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THE COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY  
OF THE EUROPEAN UNION  
FROM FRANCE'S POINT OF VIEW

PHD THESIS

Summary

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## 1. The scientific aspect

*"The Transatlantic unity will be attained only with a strong Europe which – as a real partner of the United States – is aware of its responsibilities and is able to undertake this responsibility." (Jean Monnet, 1961).*

It is a futile attempt to study the history of the post-World War II Europe without paying special attention to the process and development of economic and military integration of some European countries. The development that led to the establishment of the European Union (formerly known as the European Economic Community and the European Communities) made those parts of Europe that were outside of Russian influence, a dominant economic power in the world. The integration in the military-security field can also be considered successful. A major difference between the two processes is the fact that in the latter not only European states, but two overseas countries participated as well. What is more, it was primarily the United States that provided the main support for NATO.

During the last 10-15 years, when European economic integration was becoming more and more intense and some supranational signs began to appear, the following dilemma was expressed more and more often: Europe, as an economic power in the world, plays a very insignificant global political role, but is unable to cope with the main challenges, threats and crisis situations that arise on its own territory. The process to solve this problem includes such milestones as Maastricht, Amsterdam, Cologne, Helsinki, Nice, Laeken and Copenhagen. At these EU summits in the last fifteen years, the framework of the European Common Foreign and Security Policy and that of independent military capabilities were increasingly elaborated. Therefore, the topic of this thesis is a process, which is still under development, and touches upon one of the main elements of a country's sovereignty: its foreign and security policy. This explains why so many questions and hypotheses remain around this issue, although significant development has already taken place.

The scientific aspect of the thesis focuses primarily on the search for a new role by NATO and the EU after the fall of the Berlin Wall. It is worth studying the process from France's point of view, which is a member of both organizations, but not part of NATO's military structure. Based on its size, military potential, capabilities and influence, it can be considered as a leading country and it is also committed to developing independent European defense capabilities. French security policy is still based on the principles of de Gaulle (independence), together with such other values as solidarity and responsibility. It is a well-prepared, reliable NATO member country that possesses a nuclear force but, at the same time, has not been part of the military command structure since 1966. This "special NATO membership" can be explained as follows: a strong determination to defend sovereignty, influence in a special sphere of interest – overseas territories together with the Maghreb countries – and the refusal of American global dominance. It is possible, however, that the progress and success that may result from the development of European defense capabilities will encourage France to acquire full NATO membership. France does not question the existence and

role of NATO; therefore, the question for France is not either “Europe or NATO”. Both are important, since collective defense should remain the responsibility of the Alliance, while the European defense forces should be able to manage crises primarily in Europe or in its near neighbourhood. Does it refer to a capability that could serve as the military force of the EU, as well as the European pillar of the Alliance? How will it be possible to separate the spheres of influence and avoid any unnecessary duplication? How can NATO be re-organized so that the disparity between the USA and Europe can disappear and a more balanced relationship and burden sharing can emerge? Will Europe be able to create the first battle groups by 2007 and deploy them within ten days of a Council decision, or to maintain two operations in parallel – by one battle group each – for 120 days? These are just some of the main issues.

Hungary, as a full member of NATO and the EU, takes part in the discussions and the decision-making process in both organizations. As France is considered a dominant country in both organizations, it is important for Hungary to be familiar with the French position and aspirations, which can have major impact on policy development and activities of the two organizations. Obviously, one should not forget that the conclusions and recommendations made after a European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) operation can be extremely useful for further progress of any country. The first ESDP operation, which took place outside of Europe with no recourse to NATO assets and dominantly with the participation of France (EUFOR Artemis and the Democratic Republic of Congo), will be presented in more detail in this thesis. It is important to note that Hungary was one of the participating nations in this operation.

My personal interest in this topic began ten years ago, when, in my university thesis, I analyzed the attempts the UK made to join the European Economic Community and I placed special emphasis on the role of France in the accession negotiations. Two years later, at the end of my post-graduate studies in France, I prepared a thesis which had an even closer link to the topic of my PhD paper. In my thesis, entitled “From the European Political Co-operation to the Common Foreign and Security Policy,” I analyzed the process that had led to the Treaty of Maastricht and by focusing on three major factors (the pillar structure, the decision-making process, and the problem of diverging national interests), I tried to find the reason why this area of European integration was unable to produce results or function more effectively. At that time, it was not possible to foresee that this field would start to develop very quickly and that the first EU-led military and civilian operations would soon take place. I was convinced though, that it was worth further researching the subject and to carry out additional analysis, especially from France’s point of view, which mostly has a very specific approach to European integration, including the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).

In this thesis, therefore, I approach this subject from the French point of view and the main emphasis will be placed on the European Security and Defense Policy. The Franco-American relationship will be thoroughly discussed, partly because this is a topic that I find very interesting, and also because it plays a major role in understanding the issue. As a consequence, other bilateral relations of France and French defense co-operation with other countries, such as the UK or Germany, will only be partly covered. The research work started approximately a decade ago, and was finished in June 2006.

## **2. The research objectives**

1. To examine whether France possesses all those capabilities that are indispensable for the international leading role to which it aspires.
2. To explore the process of European integration until the first ESDP operation, with special emphasis on the role of France in the progress.
3. To demonstrate that the EU was successful in undertaking new tasks, as well as broaden its competence with political and defense-related issues, and that these changes are in harmony with French interests and ambitions.
4. To present the French aspiration of replacing the unbalanced relationship with the USA with a more viable partnership, in harmony with the concept of multi-polarism.
5. To compare the attitude and behaviour of the USA and the EU in crisis management and towards each other and to make recommendations.
6. To summarize all ESDP operations and to highlight how they are linked to other international organizations, such as the UN or NATO.
7. To analyze the first fully autonomous, Petersberg-type ESDP operation outside of Europe; to highlight the French role in it; and the importance of the operation for France. To list the main conclusions, lessons learned and tasks to do in future.

## **3. The research methodology**

- To draw conclusions by using an analytical research methodology.

Analysis of primary and secondary resources of information in the Hungarian, English and French languages. Analysis of current or recent documents in order to gain additional information or more details about the research topic. Content analysis of sources and documents, preparation of charts and tables to highlight hidden relations.

- To make conclusions by using an inductive research methodology.

Descriptive research in order to understand the “as is” situation and to reveal relations between various facts by analyzing various types of publications, by using library resources and appropriate Internet websites.

## **4. A brief description of the chapters**

**In Chapter One**, I gave an overview of the current economic and social situation in France, and explained that the feeling of “grandeur” and “gloire” still have a special meaning in French political life, as well as in French society. I presented the benefits and disadvantages of the French constitutional system to French foreign policy, and collected the most common reasons of social discontent. In the second part of the chapter, I analyzed the impact of the nation state and that of de Gaulle’s legacy on the European integration process and, in particular, defense integration. I placed special emphasis on the role of French nuclear forces in supporting French ambitions to become a European and a world power. Finally, I tried to clarify the misunderstanding

between France and the USA about the meaning of multilateralism and multipolarism.

**In Chapter Two**, I summarized those main historical events that led to the current status of the European Common Foreign and Security Policy, and European Security and Defence Co-operation, thanks to French-German, and French-British co-operation. I highlighted the ambivalent nature of French-German relations, as well as the importance of political will and character, in order to reach a compromise. I observed that any changes to the German status quo always had a major impact on both the French foreign and security policy and the European integration as a whole. I summarized and demonstrated in a table the main milestones that characterized the development of the ESDP, with special emphasis on the role of France in its progress. I compared the National Security Strategy of the USA and the European Security Strategy. I analyzed the current French defense budget and the short-term goals of French defense investment. I prepared a detailed overview of French public opinion on the European Security and Defence Policy. By comparing these results with the European average, it was interesting to see how well the European ambitions of the French government are understood by the French public. To measure the effectiveness of the CFSP, I introduced the “capabilities – expectations model”, highlighted its shortcomings, and made some comments on the appropriate use of the model. Finally, I compared the characteristics of French-German and French-British co-operation and their impact on the process of defense integration.

**In Chapter Three**, I examined American-French relations in the last twenty-five years, analyzed the possible reasons for anti-American feelings, and tried to find the reason for the occasional fluctuation in the intensity of the relationship. I investigated the main reasons behind the French commitment to multilateralism, and I presented the main objectives of the French political approach to the USA. I placed special emphasis on current French policy and strategy towards the USA. I explained how France intends to achieve her main interests by using the benefits of the EU. I gave a detailed overview of how the roles and responsibilities in crisis management can be divided between the EU and NATO based on geographical factors or the nature of a crisis. I explored the progress the Berlin Plus system may have in future and possible ways of co-operation between the EU and NATO from France’s point of view. I focused on the characteristics of trans-Atlantic relations by comparing the EU and the USA. I noted the major obstacles of the European political and defense integration based on the importance of national interests and sovereignty. I presented the American plans for European integration in the future and the concept of the partner nation. Finally, I listed the benefits of a contract on co-operation between the USA and the EU, as well as the few contradictions that can be observed between the Washington Treaty and the proposed EU Constitution.

**In Chapter Four**, I collected and demonstrated in a table all the ESDP military and civilian operations with special emphasis on the French aspect of each operation. I made a few remarks about the use of the Berlin Plus system, and presented France’s thinking about the future of it. I analyzed the finance system of the ESDP operations. I gave a detailed overview of Operation Artemis which was, in fact, a French military operation, with dominantly French human and financial resources to serve French interests, but under the auspices of the EU. I presented the main conclusions of Operation Artemis and highlighted those areas where further development is still

needed. I also analyzed the EU – UN Joint Declaration that serves as a legal background to several ESDP operations. Finally, I clarified the role of the African Continent in French foreign policy, as well as its contribution to the French feeling of “grandeur” and “gloire”. This is one of the main reasons why Africa is one of the principal targets of ESDP operations.

**In the Annex**, for reference as well as resource analysis, I included a map and relevant NATO and EU documents mainly from primary resources.

## **5. Conclusion**

In my opinion, the security and defense policy during the Chirac presidency and the last four-five years, in particular, received special attention in France. The political direction that the President determined, the ever-increasing defense budget, the great variety of investment programmes, the international position of the country, and last, but not least, the significant participation in several international operations, all indicate that France is still considered a great power in international relations.

In the French security and defense policy, influenced by de Gaulle’s legacy and Chirac’s presidency, Clausewitz’s classic reflection about war was adapted to the 21<sup>st</sup> century, which is mainly characterized by crisis management activities.

Clausewitz defined war as the continuation of politics, but with different means. The European Security Strategy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century identifies war prevention and not war itself as the main goal. In order to achieve this objective, an efficient security and defense policy is indispensable, which is one of the main criteria for a great power, as well as the means to carry out an international policy that respects the vital interests of a country.

When identifying the main criteria for being a great power, I think it is very important to mention that the availability of human and financial resources, together with political will are an absolute must, just as much as technological development and defense investment. At the moment, France has approximately 36,000 troops deployed abroad, out of which 15,000 are in fifteen different international operations, primarily in the Balkans, Afghanistan, Lebanon, and the Ivory Coast. The rest is the force of presence in Africa and in the French overseas territories. Altogether, nearly 36,000 troops are deployed, which is an enormous number, very probably close to a country’s maximum force capabilities. As I observed, the French military presence is not limited exclusively to the Balkans or Africa; at the moment, France is present almost anywhere in the world where an international organization - be it the UN, NATO or the EU - plays a role in international crisis management.

Such huge international commitment requires significant financial resources. Participation in international military operations costs France 600 million euros per year. This is covered from the defense budget which has been increasing for four years. The defense budget is the second largest and most important item in the overall budget of the French Government. President Chirac and Defense Minister Alliot-Marie are determined to keep up with this tendency, even if they receive a lot of criticism from the opposition left wing party that would rather spend money on solving economic and social problems. Neither the President, nor the Defense

Minister agree to any budget cut: for them the international military presence is the means for diplomacy and, therefore, represents France's global diplomatic ambitions very well.

The supportive political will is also a very important factor when the international status of a great power is examined. Thanks to the French constitution, any decision about foreign and security policy goes under the competency of the President. Therefore, so far, each president has had a major impact on French foreign and security policy. In my opinion, it is President Chirac, de Gaulle's successor, who has had the most significant influence on French policy until now. He made decisions of great importance, such as the introduction of a voluntary army, the restart of nuclear testing to reinforce the global status and position of France, participation in several crisis management operations under the auspices of the UN or the EU, and the continuous support to ambitious defense investment programmes, despite the endless attacks and criticism.

Europe, with a strong and powerful security and defense policy, fits very well into the French plans. I think Europe means an excellent source of power for France, it gives extra emphasis to those French ambitions which would be very difficult to achieve within the national framework when multilateralism and multi-polarism are so important in international relations. Therefore, France fully supports the continuous deepening of European integration in which Germany and the United Kingdom play the role of the primary partners. The European Defense Agency has an important role as well; and France supports the ambitious investment plans of the organization against negative remarks coming from several governments.

I observed that, recently, the ESDP has been one of the most dynamic areas of European integration. This may sound surprising when the long way time it took to develop. The EU has appeared as a new actor in international crisis management. It could develop in response to the nature of new threats and challenges, it could adapt its structure to them and could benefit from the advantages of the Berlin Plus system. Despite this very fast development, however, the EU has not yet been able to clearly separate roles and responsibilities or to identify the main processes.

In response to a request from the UN Secretary General, the EU recently launched a new military mission to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to facilitate the first free and democratic election after four decades. It seems that, with this operation, the DRC has become the most frequent target country for ESDP operations. This, of course, can be explained by the close historical, economic and cultural ties between the two continents, the aim to reduce poverty, sustain development, and slow down illegal immigration together with the flow of refugees. But the most obvious reason is to continue to support European economic interests and maintain development by providing undisturbed access to oil and other natural resources. France is greatly involved in all this, as Africa can reinforce the image of France as still being a great power.

## **6. New academic results**

I consider the following as new academic results:

1. I systematically described the development of European integration until the first ESDP operation, with special emphasis on the role of France in shaping the process.
2. I described how closely EU policy and French foreign and security policy are interlinked and what kind of impact they have on each other. I proved that France makes good use of the EU in order to achieve her ambitions in its foreign policy.
3. I sorted and listed in a table all ESDP operations since their beginning, with special emphasis on their link to France and other international organizations.
4. I examined the shortcomings of the first, fully autonomous, Petersberg-type, ESDP military operation that took place outside of Europe and listed the main tasks for further EU development.

## **7. Recommendations and the use of the thesis in practice**

The primary objective of this thesis is to turn over the results of the author's research work to anybody who is interested in the topic, both as an amateur, as well as a professional (in the education or academic life). The problems and questions that were raised in the thesis may raise interest and motivate people to do further research. The questions at the beginning of each chapter aim to better define the topic and stimulate further reflection. The bibliography and the listed websites can be used as references or a database for further research. The documents in the annex can be used to practice the analysis of international documents, as well as to improve language skills.

## **8. The candidate's list of publications in the topic of the thesis**

1. The Impact of Personality Traits and Value Ethics on the Decisions of a Leader. Lessons learned from General Douglas Macarthur's life. In: Humán Szemle, 2004. Vol. 2.
2. Encyclopedia of the Cold War. 21 entries (Antall, József; Dálnoki Miklós, Béla; Gerő, Ernő; Grósz, Károly; Harmel Report; Hungarian Revolution; Hungary; Kádár, János; Kovács Béla; Luns, Joseph Marie Antoine Hubert; Maléter, Pál; Mindszenty, József Cardinal; Nagy, Ferenc; Nagy, Imre; NATO, history of; NATO, origins and formation of; Németh, Miklós; Rajk, László; Rákosi, Mátyás; Tildy, Zoltán; Tőkés, László) - 12 996 words. In: Cold War. Ed.: TUCKER, Spencer C. p. 1385. Santa Barbara, 2007. ISBN: 1 85109 847 X.
3. Megvédeni Európát: az Európai Unió, a NATO és az európai autonómia nyomában. Under publication. In: Társadalom és Honvédelem, 2007.
4. The Way Ahead: Global Leadership or Unilateral Domination. Under publication. In: ARRMS, 2007.



## **9. The candidate's resume**

Name: Anna Boros

Date and place of birth: 10 March 1970, Budapest

### **1. Education**

September 1990 – January 1996

Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Humanities - Budapest

Diplome: secondary school teacher in history

Diplome: secondary school teacher in English language and literature

September 1997 – June 1998

Postgradual studies - Institut Européen des Hautes Etudes Internationales -  
Nice / France

Specialisation: European integration

Diplome: Masters in Advanced European and International Studies

September 2000 -

Miklós Zrínyi National Defence University - Budapest

PhD student (correspondante)

PhD programme:

„Military Security, Defence Integration and Combat”

PhD sub-programme:

„The Disciplines of Defence Integration in Social Sciences”

### **2. Work Experience**

1998 - 1999

Programme co-ordinator

Centre of Civil-Military Relations, Budapest

1999 – 2000

Programme co-ordinator

Research Institute of Strategic and Defence Studies, Budapest

1999. September - December

Intern

Council of Europe, Strasbourg, France

Political Directorate, Department of International Relations

2000 - 2002

Officer

Miklós Zrínyi National Defence University, Department of International  
Relations, Budapest

2002 -

Civil servant

NATO, International Staff, Executive Management Division, Performance Management

### 3. Participation in conferences

May 1995	<i>“Challenges of the EU”</i> Centre International de Formation Européenne	Marly-le-Roi, France
March 1998	<i>“Globalization and International Security”</i> L’Académie de la Paix et de la Sécurité Internationale, session XXX.	Monaco
September 1998	<i>“The Enlargement of the EU and the NATO. Summer University”</i> Institut Européen des Hautes Etudes Internationales	Budapest
January 1999	<i>“Crisis Management, Crisis Solution and Prevention”</i> George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies	Budapest
March 2000	<i>“The Future of the Common Foreign and Security Policy”</i> Hungarian Atlantic Council	Budapest
March 2001	„ <i>Journée d’évaluation du Traité de Nice. Le Traité de Nice: analyse, critique, enjeux et perspectives</i> ” ( <i>The Evaluation of the Treaty of Nice. The Treaty of Nice: analysis, criticism, challenge and perspectives</i> ) Institut Européen des Hautes Etudes Internationales	Nice, France
March 2001	<i>“Governance and International Security”</i> L’Académie de la Paix et de la Sécurité Internationale, session XXXIII.	Monaco
April 2001	„ <i>Crisis Management Seminar</i> ” <i>George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies</i>	Budapest