from German troops since they were organized in such a small scale. However, military planners from the other Western European nations agreed that organizing troops at a divisional level was far more practical. Thus, this disagreement became a sticking point with France, which feared that anything larger than a battalion might lead to dominance from Germany or a rebirth of German militarism. The second reason that Britain preferred a NATO solution was linked to the issue of the overseas troops of colonial powers. In particular, Britain was not in favor of the provision that allowed France alone to keep its overseas forces outside the organizational reach of the European Army. Third, the United Kingdom opposed the supranational aspects of the Pleven Plan, and had no wish or intention to give up military sovereignty to an elected European defence minister who might well not be British.[56]

Finally, the United Kingdom preferred a solution involving NATO over a European solution because it feared that, if it appeared as though Europe had a self-sustainable defence, then the United States might withdraw troops from Europe.[57] However, with strong American support for a European Defence Community, the United Kingdom also feared that if it rejected the plan outright, the US Congress might feel alienated, and withhold military aid payments in response. Because of this, the British were never able to shut the door

[56] Fursdon, *The European Defence Community: A History*, 90.
[57] Ibid. 90.

completely, and in some cases even contributed to the negotiations for the European Defence Community.[58]

Ultimately, the United Kingdom never supported the European Defence Community in practice, and it managed to remain formally outside of the planned organization, with American acceptance. Not long after Monnet's meeting with Eisenhower to get American support for the Pleven Plan, the British Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, was informed that the United States no longer desired direct British involvement in the Plan, and instead sought strong British support from the outside.[59] Thus, at the conclusion of the Rome Conference (November 28 1951), Eden explained that British units would not directly merge with any European army, but that these units might participate in some form of association with the EDC.[60]

By early 1952, some key supranational elements of the European Defence Community had been watered down to help garner support. Most of the important decisions ultimately had to be made at the European Council of Ministers meetings, and for any of them to pass there had to be unanimous support.[61] However, this change significantly reduced the significance of the political aspects of the Defence Community, since it diminished the degree of European federalization that would take place. Despite having many reservations about the European Defence Community treaty, the six participants – the Netherlands having joined in autumn, 1951 – signed the EDC treaty in Paris on May 27 1952.

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[58] Ibid. 90.
[59] Ibid, 128.
[60] Ibid. 128.
[61] Tint, *French Foreign Policy since the Second World War*, 54.

However, French concerns immediately started growing for two reasons. The first was that France was engaged in the Indo-China War (1946-1954). Although French overseas troops were to remain outside of a European army, politicians worried that France would no longer have control over French contingents, which might impact the Indo-China War if more troops were needed on short notice.[62] The second reason for French concern about the EDC had to do with Article 13 of the EDC Treaty – the withdrawal of troops. Although the French agreed to this article, it specified that consent had to be obtained from the Supreme Commander of NATO for troops to be withdrawn from the European army. What politicians in France feared was "the veto of an American general over matters of French force deployment."[63]

The EDC Treaty: Future Formation of a European Defence Identity?

Although it was never ratified, the EDC treaty is an important historical document for understanding the evolution of European military identity. Analysis of the language and provisions of the treaty reveal the ways in which military integration and identity issues were to be handled in this proposed organization. For instance, with regard to training, the Commissariat[64] was tasked with establishing a common doctrine and uniform methods for the training and preparation of the European Defence Forces (EDF) through the establishment of schools of training.[65] The basic schools of training were assigned with four tasks. Three of these tasks would have contributed to defence identity formation. The first was that the schools were to develop the spirit of European cooperation among each nation's

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[62] Fursdon, *The European Defence Community: A History*, 208.
[63] Ibid. 208.
[64] The Commissariat was to be the ruling body over troops assigned to the EDC. The Commissariat was to be made up of representatives from each of the countries involved.
[65] "European Defense Community Treaty – Treaty Constituting the European Defense Community." May 26 1952. University of Pittsburgh – Archives of European Integration (AEI). August 10, 2013. http://aei.pitt.edu/5201/1/5201.pdf Chapter 1 – Article 74

troops. The second was to synchronize the formations and training phases to achieve the same training results from each training school. The third was that each school was to provide intensive language instruction.[66] Despite this language training, each member in the EDF was to be allowed to use their national language subject to provisions.[67]

Looking specifically at military symbols, the EDC Treaty provided a wide array of military symbols that would have helped further the budding infancy of a European defence identity from the 1950s. One such example was the common uniform that each soldier was to wear while in the EDF.[68] Although seemingly unimportant, military uniforms create a sense of commonality between troops, and this provision shows that the EDC planners were concerned with how to promote a common defence identity within the EDC.[69]

Another form of military symbolism included in the EDC treaty was the incorporation of the traditions of each unit's home country within a broader European symbolic context.[70] The treaty provided for the creation of a European standard flag, standard, banner, and emblem for the EDF, and members of the European defence force were to "render honor" to these symbols and to the "European emblem." The "incorporation of units into the European Defence Force" were also to be "marked by a solemn demonstration of allegiance to the Community." [71] At the same time, however, members of the European army were also required to honor to the "flags, standards, and banners" of the EDC member states. In this regard, the EDC essentially took the symbols of each national army and

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[66] Ibid. Chapter 4 Article 27
[67] Ibid. Chapter 5 Article 28.
[68] Ibid. Chapter 1 Article 15.
[69] According to Benedict Anderson, each nation perceived commonalities that unite them as a group. A common uniform could act as one such commonality. - Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 6.
[70] "European Defense Community Treaty – Treaty Constituting the European Defense Community." Chapter 3 Article 17.
[71] Ibid. Chapter 3 Article 17.

merged them together with the symbols proposed for the European army. Thus, the EDC treaty would have established a European counterpart to each of the member states' military symbols, essentially tying each nation's national military identity into a unitary, transnational military identity.

Failure of the European Defence Community

1954 was an important year for the future of the European Defence Community, as countries started ratifying the treaty, but ultimately France voted against ratification, leading to the treaty's collapse. The ratification process initially got off to a good start, with the Netherlands being the first country to ratify the treaty by a large majority of thirty-six to four on January 20 1954. Because of the Netherland's ratification of the treaty, the EDC was given a major morale boost.[72] Belgium then ratified the treaty through its senate by March 12 1954, quickly followed by the German *Bundesrat* on March 19. Luxembourg followed suit on April 7.[73] This left only Italy and France to ratify the Treaty. Support among the Italians was deeply divided. The Christian Democrats were strong supporters of the EDC Treaty, but the Italian socialists opted to wait until after ratification of the treaty by France, due to the amendments France had pushed through, thus putting the onus on the French.

Within France itself, there had been many political changes since the treaty was first proposed, leading to a division of views on the EDC. Since René Pleven had originally proposed the plan in October 1950, there had been a total of six prime ministerial changes. By August 1954, Pierre Mendès-France had been elected Prime Minister of France and French attitudes towards the EDC had shifted significantly. The four main parties were

[72] Fursdon, *The European Defence Community: A History*, 234-235.
[73] Ibid. 246-247.

divided on the EDC. The Socialists were among the strongest supporters of the EDC, together with the *Mouvement républicain populaire* (MRP). In contrast, the Gaullists were strongly opposed to the EDC, particularly its supranational elements. Finally, members of the *parti radical* were evenly split. Ultimately, on August 30 1954, the EDC treaty was put to the French National Assembly for ratification and failed by a vote of three hundred and nineteen to two hundred and sixty four.

Why did the EDC Treaty ultimately fail? Certainly British reluctance to be part of the European Defence Community was a hindering factor that significantly diminished the potential for success. Britain's position was largely due to its reluctance to allow its army to be merged into a European supranational entity at the very time it was attempting to rebuild ties with its Commonwealth countries. However, there were three other main reasons for the failure of the European Defence Community. First, the French feared that without British support, the community could become dominated by West Germany.[74] In addition, France feared the supranationality of the EDC as well, since the loss of its national army to the EDC would leave France with no independent means to counter German influence. Opposition from Gaullists and French Communists was especially strong. Gaullists did not want to see the destruction of the French army, and they opposed the military aid that was to be given to Germany. Gaullists rejected the supranational element that would destroy the national army – a core symbol of the French nation, French history, and France's role in the world. Meanwhile the Communists were opposed to supporting any relations with the Atlantic states, notably the US, because of ideological differences.[75] Finally, public opinion had

[74] Trevor Taylor, *European Defence Cooperation* (London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1984), 17.
[75] Dedman, *The Origins and Development of the European Union-1945-2008: A History of European Integration 2nd Edition*. 70.

shifted regarding the Soviet Union. By mid-1953 the Korean War had ended and the Soviet Union's dictator, Joseph Stalin, had died. Thus, by 1954, the threat from the Soviet Union was less imminent, and the French felt less need to commit to the terms of the EDC Treaty.[76]

The Western European Union: A Non-Supranational European Defence Organization

Following the failure of the EDC Treaty, a new solution was needed that allowed for West German rearmament but with a watchful eye from the rest of Western Europe. It was here that Britain stepped in and negotiated the Western European Union (WEU). The WEU was proposed in such a way as to allow both Germany and Italy to join the Brussels Treaty (1948) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (1949), thus fulfilling the American desire for German rearmament– to help counterbalance the Soviet bloc – and the French demand for safeguards against German aggression. Through the signing of the Modified Brussels Treaty in 1954, both the question of German militarism and the Saarland were put to rest. The Modified Brussels Treaty expanded upon the then redundant WUDO from the original Brussels Treaty and changed the WUDO to the WEU.[77]

Many historians have argued that the WEU amounted to very little, basically providing a makeshift answer to a political question.[78] Similar sentiments were shared by former British Prime Minister Anthony Eden who, in his memoirs, explained that although "I intended for it to have also a wider scope … It has not worked out that way and of recent years little effort has been made to use the possibilities of W.E.U."[79] However, was the WEU

[76] Taylor, *European Defence Cooperation*, 16.
[77] The name "Western European Union" was selected over the name "Western Union" because of the possible confusion with the American credit union Western Union. – Fursdon, *The European Defence Community: A History*, 328.
[78] Patrick F. P. Nopens, "The Reactivation of the Western European Union" (Masters diss., The United States Army Command and General Staff College, 1989) July 2, 2013, 92. http://oai.dtic.mil/oai/oai?verb=getRecord&metadataPrefix=html&identifier=ADA212473. 92
[79] Anthony Eden, *The Memoirs of Anthony Eden: Full Circle* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), 194

truly a failure? The following section will look at two important points about the WEU. The first point will examine the successes achieved through the WEU in helping to foster a European defence identity through its many similarities with the EDC. The second point will be to look at how some of these similarities, which helped to foster the European defence identity established by the EDC negotiations, were dashed, not by European politicians, but by American influence.

Another important point to look at regarding the WEU was French support. The French actually rejected the WEU in the first debate for two reasons. The first was that advocates of the original EDC voted against the WEU in retaliation for Mendès-France's non-support for the EDC, while others were simply against the idea of the WEU.[80] The second reason that the WEU initially failed in the French National Assembly was because French politicians attempted to see what security concessions they might be able to get out of Britain. These attempts, however, were dashed when in December 1954, British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden despatched a message to the French National Assembly that explained that if the WEU failed, Britain would not provide permanent divisions on the continent.[81] Seven days later during a second vote, the French National Assembly accepted the WEU. Ultimately, as Geir Lundestad explains, "Paris felt it had little choice after having created such a crisis in the [NATO] alliance. If it rejected even NATO membership, a separate treaty between the United States, Britain, and West Germany seemed most likely, hardly an enticing idea for the French."[82]

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[80] Fursdon, *The European Defence Community: A History*, 333.
[81] Ibid. 334-335.
[82] Geir Lundestad, Empire *by Integration: The United States and European Integration, 1945-1997* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 48.

The Western European Union: A New Defence Organization or a Revamped EDC?

The WEU proposal contained many organizational features and structural obligations that resembled those in the EDC Treaty. One of the most important was the Standing Armaments Committee. The EDC Treaty originally proposed that the European Minister of Defence would be responsible for ensuring the standard arms and equipment of the European army. However, in later negotiations the plan changed from the European Defence Minister overseeing the standard armaments for troops to a Board of Commissioners being responsible for the standardization of arms.[83]

Similarly, the WEU also included a Standard Armaments Committee (SAC). During one of their first meetings, the question of standardizing armaments was raised. The committee response was as follows: "the Council recognised the desirability 'of seeking the best method of using the resources available to these countries for equipping and supplying their forces and of sharing tasks in the best interest of all. The budgetary implications of such co-operation depend on a number of factors which do not come within the competence of W.E.U."[84] Later on in the meeting, the Standard Armaments Committee answered a written question asking whether or not the Council of WEU believed that the production of weapons should be standardized, stating that: "the Committee understood the reply [from the council of Western European Union] as re-affirmation of the Council's intention to pursue a vigorous policy of standardization. The Committee considers this policy to be the more necessary as

[83] Fursdon, *The European Defence Community: A History*, 161.
[84] W.E.U Assembly. Proceedings: Orders of the Day. Assembly Documents 2nd Session, 1956. Document 12 "Activity of Western European Union in the sphere of security and the production and control of armaments."– 17 April 1956. 64

its implementation can, in particular, facilitate the control of armaments, and strengthen our common defence."[85]

In addition to the Standing Armaments Committee being a key component for both the WEU and the EDC, the fact that both organizations were to be incorporated into NATO helps to display the continuation of European defence integration from the EDC into the WEU. One of the key propositions of the EDC, the European Minister of Defence, was significantly changed during the negotiation period of the EDC. In fact, Edward Fursdon clarifies that the organization and deployment of troops were to be overseen by the Supreme Commander of NATO. This was a significant change from having the European Minister of Defence determine the armament, organization, training, and deployment of the common army.[86] In addition, the WEU was an integral part of NATO once it came into existence and, in some cases, was known as the "European Pillar" of NATO, even in the early years of the WEU's existence.[87] This fact contradicts the view of scholars like Colette Mazzucelli who suggest that the WEU became a "European Pillar" only after 1990.[88]

The close resemblance between the proposed Standard Armaments Committee from the EDC Treaty and the Standard Armaments Committee from the WEU help to establish not only the connection between the EDC and the WEU, but also help to show the continuation of efforts to develop European defence integration through the WEU. In fact, some historians like Ralph Dietl have suggested that a European security identity emerged among seven of the eight signatories of the WEU during the 1950s. Dietl even goes so far as to argue that by the late 1950s, a European defence identity started to take shape in Britain as a result of what

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[85] Ibid. 64-65.
[86] Fursdon, *The European Defence Community: A History*, 160-161.
[87] Ralph Dietl, "The Genesis of a European Security and Defence Policy," In *A Companion to Europe Since 1945*, ed. Klaus Larres (Chichester: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2009), 327.
[88] Colette Mazzucelli, "The Treaty of Maastricht: Designing the European Union," In *Designing the European Union: From Paris to Lisbon*, ed. Finn Laursen, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 174.

Dietl called “the American bullying during the Suez Crisis.”[89] Despite this, some historians argue that as a whole, the WEU remained a weak and inconsequential organization, and its Standard Armaments Committee as well.

Although the Standard Armaments Committee never fulfilled its task of managing and standardizing arms within the WEU, this was not the fault of the planners. In fact, part of the reason can be attributed to the United States. According to Dietl, the Standard Armaments Committee could have been considered the nucleus of the WEU as it “enhanced the military autonomy of Europeans by fostering defence cooperation among the seven member states of the WEU.”[90] However, although the WEU members attempted to use the WEU to enhance European security, the United States actively hampered European efforts to establish positive change with the WEU. Dietl argued that this was because of the failure of the EDC and the crisis it caused following the French Parliament’s failure to ratify the treaty.[91]

Following the failure of the Paris Agreements, the United States pushed their own agenda in European affairs more strongly, thus hampering European efforts through the WEU. One such example was the American policy to divide military affairs and European integration as a result of the failure of the Paris Agreements. By doing so, the US was able to relax some control over European affairs, specifically in regards to defence.[92] Alternatively, the US focused on the promotion of a ‘relance européenne,’ which was based on the European Coal and Steel Community.[93]

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[89] Ralph Dietl, “’Sole Master of the Western Nuclear Strength’? The US, Western Europe and European Defence Identity,” In *Europe, Cold War and Coexistence, 1953-65*, ed. Wilfred Loth. (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2004), 130.
[90] Ibid. 130.
[91] Ibid. 130.
[92] Ibid. 130.
[93] Ibid. 130.

Focusing solely on the standardization of weapons, historian John Palmer has argued that Western Europe failed to develop a common weapons plan in the WEU. This occurred because of the large technological gap between the United States and Western Europe, which led Western European countries to buy American weapons instead of developing their own. Palmer uses the example of Britain abandoning the development of its own early warning system for a rival American version instead.[94]

From the European Defence Community to the Western European Union

In comparing the WEU and the EDC, it is important to ask why the EDC failed yet the WEU survived until 2011. One important reason was that the supranational aspects of the EDC were omitted from the WEU. The EDC was designed as a supranational organization to maintain a fully integrated European army. However, the French, who initially proposed the EDC, were also the ones who ultimately defeated it, and largely because they feared its supranational aspects, and for two reasons. The first was that the EDC held the potential to undermine the French national image.[95] The second was that the EDC would have also materially destroyed the French army, already a sticking point for French Gaullists, thus causing French politicians to question whether, under these conditions, the nation would be left defenseless against a potential German resurgence.[96]

In contrast to the EDC, the WEU was never meant to be a supranational organization. Unlike the EDC, whose troop divisions were to be integrated with each other, each WEU nation's troops were integrated into a NATO framework as a bloc, thus leaving each

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[94] John Palmer, *Europe Without America? The Crisis in Atlantic Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 165.
[95] G. Wyn Rees, *The Western European Union at the Crossroads: Between Trans-Atlantic Solidarity and European Integration* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998), 8.
[96] Ibid. 8.

country's national army intact and not integrated with others at the corps or divisional levels. The British much preferred this WEU-NATO solution because it also insured that the United States would continue to support Europe militarily.[97]

One final observation about the successfulness of the WEU (in contrast to the failure of the EDC) relates to the Modified Brussels Treaty (1954) – the Treaty establishing the WEU. The original Brussels Treaty (1948) was aimed directly at division, shown through Resolution Six: "To take such steps as may be held to be necessary in the event of a renewal by Germany of a policy of aggression."[98] However, following the negotiations of the Modified Brussels Treaty, Resolution Six was changed to read: "To promote the unity and to encourage the progressive integration of Europe."[99] The change in this resolution was due to the admittance of Germany into the Brussels Treaty. However, the new aim of the Modified Brussels Treaty is the important point to be considered since it reveals a fundamental shift from division to integration. In this way, the integrationist aims for European defence were kept alive through the WEU, although in a much weakened form.

The Finale: European Defence Identity during the WEU

Despite the many identity issues raised during negotiations towards the EDC, the failure of the EDC highlights the fact that Western Europe—particularly France—simply was not ready to accept a supranational military system or a common military identity that would tend to override national military identity. The need for a unified European military force to lead toward a common European defence identity became evident through the

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[97] Fursdon, *The European Defence Community: A History*, 97.
[98] "The Brussels Treaty: Treaty of Economic, Social and Cultural Collaboration and Collective Self-Defence," NATO Official Texts. June 28, 2013. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_17072.htm.
[99] The Paris Agreements," NATO Official Texts. July 11, 2013. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-D4945265-018DA516/natolive/official_texts_17408.htm.

negotiations for the EDC, and this aim was at least implicitly established in the WEU treaty, through the commitment of this defence organization to "promote the unity and to encourage the progressive integration of Europe." Granted, the WEU lacked the supranational features of the EDC proposal, which meant that integration and the building of a common European defence identity were voluntary aims rather than mandated outcomes. But, nonetheless, these aims were clearly established, and as we will see, they came to fore in later decades.

The attempts to establish European defence organizations in the 1950s revealed that Europeans recognized that a common European defence system needed a common identity to be able to succeed and flourish, even if this position was not directly expressed in a formal way. In addition, Europeans also came to accept that the creation of a more integrated European defence structure was a worthy goal to work towards – a shift from the mid to late 1940s when Western European thinking was based on ideas of maintaining division within defence matters rather than promoting integration. Reaching an agreement on the goal of striving toward a more integrated European defence linked to a shared European identity thus represented a major step forward in the 1950s, an idea that took further root in the 1960s and beyond.

Chapter 3
From a European-NATO Approach to a European Only Approach: Attempts to Reinvigorate a European Defence Identity – 1959 to 1977

Introduction

By the end of the 1950s, much had changed in European affairs. In France, the Fourth Republic had fallen in 1958 due to the Algiers crisis, resulting in Charles de Gaulle's return to power in France. In Britain, Prime Minister Anthony Eden had been replaced by Harold Macmillan, following the Suez Crisis. However, what had not changed was the dominating role that the United States continued to play in European defence affairs.

This chapter analyzes the shift in the nature of European defence initiatives starting in 1959 and ending in 1977. It reveals a progressive shift from an American-led European defence, seen through American dominance in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), to a more Euro-centric approach. This slow transformation is important to understand because it helped establish foundations for the growth of a European defence identity. The initial push came from Charles de Gaulle, who wanted to steer Europe away from American defence dominance (and who pulled France out of the military wing of NATO.) Yet, as will be shown, other European states were not at first willing to follow France's lead. It was not until the late 1960s and early 1970s that this situation began to change significantly, partly as a by-product of Franco-German rapprochement, partly through the larger process of European integration and its effects, and partly through changes in the dynamics of the Cold War and of US-European relations.

The Stagnation of European Defence Identity: The Decline of the Western European Union

Almost from the time of its establishment, the WEU had been slowly declining due to American control over it and to European reliance on the American defence umbrella. The

actual start of WEU "hibernation" was something that is debated among historians. Some historians, like Patrick Nopens, argue that the decline started in 1959. To support this assertion, Nopens cites the 1957 Treaty of Rome that created the European Economic Community (EEC).[1] Because of the Treaty of Rome, Nopens observes, Western European governments transferred economic matters to the EEC, since it was specialized to focus on economic integration, and because the mandate of the WEU was to not duplicate other European economic organizations.[2] Within two years of the establishment of the EEC, WEU delegates voted to transfer the social and cultural matters – articles two and three of the Modified Brussels Treaty – to the Council of Europe, which was deemed to be a better fit for socio-cultural matters.[3] Other historians, like Christopher Coker, take a more conservative approach, and pinpoint the start of the decline as the late-1960s. Although Coker does accept that the transfer of social, economic, and cultural matters to the Council of Europe was significant, he also argues that it was not until the 1960s that the transfer's effect was truly felt within the WEU. Coker recounts that by the 1970s the WEU had become moribund, since the Council of the WEU had not officially met, nor had there been a Secretary-General elected between 1974 and 1977.[4] Finally, historians like Wyn Rees simply describe the WEU as keeping a low profile. Rees disputes that the idea that the WEU was deliberately deactivated in the 1970s and asserts that it acted as a forum for defence debate. The WEU was involved in security issues in three different ways: "[It acted] as a channel of intra-

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[1] Patrick F. P. Nopens, "The Reactivation of the Western European Union" (Masters diss., The United States Army Command and General Staff College, 1989) July 2, 2013, 97. http://oai.dtic.mil/oai/oai?verb=getRecord&metadataPrefix=html&identifier=ADA212473. 92

[2] Ibid. 96.

[3] Ibid. 96.

[4] Christopher Coker, "The Western European Union and European Security," in *Continuity of Discord: Crisis and Responses in the Atlantic Community*, ed. Robert J. Jackson (New York: Praeger Special Studies, 1985), 158-159.

European communication and conflict resolution; as a part of the debate about American leadership on the continent and as an element in the evolution of European integration."[5]

In trying to make sense of the WEU, it is important to keep in mind that it was founded not only as a military organization, but also as a tool to push for military reconciliation (by allowing Germany back into both Europe affairs and NATO), as well as striving for further European integration. Once Germany had joined both NATO and the WEU, and the Saar problem was solved, this reconciliation was clearly underway, and indeed was further strengthened by the creation of the EEC and Euratom.[6] In addition, following the formation of the EEC, the economic portion of the WEU became redundant as the EEC took over this responsibility. With its responsibilities thus reduced, the WEU can fairly be said to have been a declining organization by the late 1950s.

The decline of the WEU was in some respects a deterrent to the emergence and growth of a European defence identity. Developed as a separate organization, yet interconnected with NATO, the WEU was the only purely European defence organization in existence during this period, and it was intended to dominate European defence questions throughout the 1950s. Yet as it went into decline as its mandated range of activities and concerns shrank, and as NATO became stronger (in organizational, technological, and financial terms), the WEU's aim of fostering a more integrated European defence system also faded. The WEU was thus increasingly relegated to "junior partner status" within NATO. This shift was first highlighted by American control over the Standard Armaments Committee (SAC), which the WEU intended to use to create a standard armaments policy for European troops. The US ultimately dominated the SAC because of the belief that if there

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[5] G. Wyn Rees, *The Western European Union at the Crossroads* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998), 10.
[6] Nopens, "The Reactivation of the Western European Union," 93.

were any standard armaments policy within NATO, it should include all NATO troops and not just European troops. Thus, European attempts to progress towards a European defence identity were precluded in part due to the inability to standardize armaments for European troops or to develop a common European procurement policy.

The Rise of Gaullism in France: French Rejection of the American Security Guarantee

French president Charles de Gaulle believed that the United States did not take European security as seriously as it should, and further, that it actually wanted Europe to rely on the American security promise.[7] De Gaulle's initial belief was reinforced by the Soviet-American Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963. To de Gaulle, the U.S. went over the heads of its allies by signing the treaty as a means to not only reduce nuclear weapons, but also to reduce the deterrence function of nuclear weapons. De Gaulle's opposition to the treaty was rooted in the American proposition that France, along with the rest of Europe, should not develop nuclear arms and instead should focus on conventional forces.[8]

The Test Ban Treaty was a problem for both France and its European allies because of the earlier American decision to adopt "flexible response" over "massive retaliation," which many politicians in Europe viewed as risking European defence. Flexible response allowed for conventional forces to be used when applicable. In stark contrast, massive retaliation was the complete deployment of nuclear weapons. Each European nation deemed this policy to be risky for its own defence because the U.S. had sole control over its nuclear

[7] By mid-1958 Charles de Gaulle had become the Prime Minister of France. However, in January 1959 the French Fourth Republic collapsed leading to the French Fifth Republic where Charles de Gaulle became President of France.
[8] Kaplan, *NATO Divided, NATO United: The Evolution of an Alliance*, 32.

arsenal, thus placing the decision to use nuclear weapons exclusively within American hands.[9]

The French response to American nuclear strategy, to its dominance of NATO, and to the resulting WEU decline was to begin pulling out of NATO, a process that France initiated in 1959 and continued incrementally for seven years. During this period, France also attempted to pull both European affairs and European integration away from American involvement and back to a strictly European-defined agenda.

European Defence for Europeans: Initial French withdrawal from NATO and the French Push for Greater Reliance on European Integration Attempts

Starting in 1959, the French initiated what eventually became a seven-year pullout from the military side of NATO. Throughout the 1960s, France not only continued withdrawing military assets from NATO's military structure, but also pushed to create a greater European reliance on European integration attempts as an alternative to American dominance. These efforts in turn contributed to a broader European shift toward a questioning of American dominance in European defence affairs and the need to structure a European alternative in defence.[10]

On March 6 1959, the French representative to the North Atlantic Council informed his NATO allies that the French intended to withdraw the French Mediterranean Fleet and place it under French command, an action that was mostly due to political issues. The French withdrew their fleet for two reasons. The first was the announcement of the recent NATO naval situation in the Mediterranean. Under the NATO structure, a British admiral had command of the entire Mediterranean group of NATO's naval forces. These forces were

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[9] Ibid. 32.
[10] Michael Harrison, *The Reluctant Ally: France and Atlantic Security* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 101.

organized into sectors, each of which was overseen by its own admiral. The French were given only the Western Mediterranean sector, one of the smallest. De Gaulle disliked this organizational system, not only because it placed French naval forces in the Mediterranean under British command, but also because, apart from the American Sixth Fleet, the French actually controlled the largest fleet in the region.[11] In addition, the French Fleet could be indirectly controlled by the United States through Britain because of the Anglo-American "Special Relationship."[12]

The French withdrawal was also intended as a sign of de Gaulle's broader discontent over American influence in European affairs. Further, the American position on French control of Algeria was unfavourable to de Gaulle, which also influenced his decision to withdraw France's Mediterranean Fleet from NATO. Since the start of the Algerian War of independence in 1954, the United States had voiced its belief that Algeria should be allowed independence. This view stemmed from the American belief that the colonial era of world history was over.[13] Because of American lack of solidarity with French problems in Algeria, de Gaulle saw the United States as being hostile to French national interests.

Moreover, de Gaulle's withdrawal had the added benefit of showing the United States that France was willing to either engage in transforming NATO doctrine or to separate from it entirely.[14] Despite the naval withdrawal, however, France did not completely abandon NATO. In addition to maintaining its political involvement in NATO, de Gaulle also worked towards negotiating French cooperation with NATO in the event of war.[15]

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[11] Frédéric Bozo, *Two Strategies for Europe: De Gaulle, the United States, and the Atlantic Alliance*, trans. Susan Emanuel (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001), 44.
[12] Nopens, "The Reactivation of the Western European Union," 99.
[13] Irwin M. Wall, *France, the United States, and the Algerian War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 17.
[14] Bozo, *Two Strategies for Europe: De Gaulle, the United States, and the Atlantic Alliance*, 44.
[15] Ibid. 45.

The French Mediterranean Fleet withdrawal in 1959 signalled the French concept that its national defence should be organized first and foremost by the French themselves instead of the United States. The concept grew in the 1960s to incorporate the defence of all of Europe being increasingly structured and determined by Europeans themselves.[16] De Gaulle best explains the concept of Europe-first in his memoirs. In the 1960s, de Gaulle believed that NATO had failed to guarantee the survival and defence of both Central and Western Europe, because of the potential use of nuclear weapons. De Gaulle believed, since both the United States and the Soviet Union had nuclear weapons, they were unlikely to ever launch nuclear weapons against one other, as it would result in "mutually assured destruction." Moreover, de Gaulle believed that there was nothing stopping either the Soviet Union or the United States from dropping their atomic bombs in Europe. In short, the policy implications of the Soviet and American nuclear arsenals, in de Gaulle's view, would tend to turn Western and Central Europe into a battleground—a zone that would be sacrificed rather than protected.[17]

De Gaulle's view thus stood in contrast to the standard vision of NATO as a collective defence of Atlantic and Mediterranean nations. And thus his decision to pull out of the military wing of NATO reflected a broader intent to pull out of what he perceived as the 'American vision' of NATO – an organization placing European defence resources under American command. It was not lost on de Gaulle that this organizational approach was similar to that adopted by European states in their colonies.[18]

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[16] Ibid. 45.
[17] Charles de Gaulle, *Charles de Gaulle, Memoirs of Hope: Renewal and Endeavor*, trans. Terence Kilmartin (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971), 201.
[18] Ibid, 202.

From NATO to Europe: French Attempt at Creating a Common Defence Policy

While de Gaulle initiated France's pullout from NATO, he also started to work toward greater European integration, with France as a leader in an integrated Europe. De Gaulle's first attempt came with the French 'Fouchet Plan.' Negotiations toward the Fouchet Plan had been ongoing in various forms since late 1959 or early 1960. De Gaulle initially outlined his belief for political union to the world at a press conference on September 5, 1960 following a summit with Chancellor Konrad Adenauer at Rambouillet, France in July, 1960.[19] A more detailed announcement of the Fouchet Plan was finally made at a European Community summit in Bonn on July 18, 1961. But this latter announcement did not involve the presentation of a full plan. Rather it was a request for proposals to create a political union. It was not until the end of 1961 that an official Fouchet Plan treaty was drafted and submitted to the different European countries involved. Initially, de Gaulle intended to unify the original six members of the European Economic Community (EEC),[20] created from the Treaty of Rome in 1957.[21] The idea behind the Fouchet Plan was to unify Europe behind France in a bid to create a Europe independent from both American and Soviet interests.[22]

There is debate as to when the 'first' Fouchet Plan was actually announced to the public. Some historians, like Vanke, argue that the original version was released during the summer of 1959 masked as a Franco-Italian suggestion that the foreign ministers of the six

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[19] Stephen Kocs, *Autonomy or Power? The Franco-German Relationship and Europe's Strategic Choices, 1955-1995* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1995), 38.
[20] The original members of the European Economic Community were: Germany, Italy, France, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.
[21] The European Economic Community was the amalgamation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) both created in 1951 and 1957 respectively.
[22] Jeffrey Vanke, "An Impossible Union: Dutch Objections to the Fouchet Plan, 1959-1962," in *Cold War History* 2, no 1 (2001): 95-112, http://journals1.scholarsportal.info.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/tmp/12838739957955493227.pdf (Accessed July 7, 2013), 96.

EEC countries meet regularly; however, this initial idea went nowhere due to Dutch objections.[23] This would have been mere months after de Gaulle pulled the French Mediterranean fleet from NATO. Conversely, historians like Miriam Camps use the actual announcement of the full plan to the public as the key date, which occurred in the summer of 1961 following a European Community summit in Bonn.[24]

This thesis does not seek to dispute the origins or timing of the Fouchet Plan; instead, it intends to examine how, if at all, the Fouchet Plan hoped to build European political unity. The Fouchet Plan wanted to build closer political unity between EEC nations. However, de Gaulle's view of political unity was one without supranationality; it was based on a nationalistic approach rooted in the principle of national sovereignty. Moreover, de Gaulle's approach would have significantly weakened what other European politicians, such as Joseph Luns, minister of foreign affairs for the Netherlands, viewed as the status quo between European integration and Western relations.[25]

During the summit between France and Germany at Rambouillet, France in July 1960, de Gaulle looked to Germany to help organize political unity among the six original EEC countries. In a *Note on the subject of the organization of Europe*, which he presented to Adenauer, de Gaulle outlined a nine point plan through which he intended Europe to "become a real entity exercising its own activity in world affairs [… and to] organize by itself and for itself, in the political, economic, [and] cultural domains, and in that of defence."[26] De Gaulle believed that, from the basis of a Franco-German accord, any future organization could focus on national instead of supranational bodies (in the sense that

[23] Ibid. 96-97.
[24] Miriam Camps, "The Six and Political Union," in *The World Today* 20, no 11 (1964): 473-480, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40393558 (Accessed July 7, 2013), 473.
[25] Vanke, "An Impossible Union: Dutch Objections to the Fouchet Plan, 1959-1962," 98.
[26] Ibid. 97..

Franco-German rapprochement obviated the need for a supranational response to the "German problem"). De Gaulle believed this return to cooperation rooted in national sovereignty was implied by the failure of the European Defence Community treaty. As well, he hoped that such an accord could effectively put an end to what he believed was 'American integration'.[27] To avoid 'American integration', de Gaulle wanted European states to begin breaking away from NATO as France had, but this aim caused a rift between France and the other five EEC countries. This rift was most felt when discussing the defence aspirations of the Fouchet Plan. Whereas de Gaulle wanted no formal connection with NATO, the other five EEC countries, spearheaded by the Netherlands, refused to weaken their transatlantic ties to the United States through NATO.[28] They believed that any common defence policy for the EEC should be intertwined with the existing obligations under NATO, specifically in defence.[29] Although undesirable to de Gaulle, he accepted the request and inserted a clause into the November 1961 version of the Fouchet Plan treaty, insisting that there would be cooperation between the future Fouchet Plan organization and the Atlantic Alliance.[30]

Under the first draft treaty of the Fouchet Plan (November 1961), a new organization would be established – the Union of the European peoples.[31] Under Article 2, the Union intended to establish a common foreign policy "in matters that are of common interest to" the six member states – the same states who established the EEC. In addition, the Union was to involve "close co-operation between Member States in the scientific and cultural field, the continued development of their common heritage and the protection of the values on which

[27] De Gaulle believed that the current European integration attempts were being directed by the United States as well as including the United States, something that de Gaulle strove to avoid in his attempts to create an independent Europe. Ibid. 97.
[28] Ibid. 97-98.
[29] Camps, "The Six and Political Union," 475.
[30] Harrison, *The Reluctant Ally: France and Atlantic Security*, 104.
[31] The draft Fouchet Plan referred to the Union of European peoples as the Union. The same applies to this thesis.

their civilization rests."[32] The Union would have legal personality.[33] It would have three institutions to fulfill the obligations set out in the draft treaty: a Council, a European Parliament (which would in fact be the Assembly of the EEC), and a European Political Commission. The lead institution of the Fouchet Plan draft treaty, the Council, would meet at least three times per year and encompassed the Heads of State or Government of each participant nation. In addition to the heads of state meeting three times per year, the Foreign Minister of each nation would meet at analogous intervals.[34]

Despite some of the positive aspects of the Fouchet Plan, there were features that some Western European countries, such as the Netherlands, were not willing to accept, notably the move away from any degree of supranationalism. In addition, some were reluctant to back an organization that sought to organize common European foreign policy positions independently of NATO.[35] Finally, although the draft Fouchet treaty did not provide any mandate for the organization to take up economic matters (the word "economic" does not even appear in the text of the treaty), it did state that "The Council shall deliberate on all questions whose inclusion on its agenda is requested by one or more Member States."[36] This provision made it possible that the new organization could displace the EEC, a prospect that was not to everyone's liking.

With regard specifically to the defence aspects of the draft treaty, problems started to form immediately. Originally the plan did not mention NATO at all (or the WEU) and this was a problem for the EEC countries involved since NATO had become an integral part of

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[32] "Draft Treaty – Fouchet Plan I (2 November 1961)." 2 November 1961. Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l'Europe (CVCE). August 06, 2013. http://www.cvce.eu/obj/draft_treaty_fouchet_plan_november_1961-en-485fa02e-f21e-4e4d-9665-92f0820a0c22, Article 2.
[33] Ibid, Article 3.
[34] Ibid, Article 4.
[35] Vanke, "An Impossible Union: Dutch Objections to the Fouchet Plan, 1959-1962," 98.
[36] "Draft Treaty – Fouchet Plan I (2 November 1961)."

their system of Europe defence. The problem rested with the fact that defence had always fallen under the mandate of the WEU, which *was* associated with NATO. De Gaulle was attempting instead to create a defence policy that followed French rather than American leadership, thus cutting out both NATO and the WEU. The neglect to formalize any relation between the Union and NATO led to conflict between France and the five other countries during the first negotiations.[37] The majority of the issues revolved around defence, specifically "the relationship between any six-country action in the defence field and action in NATO."[38]

An added obstacle to de Gaulle's plans occurred earlier, in the summer of 1961 – British request for admission to the EEC. Since the Fouchet Plan was to include all countries in the EEC, Britain's request for admission invited it to speak toward any future political unity in Europe, including the Fouchet Plan.[39] British admission to both the EEC and the Fouchet Plan would have been detrimental to de Gaulle's goal of achieving a leadership role in Europe for two reasons. The first was that Britain could counteract French power in Europe. Second was the special relationship between Britain and the United States. De Gaulle believed that this 'special relationship,' would enable the US to exert some degree of control within European affairs, something that de Gaulle was attempting to avoid.[40]

Mere months later in the January 1962 version of the Fouchet Plan treaty, de Gaulle withdrew the intended revision relating to a relationship between the future Fouchet Plan organization and NATO. De Gaulle did so because he believed that "there could not be a European political personality if Europe did not have a personality from a defense

[37] Camps, "The Six and Political Union," 474.
[38] Ibid. 474-475.
[39] Kocs, *Autonomy or Power? The Franco-German Relationship and Europe's Strategic Choices, 1955-1995,* 39.
[40] Harrison, *The Reluctant Ally: France and Atlantic Security*, 104.

standpoint."[41] By this, de Gaulle was referring to his belief that NATO was "not the defense of Europe by Europe but the defense of Europe by Americans."[42]

Ultimately, due to Dutch and Belgian fears, the Fouchet Plan failed in 1962. The Netherlands and Belgium opposed the Fouchet Plan for two main reasons. First, they both wanted participation from the United States – thus continuing the status quo. However, since there was to be no formal agreement between the new political organization and the US, this was not possible. Second, without the United States, both the Dutch and Belgians felt that the United Kingdom could counteract the lack of American presence because of the special relationship between the UK and the US. However, de Gaulle had effectively disallowed any participation of the UK in the Fouchet Plan because of his veto of the British application to the EEC in 1961.[43]

The Fouchet Plan was another attempt at reinvigorating a European defence maintained by Europeans, yet it ultimately failed because the different European countries involved, excluding France, were not ready to accept a plan without supranational elements, and guaranteed security from the United States.[44] The main reason behind the failure of the Fouchet Plan was the fact that de Gaulle sought to use a European political union to replace the US influence exercised through NATO. Moreover, the Fouchet Plan also suffered from its implicit attempts to make the supranational aspects of the EEC treaty irrelevant. From the failure of the Fouchet Plan, France made another, yet smaller, attempt at creating a European defence policy within Europe. This will be seen with the negotiation and eventual signing of the Treaty of Élysée in 1963 between France and Germany.

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[41] Bozo, *Two Strategies for Europe: De Gaulle, the United States, and the Atlantic Alliance*, 78.
[42] Ibid. 78.
[43] Ibid. 78.
[44] Ibid. 78.

The Fouchet Plan arguably made no real progress towards a common defence identity due to the failure by other European states to accept even the draft treaty. Under the original Fouchet Plan (November 2 1961), reference was made in Article 2 to the adoption of a common defence policy to strengthen the security of member states.[45] Throughout the rest of the document, however, there is no mention of this proposed common defence policy. Because of this, the Fouchet Plan did not truly advance the development of a European defence identity.

Despite this, the Fouchet Plan highlights additional French attempts to develop a European integration project independent of NATO following the success of the European Coal and Steel Community. De Gaulle's Fouchet Plan proposal also highlights its quest to replace NATO with a European alternative – while also showing that the rest of Western Europe was not ready to let go of its dependence on NATO. Even so, France continued to attempt to create a European alternative to NATO following the failure of the Fouchet Plan.

From here, the question can be asked, how could the Fouchet Plan actually contribute toward any form of European integration, let alone defence integration? There is no simple answer to this question as the politics surrounding the Fouchet were very complex in the 1960s. First, although de Gaulle did not believe in supranational organizations, he believed that an independent Europe had the potential to withstand US-Soviet dealings, which contributed to the division of Eastern and Western Europe.[46] With a politically independent Europe, de Gaulle believed that negotiations with the Soviet Union over détente could be

[45] "Draft Treaty – Fouchet Plan I (2 November 1961)." 2 November 1961. Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l'Europe (CVCE). August 06, 2013. http://www.cvce.eu/obj/draft_treaty_fouchet_plan_november_1961-en-485fa02e-f21e-4e4d-9665-92f0820a0c22.html.
[46] Kocs, *Autonomy or Power? The Franco-German Relationship and Europe's Strategic Choices, 1955-1995,* 38.

made – a three pillar structure instead of the existing Soviet pillar versus American pillar.[47] However, the degree to which de Gaulle was attempting to exclude the United States caused strain on negotiations with his European partners as well as on European integration in general. De Gaulle's rejection of the British application to the EEC attested to this.

After the Fouchet Plan: From the Treaty of Élysée to Continued French Withdrawal from NATO

In the summer of 1962, France looked to Germany to create a bilateral agreement from the ashes of the Fouchet Plan. Germany's entry into the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), NATO and the WEU, coupled with the rising fear of Soviet aggression meant that fears of renewed German aggression had subsided. The agreement was to remain the same as the Fouchet Plan – social, cultural, heritage, foreign affairs, and defence cooperation to name a few – however, it was solely between Germany and France.[48] Chancellor Adenauer was more than willing to negotiate with the French for several reasons: The first related to the Berlin Crisis of 1961, when the Soviet Union started the construction of the Berlin Wall. The French, under de Gaulle, came to support Germany during its plight with the Wall. The second was that Adenauer was looking for a constructive means to recover from the breakdown of the failed Fouchet negotiations as he believed the failure of the Fouchet Plan was a setback to European unification.[49] Finally, further rapprochement and formal cooperation between France and Germany was a way for Germany to regain stature and acceptance within Europe and hopefully beyond.

[47] Ibid. 38.
[48] Christopher Hill and Karen Smith (ed), *European Foreign Policy – Key Documents* (London: Routledge – Taylor & Francis Group, 2000), 62-63.
[49] Stephen Kocs, *Autonomy or Power? The Franco-German Relationship and Europe's Strategic Choices, 1955-1995*, 40.

As most of the negotiating had been done in the context of the Fouchet Plan, there was not much required for negotiating the bilateral Élysée agreement until approximately one week before the agreement was to have been signed. Legal experts of the German Foreign Ministry, under Foreign Minister Gerhard Schröder, advised Adenauer that unless the German Bundestag ratified the bilateral agreements as a formal treaty, there might be constitutional problems with ratification. However, Kocs posits that Schröder took this position as a result of de Gaulle's announcement on January 14 of his veto of British application to the EEC. By forcing a ratification debate for the Treaty of Élysée within the Bundestag, the impression that Germany supported France's decision to reject British EEC application would be avoided.[50] Following a promise from Adenauer to put the bilateral agreements (now the Treaty of Élysée) to a debate, and an arrangement from de Gaulle to turn the bilateral agreements into a formal treaty, the Treaty of Élysée was signed on January 22 1963.

Public debate in Germany actually caused the defensive aspects of the Treaty of Élysée not to be applied in the way that de Gaulle had hoped.[51] As already stated, de Gaulle's aim was purely to get away from under the influence of NATO and the United States. The defence portions of the Treaty of Élysée would have accomplished this had they not been changed since it sought to completely harmonize the defence doctrines of France and Germany. This included an increase in the exchange of personnel between Germany and France, joint armament projects, formulating financial plans and joint defence proposals.[52] The amount of integration called for in the Treaty of Élysée would have meant that the

[50] Ibid. 41.
[51] Ibid. 43.
[52] Ibid. 42.

German contribution to NATO would have been significantly weakened. During the debate, however, the United States asserted its dominance over Germany.

The US deemed the defensive aspects of the Treaty of Élysée to be hostile towards American foreign policy. Due to the perceived threat to American foreign policy, the United States requested that Germany provided the United States the way in which Germany intended to harmonize its defence policies with France, while still maintaining its NATO obligations. Finally, in February 1963, the US government informed Germany that it wanted a declaration from the Bundestag outlining how the Treaty of Élysée would not interfere with Germany's ties with NATO.[53] The Treaty of Élysée was finally accepted by the German Bundestag; however, the accepted version outlined Germany's obligations to NATO as a concession, something France had continually tried to avoid. Thus de Gaulle's further attempts at creating a Europe-first defence entity were once again dashed by American pressure.

The idea of a French push for a revival of European integration was illustrated in political cartoons during the 1960s. However, although the idea of revival in European integration was positive, a negative undertone was conveyed about the Treaty of Élysée. An editorial cartoon from cartoonist David Low published on January 25 1963 responded to the events culminating in the Élysée Treaty and de Gaulle's veto of British membership in the EEC.[54] Low's cartoon depicts France (de Gaulle) reading a fairy tale to Germany (Adenauer) who is depicted as a baby in a crib. The scene is satirical in that many European countries did not view the French-German relationship as a form of European integration, but rather as one

[53] Ibid. 43-44.

[54] "Baby, It's Cold Outside." 25 January 1963. Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l'Europe (CVCE). August 06, 2013. http://www.cvce.eu/obj/cartoon_by_low_on_the_signing_of_the_franco_german_treaty_of_friendship_25_january_1963-en-1beccfab-a71f-4d85-9c9e-b4a347d593b4.html.

of French control over Germany. This idea is highlighted by the fact that the story that de Gaulle is reading to Adenauer (titled French European Revival) is, given the context a fairy tale. The cartoon also depicts the United Kingdom (Harold MacMillan) and the United States (John F. Kennedy) being kept out in the cold, symbolizing France's desire to keep both Britain and the United States outside of Europe and out of European affairs.[55]

Thus, according to the cartoon, the Treaty of Élysée was not a new form of European integration at all, but in some ways an example of European disintegration since it shows de Gaulle attempting to pull Germany out of a broad Western political sphere and into a French sphere of interest. Nevertheless, despite Low's mistrust, the Treaty of Élysée still exemplified progress toward Franco-German reconciliation, which was important if Europe were to continue on the path of European integration.

Mere months after the ratification of the Treaty of Élysée, de Gaulle continued the French withdrawal from NATO. In June 1963, de Gaulle removed all French naval forces from the Supreme Allied Command – Atlantic (SACLANT). Following France's departure from SACLANT, France further pulled out all French officers from the Commander-in-Chief Channel (CINCHAN) and the Commander-in-Chief, Allied Forces Mediterranean (AFMED) in 1964.[56] Continuing along this trend, de Gaulle announced at a press conference in May 1965 that

> NATO will disappear as far as we're concerned in 1969. We shall announce this at the beginning of next year in order to give the time necessary for the indispensable arrangements to be taken, for, after that date, there will be no more foreign forces on French territory, apart from those that we will want to have and they must be under our supervision …[The Atlantic Treaty] will be replaced, if our partners so wish, with bilateral agreements: thus we shall also

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[55] Ibid.
[56] Joel J. Sokolsky, *Seapower in the Nuclear Age: The United States Navy and NATO 1949-80* (London: Routledge, 1991) 51.

> be able to conclude one with the United Sates, one with Britain, one with Germany.[57]

De Gaulle's announcement did not stem simply from anti-Americanism, as some have argued, but from the fact that on security matters, France believed that Washington had been ignoring its European allies.[58] De Gaulle's withdrawal from NATO culminated in the complete withdrawal of all French personnel from the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) in 1966. With this withdrawal, moreover, de Gaulle also followed through on his pledge to remove all foreign troops from French soil and forced NATO Commands to relocate.

Beyond the Treaty of Élysée: The Conference on Security Cooperation in Europe and EUROMIL

In June 1969 de Gaulle was succeeded as French President by George Pompidou, and the change soon brought significant shifts in French thinking about the United States, Britain, and European integration. Although Pompidou maintained many of the Gaullist principles that had dominated French foreign policy during the 1960s, he showed greater flexibility and openness, something that had been absent during de Gaulle's time in office, and which had contributed to the failure of the Fouchet Plan.[59] Relations between the United States and France started to improve by 1969, and France stopped seeing Britain as merely a "Trojan horse" for the United States to exert control over European integration.[60] The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 also soured East-West relations (which De Gaulle had worked to improve), leading Pompidou to propose the development of a European foreign policy

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[57] Quoted from Simon Duke, *The Elusive Quest for European Security: From EDC to CFSP*, (Oxford: St. Anthony's College, 2000), 53. Original quote from: Jean Lacouture, *De Gaulle: The Ruler 1945-1970* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1991), 349.
[58] Ibid. 53.
[59] Simon Nuttal, *European Political Co-operation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 47.
[60] Ibid. 47.

capable of properly contributing to maintaining the balance of international order.[61] Pompidou's proposal became the foundation for what later came to be known as European Political Co-operation (EPC), a system in some ways reminiscent of the Fouchet Plan.

The Heads of State or Government of the European Communities met on December 1-2, 1969, at The Hague, in order to discuss the possibilities for greater political unity among European Community states. This meeting was followed by the drafting of a report on political cooperation, known as the Davignon Report, which was later finalized during a 1970 meeting in Luxembourg. The Davignon Report was intended to re-energize the integration process. Drafted by the Foreign Ministers of the European Community, the Ministers pronounced their "common conviction that a Europe composed of States which, in spite of their different national characteristics, are united in their essential interests" was "indispensible to preserve a mainspring of development, progress and culture, world equilibrium and peace."[62] European Political Cooperation did not come about solely because of the Davignon Report, but must be seen more broadly as a continuation of the aims of several earlier failed attempts to set up a European political authority. (These failed attempts, which nevertheless all shared in some way the ideal and goal of building a "united Europe" included, most notably, the Council of Europe, the failed EDC, and De Gaulle's Fouchet Plan.)[63]

After only a few months, the EPC was set up through each participating nation's acceptance of the Davignon Report and with the intention of creating a common foreign

[61] Ibid. 48.
[62] "Davignon Report." 27 October 1970. Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l'Europe (CVCE). August 08, 2013. http://www.cvce.eu/obj/davignon_report_luxembourg_27_october_1970-en-4176efc3-c734-41e5-bb90-d34c4d17bbb5.html
[63] Nuttal, *European political Co-operation*, 30.

policy by exchanging information and regular consultation.[64] However, the EPC structure was a loose arrangement and the Davignon Report contained no real concrete approaches to unifying the political positions of European states.[65] So it may be asked whether or not the EPC was really a useful organization.

German cartoonist Felix Mussil was one of several European political cartoonists who explored the difficulties and pitfalls of building political unity among European states throughout the 1970s and 1980s. These cartoonists expressed visually the doubts that many Europeans felt about the possibility of achieving this goal. In a 1972 cartoon (see **Figure 1** in Chapter 3 appendix), Mussil depicted political cooperation in Europe as a crowded bus of fighting politicians, thus emphasizing the challenges involved in trying to drive the bus toward “European unity” (as a road sign pictured in the cartoon was labelled). The fighting on the bus was shown to be progressively violent, with a leg kicking through one window and a fist punching out another. Europeans clearly did not believe that reconciling national interests was an easy task.[66] Indeed, cartoons of this genre often portrayed groups of fighting politicians, or showed images of customs barriers blocking everyone’s paths, and several portrayed these European scenes in miniature, with giant-sized American and Soviet leaders peering down at the small, chaotic, self-defeating actions of their Western European counterparts—certainly not images suggestive of the growth of a shared defence identity.[67]

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[64] “Davignon Report.” 27 October 1970. Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l’Europe (CVCE). August 08, 2013. http://www.cvce.eu/obj/davignon_report_luxembourg_27_october_1970-en-4176efc3-c734-41e5-bb90-d34c4d17bbb5.html. 3.

[65] Ibid.2-4

[66] “EWG – Einheit Europas.” August 1972. Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l’Europe (CVCE). August 08, 2013. http://www.cvce.eu/obj/cartoon_by_mussil_on_the_difficulties_of_european_political_cooperation_august_1972-en-a6fa7277-787f-46d5-ab25-233d4cfbee69.html.

[67] “The Difficulties of European political Cooperation (1978).” 1978. Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l’Europe (CVCE). August 08, 2013. http://www.cvce.eu/obj/cartoon_by_hanel_on_the_difficulties_of_european_political_cooperation_1978-en-aede06c0-ca3e-4547-8c8f-220ce499d6af.html.

Despite these popular cartoons depicting the failed EPC, some important works emerged from the EPC itself; most notably its work on aspects of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). The CSCE was initiated by American (NATO) acceptance of a request from the Soviet Union to hold a conference on the security of Europe. Following the announcement of the conference, the specific members of the EPC worked together to formulate a common position to be shared at the conference. It became important for the EPC to show interest in the CSCE because the United States initially did not show any interest in the conference and because the participants of the EPC felt that a unified stance might be more effective in its response to Soviet demands.[68]

The CSCE was first announced following the meeting of the NATO Council on May 30 and 31, 1972.[69] From this announcement, and from the invitation of the Finnish government, preliminary talks pertaining to the scope of the conference started in Helsinki on November 22, 1972. The CSCE focused on three main cooperation efforts: European security; economics, science, technology, and the environment; and humanitarian pursuits.

The CSCE was to be set up into three phases. The first phase was initiated between the foreign ministers of each country involved in the conference, and established the future agenda of the CSCE. The first phase began on July 3 1973 and by July 7 of there had been such remarkable progress that an agreement was reached.[70]

"Europäische Politische Zusammenarbeit – unter den augen der Supermächte." 1978. Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l'Europe (CVCE). August 08, 2013. http://www.cvce.eu/obj/cartoon_by_hanel_on_european_political_cooperation_1985-en-ec3d78a5-23a1-464b-8437-096fde2dab44.html.

[68] Christopher Hill and Karen Smith. ed. *European Foreign Policy: Key Documents* (London: Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2000), 255.

[69] "Final Communiqué, Bonn 30th-31st May, 1972," NATO On-line Library – Ministerial Communiqus, August 7, 2013, http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/49-95/c720530a.htm.

[70] "The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)." N.d. Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l'Europe (CVCE). August 9, 2013. http://www.cvce.eu/obj/the_conference_on_security_and_cooperation_in_europe_csce-en-ccd2eb20-f5dd-44cb-97b2-48bc63c6e0e0.html

The second phase started on September 18 1973, and had the core of discussions for the conference. These discussions focused on the 'three baskets' of the CSCE, which were: questions on security in Europe; cooperation in economics, science and technology, and the environment; and cooperation in humanitarian and other fields.[71] Although the United States and Canada were invited to the conference, the discussions were mainly between Eastern and Western Europe. The first 'basket' of the conference only included security experts from Europe and was divided into several subcommittees and working groups. The entire second phase lasted until July 21 1975.

The third phase was the closure of formal proceedings by the heads of the 35 participating states and occurred in Helsinki from July 30 to August 1 1975. Included in the 35 participating states were representatives from Canada, the United States and the Soviet Union. All European states with the exception of Albania and Andorra were also included in signing the Helsinki agreement. However, the Helsinki agreement was not a formal treaty or a legally binding document under international law. Yet since the majority of Europe signed it, as well as the Soviet Union, the United States and Canada, the agreement was given an increased form of legitimacy as a binding code of conduct.[72]

The Helsinki Agreement contained many different clauses relating to the question of security in Europe. Under chapter 1 section 2, participants agreed to refrain from the threat or use of force against each other.[73] In addition, chapter 1 of the agreement also contained clauses relating to the inviolability of frontiers (section 3) and the peaceful settlement of disputes (section 5). Chapter 3, section 6 declared the intention of the signatories:

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[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] "Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki, 1 August 1975)." 1 August 1975. Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l'Europe (CVCE). August 9, 2013. http://www.cvce.eu/obj/final_act_of_the_conference_on_security_and_cooperation_in_europe_helsinki_1_august_1975-en-26511c7f-1063-4ae9-83e5-16859194a144.html. Chapter 1, Section 2. 5.

> to promote the development of good-neighbourly relations with the non-participating Mediterranean States in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, on which their relations are based, and with the United Nations Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States and accordingly, in this context, to conduct their relations with the non-participating Mediterranean States in the spirit of the principles set forth in the Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States.[74]

The participants agreed that there was a need to "promote the development of good-neighbourly relations with the non-participating Mediterranean States in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations."[75] These sections are important to note not only because of the significant reduction in tensions between Eastern and Western Europe, but also because of the impact they could have in relation to Western Europe-NATO relations. If the main goal of NATO was to provide collective security for Western Europe, yet tensions between Western Europe and Eastern Europe were declining, what was the necessity of NATO?

By the time of the Helsinki Agreement, the WEU had been neglected to the point that many considered it to be abeyant. WEU delegates did not hold regular meetings, nor did they elect a secretary general. Moreover, because of the neglect the WEU faced, the work by Standard Armaments Committee must also have been hampered. In spite of this marginalization of the WEU, a European armaments policy symposium was organized by the Committee on Defence Questions and Armaments – a subcommittee under the WEU.[76]

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[74] Ibid. Chapter 3, Section 6. 29-30.
[75] Ibid. Chapter 3, Section 6. 29-30.
[76] Although the Council of the Western European Union did not elect representatives during the 1970s, essentially leaving the organization in hibernation, some sub committees such as the Committee on Defence Questions and Armaments still worked on the mandate originally assigned to them. In addition, the Assembly of the WEU still remained active during this time period.

Before looking at the Symposium on European Armaments Policy, it is first important to look at a nongovernmental entity that helped contribute to fostering a European defence identity – the European Organization of Military Associations (EUROMIL). EUROMIL was formed in 1972 as an independent non-profit organization representing seven military associations and trade unions in Western Europe.[77] Historian D.J. Winslow explains EUROMIL as having contributed to the development of a European defence identity. In contrast to state-directed efforts at European military integration, EUROMIL represented a bottom up approach to the building of a shared European military identity.[78]

One of the most important ways that EUROMIL has contributed to a European defence identity was through its ability to intertwine multiple national military cultures into an overarching international military culture.[79] This, as one European remarked, has "helped to contribute to build[ing] up the idea of the EU soldier."[80] Despite the differences in national affiliation and customs, national military cultures had enough in common to overcome the national differences that existed.[81] Examples of military culture include the distinctive dress, (such as uniforms, cap badges and headgear), language (such as acronyms and terminology), and ceremony and tradition (such as parades, mess dinners and music).[82]

Today, EUROMIL seeks to promote fundamental rights and freedoms in the armed forces of European countries, and to promote the inclusion of military personnel in European social policies. It is also mandated to "represent the interests of the member associations vis-

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[77] Lindy Heinecken, "An Overview of military unionism in post-Cold War era," in *Military Unionism In The Post-Cold War Era: A Future Reality?* Ed. Richard Bartle and Lindy Heinecken (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006), 2.
[78] D. J. Winslow, "EUROMIL and the Citizen in Uniform," in *Challenge and Change for the Military, Institution and Profession Conference*, Ed, David M. Last (Montreal: School of Policy Studies, Queens University – McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 117.
[79] Ibid. 118.
[80] Ibid. 118.
[81] Ibid. 118.
[82] Ibid. 118.

à-vis supranational institutions and authorities, and to support them in matters of their concern within the national sphere."[83] Finally, other purposes of EUROMIL are to foster exchange of experiences, promote friendship among different member associations and to cooperate with international organizations within the interests of EUROMIL.[84]

These current aims are consistent with EUROMIL's original aims at its inception. Among these original concerns was "the right of association for all active servicemen in Europe."[85] This concern was central to the creation of EUROMIL since not all countries within Europe (or within the member states of NATO) recognized the right of association for servicemen.[86]

The approach of social and cultural theorists can be used to understand how the concept of EUROMIL could contribute to the formation of a shared identity. Theorists like Michael Hogg and Dominic Abrams have explored the possibility of identity forming out of 'in' groups – groups of people who have special commonalities between them.[87] In this regard, EUROMIL fits Hogg and Abram's model of an in-group, since, despite national differences, soldiers share much in the way of specialized knowledge, role in society, organizational forms, and so on. Thus, EUROMIL has helped to intertwine national military cultures into an international military culture by leading to greater understanding and appreciation of widely shared military practices involving ceremony, tradition, dress, and so on. Although specific ceremonies and traditions may be different between national troops,

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[83] European Organisation of Military Associations, "EUROMIL Charter" 13 November 2008, European Organisation of Military Associations (EUROMIL). August 29, 2013. http://www.euromil.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=256:euromil-charter&catid=105:charter&Itemid=109. Article 2 Part 2 Section D.

[84] Ibid. Article 2 Part 2.

[85] Jean Callaghan and Ray Murphy, "International Prestige and Domestic Democratic Values in Civil-Military Conflicts," in *Civil-Military Relations in Europe: Learning from Crisis and Institutional Change.* Hans Born et al. ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006). 209.

[86] Ibid. 209.

[87] Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Centre for European Reform, 1999), 67.

the fact that each national troop still celebrates these ceremonies and traditions attests to the underlying similarities.[88]

European Armaments Cooperation: The Symposium on European Armaments Policy and Earlier Cooperative Attempts

The two-day Symposium on European Armaments Policy in March 1977, held in Paris, included Belgium, the United Kingdom, France, Italy, the Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany and Luxembourg, and was tasked with discussing two topics: industrial and military aspects of armaments cooperation in Europe and precision-guided munitions.

The first to speak at the symposium was Edmond Nesser, president of the WEU assembly who, in his opening address, outlined the many problems plaguing European countries at the end of the 1970s. The overarching problem was the economic crisis felt by Western Europe, which, in Nesser's words, had forced Western European countries to cut defence spending.[89] Nesser argued that the recent WEU decision to reactivate the Standard Armaments Committee (SAC) could help to offset the declining level of defence spending if the original mandate of the SAC were implemented to create cooperation in armaments between Western European nations.[90] The vice president of the French National Assembly, Eugène Claudius-Petit, further explained that by introducing joint armament policies among WEU states, unnecessary diversity of weaponry in service could be curtailed, maintenance and training costs would be reduced, and as a result, the effectiveness of Europe's armed

[88] Winslow, "EUROMIL and the Citizen in Uniform," 118.
[89] Assembly of the Western European Union – Committee on Defence Questions and Armaments, *A European armaments policy Symposium – Paris, 3rd and 4th March 1977* (Paris: Office of the Clerk of the Assembly of WEU, 1977), 17.
[90] Ibid. 18.

forces could be increased.[91] Joint development of weaponry would mean lower national R&D costs. In addition, the larger production runs that would result from joint production would result in cheaper unit production costs. Inadvertently, joint development of weapons systems and their simultaneous use by multiple national defence forces would also tend to promote the formation of shared military identities, since these are partly defined by the types of equipment that military personnel use.

Claudius-Petit used examples where joint armament production already existed in Europe to underscore his ideas. One example he used was the joint venture that had occurred between France and the Federal Republic of Germany where the two countries were able to jointly produce two aircraft, one ground to air missile, two anti-tank missiles, two naval missiles, and a radar system. In addition, these cooperative armament production attempts were not the only joint arms production initiatives that occurred between WEU participant states, albeit outside of the WEU mandate. In addition to the France-German program, France also had joint production programs with the United Kingdom, Belgium, and the Netherlands.[92]

The concept of a common armaments policy was brought up as a European integration issue in addition to a defence issue. Claudius-Petit was interested in encouraging contracts between European armaments firms to produce bigger orders by creating greater cooperation among European countries. This would allow a greater two-way trade for armaments between Europe and the United States instead of having Europe rely on the United States for weapons.[93] Specifically, Claudius-Petit asserts that "by encouraging contracts between firms, accustoming the general staffs to compare their requirements in a

[91] Ibid. 18.
[92] Ibid. 18.
[93] Ibid, 19.

European, and not simply Atlantic, framework, it calls for concerted government actions in defence matters…"[94]

Despite the positive results from existing joint ventures, and the positive vision of a standardized European armaments arrangement for the WEU, no agreement on this matter could be reached. Many factors hindered the possibilities for large-scale European joint ventures in armaments production. National military industries, for example, were not keen to give up their dominance and preferential treatment in national military procurement. Another hindering factor related back to disagreement between European states on institutional frameworks to establish joint time schedules for equipment renewals.[95] Because of problems like this, Claudius-Petit explained that there was a need to reorganize the armaments industries of Western Europe in a more profound way.[96] Yet there were strong negative reactions to such an aim from national unions and concerned citizens due to the impact that such reorganization could have on employment.[97] This problem was brought up by Claude Delorme, a French socialist, who explained that since the rights of workers were already under attack, initiating such a reorganization without taking into account the social and employment dimensions would not only nullify any positive technological developments, but might also risk any future European integration policy.[98] Additional comments were nevertheless made by representatives from Norway, the United Kingdom and the Belgium Assistant Chief of Staff alluding to the need to continue studying the idea of common armament procurement.[99]

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[94] Ibid. 18.
[95] Ibid. 18-19.
[96] Ibid. 19.
[97] Ibid. 50.
[98] Ibid. 50.
[99] Ibid. 50-51.

Although no final agreement was reached at the symposium, its aim had simply been to explore the possibility and benefit of a European armaments policy. In this regard, the symposium was a success. Throughout the first day, agreements were reached on the economic benefit of such a policy, but since the issue of social aspects had been inadequately addressed, many representatives believed that further study was needed before further progress toward any kind of standardized armament policy could commence.

Two aspects of this conference are worth noting. First, although there was no agreement on a common armaments policy, the symposium itself showed the desire of WEU nations to develop a policy to alleviate problems associated with declining budgets. Such an armaments policy would certainly have supported the growth of a European defence identity, especially since the idea of European integration was discussed extensively at the conference. Second, the symposium showed that joint ventures in armament production were already occurring independently of the WEU. Since many of these joint ventures were occurring between WEU nations, however, one can argue that a sense of identity was already forming between these nations. So, in some respects, the economic crisis felt by European nations in the late 1970s was inadvertently fostering greater acceptance of the idea that further military cooperation and integration in Europe were both necessary and beneficial..

Conclusion

Starting in 1959 France actively sought to reduce American influence and increase European influence in European affairs. Toward this end, France withdrew from the military body of NATO, a reorientation that started in 1959 and ended in 1967. During the withdrawal, France also sought to create greater political unity in Europe. However, the majority of Western Europe was not ready to let go of reliance on NATO and US

involvement in European defence – as seen through the failure of the Fouchet Plan. Nevertheless, the door was opened for de Gaulle to initiate some of the strongest steps that had yet been taken towards Franco-German reconciliation.

To consolidate the path to reconciliation, France and Germany spearheaded a political cooperation between themselves through the Treaty of Élysée in 1963. Nevertheless, France was unable to force Germany to relinquish its own reliance on NATO during the negotiation of the treaty, highlighted by the German insert of clause dictating its NATO responsibilities into the treaty. Although seemingly unimportant to the grander scheme of European defence identity in the 1960s, the Treaty of Élysée planted seeds that eventually exerted significant influence on European defence identity in the late 1980s with the protocol to amend the Treaty of Élysée – to be discussed in the next chapter.

By the 1970s, the WEU was fully dominated by NATO – seen through the inability of the SAC to set up its own common armaments program in Western Europe. The political atmosphere in Europe was changing, however, and starting in 1972 EEC nations initiated their own political cooperation without the supranational aspects that had led to earlier versions of political cooperation (notably the EDC) to fail. Although the EPC came into existence, however, the average European citizen held little hope for there to be significant influence from the EPC, a view that was reflected in many political cartoons of that era.

Even so, the EPC was able to establish the CSCE conference between Eastern and Western European nations and within two years the participants were able to come to agreement on security cooperation in not only Europe, but also the Mediterranean, resulting in a significant decrease in east-west tensions. As a result, the remaining EEC nations who had earlier refused to let go of their reliance on NATO began to ask the very question France had been asking since the early 1960s – was NATO still necessary in Europe?

Finally, in 1977, a committee of the WEU set up a symposium on the possibility of establishing a common armaments procurement platform. Although this conference eventually produced only a plea for more research on the possibilities and implications of joint military procurement, it was still important as an attempt made by European nations to think about reducing their reliance on NATO. This conference also highlighted ongoing examples of cooperation between Western European states weapons development, specifically the example of joint ventures between France and Germany.

Although there were many forces impeding the development of a European defence identity between 1960 and the end of the 1970s, inklings of change toward greater military integration and foundations for a shared identity were still detectable. Most notable was the bottom-up creation of EUROMIL, which saw the formation of a military "union" in Western Europe that brought together and helped intertwine multiple military cultures, resulting in a growing sense of common identity among participants. In addition, the continued independent cooperation between Western European nations on arms production can also be considered as aiding the potential for growth of a shared military defence identity, as common weapons were beginning to be produced and distributed to multiple European nations. Yet it was not until the 1980s that Western Europe actively began breaking away from the traditional NATO domination toward a more fully Eurocentric approach to European defence.

Appendix

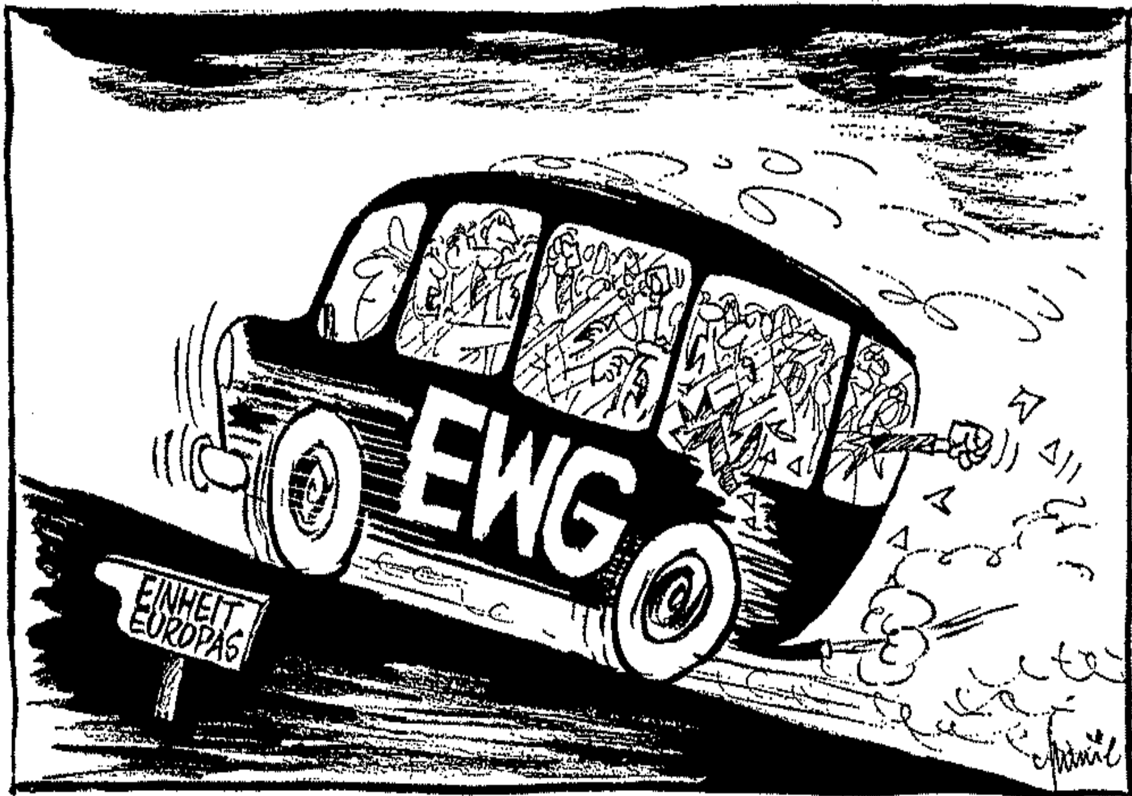

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Figure 1: Felix Mussil – August 1972

Chapter 4
The Great Shift: A European Defence Identity for Europeans, 1984-2004

Introduction

It is well known that the process of European integration has not proceeded uniformly over time. The 1970s are commonly referred to as a period of "Euroslump" and the mid-1980s, in contrast, is known as a period when European integration was "relaunched," resulting in the Single European Act, signed in 1986, which in turn paved the way for the more ambitious Treaty on European Union (Maastricht Treaty) of 1992. In fact an analogous slump and relaunch occurred in the realm of European military integration as well. In particular, the WEU, Europe's organization for defence matters, became largely moribund in the 1970s until efforts were made to relaunch it in the 1980s, roughly at the same time as the general relaunch of European integration. This chapter analyzes the European defence initiatives that were undertaken from the time of this relaunch (beginning in 1984) until 2004, the year that EU Battlegroups—multinational European rapid reaction forces—became a formally approved concept for a military force operating under EU auspices—in effect, a European army (to borrow the phrase that was widely used in the 1950s). Analyzing the diverse military integration initiatives that occurred over these two decades reveals considerable evidence for the formation and elaboration of a European defence identity and shows that there was also a desire to make this identity more prominent and visible to the world. The chapter concludes with a review of how theories of identity formation apply to, and help to interpret this historical case.

Section One: The Formalization of Security and Defence in Europe

The Awakening: The Revitalization of the Western European Union

Starting in early 1984 an attempt was made by France to revitalize the WEU, which had been left dormant since 1973. By June 1984, seven members of the WEU – France, Britain, Germany, Italy and the Benelux countries – met to discuss attempts at revitalization.[1] Documents from the June meeting explain the importance to Europe of revitalizing the WEU. Particularly, it was agreed that the

> WEU is at present the only European organisation empowered by treaty to discuss defence and security matters. It has a well-developed institutional structure, in particular a Council and a parliament Assembly. Its reactivation is prompted by the following considerations: 1.1. Consultation and joint in-depth reflection by the member countries of WEU are needed on the problems liable to affect their security, together with a more assertive European presence in the field of defence and security.[2]

Although the revitalization of the WEU showed a renewed interest in European defence integration, the June documents do not show how Western European nations intended for the WEU to contribute to the building of a European defence identity.

A memorandum from early June, 1984 suggests further reasons for activating the WEU. In the explanatory memorandum, as it was known, section five outlined proposals for the future of the WEU. Section two of the memorandum explained difficulties, specifically within foreign policy, between the United States and WEU countries. It noted that the revival of the WEU grew from its member states' growing policy differences with the United States, observing that, "on this side of the Atlantic, it seems increasingly evident that European and American interests are not always identical."[3] WEU revitalization thus reflected a desire to

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[1] Geir Lundestad, *"Empire" by Integration: The United States and European Integration, 1945-1997* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 111.

[2] Assembly of Western European Union, *Assembly of Western European Union – Proceedings: Thirtieth Ordinary Session – First Part – May 1984* (Paris: Office of the Clerk of the Assembly of WEU, 1984), Document 982 – *Revitalization of WEU*, 306.

[3] Assembly of Western European Union, *Assembly of Western European Union – Proceedings: Thirtieth Ordinary Session – First Part – May 1984* (Paris: Office of the Clerk of the Assembly of WEU, 1984), Document 973 – *Explanatory Memorandum*, 149.

demonstrate visible independence from American influence. This idea was also evident in a later memorandum in which WEU delegates stated that:

> the growing cost of armaments […] means that in the future only an economic and technological entity of the size of Europe will be able to design and produce the means needed for ensuring its security and defence. In the absence of European armaments co-operation, the day will come when only the United States will be able to produce the systems needed for defending the free world.[4]

This passage shows that the WEU wanted to begin asserting its independence from the overwhelming influence of American military technology. Although there would still remain some form of American influence – since the WEU was integrated into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) – these documents show the desire to set up a European first line of defence, in some ways reminiscent of de Gaulle's thinking in the 1960s.

Authors such as Simon Duke have questioned the importance of the renewal of the WEU.[5] Duke asserts that revitalization of the WEU was a surprising decision given that it gave up many of its original tasks. For example, it phased out the Agency for the Control of Armaments. However, looking at the assembly documents it becomes clear that Duke's assessment leaves out some relevant considerations. Duke ignored the fact that one role of the WEU was to discuss policy options, which was an important first step toward taking action. These discussions clearly reveal a growing shift in thinking that was shared by WEU states. More broadly, Duke's argument surrounding the phasing out of the Agency for the Control of Armaments along with social, cultural, and political consultation does not adequately take into account the more general expansion and deepening of European integration that occurred from the 1970s, and that led to a greater specialization of tasks

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[4] Ibid. 149.

[5] Simon Duke, *The Elusive Quest for European Security: From EDC to CFSP* (Oxford: St. Anthony's College, 2000), 72.

within European Community organizations. Although the Modified Brussels Treaty that created the WEU had originally outlined social, cultural, and political consultation, other European organizations ended up being a better fit for these objectives. From 1970, political consultation fell under the remit of European Political Cooperation (EPC), whose sole purpose was to organize political cooperation and steer further attempts at integration. In addition, the Council of Europe had a mandate in social and cultural aspects of European integration – thus, it only made sense for the Council of Europe to take on the social and cultural remit of the WEU. The WEU thereby became an organization with a specialized mandate in defence matters.

Duke also does not look at the specifics behind the reactivation of the WEU – to act as a forum for defence discussions for Western Europe. This became especially important in light of the growing disagreements between European leaders and the United States over foreign policy issues. Duke also does not explore the intended purpose of the Standard Armaments Committee – related again to the defensive role that was intended for the revitalized WEU. The Standard Armaments Committee was intended to help create further cooperation among Western European nations in relation to armaments.[6] This intent highlights the renewed sense of urgency toward creating a common armament strategy that was felt by European nations. Cooperation in this area had already started to occur with the earlier European armaments policy symposium, but faltered due to disagreements over the

[6] Assembly of Western European Union, *Assembly of Western European Union – Proceedings: Thirtieth Ordinary Session – First Part – May 1984* (Paris: Office of the Clerk of the Assembly of WEU, 1984), Document 982 – *Revitalization of WEU*, 306-307.

issue of military procurement contracts.[7] The Standard Armaments Committee was moreover renewed for five years until it was merged with NATO in 1989.[8]

Finally, Duke interprets the phasing out of the Agency for Control of Armaments (in 1984) as a further sign of WEU irrelevance. Yet this change was actually a result of the WEU's revitalization, which made the agency's purpose redundant.[9] WEU delegates had finally all agreed that the restrictions placed on Germany (which the agency had overseen) needed be lifted, something that was announced at the Rome Declaration on October 27 1984.[10] With this decision, the basic *raison d'être* of the Agency for the Control of Armaments ended, so it made sense to wind it down.

Overall, the revitalization of the WEU made the organization into a more specialized European defence organization. It was still linked firmly to NATO, but it was increasingly attempting to speak with a distinct European voice. At the same time, the principle of maintaining military restrictions on Germany had been removed, which was an important symbolic and practical prerequisite for further European military integration. And finally, the WEU was beginning to play a significant role not only in promoting greater European military cooperation but also in laying foundations for the construction of a common European identity in military affairs.

Alternate Integration Efforts: The Schengen Plan and Further European Integration

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[7] Assembly of Western European Union – Committee on Defence Questions and Armaments, *A European armaments Policy Symposium – Paris, 3rd and 4th March 1977* (Paris: Office of the Clerk of the Assembly of WEU, 1977), 17-18.
[8] Duke, *The Elusive Quest for European Security: From EDC to CFSP*, 73.
[9] G. Wyn Rees, *The Western European Union at the Crossroads* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998), 26-27.
[10] Assembly of Western European Union, *Assembly of Western European Union – Proceedings: Thirtieth Ordinary Session – Second Part – December 1984* (Paris: Office of the Clerk of the Assembly of WEU, 1984), Document 989 – *Rome Declaration*, 48-49.

The 1980s, as noted in the introduction to this chapter, witnessed a broad-based, revitalized effort toward greater European integration. The Single European Act (1986) together with the Schengen Plan (1985) envisioned not only the complete integration of European markets, but also the creation of an entirely borderless European space. The European community was also enlarged with the entry of Greece (1981), Spain (1986), and Portugal (1986), leading to an even larger union of European countries. The Cold War political environment that Europe had previously faced was also changing. With the election of Mikhail Gorbachev as president of the Soviet Union in 1985, the USSR entered into a new phase of existence, which led—by way of Gorbachev's policies of *Perestroika* (restructuring) and *Glasnost* (openness)—to diminished tensions between the Soviet Union and Europe (and the United States).

These changes laid foundations for further European defence integration and the growth of a common European defence identity. Because of the sheer number and diversity of developments that propelled integration forward from the late 1970s onward, it is impossible within the confines of this thesis to review all of the relevant changes in detail. Instead, I will focus on several developments that had a particular importance for European military integration. One of the most important was the Schengen Agreement.

This agreement provided for the systematic elimination of internal European border controls, thus leading to a new regime of unfettered internal mobility and migration of European citizens throughout the territories of the Schengen signatory states.[11] The foundation of the agreement came about on June 14 1985, one year after the reactivation of the WEU. It began as an agreement outside of the official European Community framework,

[11] The original Schengen Area signatories were: Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal and Spain.

and it initially included only five European Community states: France, Germany, and the Benelux countries. Then, in 1990, a more formal Convention Implementing the Schengen Agreement (CISA) was signed by the same five states, dictating the practical application of the agreement along with the proposed disbandment of internal border checks, which took another five years to be fully implemented.[12] Finally, in 1997, with the Treaty of Amsterdam, the Schengen agreement was formally brought into the framework of the European Community (which by then had been renamed the European Union). However, two EU member states—Britain and Ireland—remained outside of the Schengen system, while some non-EU states—Switzerland, Norway, and Iceland—joined it.

Although the Schengen Agreement was a non-defence initiative, it in fact had implications for the development of a common European defence policy, and by extension, for the development of a European defence identity. First, with the defining of a common external border through the Schengen Agreement together with the elimination of internal borders among Schengen states, it is reasonable to conclude that an open border concept necessitated a higher-level defence collaboration to protect this new, shared transnational space. Although there is no overt, formal link between European military integration and the Schengen agreement, recent historical studies have attempted to link the Schengen Agreement to a deeper desire for a common European identity, including a security and defence identity. One such example was presented by Björn Wilhelm Müeller-Wille who posited "why ESDP [European Security and Defence Policy] within the EU? The first argument for the development of the ESDP within the EU is that it is the natural step in the

[12] Anais Faure Atger, "The Abolition of Internal Border Checks in an Enlarged Schengen Area: Freedom of movement of a web of scattered security checks?" in *Justice and Home Affairs*, *Challenge Papers*, March 20, 2008, from: http://www.ceps.eu/book/abolition-internal-border-checks-enlarged-schengen-area-freedom-movement-or-scattered-web-secur. 3.

evolution of the European Union, following Schengen […].”[13] This sentiment was also shared by the Commission of the European Communities in 2002, which observed that “the European Union’s external borders are also a place where a common security identity is asserted. The absence of a clearly stated vision and common policy on external borders would entail major political and strategic risk. Those could ultimately block the expression of a viable Union policy on Justice and Home Affairs.”[14]

These two ideas link to theories of identity formation. Specifically, Hastings Donnan and Thomas Wilson’s arguments looked at the attempts of the state to define a specific border.[15] In this case the European Community attempted to create a common exterior border with no interior border, resulting in a change in people’s identifiable boundary. This merger of borders, according to the Donnan and Wilson argument, would also mean that people’s identities would also change, and this argument can also be applied more specifically to defence and defence identity. Soldiers could feel a greater common identity with one another because of the common borders or boundaries they protected. After the Schengen Plan, soldiers within the borderless area necessarily defended a much larger territory along with other European nations. Thus, a greater sense of common identity not only became possible, but also more advantageous and even necessary.[16]

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[13] Björn Wilhelm Müeller-Wille, “Thinking Security in Europe – Is there a European Security and Defence Identity?” (Doctoral diss., Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität zu Münster (Westf.), 2003) August 5, 2013, 76.

[14] “Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament – Towards Integration Management of the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union.” May 7, 2002Commission of the European Communities. August 16, 2013. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2002:0233:FIN:EN:PDF.

[15] Hastings Donnan and Thomas Wilson, *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1999), 64.

[16] It is also worth reflecting on the fact that the Schengen agreement coincided temporally with the decision of the WEU to finally phase out the Agency for the Control of Armaments, which had originally overseen controls and limits placed on German rearmament (notably including a complete ban on the manufacture of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons). Together these developments represent a profound contrast with the state of affairs that existed in Europe in the 1950s.

In addition to the Schengen system as a way to create greater unity and cohesiveness among European countries, European politicians were working toward integrating the internal markets of the EU states. A year after the announcement and finalization of the original Schengen Plan, the Single European Act (SEA) was announced. The SEA intended to modify the existing Treaty of Rome, which was originally signed in 1957, and which established the European Economic Community (EEC). In addition to modifying the Treaty of Rome, the SEA Treaty also modified the treaties establishing the European Coal and Steel Community and EURATOM, to help further the integration project in Europe. Three main provisions of the SEA Treaty contributed to defence integration. These provisions included the integration of the internal market, the formalization of the European Political Cooperation (EPC) agreement from the 1970s as an integral part of the European Community system, and further attempts to integrate research and technological development efforts.

Looking first at the internal market provisions, the SEA treaty intended to help create a more competitive Europe as compared to the United States. The treaty sought to create a Europe where internal frontiers did not hinder the movement of goods, persons, services or capital.[17] By implementing this type of plan, the SEA treaty allowed for not only goods and services to travel across internal European borders, but also for the merger of national companies across borders to form European multinational corporations. Eventually (as will be discussed later), this shift gave rise to integrated transnational European companies in the defence area.

[17] "Single European Act (Luxembourg, 17 February 1986, and The Hague, 28 February 1986)." 28 February 1986. Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l'Europe (CVCE). September 4, 2013. http://www.cvce.eu/obj/single_european_act_luxembourg_17_february_1986_and_the_hague_28_february_1986-en-972ccc77-f4b8-4b24-85b8-e43ce3e754bf.html. Chapter II – Section I – Article 13.

The second provision, formalization of the EPC, was presented under Title III of the SEA Treaty. Title III confirmed the procedures agreed upon through the Luxembourg Report, discussed earlier, as well as further EPC meetings at Copenhagen (1973), London (1981), and the Solemn Declaration of European Union in 1983. With the confirmation of the EPC as part of the European Community system, the SEA Treaty proclaimed that the European Council would bring together the heads of state, the president of the Commission of the European Communities as well as the ministers of foreign affairs of the member states at least twice a year.[18] The formalization of the EPC was a major step forward for integration in European political affairs. Although the EPC itself had been a major step forward, the formalization of political cooperation in treaty form within the European Community framework showed the progress that political integration had made since 1970 and indeed since the failure of the Fouchet Plan.

The final provision that contributed to defence integration was Title V – Sub Section V of the SEA Treaty – research and technological development. This section added provisions to the Treaty of Rome dealing with the industrial potential of Europe. Specifically, Article 130f encouraged cooperation on research and technological development so to fully exploit the EEC community's new internal market potential.[19] The provision for cooperation in research and technological development helped to strengthen the trend in Europe toward joint, multinational research undertakings, which included defence-related projects.

The Fall of the Wall: An End to Communism and the Push for European Integration

[18] Ibid. Title III – Article 2.
[19] Ibid. Title VI – Article 130f.

The collapse of the Berlin Wall starting in 1989 signalled two important developments for the cohesion of Western Europe. First, it signalled the end of the Cold War and suggested (at least for a time) that the traditional enemy – the Soviet Union – was no longer a threat to Europe. With this shift, the question of the necessity of NATO, something that had begun to be raised in the 1970s and into the 1980s, returned. The second and more serious development was the possible reunification of Germany.

Throughout the Cold War a stronger emphasis had been placed on 'soft power' integration – that of economic and political integration in Western Europe – than on 'hard power' integration, since Western Europe relied on NATO in military matters. But with the end of the Cold War, ideas about military policy and reliance on NATO began to shift. Thinking on security matters also moved toward soft-power approaches, with less emphasis placed on (NATO) military power and more on Europe-centred economic and political security.[20] To some it began to appear as though Western Europe no longer needed NATO. With the possibility of a large-scale attack against Europe no longer appearing to be much of a threat, the purpose and future of NATO were brought into question, particularly after the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact.[21]

A re-examination of the necessity of NATO also grew out of increasingly strained relations between the United States and Western Europe during the 1980s. For example, the United States and Europe clashed over the latter's desire for a gas pipeline to be constructed from Siberia to Western Europe in 1982.[22] The United States opposed the pipeline as it considered that its construction would upset the balance of the energy trade within Europe,

[20] Samuel Jubelirer, "Divided Responsibility: NATO, the European Union, and European Defense After the Cold War," in *Claremont-UC Undergrad Research Conference on the European Union:* Vol. 2009, Article 8. DOI: 10.5642/urceu.200901.08, 2009. http://scholarship.claremont.edu/urceu/vol2009/iss1/8/. 1.
[21] Ibid. 1.
[22] John William Holmes, *The United States and Europe After the Cold War: A New Alliance?* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), 21.

thus threatening to increase the US defence burden in Western Europe.[23] Western Europe desired the pipeline because it would not only supply Western Europe, including France and Britain with natural gas, but also because nationalized companies such as the French Alsthom-Atlantique, were awarded contracts related to the construction of the pipeline.[24] Another example of growing foreign policy differences between Western Europe and the US was the US attack on Libya in 1986. The attack was condemned by many Western European countries, including France, Italy, Spain and West Germany. Growing differences like these, combined with Europeans' increasing willingness to publicly display policy positions that directly conflicted with American preferences, signalled a European desire to develop a separate identity from both the US and NATO in world affairs.[25]

The Collapse of Communism also heralded the possibility of German reunification – which raised concerns in Western Europe, notably in France and Britain. French reactions to German reunification were mixed. During the initial stages of reunification talks, French President François Mitterrand accepted the notion of German reunification internationally by ensuring that France did not impede or slow down the process.[26] Yet the French population had not overcome its misgivings towards Germany. The result was the emergence of a new 'German Problem,' different from the German problem that emerged at the end of the Second World War. The question at issue now was not about German rearmament, but rather about how a reunited Germany would affect the European integration process and about the

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[23] National Security Council (NSC) Meetings Box 91282 (169) "Memorandum for the assistant to the president for National Security Affairs – West Siberian Pipeline" accessed September 9, 2013 http://fc95d419f4478b3b6e5f-3f71d0fe2b653c4f00f32175760e96e7.r87.cf1.rackcdn.com/B46005F232854FCC9EA465EA44FE3401.pdf

[24] Flora Lewis, "France Defies Ban by U.S. on Supplies for Soviet Pipeline," *New York Times,* July 23, 1982, accessed September 9, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/1982/07/23/world/france-defies-ban-by-us-on-supplies-for-soviet-pipeline.html.

[25] Holmes, *The United States and Europe After the Cold War: A New Alliance?,* 21.

[26] Frédéric Bozo, "France, German unification and European integration," in *Europe and the End of the Cold War: A reappraisal* ed. Frédéric Bozo et al. (New York: Routledge – Taylor & Francis Group, 2008), 152.

role of a reunified Germany within the European Community. Would a new, significantly enlarged German entity continue in its efforts toward building an integrated Europe? Would it drift away from France or begin taking a more assertive role in European affairs and in shaping the path of integration?[27]

The positive reaction received from France quickly soured following German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's politicization of his ten-point plan for German reunification on November 28, 1989. The ten-point plan outlined what West Germany and Kohl perceived as the route that should be taken in dealing with German unification. Specifically, Kohl believed that West Germany should continue with the same degree of cooperation with East Germany, but that the Socialist Unity Party of East Germany (SED) should relinquish its power, which would have quickly led to reunification of the two Germanys.[28] In addition, Kohl also believed that East Germany needed to open itself up financially to Western Germany for investment, thereby dismantling the bureaucratically planned economy.[29]

In his address, Chancellor Kohl gave no specific mention of European integration, nor had he informed French politicians about his intention to announce his ten-point plan. Some French politicians like Élysée Chief of Staff Jean-Louis Bianco perceived Kohl's failure to inform Paris as a slight towards Franco-German cooperation.[30] Even so, Franco-German relations, along with French support for German unification, quickly recovered. This "return to normalcy" was definitely achieved following Kohl's discussion of European

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[27] Ibid. 151.
[28] "Helmut Kohl's Ten-Point Plan for German Unity (November 28, 1989)," November 28, 1989, German History in Documents and Images (GHDI), accessed September 9, 2013, http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=223.
[29] Ibid. Point Three.
[30] Frédéric Bozo, *Mitterrand, the End of the Cold War, and German Unification* trans. Susan Emanuel (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 124.

Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) with Mitterrand in 1990 at the Strasbourg Conference.

Despite misgivings and initial tensions between Germany and its allies about reunification, the process itself ultimately led to greater European integration. The first new step occurred at the Strasbourg Conference on December 8, 1990, where the question of EMU was discussed. Mitterrand wanted to steer Europe towards EMU, but with the re-emergence of the German question, had been unable to do so. The entire EMU situation had led Mitterrand initially to question German resolve toward European integration.[31] To fulfill French wishes, which in effect sought to bind the European Community more closely together (with Germany in tow), Chancellor Kohl agreed to move toward EMU. Kohl's response signalled German reaffirmation of commitment to European integration, but it also helped re-establish the strong Franco-German relationship that had been built first by de Gaulle and Adenauer, and then firmly cemented in the 1970s by Giscard d'Estaing and Helmut Schmidt.

Despite pleasing the French, however, Kohl was starkly opposed by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Thatcher had opposed the prospect of German reunification from the moment the Berlin Wall fell, and she strove to slow down German reunification in any way possible.[32] Thatcher's disapproval of German reunification was part of a deeper mistrust of Germany that had negatively affected British-German relations since she came to power. Equally important, Thatcher opposed German reunification because the Russians

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[31] , "France, German unification and European integration," 153-154
[32] Beatrice Heuser, "Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany in NATO, 1955-1990," in *Britain and Germany in Europe: 1949-1990* ed. Jeremy Noakes et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 155.

demanded that if Germany became reunified, it should not be allowed to remain in NATO.[33] However, British resistance to German reunification ended following German assurances that a newly unified Germany would remain within the NATO framework, together with American acceptance of the prospect of reunification.[34]

The Treaty of Maastricht, the CFSP, and the Formalization of European Defence Matters in the European Union

One of the cornerstone achievements of European integration following the revival of the 1980s was the Maastricht Treaty, signed in 1992.[35] Under Maastricht, several different European integration organizations, which had been set up since the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), were organized into a new entity – the European Union. This consolidation of integration attempts was also linked to a new goal—Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), as discussed earlier.[36] In addition, the Maastricht Treaty revamped the structure and aims of European Political Cooperation (which had been brought into the European Community framework through the Single European Act). EPC was transformed in the Maastricht Treaty into a new Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), thereby bringing not only foreign policy but also defence and security issues into a European framework that was not connected with NATO.[37]

The Common Foreign and Security Policy was initially referred to in Title I article B of the Maastricht Treaty. There it was noted that the CFSP was established "to assert [the

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[33] Ekka Kalevi Hämäläinen, *Uniting German: Actions and Reactions* (Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing Company Limited, 1994), 117.
[34] Gerhard Ritter, *The Price of German Unity: Reunification and the Crisis of the Welfare State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 11.
[35] The Maastricht Treaty is also referred to as the Treaty of European Union.
[36] Geir Lundestad, *"Empire" by Integration: The United States and European Integration, 1945-1997* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 116.
[37] Jolyon Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union (Hampshire: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2007),* 63. The Treaty of Maastricht was also known as the Treaty of European Union (TEU) which officially established the European Union

European Union's] identity on the international scene, in particular through the implementation of a common foreign and security policy including the eventual framing of a common defence policy, which might in time lead to a common defence."[38] Title V of the Maastricht Treaty then outlined the provisions for the CFSP in detail. The CFSP was to follow the principles set out in the Helsinki Final Act, discussed earlier. The general aim of the CFSP was to strengthen the joint security of the member states of the European Union. Member states were to consult one another regarding foreign and security policy to ensure effective influence over issues in foreign policy.

Specifically, the CFSP was established to "safeguard the common values, fundamental interests and independence of the [European] Union."[39] To do this, the CFSP intended to establish cooperation between member states. The CFSP was also intended to replace the older EPC, established in 1970 and codified in the SEA Treaty. Although seemingly similar to the EPC, the CFSP was to focus solely on security and defence questions whereas the EPC focused on the general idea of common political unity. As well, the CFSP was introduced as a formal policy for dealing with security and defence questions whereas the EPC had always remained informal, even after being codified under the SEA Treaty.

It may be asked why, after approximately thirty years of often thwarted efforts, the aim of a common European foreign and security policy was able to win the agreement of the EU's twelve member states in 1992? The answer lies in the fall of the Soviet Union itself and the unrest left in central Europe, namely, Yugoslavia. The aftermath from the fall of the

[38] "Treaty on European Union (Maastricht, 7 February 1992)." 7 February 1992. Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l'Europe (CVCE). August 20, 2013. http://www.cvce.eu/obj/treaty_on_european_union_maastricht_7_february_1992-en-2c2f2b85-14bb-4488-9ded-13f3cd04de05.html.

[39] Ibid, Title V – Article J.1.

Soviet Union quickly led to the breakup of Yugoslavia in Central Europe (1989-1992), which came at an influential time for the European Community as it was in the process of negotiating the Maastricht Treaty and CFSP between 1990 and 1992.

Prior to CFSP, the Yugoslavian breakup had been handled by the EPC, which advocated strong diplomatic solutions to the situation.[40] However, EPC attempts proved to be futile, thus highlighting the weakness of the EPC during initial CFSP negotiations. The events surrounding the breakup of Yugoslavia showed the EPC to be ineffective in bringing European countries to speak with a 'single' voice during a time of crisis, and moreover at a time when these same European countries were working toward further integration. Thus, the perceived weakness of the EPC led to an increased driving force toward negotiating a CFSP to replace the out of date and informal EPC by placing political union and foreign policy power into the Maastricht Treaty. Moreover, the argument can be made that the Yugoslav breakup was a defining moment in negotiating the CFSP within Maastricht.

In addition to the weakness of the EPC, European policies were also shown to be fundamentally weak with the Yugoslavian crisis and later Bosnian War (1992-1995). The principles outlined during the Yugoslav wars were severely weakened because of the inconsistency between stated principles and actions taken by the European Community. Namely, the two stated principles were the maintenance of Yugoslavian unity and the notion that all warring factions in Yugoslavia were to be held equally responsible for the armed conflict in which they participated.[41] However, European Community policies wavered during negotiations; it used recognition (by Europe) of claims by certain sides as both a

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[40] Duke, *The Elusive Quest for European Security: From EDC to CFSP*, 221.
[41] Sonia Lucarelli, *Europe and the Breakup of Yugoslavia: A Political Failure in Search of a Scholarly Explanation* (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 2000), 223.

reward system and a punishment system to force peace negotiations to progress.[42] This situation profoundly influenced the implementation of the CFSP within the Maastricht Treaty during negotiations between 1990 and 1992, in particular because of the set of tools used to deal with the Yugoslav wars. An example was the humanitarian aid that was given and the intervention that occurred during the wars. Although the humanitarian aid helped to combat starvation, it also led to the feeding of soldiers and their families, thus prolonging the war. In addition, the establishment of safe zones within Yugoslavia was intended to help refugees, but ultimately contributed to helping opposition forces with ethnic cleansing during the wars. These two examples demonstrate that a more forceful response was needed from the European Community.[43]

The political weakness, seen through the initial European Community response to the Yugoslav Wars, turned into a military weakness once the European Union[44] got involved with the separation of Bosnia from Yugoslavia. The Bosnian War both can and cannot be seen as the first test of the CFSP policy. The initial stages of the Bosnian War corresponded with the implementation of the Maastricht Treaty and the CFSP. So, in the earlier stages of the war, the CFSP was not to play a role. However, as we will see later on, the CFSP was applied to Bosnia once European troops sent in peacekeepers to establish and protect the 'safe zones' established to house refugee populations. The signing of the Treaty of Maastricht and the formalization of a CFSP acted first as a stepping stone for Europe to take control of security and defence activities within Europe. However, the European Union proved to be militarily unable to cope with a prolonged conflict, thus highlighting its military weakness.

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[42] Ibid. 223.
[43] Ibid, 223-224.
[44] Formerly the European Community

Initially, the United States, under President Bush, was unwilling to send in troops to Bosnia as it was a re-election year for Bush. Because of the lack of American involvement, Western Europe was able to take the lead in 1991 in dealing with the Bosnian War. Jacques Poos, the foreign minister of Luxembourg, claimed that this was the opportunity for Europeans to take over their own security affairs.[45] As the CFSP was being negotiated at the time of Poos' comments, another connection can be drawn in that the common belief in Europe was that the CFSP would help to establish a European security presence within European affairs. And in this case, yet another foundation needed for a European defence identity would have been met.

Yet, despite wanting to engage in its own security operations, Europe was not ready to handle a military action on the scale required in the Bosnian war. An example of this was given by General Klaus Naumann, the officer in charge of the NATO military committee, who explained that the United States had to supply the Implementation Force (IFOR) with forty-six of the forty-eight communication satellite channels used by the operation in Bosnia. This was important to note because Naumann, a German general, noted that "there is no security for Europe without the Americans."[46]

By 1995 the Bosnian war had worsened, due to the Tuzla, the Srebrenica and the second Markale massacres. Furthermore, there had been a marked increase in fighting as outlined by Operation Summer '95 and Operation Storm, which allowed Croatian forces to take over the territory of Serb Krajina, and the continued assault on UN safe areas (including Srebrenica). As a result, the United States, through NATO, initiated Operation Deliberate

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[45] Stanley Sloan, *NATO, The European Union, and the Atlantic Community: The Transatlantic Bargain Reconsidered* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003), 94.
[46] David Yost, "Ù.S.-European Capabilities Cap and the Prospects for ESDP" in *Defending Europe: The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy* ed. Jolyon Howorth and John T.S. Keeler (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2003), 87.

Force –primarily an air operation.[47] The intervention of the United States soon ended the Bosnian War, but in doing so, it highlighted a major European weakness in strategic arms and readiness as it took American air superiority to finally end the Bosnian War.[48]

Although the belief and desire was present for Europe to want to take charge of military affairs in Europe, the CFSP initially proved a failure, as seen with the results from the Bosnian War. It was not until superior American airpower was deployed that the Bosnian War quickly came to an end. Despite being an initial failure, the CFSP was still in its infancy, and Bosnia was the first military operation that Europe tried to spearhead alone without the United States. Despite the failure, in Bosnia, European politicians still focused on Bosnia and Herzegovina for future examples of policing actions. This was first seen with the deployment of Eurocorps to Bosnia as part of the NATO stabilisation force in 1998, but also the EU policing force in 2003, both of which were successes, yet which operated under a new European defence policy – the European Security and Defence Policy.[49]

Moving Forward in Defence Identity: The Treaty of Amsterdam

Starting in 1995, the European Union went through a series of enlargements, which required changes to the Treaty of Maastricht.[50] At the time of the ratification of the Treaty of Maastricht (then called the Treaty of European Union or TEU), twelve states made up the European Union, a dramatic increase from the six original European Coal and Steel

[47] Sloan, *NATO, The European Union, and the Atlantic Community: The Transatlantic Bargain Reconsidered*, 95.
[48] David Reynolds, *From World War to Cold War; Churchill, Roosevelt, and the International History of the 1940s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 326.
[49] Ana. E. Juncos, "The EU's Post-Conflict Intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina: (re)Integrating the Balkans and / or (re)Inventing the EU?," in Southeast European Politics Vol. 6 No. 2 (2005) pp. 88-108, http://www.seep.ceu.hu/archives/issue62/juncos.pdf.
[50] Following the ratification of the Treaty of Maastricht both historians and politicians referred to the treaty as the Treaty of European Union. In keeping with this tradition, this thesis will refer to the Treaty of Maastricht as the Treaty of European Union (TEU) henceforth.

Community (ECSC) states. Enlargements after the 1950s included the addition of Britain, Denmark and Ireland in 1973, Greece in 1981 and Spain and Portugal in 1986. By 1995, the 'Alpine-Arctic' enlargement had taken place, which added Austria, Sweden, and Finland to the European Union.[51] These enlargements were indicative of the progress the European Union had made and would continue to make. However, with the Collapse of Communism (which made the Alpine-Arctic enlargement possible), former Communist countries of Central Europe also applied for membership, and the prospect of these enlargements necessitated changes in the Treaty of European Union. Negotiations toward a new treaty (which would become the Treaty of Amsterdam) started in June 1995, which then led to a call for an Intergovernmental Conference (IGC), to take place in 1996.

Focusing solely on the defence aspect of the Treaty of Amsterdam, the treaty created a high representative for the CFSP. The idea surrounding this new position was that a high representative could improve the coordination of the different foreign policies as well as centralize foreign policymaking.[52] Equipped with a form of early warning unit, the high representative was also "to monitor international security development, provide assessments of potential crises and produce policy option papers."[53] In addition, the Treaty of Amsterdam also included the framework for a common defence policy under the CFSP. The hope was that a common defence policy "might lead to a common defence in accordance with the provisions of Article J.7, thereby reinforcing the European identity and its independence in order to promote peace, security and Progress in Europe and in the world."[54]

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[51] Martin J. Dedman, *The Origins and Development of the European Union-1945-2008: A History of European Integration 2nd Edition* (New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2010), 166.
[52] Seth Jones, *The Rise of European Security Cooperation*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 84.
[53] Ibid. 84.
[54] "Treaty of Amsterdam (2 October 1997)." 2 October 1997. Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l'Europe (CVCE). August 29, 2013. http://www.cvce.eu/obj/treaty_of_amsterdam_2_october_1997-en-578ebb8e-d641-4650-b1e3-3b3a795e01c9.html. Part I, Article I, Resolution 3

Although the Treaty of Amsterdam brought changes needed to accommodate enlargement, the defence aspects are attributable at least in part to the Bosnian War and the weakness displayed by the European Union as a whole in its military capabilities during this crisis. Under the section *Provisions on a Common Foreign and Security Policy*, Article J.7 reinforced the presence of the WEU as an integral part in developing defence matters within the European Union. However, paragraph two of Article J.7 added the potential to integrate the WEU within the European Union at the discretion of the European Council – an addition which would have brought all defence matters under the European Union, but which also in effect would have merged the effort to establish a more prominent European defence identity with the broader goal of building a European identity in the framework of the EU.[55]

Much like earlier treaties, the Treaty of Amsterdam also included references to NATO. Paragraph three of Article J.7 asserted a commitment to keep European Union defence policy in line with member states' commitments to NATO and participation in the NATO system. Paragraph three stated:

> The policy of the Union in accordance with this Article shall not prejudice the specific character of the security and defence policy of certain Member States and shall respect the obligations of certain Member States, which see their common defence realised in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), under the North Atlantic Treaty and be compatible with the common security and defence policy established within that framework.[56]

Thus, the Treaty of Amsterdam allowed for a European defence identity to grow within the European Union without interfering with the existing obligations by countries involved with NATO.

[55] Ibid. Part 1 Provisions on a Common Foreign and Security Policy Article J.7 Paragraph 2.
[56] Ibid. Part 1 Provisions on a Common Foreign and Security Policy Article J.7 Paragraph 3.

Negotiations for the Treaty of Amsterdam were painstakingly slow due both to political events around Europe and to the long list of revisions needed in the TEU. Among the events that impeded progress on the treaty was the British fight with other European Union partners over mad cow disease, which resulted in a British policy of non-cooperation. Other European countries also struggled to implement changes of their own during the IGC. The problems involved in negotiating the Treaty of Amsterdam continued when the British and the French governments called elections, causing the negotiating bodies to suspend the IGC and treaty negotiations.[57] Because of the lack of time in the mandate given to negotiators at the IGC, not all of the needed changes were corrected in the Treaty of Amsterdam, including defence aspects. Thus, even after the signing of the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997, further reforms were still needed to help integrate European defence (discussed below).

Section Two: Toward Building a Common Security and Defence Identity

The Formal Mandate for a Common Military Identity: The European Security and Defence Identity

By 1991, significant, but sometimes conflicting changes were underway in NATO and in European defence thinking. Two years had passed since the end of the Cold War, leading NATO to quickly change its architecture from one of a Cold War alliance to one suited for post-Cold War functions. These changes included a decision to set up a North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC), in order to help stabilize security within the

[57] Dedman, *The Origins and Development of the European Union-1945-2008: A History of European Integration 2nd Edition*. 166-167.

successor states of the Soviet Union.[58] However, Europeans at the same time began to express a stronger desire to establish a European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI) of their own, something that alarmed the United States, as the US wanted Europe to take on a greater share of NATO burdens and obligations, but without rivalling NATO.[59] In a declaration issued by European heads of state to the North Atlantic Council held in Rome on November 7 and 8, 1991, European states strongly expressed the desire to create an ESDI. However, to appease the United States, development of an ESDI was to take place within NATO in order to strengthen the European pillar of the alliance.[60]

An ESDI was to accomplish two important tasks. First, the ESDI was intended to "enhance the essential transatlantic link that the [NATO] alliance guarantees."[61] The second was that the ESDI was to "fully maintain the strategic unity and indivisibility of security of all our [NATO] members."[62] To accomplish these two goals, the European portion of NATO believed that they needed to exert their own arrangements in regard to a common European foreign and security policy, what eventually became the CFSP in 1992.

Progress toward developing an ESDI within NATO continued with a NATO Summit at Brussels in 1994, where attempts were made to further the progress of an ESDI. Although multiple goals were set during the Brussels Summit, three are important to mention. The first was that the European states looked for endorsement to build combined joint task forces

[58] Christopher Hill and Karen Smith (ed), *European Foreign Policy – Key Documents* (London: Routledge – Taylor & Francis Group, 2000), 194.
[59] Ibid. 194.
[60] Ibid. Document 3/3 - Declaration Issued by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, Rome, 7–8 November 1991. Article 6. 198-199.
[61] Ibid. Document 3/3 - Declaration Issued by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, Rome, 7–8 November 1991. Article 6. 199.
[62] Ibid. Document 3/3 - Declaration Issued by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, Rome, 7–8 November 1991. Article 6. 199.

within NATO.[63] A second goal was the idea of creating the possibility for the WEU to respond (using NATO infrastructures) to a world crisis in a situation where NATO decided not to act.[64] A final goal set out was to see how NATO could develop and adapt its political and military structure so that it could operate more effectively and flexibly through its missions, and to further cooperation with the WEU.[65]

Although agreements were reached, little progress was made toward the official establishment of an ESDI. The WEU had attempted to mediate the Bosnian crisis to no avail, leading to NATO (predominantly US) intervention in Bosnia to end the conflict. Over the next four years, the ESDI concept almost stagnated even though there were continuous meetings about the development of the ESDI within NATO. Among them was the 1997 NATO Summit in Madrid, where NATO allies only reaffirmed their full support for the development of an ESDI.[66] Yet in the following year (1998), a new initiative was proposed that represented a leap forward toward the establishment of a European defence identity. This was the St. Malo meeting between Britain and France.

From European Security and Defence Identity to European Security and Defence Policy: The St. Malo Meeting

On December 4 1998, British Prime Minister Tony Blair and French President Jacques Chirac held at Franco-British summit at St. Malo to discuss a common defence policy. What was surprising here was the willingness of the British to become involved with

[63] "Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council / North Atlantic Cooperation Council – Declaration of the Heads of State and Government." 10-11 Janaury 1994. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) On-line library. September 5, 2013. http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/49-95/c940111a.htm. Article 1 - Subsection 1.
[64] Ibid. Article 6.
[65] Ibid. Article 9.
[66] "Development of the European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI) Within NATO" NATO Press Release, May 29, 2013. http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/1999/9904-wsh/pres-eng/05esdi.pdf

a strictly European defence over their traditional reliance on NATO and their special relationship with the United States. Part of the reason for this new orientation was explained in a press conference by Prime Minister Blair following an informal European summit at Pörtschach, Austria in October of 1998. At the press conference, Prime Minister Blair explained that there had been a change in British perceptions to one of a strong willingness "for Europe to take a stronger foreign policy and security role."[67]

The joint St. Malo declaration can be broken down into five articles. The first article explained that France and Britain agreed that the European Union needed to be in a strong position to participate in international affairs. To do this, it was agreed that there had to be a rapid ratification of the Treaty of Amsterdam (which, although signed, had yet to be ratified), especially the provisions relating to the CFSP. Special mention was made that the European Council needed to made progress towards creating the framework for a common defence policy within the CFSP.[68] France and Britain made it explicitly clear through Article Two that there was a need for the European Union to have the proper capacity to launch an autonomous action with the support of credible military forces.[69] In essence, the St. Malo Declaration called for integrated European forces to be able to act independently and to actively participate in international affairs. Despite this, Article Two also called for the various positions of European states to be taken into account so as to reinforce European solidarity. (Some states had historical policies of neutrality; others, like Germany, had formal commitments to NATO.)[70] Finally, Articles Three, Four and Five called for the creation of

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[67] Jones, *The Rise of European Security Cooperation*, 85.
[68] "Franco-British St. Malo Declaration (4 December 1998)." 4 December 1998. Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l'Europe (CVCE). August 30, 2013. http://www.cvce.eu/obj/franco_british_st_malo_declaration_4_december_1998-en-f3cd16fb-fc37-4d52-936f-c8e9bc80f24f.html. Article 1.
[69] Ibid. Article 2.
[70] Ibid. Article 2.

strengthened armed forces that had a capacity for rapid reaction in the event of a crisis, but that could also be used independently by the European Union in the event that NATO chose not to act.[71]

The St. Malo Declaration was important in many different respects, most notably the fact that it led to the adoption in 1999 of a formal European Security and Defence policy (ESDP). A permanent political-military structure was established with the intention of overseeing future peacekeeping missions conducted by a European Union rapid reaction force.[72] ESDP was to function within the CFSP framework.[73] Related to the ESDP initiative, the European states also reached an agreement that by 2003, member states collectively had to be able to deploy, within sixty days, a military force of up to sixty thousand troops for the duration of one year. This agreement was instrumental in the later establishment of rapid reaction forces within the European Union, and it also contributed to ongoing discussions regarding the formation of European Union Battlegroups. Yet neither these forces, nor the ESDP, were to act as a duplicate of NATO. Instead, these additions were meant to be improvements in the European military capabilities within NATO.[74] It is also important to note here that the ESDP essentially took over the earlier ESDI initiative.[75]

A European Defence Identity: Earlier talk about establishing a European Defence Identity

[71] Ibid. Article 3-4.
[72] Jones, *The Rise of European Security Cooperation*, 85.
[73] Jolyon Howorth and John T.S. Keller, "The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy," in *Defending Europe: The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy* ed. Jolyon Howorth and John T.S. Keeler (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2003), 10.
[74] Mark Oakes "European Defence: From Pörtschach to Helsinki," *British House of Commons Library – International Affairs and Defence Section* (21 February 2000), accessed August 30, 2013, http://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons/lib/research/rp2000/rp00-020.pdf . 36-37.
[75] Howorth and Keller, "The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy," 10-11.

Although the idea of a European defence identity became a prevalent goal that European countries publicly and officially worked toward in the 1990s, it is important to recognize that the idea was already being talked about openly much earlier. One of the earliest mentions of a European defence identity was in 1970 in a paper written by British Undersecretary of State for the Army Ivor Richards. Richards explained that because of geography, points of view between European NATO countries would not be the same all the time. Because of this, Richards argued that Britain had pushed for the development of a European viewpoint within NATO, thus creating, in some sense, a "European defence identity" within NATO.[76]

Although the term "European defence identity" shows up in 1970, it was not until the 1980s that many scholars and analysts were either writing about the existence of a defence identity, or positing that Europe should work towards a common defence identity. One such example was Christopher Coker, who, in 1986, wrote about the budding development of a European defence identity and its relation to the United States. Coker explained that, in principle, the United States had never been against any type of European defence identity forming.[77] Another important text describing the rise of a European defence identity before such a policy became official was authored by Alfred Cahen, former Secretary-General of the WEU. In 1989, after retiring as secretary-general, Cahen wrote a book about building a

[76] Ivor Richards, "A European Defence Policy," *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy* 12 (1970): 75-80, accessed September 5, 2013, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00396337008441076, 80.

[77] Christopher Coker, "European Security: A British View," *Journal of European Integration* 9 (1986): 141-153, accessed September 5, 2013, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07036338608428884, 150.

European defence identity in Western Europe, in which he explained the slow progress towards a European defence identity and the possibility of a European pillar within NATO.[78]

Thus, throughout the 1980s, well before the collapse of Communism, the idea of a European defence identity was already becoming fairly widely discussed as a distinct possibility. This concept emerged before the official policy announcements of the WEU, the European Community or NATO toward establishing an ESDI within NATO, which serves to highlight the fact that the shift toward a European defence identity involved both bottom-up and a top-down processes.

Section Three: A Unified Force in Practice – Eurofighter, Eurocorps and Beyond
Working Toward a Common Procurement Process: The Development of Eurofighter and the Establishment of the European Aeronautic Defence and Space Company

A further development in the new efforts of the 1980s to build a single, truly integrated market was an expansion of technological cooperation and a growing belief in the need for European companies to cooperate more across borders. One important by-product of this new orientation was collaboration in the development of a military fighter jet, dubbed the Eurofighter,[79] which was a joint project between Britain, Italy, Spain, Germany and initially France. Although officially set up in 1986, the beginnings of the cooperation can be traced back further to 1971-72, with the decision by both the British Parliament and the German Chancellery to develop a new fighter jet. Both nations had similar requirements, which led to a consortium between British Aerospace (BAe) and Messerschmitt-Bölkow-

[78] Alfred Cahen, *The Western European Union and NATO: Building a European Defence Identity within the Context of Atlantic Solidarity* (London: Brassey's (UK), 1989), 57.
[79] Eurofighter can either refer to the company *Eurofigher Jagdflugzeug GmbH* or the many versions of plane the company designed and built starting in 1986.

Blohm (MBB) to develop a design jointly. Over seven years both companies worked together to develop what later became known as the European Collaborative Fighter (ECF).[80]

Following the initial proposal by BAe and MBB, a third (French) company – Dassault Aviation – applied to contribute toward the joint fighter, thus resulting in a tri-national consortium between France, Britain and Germany. However, each company worked independently when developing prototypes of the original Eurofighter, resulting in a collapse of the cooperation in 1981. Between 1982 and 1985 the previous three companies, along with companies from Spain and Italy, attempted to work together to develop another prototype of the fighter under the new project title Future European Fighter Aircraft (FEFA). Due to French demands of the other countries, Britain, West German, Italy, and later Spain, left the FEFA and opted to go ahead with their own Eurofighter program.[81] With four of the five countries agreeing on the Eurofighter project, further progress toward a commonly established fighter craft continued with the establishment of Eurofighter Jagdflugzeug GmbH in 1986. Eurofighter Jagdflugzeug GmbH oversaw the management of prototypes, testing, and distribution of funding for the Eurofighter.

The Eurofighter project represented a major advance in the scale of European defence technology cooperation. By 1977, Western European nations were already working together to design and build different weapons platforms. But the earlier examples only showed cooperation between two countries. With the establishment of *Eurofigher Jagdflugzeug GmbH* in 1986, five countries worked together to develop a single war plane.[82] However, the larger scale of cooperation involved a significant amount of negotiation and infighting, as

[80] An alternative name given to the fighter was the European Combat Fighter in sticking with the already mentioned acronym. Kev Darling, *RAF Strike Command – 1968-2007: Aircraft, Men and Action* (South Yorkshire, Pen & Sword Aviation, 2012). 232.
[81] Ibid, 233.
[82] Peter Van Ham, "The Prospects for a European Security and Defence Identity," in *European Security* vol. 4 (4), 1995, p. 523-545. 540.

multiple arms production companies vied to include their specialized parts in the project.[83] In addition, cooperation meant that European nations had to work among one another's existing military procurement and production systems. Given this complexity, the Eurofighter can be seen as a huge success in defence cooperation among Western European nations. In addition, Eurofighter became an important symbol of European technological prowess and European defence cooperation that materially demonstrated progress toward an integrated Europe. And it was a symbol that was widely respected by ordinary Europeans as well as by military personnel.[84]

The Eurofighter program was indicative of changes to come in the emergence of pan-European defence companies and in joint procurement policy. One of the most important changes was the formation of the European Aeronautic Defence and Space Company NV (EADS) on July 10, 2000. Its formation occurred as a result of the cross-border merger of Daimler Chrysler Aerospace AG (DASA) in Germany, Aérospatiale-Matra in France and Construcciones Aeronáuticas SA (CASA) in Spain.[85] This type of merger became possible because of the SEA Treaty in 1986 and its further implementation in the Maastricht Treaty, which opened up the internal markets of Europe in fundamental and far-reaching ways.

By merging the defence companies of Europe, one of the major problems of the past was starting to be solved. Previous attempts to integrate armament procurement among European countries stalled in the face of the protection and preference that nations gave to their own, national defence companies. Nations like France did not want to allow major

[83] Darling, *RAF Strike Command – 1968-2007: Aircraft, Men and Action,* 233.
[84] Reinhard Johler, "Local Europe: The Production of Cultural Heritage and the Europeanisation of Places," in *Articulating Europe: Local Perspectives*, ed. Jonas Frykman and Péter Liedermüller (Lund: Ethnologia Europaea & Museum Tusculanum Press – University of Copenhagen, 2003). 10.
[85] Jan Joel Andersson, "Defence Industry and Technology: The Base for a more capable Europe," in *The Routledge Handbook of European Security*, ed. Sven Biscop and Richard Whitman (Oxford: Routledge, 2013), 107.

defence contracts to go to non-French companies. Yet with companies from several countries merging into large, transnational conglomerates (by 2011, EADS had become the world's second largest aerospace and defence company)[86], the problem of promoting cross-border procurement significantly diminished. Instead of having multiple defence contractors throughout Europe, each primarily serving its own national market, the European Union began to rely on larger, truly pan-European defence contractors.

EADS is only one example of the mergers that took place in the new millennium due to the Single Market. Other conglomerates such as Finmeccanica in Italy and BAE Systems[87] in Britain also maintain integrated defence platforms, which continue to sell arms to Europe.[88] Because of the decreased amount of competition among European defence contractors, weapon platforms throughout the European Union also started to become more standardized. In addition, the formation of larger, more well-financed companies also allowed for more rapid technological advancements in defence armaments – a feat that has increasingly dispelled the former technological gap between the United States and Europe.

The Continuation of Franco-German Cooperation: The Franco German Brigade

Yet another move toward a more integrated European defence system emerged out of the Treaty of Élysée, specifically by way of a *Protocol to the Treaty of 22 January 1963*[89] that was signed by France and Germany on January 22, 1988. The protocol expanded the existing cooperation between Germany and France in multiple areas including culture, economy, and defence. The protocol made reference to the declaration by the Western

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[86] Candesic, Ltd., *The World's Top 100 Aerospace and Defence Companies* (2012), accessed 8 September 2013 at: http://candesic.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/Candesic-Top-100-AD-report-Sept-2012.pdf.
[87] BAE systems was formerly British Aerospace, one of the original designers and manufacturers of the Eurofighter project in the 1980s.
[88] Andersson, "Defence Industry and Technology: The Base for a more capable Europe," 107.
[89] Hereafter to be called the "Protocol to the Treaty of Élysée".

European Union on October 27 1987, which sought to "promote a European identity in the field of defence and security."[90] In addition, the protocol expanded upon the request to promote a European defence identity by linking defence identity formation to the common destiny that France and Germany shared through the Élysée Treaty.[91]

The first article of the protocol expanded upon the existing defence cooperation established under the original Treaty of Élysée by establishing a Franco-German Council on Defence and Security. The council was to consist of the highest-level representatives of both France and Germany on defence issues, including the heads of state and government, the ministers for foreign affairs and the ministers of defence. In addition to these political leaders, the French Army Chief of State and the Inspector-General of the Bundeswehr also held official capacities on the council.

One important aspect of the council was the fact that it was explicitly assigned the task of developing a defence identity between France and Germany. To accomplish this task, the council was mandated to cooperate, through bi-annual meetings, on questions relating to European security that affected both France and Germany.[92] These meetings were organized to develop the six different concepts identified to further a Franco-German defence identity. Of these six concepts, the most important included arms control and disarmament, joint military units and joint manoeuvres, weapons development, and interoperability of materials for the two armies.[93]

The new protocol was important for the future of European military integration for two specific reasons. First, the defence and security council established by the protocol to the

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[90] Secretariat of the United Nations, *Treaty Series: Treaties and International agreements registered or filed and recorded with the Secretariat of the United Nations Volume 1546* (New York: United Nations, 1998) http://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/volume%201546/v1546.pdf, 372.
[91] Ibid 372.
[92] Ibid. 373.
[93] Ibid. 373.

Treaty of Élysée showed a further development of military integration within Europe that was outside of the WEU. Although by 1989, the WEU was reactivated and devoted to the framing of a European defence plan, the protocol to the Treaty of Élysée grew from integrated defence initiatives between France and Germany in the 1960s, when the WEU was rapidly declining and heavily influenced by the United States. The second reason for the protocol's importance was that it quickly led to the establishment of the Franco-German Brigade in 1990, which in turn became the nucleus of the Eurocorps (founded in 1992-1993). At the same time, however, these Franco-German integration efforts, although carried out in the context of the Treaty of Élysée, should be seen as an integral part of the larger European integration effort, since the continuation of Franco-German reconciliation was an important facet of European integration.

The establishment of a Franco-German Brigade was not a new idea. In 1987, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl had proposed the idea to France during negotiations for the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union.[94] Kohl had realized that with the prospect of lowering the nuclear deterrent through the INF Treaty, conventional forces would become more crucial to the defence of Europe. The INF treaty was signed in December, 1987 and it mandated elimination of nuclear and conventional ground-launched ballistic and cruise missiles with a range between five hundred and fifty-five hundred kilometres. The treaty caused a problem for both France and Germany who had grown accustomed to the nuclear deterrent for the defence of Europe.

[94] Fredrick Wetterqvist, *French Security and Defence Policy: Current Developments and Future Prospects* (Stockholm: Department of Defence Analysis – National Defence Research Institute, 1990), 66.

Moreover, the US was now less likely to increase its forces in Europe – thus, European countries needed to step in.[95]

Although the Franco-German Brigade showed a marked increase in Franco-German cooperation, the main reason for its creation was purely as a 'laboratory experiment.'. And it was not especially successful at first. A study by the French Senate in April 1989 found that the brigade had a reduced military value because of its light equipment and a lack of equipment commonality between the French and German soldiers.[96] The reason for the early lack of success of the Franco-German Brigade was likely due to the integration technique that was followed. The Franco-German Brigade was not entirely integrated at the unit level, and instead only functioned jointly at the command level.

Another factor was the lack of symbols associated with the Franco-German Brigade. Instead of a common uniform, members were allowed to wear the uniforms of their own national armies. The only two cultural symbols were the blue beret that each member wore and the insignia for both armies on the blue beret. The insignia was designed to represent the cooperation of both Germany and France. It was shaped like a shield with the flags of both countries interconnected within the shield.[97]

European Identity Continuation: Eurocorps – the First Multinational Army Corps

The experiment of the Franco-German brigade led to an important outcome, however. During negotiations for the Maastricht Treaty, an independent Franco-German initiative was made to create a European centralized army corps to be known as 'Eurocorps.' First announced in October 1991, it was officially created in 1992 and activated in October 1993,

[95] Ibid. 66.
[96] Ibid. 67.
[97] "Deutsch-Französische Brigade Franco-Allemande," last modified May 24, 2012, http://www.df-brigade.de/.

although it was not deemed operational until 1995.[98] Eurocorps was to include thirty-five thousand troops and was intended as a way to enable the WEU to fulfill its obligations of defence of NATO territory, peacekeeping, and humanitarian efforts.[99]

The countries contributing to Eurocorps also expanded. Under the Franco-German Brigade, only France and Germany contributed to its composition. However, under Eurocorps, the Franco-German Brigade was to act as its nucleus, while forces from Belgium, Luxembourg, and Spain were to also be incorporated.[100] Through Eurocorps, European countries were starting to work together toward the development of a common army platform.

However, the announcement of Eurocorps prompted hostility from the United States government over fears that it would attempt to create an alternative to NATO.[101] This caused the German government to reassure Washington that Eurocorps would be 'double-hatted' in that the force would be available to the WEU except in an emergency, when NATO would have the first opportunity to make use of it.[102] Thus, an American presence was still felt even after the creation of Eurocorps, but this presence did not involve the degree of American influence that had dominated the WEU in the 1960s and the 1970s.

Eurocorps differed from a multinational task force because it was integrated under one command. Moreover, Eurocorps service personnel all wore the same uniform with the same military symbols. The Eurocorps emblem – shaped like a shield – has a shape

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[98] Giovanna Bono, *NATO's 'Peace Enforcement' Tasks and 'Policy Communities': 1990-1999* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), 56.
[99] Sean Kay, *NATO and the Future of European Security* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998), 127.
[100] Peter Van Ham, "The EU and WEU: From Cooperation to Common Defence?," in *Politics of European Treaty Reform: The 1996 Intergovernmental Conference and Beyond* ed. Geoffrey Edwards, Alfred Pijpers (London: Pinter, 1997), 316.
[101] Bono, *NATO's 'Peace Enforcement' Tasks and 'Policy Communities': 1990-1999*, 56.
[102] Ibid. 56.

representing the European continent in the middle of yellow stars. A sword overlies the map of the European continent. The emblem was designed to symbolize a common European defence. First, the yellow stars were a clear representation of the European Union. The sword symbolized the military arm of the European Union. The fact that it was placed over the continent symbolized the boundaries of the European Union to be protected and the commitment of peace and security throughout the European Union.[103]

Eurocorps was the first step toward merging the three existing European defence integration attempts (the WEU, the ESDI and the CFSP) that had evolved since the 1950s. On one level, Eurocorps highlighted the French attempts (dating back to the era of de Gaulle) to forge a separate defence organization outside of NATO and American domination. Although this vision was not entirely realized in Eurocorps, since it was to be under the command of the WEU, which was in turn linked to NATO, the integration of Eurocorps into the WEU came at a time when the European Union was discussing further defence integration through the Treaty of Maastricht. One such discussion was the possibility of integrating the WEU into the European Union – something that ultimately was defeated, but at the time of Eurocorps' creation, this was still a distinct possibility.

Following the signing of the Treaty of Maastricht, the Western European Union was to be included as an integral part of the European Union in its path toward developing a security arm.[104] The nine members of the WEU at the time agreed to the *Declaration of the Member States of the Western European Union on the role of the WEU, and its relations with the European Union and with the Atlantic Alliance.* According to Duke, this declaration was a prior condition to the adoption of the CFSP in 1992. The idea was that the WEU would

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[103] Eurocorps, "The Emblem and the capbadge" July 7, 2002. Eurocorps – Official Documents. August 22, 2013. http://eurocorps.org/pdf/eng/History_of_the_Emblem_and_the_Capbadge.pdf
[104] Duke, *The Elusive Quest for European Security: From EDC to CFSP*, 107.

develop the defensive component of the European Union, thus assuming the wider role in the formation of the European common defence policy, but it would still remain separate from the European Union, instead acting as a European pillar within NATO.[105]

Expanding Practical Troop Integration: The EU Battlegroups

Because of the political success of Eurocorps as part of the stabilization force in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the summer of 1998[106], the European Union looked to creating further rapid reaction forces. The decision was quickly reached following the St. Malo meeting, as outlined in Articles Three, Four and Five of the St. Malo declaration. Although the call for a rapid reaction force was a major step forward, the proposal it entailed was merely a precursor to what became a still larger plan to form EU Battlegroups, eventually numbering eighteen battlegroups. The decision to proceed with the battlegroup idea actually spawned out of the Operation Artemis, a European Union-led United Nations military mission to the Democratic Republic of the Congo in May-June 2003.

Operation Artemis was a European Union led (ESDP) international response to the Ituri conflict, a conflict between the Lendu and Hema ethnic groups in the Ituri region of northeastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.[107] The United Nations Security Council ultimately adopted Resolution 1484 on May 30, 2003 following a series of massacres including the Bogoro attack where approximately two hundred civilians were

[105] It is also important to note that in 2011, the WEU was disbanded altogether. Although this was the case, the reasons for the disbandment of the WEU go beyond this study and would require another study entirely to look at the reasons. Ibid. 107-108.
[106] Following the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement, effectively ending the Bosnian War, forces were left to help stabilise the region. This was first a NATO force of 80 000 troops, but was later replaced by UN peacekeepers. With the rise of the Kosovo conflict in February, 1998, Eurocorps sent a contingent of 150 men to Bosnia to serve in stabilising the region. The first troops from Eurocorps arrived in May, 1998 and had three rotations lasting 18 months.
[107] Simon Duke "Consensus Building in ESDP: The Lessons of Operation Artemis," in *International Politics* vol. 46 no. 4 (2009), 398.

massacred. A small force of approximately 1800 troops, led by France, led the Interim Multinational Emergency Force (IMEF) to the capital of the Congo, Bunia. Bunia was quickly secured by IMEF forces. Because of the success of Artemis, the European Union opted to create multiple rapid reactionary forces to simulate the success from Artemis – that is, to achieve the ability to launch a small force to act in locations a significant distance away, in marked contrast to the experience of the Bosnian War.[108] The success of smaller, yet specialized forces experienced during Artemis highlighted the possibility for the European Union to further develop rapid reaction forces.[109]

The concept of an EU Battlegroup is straightforward – it is a rapidly deployable force structured to undertake stand-alone operations or participate in the initial phase of a large operation. The Battlegroups are comprised of three infantry battalions, combat support and combat services comprised of between 1,500 to 2,500 troops geared toward de-escalation of crises.[110] They are intended to be deployable up to six thousand kilometres away from Brussels and can be maintained for anywhere between thirty to one-hundred and twenty days.

The move to create EU Battlegroups commenced in February 2004 with a push by the British, French and Germans to create rapidly deployable units. The development of EU Battlegroups should not be seen as an abandonment of Eurocorps. It should, instead, be seen as giving added military abilities to the European Union. Whereas Eurocorps was a multinational corps entity comprising 60,000 troops and able to maintain prolonged

[108] EU Council Secretariat "EU Battlegroups," (July 2009), European Union – European Security and Defence Policy Accessed August 30 2013 http://consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/090720-Factsheet-Battlegroups_EN.pdf. 1.
[109] Ibid. 1.
[110] Myrto Hatzigeogopoulos, "The Role of EU Battlegroups in European Defence," *European Security Review* ESR 56 (2012) accessed: September 5, 2013, http://www.isis-europe.eu/sites/default/files/publications-downloads/esr56_EUBattlegroups-June2012%20MH_2.pdf. 1-2.

missions, EU Battlegroups were to comprise only 1,500 to 2,000 troops to serve as a rapid response for shorter missions.[111] Within a short span of two months, the concept was accepted by the European defence ministers, as a plan for creating a group of rapidly deployable, European forces.[112] Between April and November 2004, planning commenced through the Military Capabilities Commitment Conference of the European Union on the development of the EU Battlegroups. On November 22, 2004, the Military Capability Committee mandated the creation of thirteen EU Battlegroups. These Battlegroups could either be established by one sole country, as in the case of the French Battlegroup, or they could be established by multiple European countries, as with the Nordic Battlegroup comprising Sweden, Finland, Norway, Ireland, Estonia and Latvia.[113]

The example of the Nordic Battlegroup, helps to explain the significance of this development with respect to the elaboration of a European defence identity. The Nordic Battlegroup was formed by the six nations mentioned. To help foster a common identity among units, the Nordic Battlegroup was assigned a coat of arms for troops to rally around. The coat of arms was designed to include the common heritage of the countries involved as well as the European Union. It depicts a lion holding a gold sword and olive branch over a blue background.[114] These four symbols have important meanings. First, the lion is the national symbol for Finland, Sweden, Estonia and Norway, thus helping to bring in national symbols and identities into the Nordic Battlegroup. In addition, the sword and olive branch,

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[111] "EUROCORPS: Symbol of European Will in the European Security and Defence Policy," European Parliament, May 6, 2008, accessed September 9, 2013, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/document/activities/cont/200805/20080507ATT28367/20080507ATT28367EN.pdf

[112] "EU Battlegroups" n.d. European Parliament Documents, September 5, 2013. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004_2009/documents/dv/eu_battlegroups_/eu_battlegroups_en.pdf

[113] "EU Battlegroups" n.d. European Parliament Documents, September 5, 2013. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004_2009/documents/dv/eu_battlegroups_/eu_battlegroups_en.pdf

[114] For image see: Swedish Joint Training Centre Exercise Portal. "Illuminated Summer 10," Joint Training Centre, n.d. accessed September 9, 2013 from http://www.ltc.mil.se/is10/default.aspx.

much like the Eurocorps symbols, are indicative of the desire to bring a peaceful solution to crises either with or without the use of force. Finally, the blue background is indicative of the European Union under whose auspices the Nordic Battlegroup functions.

Creating a European Defence Identity: The Top-Down and Bottom Up Processing of a European Defence Identity

The introduction to this thesis presented theories of identity that responded to the question: "how does identity form?" Looking specifically at the history of a European defence identity, we may repose this question to ask: "how did a European defence identity form?" Several theories of identity formation can be applied to help address this historical question.

One theory of identity, put forward by Hastings Donnan and Thomas Wilson, looked at identity as defined by a specific border, which, in fact, as we saw, could be loosely applied to a European defence identity.[115] First, with the establishment of the WEU, Europe was tasked with a defined region in which the WEU was to play a role – that region being Western and Central Europe. Add to this Michael Hogg and Dominic Abram's argument of 'in' and 'out' groups and we begin to see the common emergence of an 'us', in Western and Central Europe, against a 'them', in Eastern Europe.[116] However, these two theories alone do not adequately define how a European defence identity could come about.

Applying Rebecca Friedman and Markus Thiel's arguments pertaining to culture helps to go further in understanding how a European defence identity formed. Friedman and Thiel noted that culture encompasses a wide range of elements, but perhaps the most

[115] Hastings Donnan and Thomas Wilson, *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1999), 64.
[116] Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Centre for European Reform, 1999), 67.

influential for a European defence identity was the notion of a common historical background.[117] Since WWII, (Western) European states increasingly experienced a shared history in defence matters, from the EDC and the WEU up to the creation of the Eurocorps and the EU battlegroups.

Michael Billig's theory that different people can express multiple identities also helps to understand how a European defence identity could take root.[118] The case of the Nordic EU Battlegroup, for example, shows how citizens from multiple countries could retain their national identities and yet also experience a shared identity with each other, as members of a joint, European defence force. But something more is also needed Even if a mutually shared identity begins to exist, how can people come to feel strongly attached to it?

Here the theories of Anthony Cohen, Clifford Geertz, Benedict Anderson, John Borneman, and Nick Fowler can be applied to explain how a shared defence identity can be experienced as strongly as it is by people, as already displayed by the remarks of Lieutenant-General Pedro Pitarch explaining that the men and women under his command take pride in serving under the Eurocorps banner.[119] Cohen, Geertz, and Anderson all look at the notion of symbols being used to facilitate the growth of and identification with specific identities.[120] And it is clear that the growth of a European defence identity has been linked in important

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[117] Markus Thiel and Rebecca Friedman, "Culture and Narratives of Transnational Belonging," in *European Identity and Culture: Narratives of Transnational Belonging* ed. Rebecca Friedman and Markus Thiel (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), 3.
[118] Alexander B. Murphey, "Rethinking the Concept of European Identity," in *Nested Identities: Nationalism, Territory and Scale,* eds., Guntram H. Herb and David H. Kaplan (Lanham; Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), 54.
[119] European Parliament. "Security and Defence MEPs visit Eurocorps." Accessed April 5, 2012. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=//EP//TEXT+IMPRESS+20080121STO19279+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN
[120] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1973), 27.
Anthony P. Cohen, *Self-Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity* (Oxford: Routledge, 1994), 118.
Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 6.

ways with the deployment of symbols, such as those created and chosen for Eurocorps – the motto, the flag, and emblem – and those deployed by the Nordic battlegroup. And these symbols, in turn, are linked to the development of a wider set of European Community symbols which did not even exist yet in the early 1950s, such as the European flag, whose blue color and gold stars have come to symbolize Europe and European unity in millions of people's minds.

Willfried Spohn's arguments also further help to conceptualize the existence of a European defence identity. Specifically, Spohn explains that Western Europe has a pan-European identity due to early integration attempts such as the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), and eventual progress toward the European Union. Western European identity was thus slowly entwined together to form a common practice – integration – that citizens were able to form around, thus creating a European identity.[121] Since European organizations like the EDC, the WEU and even Eurocorps were all a part of the slow integration process, Spohn's identity argument can also be applied to each as helping to contribute to a European defence identity. This was especially the case since the concept of a European identity was already forming in Western Europe through the ECSC, the European Economic Community (EEC), etc.. Since the foundations of an overall European identity already existed in Western Europe by the time military integration began to take root, a European defence identity could build upon the existing foundations of a general European identity, thus establishing a linked but also separate European defence identity.

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[121] Willfried Spohn, "National Identities and Collective Memory in an Enlarged Europe," in *Collective Memory and European Identity*, ed. Klaus Eder and Willfried Spohn (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), 3.

Conclusion: The Future of a European Defence Identity

In essence, how did a European defence identity form? What factors contributed to the development of a European military identity over the last sixty years? Current literature has not encompassed the entire story surrounding the formation of a defence identity, and instead, has mainly taken a contemporary view of European defence identity. Such an approach is understandably predominant in the fields of political science and defence studies, but the historical study of European defence identity requires a more long-term view.

An important stimulus for the creation of a European army was the "German problem" that arose following the Second World War. Many West European nations wanted to see a completely neutral Germany with no centralized government to ensure that German aggression did not return. However, with the onset of the Cold War, Allied countries determined that German troops were needed to repel any Soviet invasion. This led to a division between Allied countries, namely France on one side and the United States and Britain on the other. To solve the impasse, it became necessary to develop a European army platform so that Western European allies could essentially control German troops and prevent any German aggression in Western Europe.

However, how would this European army function, who would lead it, and to whom would it be responsible? These were questions that, by 1950, had barely been touched upon. Although the introduction of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) had quelled some Western European fears of both German and Soviet aggression, was NATO a proper structure to incorporate a European army? The United States believed that it was proper to incorporate a German force within the NATO framework. However, France believed that not enough checks and balances were placed on Germany's entry into NATO. This ultimately

was one of the most important factors that led to the French to propose the Pleven Plan, which became the European Defence Community (EDC).

Although the EDC was a political failure due to the failure of the French National Assembly to ratify the EDC treaty, this treaty would have involved social as well as political changes, as Jean Monnet and General Dwight D. Eisenhower understood. Indeed, when Monnet met with Eisenhower to discuss American support for the EDC, Monnet explained the plan not as a military solution to a military problem, but as a human solution – i.e. identity solution – to a human problem.[1] The sentiments he expressed are important to note, since no other mention of identity was made in the EDC negotiations. The plan, however, failed due to lack of British and ultimately lack of French support for the supranationality of the EDC. In effect, Monnet's dream of a united European military force came too soon to be accepted by European nations. It did, however, show the first inkling of a desire to form a common European defence identity.

The lack of British support for the EDC also had its own dimension. Although historians have looked at the distaste Britain felt for supranational organizations in the 1950s, another prominent factor influencing Britain was the role that the United States, through NATO, played in Europe. British politicians feared that if Europe appeared to be self-sufficient in defending itself, then the United States might withdraw back into isolationism as had been the case before the Second World War. This fear caused the British to refuse to be a part of the EDC; however, later American support for the EDC also caused British politicians to be unable to reject the EDC outright.[2] Moreover, following the Rome Conference on

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[1] Louis Galambos, et al. ed., *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower: NATO and the Campaign of 1952: XII* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1970), 340.
[2] Dedman, *The Origins and Development of the European Union-1945-2008: A History of European Integration 2nd Edition*, 69.

November 28 1951, the British were informed that the United States no longer wished for direct British involvement in the EDC and instead wanted Britain to support the EDC from outside of the organization.[3]

Other variables related to the failure of the EDC are connected to the socio-cultural aspect of the EDC. Specifically, how could national troops from five sovereign countries be intertwined into one force? How could multiple symbols such as flags, crests and badges or languages be employed to act as the preverbal glue to hold these troops together? And what about the language issue? These are all identity questions that needed to be addressed for the EDC to function.

Also linked to the failure of the EDC was the lack of Franco-German reconciliation following the Second World War. Specifically, how could European troops be interconnected if they did not trust one another? Franco-German reconciliation began in 1950 with the proposition of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Intended as a way to integrate coal and steel production to ensure future wars were inconceivable, the ECSC also became the first form of Franco-German reconciliation, and other steps toward further reconciliation occurred over time.

With the advent of the Korean War, the ECSC, while useful as a solution to political and economic problems, proved unable to resolve the military issues (linked to German rearmament) that planners such as Monnet and Robert Schuman had hoped would be overcome. However, since the threat of Communist aggression was growing both in Central Europe and Asia, politicians in Western Europe and the United States opted for a more direct

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[3] Edward Fursdon, *The European Defence Community: A History* (London: The Macmillan Press LTD., 1980), 128.

military role for Germany in order to be able to contribute to its own defence and the defence of Western Europe.

With the failure of the EDC, it appeared that the prospect of a European defence identity would also diminish. Nevertheless, a solution for Germany was still needed. Because Britain feared American withdrawal, British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden proposed the revival of the former Western Union Defence Organization (WUDO), established through the Treaty of Brussels. Thus, the Western European Union (WEU) quickly came into existence. However, Eden expanded the concept of the WUDO by increasing the responsibilities of the WEU. To ensure American support for the project, and to ensure that the United States remained in Europe, Eden also proposed that the new WEU would be a European pillar within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) framework. Within mere months the WEU was accepted and held its first meetings in 1955.

WEU committees soon began to tackle issues that linked indirectly to the formation of a common European defence identity. Perhaps the most important was the Standard Armaments Committee (SAC) within the WEU. The SAC was originally given the task of promoting a common armaments program among WEU nations. Yet the SAC ultimately became dominated by the United States and it proved unable to define independent, European equipment standards for European troops. Despite this, the SAC discussed these issues extensively, and thus helped lay the groundwork for subsequent efforts to develop and standardize military equipment at the European level.

Although the WEU was a defence organization for Europeans, it remained secondary to NATO and the United States, leading some European countries, most notably France, to desire a more independent Europe. Seeking to implement this aim, de Gaulle began pulling France out of NATO in 1959. De Gaulle believed that the United States no longer had

Europe's best interests at heart when it came to defence. This was highlighted by a shift in American policy regarding retaliation in the event of a Soviet attack.

De Gaulle proposed alternative integration measures to bypass NATO. First, he proposed the Fouchet Plan as a form of political union of the member states of the European Economic Community (EEC). Although de Gaulle's motives have largely been seen as anti-integrationist, de Gaulle in fact believed in a form of European integration that would start from the principle of national sovereignty and would not seek, *a priori,* to implement supranational principles. In addition, de Gaulle desired a Europe that was not controlled by the United States, either economically, technologically, or militarily. The Fouchet Plan ultimately failed due not to the lack of desire to create a common political identity, which would have helped lead to a military identity, but because of the fear that the Fouchet Plan might rival NATO. France's partners were not ready to abandon the American security umbrella and did not want the US to pull out of European affairs. In effect, they trusted the US more than they trusted France, so the Fouchet Plan foundered.

Through the failure of the Fouchet Plan, however, a further degree of Franco-German reconciliation was actually achieved. This came through bilateral Treaty of Élysée between France and Germany, which, in addition to the political and military aspects of the Fouchet Plan also included notions of social, cultural, and technological cooperation. The Treaty of Élysée was quickly accepted by both de Gaulle and Konrad Adenauer, leading toward further Franco-German reconciliations and even Franco-German friendship. Significantly, Franco-German rapprochement proved to be a powerful "engine" for further European integration.

By 1970, new attempts were made at political integration in Europe. These attempts culminated in the construction of the system of European Political Cooperation (EPC). Although not an organization, the EPC was an agreement among European nations to

coordinate foreign policy, much like the agreements proposed during the Fouchet Plan negotiations. The EPC succeeded because of the support it gained from Britain, thus guaranteeing an Atlantic connection to the United States.

Again, while not a defence identity attempt, the EPC played a vital role in coordinating foreign policy decisions by European countries. Most historians, political scientists and theorists do not look at the impact the EPC had on defence, security and defence identity. One of the major impacts the EPC had was on the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which started in 1972. Initially, the United States showed no interest in the CSCE thus giving the new West Europe a chance to make use of some of the newly integrated structures it had organized. Although this was the case, the EPC was not an adequate foundation for the emergence of a common defence identity or even a unified foreign policy – as shown through the many political cartoons from the time period.

While European politicians were organizing integration attempts, non-political organizations were also moving toward greater integration. A major example was the establishment of the European Organization of Military Associations (EUROMIL). EUROMIL brought together the unions for national troops throughout Western Europe and was able to integrate their aims and interests despite the differences in culture, language and practices. The construction of EUROMIL showed that European defence integration was possible even with the differences in culture and language because it showed that armed forces had an inherently similar military culture, which gave a sense of commonality—a shared professional identity—to the troops involved. This sense of commonality was one of the factors explored by Michael Hogg and Dominic Abrams that shaped the formation of common identities.

By the end of the 1970s, Europeans were engaging in attempts to reinvigorate the debate over a common procurement policy among Western European nations. This happened at the 1977 Symposium on European Armaments Policy. Although the symposium failed to define a common procurement policy for Europe, since there disagreements about how such contracts would be decided, the symposium did show that progress had been made toward recognition of the importance of developing common procurement policies.[4] The symposium also showed a renewed desire to look at further defence integration. Although initially propelled by the economic crisis that Europe faced in the 1970s, the renewed defence integration attempts were a sign that the goal of creating a European army was still desired by many Western European nations.

The question of procurement again became apparent in the 1980s, through the proposition to create a European fighter jet. The Eurofighter, as it came to be known, was originally a conglomerate of companies from Western Europe working together to rival American military technology. The eventual success of the Eurofighter showed that successful cooperation in technological development was possible between European defence contractors. In addition, the Eurofighter became a symbol to the rest of Europe of the advances that Europe had made in defence technology, and it was a symbol that European militaries could rally around and see as their own creation. Following Billig's theory of commonality as a foundation for building a common identity, we may conclude that the use standardized equipment helped to create a greater commonality between European troops.

In addition to the Eurofighter, the late 1980s also saw radical shifts in European and world affairs. Europe continued on the path toward greater integration, for example through

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[4] Assembly of the Western European Union – Committee on Defence Questions and Armaments, *A European armaments policy Symposium – Paris, 3rd and 4th March 1977* (Paris: Office of the Clerk of the Assembly of WEU, 1977), 18.

the Schengen Plan. This furthering of integration also required that defence issues be revisited. The re-launch of European integration in the 1980s also corresponded with a shift in world affairs as the Soviet Union introduced its policies of *Perestroika* (restructuring) and *Glasnost* (openness), which led to a significant reduction in tensions between the Soviet Union, and Europe and the United States. On a more local level, Franco-German reconciliation and friendship continued to grow with the Protocol to the Treaty of Élysée in 1989. Through this protocol, the first integrated troops – the Franco-German Brigade – became operational, keeping alive the goal of greater defence integration.

The Collapse of Communism followed b the breakup of the Soviet Union further stimulated European efforts at military integration. With the Soviet Union replaced by a smaller and weaker Russia, many in Europe questioned whether NATO was still necessary. This perspective is important to note since it arose at the same time that Western Europe was engaged in negotiations for the Treaty of Maastricht – the Treaty to create the European Union. Europe ended up placing defence aspects within the Treaty of Maastricht to build greater independence from NATO, while nevertheless also staying within NATO. It is at this point that the desire for a common European defence identity became a subject of official European public discourse. It is also when Western Europe started to experience military setbacks, most notably in Bosnia.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, a successor war broke out in the former Yugoslavia to create smaller independent states. Officially, NATO initially took no part in these wars, but allowed the WEU, which was still under the umbrella of NATO, to commence activities in Bosnia. This proved fatal as the Bosnian experience showed that Europe was still militarily weak. One of the first real tests of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) created through the Treaty of Maastricht, and the newly created

European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI) created through NATO proved to be a failure.

Yet it was from the Bosnia failure that further attempts at integration commenced, first through the Treaty of Amsterdam, but mainly through the St. Malo meeting and final declaration. The St. Malo declaration between France and Britain led to the replacement of the ESDI created through NATO by a new European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) created under the auspices of the European Union. With the St. Malo declaration, new headline goals were established within the European Union to create rapid reactionary forces called European Union Battlegroups. These were to be modelled on the successor to the Franco-German Brigade – namely, the Eurocorps. Much like Eurocorps, the EU Battlegroups also saw the creation of new, integrated cultural symbols to go with them. These included uniform insignias, crests, badges and flags. These cultural symbols aimed at building a common identity among the troops involved in each battlegroup.

Although this study has traced the slow path of change toward the establishment of a European defence identity, the work that needs to be done in this field is hardly over. This study focused on key aspects that significantly contributed to a European defence identity. However, other areas that could have also influenced the creation of a defence identity still need further investigation. One specific issue that needs further study is the degree to which NATO has contributed to the growth of a shared identity of European soldiers on the ground. In effect, NATO has had to face many of the same questions of defence integration as strictly European organizations. How and to what extent would armaments be standardized? How would soldiers from different nations be organized and trained under the NATO umbrella to insure that could work together efficiently. How and to what extent did soldiers need to

share a common NATO identity, and did NATO in this way actually also pave the way toward a shared European military identity?

Alternatively, study of the distinctive histories of the EU Battlegroups is also necessary. To elaborate, the EU Battlegroups are recent creations that have culminated in an integrated European rapid reaction force. However, further research should be done to explore the everyday practices of these battlegroups, their training, equipment, and shared culture, in order to see how and to what extent a common identity has actually been forged within them and between them.

Nevertheless, it is fair to say that after sixty years, the foundations of a common European defence identity have been put into place. The original motivation for the issue – the German problem – was solved with the slow work toward first European integration, and matters of defence integration followed from these other forms of integration. The process also built upon Franco-German reconciliation which was essential to rebuild a system of trust among the European nations. Once the idea of a 'United States of Europe' finally took hold in Europe, the possibility for a European defence identity also became a distinct reality. Evidence of this reality today can be seen in numerous ways, such as the statement by Eurocorps Lieutenant-General Pedro Pitarch who explained that "all the men and women lucky enough to be part of this great military organization take pride in serving their respective countries and giving their support to the European idea of being united under the Eurocorps banner."[5]

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[5] European Parliament. "Security and Defence MEPs visit Eurocorps." Accessed April 5, 2012. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+IM-PRESS+20080121STO19279+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN

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