

Loyal Principles: The Logic of a French Return to NATO After the Cold War

Paul Cornuier

It is common that France decided to return closer to the NATO Alliance after the Cold War, in a notably calm and stable period for European security. It is even more striking to note that, 50 years later, France has become popularly perceived as a reluctant NATO ally and a staunch defender of the European Union's autonomy in strategic affairs. As such, this paper presents the case that the same pursuit of strategic autonomy is much older than commonly perceived. In fact, the quest for autonomy was the prime motivation for France in returning closer to NATO Alliance after the Cold War. This paper explores the historical facts related to the French rapprochement to NATO and explains the negotiations made at the time related to European autonomy. Altogether, it concludes that French foreign policy has selected different regional organizations in the post-Cold War period as a means to build a common defense in Europe, be it through NATO or the EU.

Introduction

French President Emmanuel Macron's recent declarations after his state visit to the People's Republic of China have provoked significant pushback from the United States and his Eastern European partners. In an interview, he defended his goal of Strategic Autonomy on the Taiwan issue, which he qualified as "American escalation and Chinese overreaction."¹ This statement came as a surprise to many observers who believed President Macron's vision of European autonomy to be "brain dead" – as the President had once labeled the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) – since the Russian invasion of Ukraine. With Finland's accession into the Alliance and Sweden's bid to join, there are few EU members left that are not members of NATO.

While looking at France's historic relationship with NATO, Macron's statements may come as a surprise. France has been, with other members such as Spain, one of the few member countries not party to NATO's integrated command ever since its dramatic departure from NATO under

Charles de Gaulle in 1966. While France resumed allies that it would still contribute its forces to a contingency against the Soviet Union during the Cold War, it meant that French forces would be led independently from Allied command and that France could not sit at the table of NATO's military command. This would only change officially in 2009, under Nicolas Sarkozy's presidency, after a long process of negotiations that started at the end of the Cold War. After France's reintegration into NATO Military Command, the newly elected François Hollande was publicly skeptical of the reintegration process but decided not to flip the decision despite pressures from his party. Ultimately, his successor, President Macron, proved to be more confrontational towards NATO in public declarations than his predecessor, yet has not left either.

In just ten years, France went from spending a 50-year-old stalemate and reintegrating NATO, to calling it "brain dead." As such, it might seem that the French return was a mistake and contrary to modern interpretations of Strategic Autonomy.

French Security Policy After The Cold War

J. Matlary



French Security Policy After The Cold War:

French Security Policy After the Cold War: Continuity, Change, and Implications for the United States ,1992

This report seeks to identify the various pressures on the famous French defense consensus and to ask how France has been adapting to those pressures so far Based on extensive interviews with French officials and analysts over the past 12 months the report places evolving French security policy into its postwar context and attempts to determine the extent to which traditional French thinking about European security has changed and to identify those areas in which it has not changed Section 2 reviews the main elements of French security policy since the early 1960s and examines the geopolitical diplomatic and fiscal pressures that many believe will force France to modify its long standing approach Section 3 analyzes French policy over the past 2 years in three key dimensions the Atlantic Alliance the European security identity and France s global military role in the wake of the Persian Gulf War Section 4 assesses the prospects for near term change in French security policy and analyzes three of the most plausible scenarios that could follow the legislative elections scheduled for 1993 Section 5 concludes by examining the implications of French policy for French American relations and offering some recommendations for U S policy toward France Despite momentous geopolitical changes in Europe since late 1989 the basic elements of French security policy have not changed much as revealed both in France s relations with Europe and NATO and in its response to the Gulf War The study finds that a major reorientation of security policy is unlikely in the near term It is not in America s interest to marginalize or isolate France by focusing solely on its Atlantic allies in Europe While immobilism is more likely than major change in French U S relations the United States should not oppose attempts to create a European security and defense identity and it should do more to show France that the rejuvenation of NATO is not meant to replace everything else7

French Security Policy After the Cold War Philip H. Gordon,1992-01-01 This report examines contemporary French security policies and finds that despite momentous geopolitical changes in Europe since late 1989 the basic elements of French security policy have not changed much as revealed both in France s relations with Europe and NATO and in France s response to the Gulf War Looking ahead the study finds that a major reorientation of security policy is unlikely in the near term For U S policy the study finds that it is not in America s interest to marginalize or isolate France by focusing solely on our Atlantic allies in Europe While the study shows evidence that immobilism is more likely than major change in French U S relations it still argues that the United States should not oppose attempts to create a European security and defense identity and that it should do more to show France that the rejuvenation of NATO is not meant to exclude and replace everything else

Redefining European Security Carl C. Hodge,2002-09-11 Redefining European Security is a collection of essays concerned with changing perspectives on peace and political stability in Europe since the end of the Cold War in both the hard security terms of military capacity and readiness and in the realm of soft security concerns of economic stability and democratic reform European governments the European Union and the North Atlantic

Treaty Organization are dealing with the fundamental problem of determining the very parameters of Europe politically economically and institutionally This book defines security as the efforts undertaken by national governments and multilateral institutions beginning with the end of the Cold War and the reunification of Germany to continue to protect European populations from acts of war and politically motivated violence in light of the dissolution of the imminent political threat posed to Western Europe by the Soviet Union 1945 1991 Together these essays assess the progress made in Europe toward preventing conflict as well as in ending conflict when it occurs after the abrupt passing of a situation in which the source and nature of a conflict were highly predictable and the emergence of new circumstances in which potential security threats are multiple variable and difficult to measure Contemporary Europe is a mixture of old and new of arrested and accelerated history Europe s governments and institutions have been only partly successful in meeting new security challenges to a high degree because of failing unity and political will Yesterday Europe only just avoided perishing from imperial follies and frenzied ideologies wrote the late Raymond Aron in 1976 she could perish tomorrow through historical abdication

Command in NATO After the Cold War Thomas-Durell Young,1999-02 A series of essays on the changes in command and control C the NATO CJTF C command authorities and multinationality in NATO Canadian forces in Europe France s military command structures in the 1990s centralizing German operational C Italy s command structure Portugal s defense structures and NATO present and future command structure a Danish view and NATO restructuring and enlargement Charts and maps

The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces Hugo Meijer,Marco Wyss,2018-06-22 The armed forces of Europe have undergone a dramatic transformation since the collapse of the Soviet Union The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces provides the first comprehensive analysis of national security and defence policies strategies doctrines capabilities and military operations as well as the alliances and partnerships of European armed forces in response to the security challenges Europe has faced since the end of the cold war A truly cross European comparison of the evolution of national defence policies and armed forces remains a notable blind spot in the existing literature The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces aims to fill this gap with fifty one contributions on European defence and international security from around the world The six parts focus on country based assessments of the evolution of the national defence policies of Europe s major medium and lesser powers since the end of the cold war the alliances and security partnerships developed by European states to cooperate in the provision of national security the security challenges faced by European states and their armed forces ranging from interstate through intra state and transnational the national security strategies and doctrines developed in response to these challenges the military capabilities and the underlying defence and technological industrial base brought to bear to support national strategies and doctrines and finally the national or multilateral military operations by European armed forces The contributions to The Handbook collectively demonstrate the fruitfulness of giving analytical precedence back to the

comparative study of national defence policies and armed forces across Europe French Security Policy Robbin F. Laird, 2019-03-11 Beginning with a look at continuity and change in French policy since de Gaulle this book presents the evolution of French security policy in the 1970s and 1980s Dr Laird pays special attention to the French nuclear modernization process and to the trend in the last two decades toward a greater emphasis on security interdependence within the Western alliance at the expense of the classic Gaullist stance of independence He examines the major dimensions of French security policy particularly French nuclear employment policy and doctrine the Franco German relationship and France's role in Europe and in East West relations The book features the first time translation of some of the most significant recent papers by leading French analysts of security affairs **The Mitterrand Legacy and the Future of French Security Policy** Ronald Tiersky, 1995 NATO and European Security Alexander Moens, Lenard J. Cohen, Allen G. Sens, 2003-03-30 From the end of the Cold War to the terrorist attacks on the United States in September 2001 the NATO Alliance has changed profoundly This book explores the multifaceted consequences of NATO's adjustment to new international and domestic political and security realities Internal Alliance politics and matters of relative power within the membership have strongly influenced recent NATO developments Several major issues challenging the Alliance are examined including how the impact of efforts to develop an enhanced common European security and defense policy have affected NATO whether missile defense is driving the United States and its European allies closer or further apart how the experience of NATO in the Balkans and elsewhere brought alliance members together or made NATO cohesion more difficult to maintain and in what way the changing role of NATO has influenced American and Canadian participation in the Alliance An important guidepost to pivotal changes and likely NATO developments scholars and policymakers of Atlantic and international politics will find these meditations indispensable A number of authors also speculate on the likely changes for the alliance that will ensue in the wake of the September 11 terrorist attacks and the possibility that NATO will soon modify its mission and responsibilities in reaction to the threat of international terrorism Indeed many of the same strategies and strains that affected NATO cohesion over the past decade are likely to complicate efforts to maintain Alliance unity as part of the anti terrorist coalition *France, Germany, and the Western Alliance* Philip H. Gordon, 2018-10-08 This book analyzes the Franco German security partnership in the post Cold War era and its implications for the Western alliance It identifies new national security policy trends in France and Germany and considers their implications for the West *Nato and Collective Security* Michael J. Brenner, 2016-07-27 Providing perspectives from five Western capitals this multinational study examines the formidable political and structural conditions for effective collaboration between NATO and the United Nations in performing peace making and peacekeeping missions The diplomatic and military requirements for operating principles of collective security in post Cold War Europe are illuminated by contrasting the policies of major NATO governments Candid assessments of the differing national attitudes that lie behind them are offered by an international team of scholars Their

analyses are set against the backdrop of the experience in Yugoslavia and the momentous decisions on NATO's structural reform and enlargement

France, NATO and the Limits of Independence 1981-97 A. Menon, 2000-01-12 This book presents the first in depth assessment of France's policies towards NATO between 1981 and 1997 It also provides a critical assessment of these policies It argues that France's arms length relationship with NATO's integrated military structure served its purpose during the Cold War but increasingly came to impose high costs thereafter

Evolution and Devolution Tom Lansford, 2019-07-18 This title was first published in 2000 This study bridges the gap in the otherwise rich literature on European security through its analysis of past and present efforts at military integration Previous works have concentrated on the transatlantic relationship or the intra European dimension of the effort to create autonomous defense capabilities or even on the ramifications of the changed defense market Evolution and Devolution combines these themes and subjects The work integrates these topics against the backdrop of the current scholarly debate over international relations by examining the changing nature of sovereignty and the evolution of the nation state In the end the course toward more integration and yet continued participation of the U S is shown to be the optimum course for EU member states in light of the security threats and constraints facing national governments

All for One: Terrorism, NATO and the United States Tom Lansford, 2018-02-06 This title was first published in 2002 This detailed examination of the role of the Transatlantic Alliance in support of the America led military and intelligence operations against the Taliban and the Al Qaida network since the terrorist attacks on the United States provides the first in depth analysis of NATO's historic first invocation of Article V of the Washington Treaty Including a substantial overview of NATO's place in the broad security framework of the Western Atlantic powers and both the shared history and ideals that form its common basis the book specifically analyzes the political machinations behind the decision to invoke Article V and the impact of political differences among the Alliance partners The book also looks at efforts to prevent future incidents by expanding the security framework of the Alliance An essential reference source for military and foreign policy academics courses and practitioners this text offers the reader an unprecedented insight into NATO's response to this most significant event

European Security After 9/11 Matthew Sussex, 2017-07-05 Much scholarly attention has been paid to the United States response to the events of 9 11 This timely volume broadens our understanding of the impact of the attacks by instead considering their consequences for European security and for the relationship between the US and leading European states Bringing together an impressive collection of experts this work will be an excellent resource for courses on international security European politics and international relations

NATO's Transformation Philip H. Gordon, 1997 This timely volume assesses NATO's current accomplishments continuing challenges and potential pitfalls Leading international scholars and policymakers explore three key themes influencing NATO's future transatlantic relations the debate over enlargement and the organization's new functions Weighing the fate of an alliance poised for renewal or decline the contributors offer informed analysis and discussion of an

organization that has changed profoundly over the past five years and continues to evolve in the face of an uncertain global environment European Union Security Dynamics J. Matlary, 2015-12-28 This book shows how France and Britain are leaders in EU security and defense policy and explains why both states need each other in this policy area The lack of relevant military capacity in Europe today implies that the US favors a strong EU in this field **The Bush Administration (1989-1993) and the Development of a European Security Identity** Sophie Vanhoonacker, 2017-11-22 This title was first published in 2001 This compelling study draws insightful conclusions about US foreign policy towards Europe at a critical juncture in the post Cold War period An absorbing and illuminating account this material will be useful to non specialists and student readers of US foreign policy European integration and international relations alike **The South Sea Island** Frits Andersen, 2024-02-07 When the first European explorers ventured into the unknown Pacific Ocean their minds were filled with tales of remote paradisiacal islands Hopeful ideas of noble savages ecological balance and immense riches gave them the courage to search for a new world even when faced with the unimaginable The South Sea Island A Geography of Pleasure is a journey through the history of ideas and literature over three centuries of European and American narratives about islands oceans and archipelagos Literary scholar Frits Andersen reads and analyses travel accounts paintings films and novels from the 18th century up until the present day by visual artists and authors including Paul Gauguin Herman Melville Robert Louis Stevenson Jules Verne and Thor Heyerdahl These readings combined with Andersen s eye for pleasure sense and longing give rise to a novel literary history of the disappearing Pacific islands At the same time the book offers historical models that we can use today to enhance our understanding of and find new answers to global political and climate related challenges Frits Andersen is a professor of Comparative Literature at Aarhus University Denmark His previous works include The Dark Continent Images of Africa in European Narratives about the Congo 2016 The Danish edition of this book entitled Sydhavs en Nydelsens geografi received the Georg Brandes Prize **Disconcerted Europe** Alexander Moens, 2019-03-11 Four years after the end of the Cold War the United States and its European allies have still not agreed on a new security system to deal with war in Yugoslavia a restless eastern Europe and an unstable Russia The contributors to this timely volume evaluate reforms in the North Atlantic Alliance the new European Union and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe CSCE They also explore a number of critical issues Why is it that NATO cannot end the Yugoslav conflict Why do the Americans and West Europeans quarrel over a European Security and Defense Identity Why is it that the states of Central and Eastern Europe cannot simply join NATO Is the CSCE becoming the pan European security organization that will bear responsibility for preventing or managing future conflicts The book offers careful analysis of the pivotal years of reform between 1989 and 1992 In the first section the contributors assess those developments from the viewpoint of the key institutions NATO CSCE the European Union and its security arm the Western European Union WEU They then examine the policies of the key allies the United States the United Kingdom Germany and France The book concludes that the current

problems in European security affairs are directly explained by the discord divergences and contradictions that have characterized the crucial formative years of these newly significant organizations In the closing chapter the editors suggest pragmatic political initiatives for strengthening these groups in the near future

Norm Dilemmas in Humanitarian Intervention Yuki Abe, 2018-12-21 NATO an organisation brought together to function as an anti communist alliance faced existential questions after the unexpected collapse of the USSR at the beginning of the 1990s Intervention in the conflict in Bosnia between 1992 and 1995 gave it a renewed sense of purpose and a redefining of its core mission Abe argues that an impetus for this change was the norm dilemma that the conflict in Bosnia represented On the one hand a state which oversaw the massacre of its civilians was in breach of international norms but on the other hand intervention by outside states would breach the norms of sovereign integrity and non use of force NATO as an international governance organisation thus became a vehicle for avoiding this kind of dilemma A detailed case study of NATO during the Bosnian war this book explores how the differing views and preferences among the Western states on the intervention in Bosnia were reconciled as they agreed on the outline of NATO s reform It examines detailed decision making processes in Britain France Germany and the USA In particular Abe analyses why conflicting norms led to an emphasis on conflict prevention capacity rather than simply on armed intervention capacity

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