

Appendix

Power indicators

Source for all absolute figures:

US Arms Control and Disarmaments Agency: World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers, 1996, as reproduced on the website of the Federation of American Scientists, http://www.fas.org/man/docs/wmeat96/049_099.pdf [11 April 2007].

Table A.1 Military Expenditure (million US-\$, constant 1995 prices)

	USA	SU/Russia	PR China	Japan	UK	Germany
1985	353,800	379,900	53,470	37,550	45,850	54,000
1986	374,900	383,900	52,140	39,340	45,260	53,660
1987	373,000	392,200	52,460	41,380	44,570	53,720
1988	365,900	398,300	53,090	43,370	42,070	53,150
1989	364,300	363,000	52,370	45,110	42,480	53,190
1990	351,900	335,600	55,660	46,820	42,630	55,790
1991	309,700	287,300	53,270	48,430	43,780	51,480
1992	328,200	171,200	55,390	49,510	39,340	49,260
1993	312,000	131,000	56,390	50,070	37,790	44,820
1994	295,300	95,330	58,470	50,540	36,330	42,050
1995	277,800	76,000	63,510	50,240	33,400	41,160

Note: All figures for SU/Russia and for the PR China are estimates.

Table A.2 Armed Forces (thousands)

	USA	SU/Russia	PR China	Japan	UK	Germany
1985	2,244	3,900	4,100	241	334	495
1986	2,269	3,900	4,030	245	331	495
1987	2,279	3,900	3,530	244	328	495
1988	2,246	3,900	3,783	245	324	495
1989	2,241	3,700	3,903	247	318	503
1990	2,181	3,400	3,500	250	308	545
1991	2,115	3,000	3,200	250	301	457
1992	1,919	1,900	3,160	242	293	442
1993	1,815	1,500	3,031	242	271	398
1994	1,715	1,400	2,930	233	257	362
1995	1,620	1,400	2,930	240	233	352

Table A.3 GNP (million US-\$, constant 1995 prices)

	USA	SU/Russia	PR China	Japan	UK	Germany
1985	5,758,000	2,903,000	1,095,000	3,849,000	894,600	1,689,000
1986	5,920,000	3,003,000	1,183,000	3,952,000	933,900	1,728,000
1987	6,085,000	3,039,000	1,315,000	4,123,000	974,400	1,754,000
1988	6,321,000	3,130,000	1,467,000	4,381,000	1,019,000	1,818,000
1989	6,533,000	3,170,000	1,526,000	4,592,000	1,040,000	1,894,000
1990	6,625,000	3,057,000	1,588,000	4,811,000	1,037,000	1,998,000
1991	6,555,000	2,797,000	1,749,000	5,018,000	1,016,000	2,095,000
1992	6,729,000	867,900	1,995,000	5,084,000	1,022,000	2,120,000
1993	6,881,000	794,300	2,260,000	5,076,000	1,044,000	2,071,000
1994	7,106,000	693,200	2,523,000	5,106,000	1,084,000	2,131,000
1995	7,247,000	664,000	2,759,000	5,153,000	1,110,000	2,172,000

Note: All figures for the PR China are estimates. Figures for SU/Russia in 1991, Japan, UK and Germany in 1995 are estimates.

Table A.4 Population (million people)

	USA	SU/Russia	PR China	Japan	UK	Germany
1985	238.5	278.9	1,052.90	120.8	56.6	61.0
1986	240.7	281.5	1,067.60	121.5	56.8	61.1
1987	242.8	284.0	1,085.00	122.1	56.9	61.1
1988	245.0	286.4	1,102.20	122.6	57.1	61.4
1989	247.3	288.7	1,118.10	123.1	57.2	62.1
1990	249.9	290.9	1,133.70	123.5	57.4	79.4
1991	252.6	293.0	1,148.10	124.0	57.8	80.1
1992	255.4	148.6	1,161.10	124.4	58.0	80.7
1993	258.1	148.5	1,173.60	124.7	58.1	81.5
1994	260.7	148.4	1,185.90	125.0	58.2	82.3
1995	263.0	148.3	1,198.10	125.2	58.4	82.9

Note on sources

For ease of reference, all primary sources are cited in full in the notes.

Official documents of international organizations are cited with all specifics necessary to identify them. Details on where to find the information are provided for sources which cannot be easily located in official records or downloaded from the Web pages of the organizations. The Web pages are

- NATO: <http://www.nato.int>
- WEU: <http://www.weu.int>

Cited documents from the EU's Amsterdam IGC can be found on the EU's 1996 IGC website at <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/App/Cig/Cig1996.aspx?cmsid=908> [date accessed 31 October 2009]

Official documents from the British or the German government and parliament are cited in the commonly used form.

Policy statements are drawn from speeches, parliamentary debates and newspaper articles. Speeches are mostly taken from official records as indicated. This holds especially for those of German government members. Their speeches can be found in *Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamts der Bundesregierung* as indicated. The *Bulletin* is published on CD-Rom since 1996, hence there are no page numbers for all years after 1995. For other speeches Web page addresses are provided. Parliamentary debates are cited using the usual format, that is HC Deb and HL Deb to refer to the Hansard for House of Commons and House of Lords debates; and PIPr to refer to the *Plenarprotokolle des Deutschen Bundestags*. Newspaper and news agency articles are provided with the author (where available) and the title of the article, name of the newspaper or news source and publication date. The following news sources were used:

- *Financial Times*
- *The Guardian* and *The Observer*
- *The Independent* and *The Independent on Sunday*
- *The Times*
- *Süddeutsche Zeitung*
- *Agence Europe*
- *Associated Press*
- *European Report*

All quotes from German sources (i.e. sources which are cited with a German title) were translated by myself.

From May to September 2003, I could carry out several interviews at the British and German EU representations in Brussels, at the FCO, the MOD and the House of Commons in London, and at the foreign ministry and the Bundestag in Berlin. Most interview partners asked not to be cited. These interviews were of great help in my research. In writing the text, however, I relied on publicly accessible sources.

Notes

1 Introduction

1. The term 'structure' is much more often used than defined. My primary goal in using the term is to signify that aspect of social reality which transcends actors and their individual characteristics. I would argue that the informal definition of structure above, as actor relations, includes most aspects of other definitions of structure that are important for this end; as long as 'relations' are understood to be non-incident and have a certain degree of stability (although it is impossible to pin down how stable relations must be to count as 'structure'). The definition extends, for example, to Waltz's definition of structure as the 'arrangement' of a system's parts (Waltz 1979: 80). The definition is also open enough to include generative structures, provided that it is complemented by a definition of actors which clarifies that the existence of social actors presupposes the existence of relations. A thorough discussion of the notion of structure in IR began with Wendt (1987) and Dessler (1989). For a discussion from the viewpoint of FPA, see Carl-snaes (1992), and for a summary of the debate, see Bieler and Morton (2001: 7–16).
2. Pape, Robert 'Welcome to the Era of "Soft Balancing"', *Boston Globe*, 23 March 2003, p. H1.
3. See also Miller (2001) and Ripsman (2006). Ripsman (2006: 11–12) also shows that already many proponents of classical realism rejected a simple dichotomy that treats only military matters as high and everything else as low politics.
4. For balance of threat theory, see Walt (1987).
5. For structural realism this translates into the proposition that all states will display the same balancing behavior in the face of a preponderant power (e.g. Schroeder 1994: 116; Vasquez 1997: 903; see also Martin 2003).
6. At this stage, the choice is primarily pragmatic and necessarily arbitrary to a certain degree. In the concluding chapter I will return to this point and discuss how the choice of assumptions affects the interpretation of the results of this study.
7. Declaration of the European Council on Strengthening the Common European Policy on Security and Defense, Cologne European Council, 3–4 June 1999, reprinted in Rutten (2001: 41–2).
8. The notion of the European Communities/Union as a 'civilian power' had been introduced by François Duchêne (1973) and figured prominently in academic and political debates about the EC/EU's involvement in international affairs (for a critique, see Bull 1982, and for an overview over different applications of the concept, see Orbie 2006).
9. I will focus on the military aspect of ESDP and on what could be termed 'constitutional policies'. I will not include the actual deployment of military forces through ESDP because the creation and design of an institution will arguably be shaped by factors different from those that influence the application of the instruments it provides.
10. The letters are reprinted in Laursen and Vanhoonacker (1992: 276, 415–8). The quote is from p. 418.

2 Structure and Policy: A Framework for Analysis

1. For a similar argument, see Peter D. Feaver's contribution to Feaver et al. (1999).
2. There need not be a rationality assumption for Waltz's balance of power theory to work and Waltz (1979: 118) himself expressly rejects the idea of including rationality among his theory's basic assumptions. Waltz claims that even if states did not calculate rationally (or at least – if not all states did so), a balance of power system would eventually have to emerge in any anarchic environment. This would come about by some evolutionary process of selection. Those states that adhere to the principles of a balance of power system will survive in the long run, the others will disappear or start to emulate the strategies of their successful competitors. There can be no doubt, however, that Waltz's formulation of neorealism has a strong rationalist bend. His heavy reliance on microeconomic theory indicates an affiliation to rational man, *homo oeconomicus*, as his implicit concept of the ideal-type actor. Waltz also concedes that he has to make assumptions about actors' goals in order for his theory to work (units need to aim at survival) (Waltz 1979: 121) and the specification of actors' goals as basic assumption of a theory would make no sense if there was no implicit assumption about actors' behavior being influenced by a hierarchy of goals. It comes as no surprise, then, that most successive texts relying on Waltz's theory claim rationality to be a core assumption of neorealist theory (e.g. Grieco 1995: 27; Elman 1996b: 43). Even Legro and Moravcsik (1999), who heavily criticize that so many subsequent texts have relaxed the basic assumptions of paradigmatic realist texts like Waltz's *Theory* and introduced additional assumptions alien to realism, regard actor rationality as one of the two core assumptions of realism and, moreover, as the 'least controversial' one (Legro and Moravcsik 1999: 12). For a discussion of rationality in structural realism defending Waltz's view, see Resende-Santos (1996: 209, n. 56).
3. Fareed Zakaria (1998) addresses a similar problem. He asserts that actual power depends on the resources that a nation's government can actually control. He focuses on the internal side of the issue, though, that is on the question to what extent the state can extract resources from domestic society.
4. Surprisingly enough, these four strategies are seldom discussed together. Waltz (1979) focuses almost completely on the first set of strategies stressing particularly the increase in capabilities and only briefly discussing autonomy issues. Baumann et al. (2001) focus on both sides of the autonomy issue (autonomy-seeking and influence-seeking) but largely ignore the capabilities issue. Mearsheimer (1994, 2001) reflects on both autonomy and capabilities, yet in different publications.
5. See also the summaries in Pierson (2004: 24) and North (1990: 94). For extensive, and also more technical, discussion of increasing returns in the economy, see the essays in Arthur (1994a).
6. Pierson (2000, 2004: 17–53) offers a very useful review of the literature and its arguments from a political science perspective.
7. The obstacles to picking the option in the first place may be quite formidable, especially if the different available options have different distributional consequences (Snidal 1985; Zürn 1992).
8. This argument centers on the second-order problem of cooperation which is involved in maintaining PD institutions (see Zangl 1999: 68–76). In order to cooperate in a PD situation actors need to establish mechanisms for monitoring behavior and often also for sanctioning defection. Monitoring and sanctioning are both not only necessary but also costly. Providing for monitoring and

sanctioning involves a (secondary) PD game itself, since every actor has strong incentives for free-riding and leaving both tasks to others. The larger the group of participants the stronger these incentives become (Olson 1965). This, in turn, increases incentives for free-riding with respect to the first-order problem in question (e.g. climate protection) because cheating is likely to go unnoticed or without sanctions.

9. For a broader critique of the blindness of rationalist institutionalism to issues of power, see Moe (2005).
10. This is what Douglass North (1990) has argued for economic markets.

3 A Guide for Analysis

1. Of course, there are some elements of states' security policies which are easily accessible to statistical analysis, for example a state's arms exports (Blanton 2000). Research on the monadic version of democratic peace theory (for an overview, see Quackenbush and Rudy 2009: 269–71) is probably the largest strand of research that uses statistical methods to analyze security policies but obviously also restricted to a relatively small aspect of security policy.
2. This view is increasingly shared among social science scholars. For more extensive treatments of a causal mechanisms approach to the social sciences in general and political science in particular, see Dessler (1991), Little (1991: 1–37), Hedström and Swedberg (1998), Tilly (2001) and Achen (2002).
3. In essence, this is a call for basing explanatory social theories on microfoundations, that is on explanations of the behavior or actions of individuals. There appears to be widespread agreement on the desirability or even necessity of addressing these microfoundations when looking for explanations of social phenomena (for an overview over proponents of this view and an argument along these lines, see Schmid 2006). I agree with this position, which directly corresponds with my view that structural explanations of security policy need to remain indeterminate to a certain degree. However, in this study I have to bracket the issue of spelling out hypotheses about actual microprocesses for pragmatic reasons. Rather I use the idea as a heuristic guiding line: There need to be processes on the individual level which translate the effect of structures into corporate (i.e. state) action. In other words, if the macrostructures identified in the theoretical framework are to carry any causal weight their impact has to become visible in actual actions of individuals.
4. For references to this and similar professions in treatments of the case study method, see, for example, Scriven (1976: 105–6), McKeown (1999: 167–8), George and Bennett (2005: 21, 82, 217–18), Gerring (2007: 173).
5. This, of course, holds only insofar as the inherent characteristics of the story itself are concerned. Ultimately a social condition must be added: The story must be accepted through the procedures agreed in the relevant community, for example by a jury's ruling. In obvious ways, this holds for the following translation to the social science realm as well.
6. British ESDP policy has, moreover, already attracted some research, especially due to the centrality of the United Kingdom's 1998 policy shift (e.g. Biscop 1999, Whitman 1999, Howorth 2000a, b, 2003, Dorman 2001, Mayer 2003, Knowles and Thomson-Pottebohm 2004). We will see below that most of this research focuses on contingent and incidental factors to account for the British policy change. Selecting British policy will therefore also contribute to the ongoing discussion about the causes of this change and add a different perspective to it.

4 Britain and Germany at the End of the Cold War

1. This was the basic assumption underlying the balancing debate, which was reviewed in Chapter 1.
2. See the appendix for detailed data on standard indicators concerning all dimensions of material power.
3. The MDA also goes by the name of Agreement for Co-operation on the Use of Atomic Energy for Mutual Defense Purposes.
4. See British American Security Information Council: US–UK Nuclear Cooperation: The 1958 US–UK Mutual Defense Agreement, <http://www.basicint.org/nuclear/MDA.htm> [15 March 2005], and Defense Procurement Agency 2004: Project Fact Files: Nuclear Weapons, August 2004, http://www.mod.uk/dpa/projects/nuclear_weapons.htm [15 March 2005].
5. For a more detailed account of this and the following developments, see Dumbrell (2001: 134–46).
6. Butler and Bromley (2001: 23), quoting from a formal exchange of letters between the US and UK governments.
7. For in-service date, see Defense Procurement Agency 2004: Project Fact Files: Nuclear Weapons, August 2004, http://www.mod.uk/dpa/projects/nuclear_weapons.htm [15 March 2005].
8. See UK Ministry of Defense: The Future United Kingdom Strategic Nuclear Deterrent Force, Defense Open Government Document 80/23, July 1980 and UK Ministry of Defense: The United Kingdom Trident Programme, Defense Open Government Document 82/1, March 1982, cited in Eifert (1986: 19) and Dillon (1983: 136 ff.).
9. Emphasis added.
10. Butler and Bromley (2001: 22) who refer to UK Ministry of Defense: The Future United Kingdom Strategic Nuclear Deterrent Force, Defense Open Government Document 80/23, July 1980.
11. John Dumbrell (2001: 132) estimates that in the area of defense intelligence, for instance, up to 200 members of the British Defense Intelligence Staff were continuously present in Washington during the Cold War.
12. The term was introduced in a piece by Joseph Alsop for the *New York Times* after John F. Kennedy's visit to West Berlin in 1963 (see Arenth 1997: 159).
13. For an historical overview over these efforts, see the contributions in Larres and Opelland (1997).
14. For an overview of NATO's organizational structure, see the NATO Handbook. The latest edition can be downloaded from NATO's website at <http://www.nato.int>. A useful snapshot of NATO's institutions at the end of the Cold War is provided by NATO Information Service (1989). The following description draws on this book and on Warwick and Woyke (2000).
15. Margaret Thatcher in: *NATO's Sixteen Nations*, Special Issue: Britain and NATO, Vol. 34, 1989, 7; see also 'Interview with the Secretary of State for Defense, The Rt. Hon. George Younger MP', in: *NATO's Sixteen Nations*, Special Issue: Britain and NATO, Vol. 34, 1989, 10.
16. *NATO's Sixteen Nations*, Special Issue: Britain and NATO, Vol. 34, 1989, 72, 81.
17. For a brief overview over the FRG's integration, see Baumann (2001: 153–6). A useful and detailed overview over the particulars of West Germany's integration in NATO in the mid-1980s is provided by Gerber (1985).

18. Moreover the West German Basic Law was interpreted as not allowing West German armed forces to be deployed outside the NATO area.
19. There were, of course, other such bodies like the Eurogroup and the Independent European Programme Group (IEPG). I will bracket them here for the sake of brevity and because these institutions will at best have indirect implications for the development of a European military capability. Moreover they would not add much to the comparison between Germany and the United Kingdom because involvement of both states in these institutions is quite similar (on the organizations see Coëme (1991), on their post-Cold War development, see Schmitt (2003b: 20–9) and the documents in Schmitt (2003a)).
20. For the post-1984 history of WEU, see Varwick (1998: 178–87), Schell (1991: 72–427) and Cahen (1989: 5 ff.).
21. For an overview over British positions during this period, see Schell (1991: 197–217).
22. I will not look at a third dimension, armaments cooperation, mainly for pragmatic reasons. While it undeniably may have some, albeit indirect, repercussions on the issue examined here (the creation of autonomous, deployable military capabilities), it would require the investigation of a completely different institutional incentive structure and thus much more space (and time) than is available here.
23. For an outline of political institutions prior to the Rome Declaration, see Schwarz (1988: 57–8).

5 From the End of Bipolarity to the Petersberg Declaration (1990–92)

1. It goes without saying that these security organizations had not only been based on bipolarity but also contributed to it.
2. My reconstruction of this process was guided primarily by Laursen (1996) for the EC, Varwick (1998) for WEU, and the documents reprinted in Laursen and Vanhoonacker (1992) unless otherwise indicated.
3. Belgian Memorandum, 19 March 1990, reprinted in Laursen and Vanhoonacker (1992: 269–75), 273.
4. Kohl–Mitterrand Letter to the Irish Presidency, reprinted in Laursen and Vanhoonacker (1992: 276), emphasis in original.
5. Western European Union: Platform on European Security Interests, The Hague, 27 October 1987, paras 2–4.
6. Italian proposal on Common Foreign and Security Policy, 18 September 1990, reprinted in Laursen and Vanhoonacker (1992: 292).
7. Presidency Conclusions, European Council, Rome, 14 and 15 December 1990, reprinted in Laursen and Vanhoonacker (1992: 318–21), part 1 para. 2.
8. *Ibid.*, emphasis added.
9. Draft Treaty on the Union from the Luxembourg Presidency, 18 June 1991, reprinted in Laursen and Vanhoonacker (1992: 358–406), Provisions on Common Foreign and Security Policy, Art. L.
10. Draft Treaty toward European Union, from the Dutch Presidency, 30 September 1991, Part Four: External Relations of the Community, reprinted in Laursen and Vanhoonacker (1992: 407–12), Title I Article C.
11. WEU Council of Ministers, Communiqué, 17 June 1991, Vianden.

12. I. Declaration of Belgium, Germany, Spain, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, which are members of the WEU and also members of the EU on the role of the WEU and its relations with the EU and with the Atlantic Alliance, Maastricht, 10 December 1991, para. 2.
13. Western European Union Council of Ministers, Petersberg Declaration, Bonn, 19 June 1992, para. II.4.
14. Extraordinary Meeting of WEU Council of Ministers on the Situation in Yugoslavia, 10 July 1992.
15. NATO: Declaration on a transformed North Atlantic Alliance issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council ('The London Declaration'), London, 6 July 1990, para. 3.
16. NATO: The Alliance's New Strategic Concept, Nov 1991, para. 2. The concept is taken up again in para. 36 as a reference to new arrangements for burden-sharing.
17. NATO: Rome Declaration on Peace and Cooperation, Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Rome 8 November 1991, S-1(91)86, paras 6–8, here: 6.
18. McEwen, Andrew 'Hurd Proposes New NATO Force for Emergencies', *The Times*, 11 December 1990.
19. See also NATO Rapid Reaction Force May Focus Attention on U.S. Strengths, *Aerospace Daily* 158: 42, 29 May 1991, 344.
20. Archie Hamilton, MOD, HC Deb 14 May 1991 c135f.W.
21. An Anglo-Italian Declaration on European Security and Defence, 5 October 1991, reprinted in Laursen and Vanhoonacker (1992: 413–14).
22. Palmer, John 'Hurd Keeps Options Open on EC Unity', in *The Guardian*, 8 October 1990. Osborne, David 'EC Concensus on Unity Leaves Britain Isolated', in *The Independent*, 10 October 1990, 17.
23. An Anglo-Italian Declaration on European Security and Defence, 5 October 1991, reprinted in Laursen and Vanhoonacker (1992: 413–14), para. 2.
24. Osborne, David 'EC Concensus on Unity Leaves Britain Isolated', in *The Independent*, 10 October 1990, 17. The isolation cited in the article's headline refers to Britain's resistance against the institutionalization of a common foreign policy (including the introduction of qualified majority voting). Concerning *defense*, Britain's position was 'more ambiguous' and appeared to 'favour the wide consensus that [was] emerging'.
25. Davidson, Ian 'Britain "Would Agree to Common Defence Policy"', *Financial Times*, 8 November 1991, 1; see also Menon et al. (1992: 112).
26. Wielaard, Robert J. U.S. Warns Allies Not to Undermine NATO or Lose U.S. Support, The Associated Press, 8 February 1991, AM Cycle.
27. 'What to do with the WEU', *The Economist*, 2 February 1991, 48.
28. Osborne, David 'Support for EC Role in Defense and Foreign Policy', in *The Independent*, 8 October 1990, 12.
29. 'European Political Union: Idea Gains Ground But Differences Confirmed at Informal Ministerial', in *European Report*, 10 October 1990, 2.
30. Douglas Hurd, quoted in Mark Lawrence, France, Germany Propose Common Europe Defense Policy, The Associated Press, 4 February 1991, AM Cycle.
31. Kohl-Mitterrand Letter to the Irish Presidency, 19 April 1990, reprinted in Laursen and Vanhoonacker (1992: 276).
32. Text of the Letter Addressed to Andreotti by Kohl and Mitterrand, 6 December 1990, reprinted in Laursen and Vanhoonacker (1992: 313–14).

33. The study is mentioned by Foreign Minister Genscher in July 1991: 'Perspektiven gemeinsamer Politik kooperativer Sicherheit in Europa, Rede des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen vor Mitgliedern der WEU-Versammlung', 8 July 1991, *Bulletin* 81/1991, 655–7, 656.
34. Franco-German Initiative on Foreign Security and Defence Policy, 11 October 1991, reprinted in Laursen and Vanhoonacker (1992: 415–18).
35. 'Beitrag der WEU zur Stärkung des europäischen Einigungsprozesses, Rede des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen in Paris vor der Westeuropäischen Union-Versammlung', 4 December 1991, *Bulletin* 138/1991, 1121–3, 1123.
36. For the results from the official German viewpoint, see: 'Die Westeuropäische Union – eine Schicksalsgemeinschaft, Rede des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen vor der WEU-Versammlung in Paris', 2 June 1992, *Bulletin* 59/1992, 582–4.
37. 'Rede des Bundeskanzlers vor dem Deutschen Bundestag, Aussprache über den Bundeshaushalt 1991', 13 March 1991, *Bulletin* 28/1991, 201–12, 210. All quotes from German sources (i.e. sources which are cited here with a German title) have been translated by myself.
38. The proposal spoke of creating a European pillar in NATO, yet it remained unclear how it should be institutionalized and whether WEU would play the key role or whether direct EU–NATO relations were envisaged.
39. 'Die deutsche Frage und die europäische Verantwortung, Rede des Bundeskanzlers in Paris', 17 January 1990, *Bulletin* 9/1990, 61–6, 66.
40. 'Die deutsche Vereinigung als Beitrag zur europäischen Stabilität, Rede des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen vor der WEU-Versammlung in Luxemburg', 23 March 1990, *Bulletin* 40/1990, 309–13.
41. Kohl-Mitterrand Letter to the Irish Presidency, 19 April 1990, reprinted in Laursen and Vanhoonacker (1992: 276).
42. 'Deutsche Einheit und europäische Sicherheit, Rede von Bundesminister Dr. Stoltenberg in Washington', 1 May 1990, *Bulletin* 52/1990, 405–9, 407.
43. 'Erklärung der Bundesregierung zur Sondertagung des Europäischen Rates am 28. April 1990 in Dublin in der 210. Sitzung des Deutschen Bundestages', 10 May 1990, *Bulletin* 56/1990, 453–6.
44. 'Deutsch-italienische Konsultationen, Gemeinsame Erklärung der Regierungschefs', Venedig, 19 October 1990 *Bulletin* 125/1990, 1309–11.
45. See fn. 37. This idea of utilizing WEU as transatlantic link had been missing from a series of prominent statements on WEU before, for example in the Franco-German letter of December 1990, Chancellor Kohl's remarks on WEU in his press conference statement at the Rome European Council in December 1990 (*Bulletin* 149/1990, 1559–60) and in his government statement to the *Bundestag* on 30 January 1991 (*Bulletin* 11/1990, 61–76, esp. 73).
46. The NATO Role in Europe and the US Role in NATO, speech by William H. Taft presented to the Centre for European Policy Studies, 21 May 1992, quoted in Vanhoonacker (2001: 146).
47. This was stated, for instance, by Foreign Minister Kinkel with explicit reference to prior US criticism of the corps idea: 'Die Westeuropäische Union – eine Schicksalsgemeinschaft, Rede des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen Klaus Kinkel vor der WEU-Versammlung in Paris', 2 June 1992, *Bulletin* 59/1992, 582–4, 583.
48. 'Neue Strategie für die Zukunft der euro-atlantischen Gemeinschaft, Rede des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Volker Rühe', Paris, 29 September 1992, *Bulletin* 104/1992, 973–4.

49. 'Deutsch-italienische Konsultationen, Gemeinsame Erklärung der Regierungschefs', Venedig, 19 October 1990, *Bulletin* 125/1990, 1309–11, 1310.
50. For example, 'Unsere Verantwortung für die Freiheit: Deutschlands Einheit gestalten – Die Einheit Europas vollenden – Dem Frieden der Welt dienen, Regierungserklärung des Bundeskanzlers vor dem Deutschen Bundestag', 30 January 1991, *Bulletin* 11/1991, 61–76, 73; 'Die Rolle Deutschlands in Europa, Rede des Bundeskanzlers auf der Tagung "Forum für Deutschland" in Berlin', 13 March 1991, *Bulletin* 33/1991, 241–7, 246; 'Aufgaben deutscher Politik in den neunziger Jahren, Rede des Bundeskanzlers in Washington', 20 May 1991, *Bulletin* 56/1991, 441–6, 444.
51. For references to the *Gulf War* in this context, see, for example, 'Die Rolle Deutschlands in Europa, Rede des Bundeskanzlers auf der Tagung "Forum für Deutschland" in Berlin', 13 March 1991, *Bulletin* 33/1991, 241–7, 246; 'Im Bewußtsein der europäischen Idee als Werte- und Kulturgemeinschaft, Ansprache des Bundeskanzlers zur Verleihung des Coudenhove-Kalergi-Preises in Bonn', 29 April 1991, *Bulletin* 45/1991, 333–6, 334; for references to *Yugoslavia* see e.g. 'Erklärung des Bundeskanzlers über die Ergebnisse des Europäischen Rates', Luxemburg, 29 June 1991, *Bulletin* 78/1991, 635–6, 636; 'Erklärung der Bundesregierung zum Gipfeltreffen der Staats- und Regierungschefs der NATO in Rom, zum EG-Gipfel in Maastricht sowie zur Nahost-Friedenskonferenz und zur Reise nach Brasilien und Chile', abgegeben von Bundeskanzler Helmut Kohl, 6 November 1991, *Bulletin* 124/1991, 985–90, 986.
52. 'Der Auftrag der Bundeswehr im vereinigten Deutschland, Rede von Staatssekretär Ottfried Hennig in Bielefeld', 12 June 1991, *Bulletin* 70/1991, 569–72, 570.
53. 'Verantwortung des geeinten Deutschland für ein einiges Europa, Rede des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen zur Verleihung der Goldenen Europa-Medaille', Wuppertal, 14 October 1990, *Bulletin* 122/1990, 1273–5, 1274.
54. *Gleichberechtigte Partnerschaft*, which translates verbally to a 'partnership of equal rights'. 'Deutsche Einheit und europäische Sicherheit, Rede des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Gerhard Stoltenberg', in Washington, 1 May 1990, *Bulletin* 52/1990, 405–9, 408.
55. 'Neue Strategie für die Zukunft der euro-atlantischen Gemeinschaft, Rede des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Volker Rühle', Paris, 29 September 1992, *Bulletin* 104/1992, 973–4, 974.
56. 'Unsere Verantwortung für die Freiheit: Deutschlands Einheit gestalten – Die Einheit Europas vollenden – Dem Frieden der Welt dienen, Regierungserklärung des Bundeskanzlers vor dem Deutschen Bundestag', 30 January 1991, *Bulletin* 11/1991, 61–76, 73; 'Die Zukunft der deutsch-amerikanischen Partnerschaft. Rede des Bundeskanzlers in Heidelberg', 26 May 1992, *Bulletin* 59/1992, 577–82, 580.
57. 'Zukunftsaufgaben der Bundeswehr im vereinten Deutschland, Rede des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Gerhard Stoltenberg auf der Kommandeurtagung der Bundeswehr in Bonn', 13 March 1991, *Bulletin* 29/1991, 214–9, 215.
58. For example, 'Regierungserklärung des deutschen Bundeskanzlers vor dem deutschen Bundestag zu den Ergebnissen des Gipfeltreffens der Staats- und Regierungschefs der KSZE in Paris und zum bevorstehenden Europäischen Rat in Rom', 22 November 1990, *Bulletin* 136/1990, 1405–8, 1407; 'Das Selbstverständnis des Soldaten in der Welt von morgen, Rede des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Gerhard Stoltenberg an der Universität der Bundeswehr in München', 17 June 1991, *Bulletin* 70/1991, 565–8, 566; 'Grundlagen

und Leitlinien für eine gemeinsame Europäische Zukunft, Ansprache des Bundeskanzlers zum vierzigjährigen Jubiläum des Nordischen Rates in Helsinki', *Bulletin* 26/253–6, 255.

6 From Petersberg to Amsterdam (1992–97)

1. For overviews over this period, see Hunter (2002) and Varwick (1998). Useful sources (in German) are the reports of the German federal government on WEU activities, which were published twice a year until 2001 and once a year afterwards.
2. Additionally, WEU members began to make WEU their central forum for organizing their armaments cooperation. As stated in Chapter 5 above, the issue cannot be addressed in this study.
3. Greece was included as full member, the non-EU European allies (Iceland, Norway and Turkey) as associated members and those EC members who were not members of NATO (Ireland and Denmark) as observers. For this and the other measures taken in late 1992, see Communiqué WEU Council of Ministers, Rome, 20 November 1992.
4. Communiqué, WEU Council of Ministers, Rome, 19 May 1993, paras 17–18.
5. Lisbon Declaration, WEU Council of Ministers, Lisbon, 15 May 1995, para. 5.
6. Noordwijk Declaration, WEU Council of Ministers, Noordwijk, 14 November 1994, para. 42.
7. Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Tätigkeit der Westeuropäischen Union vom 1. Januar 1993 bis 30. Juni 1993, BT-Drs. 12/5526, para. IV.1.
8. Lisbon Declaration, WEU Council of Ministers, Lisbon, 15 May 1995, para. 8.
9. Noordwijk Declaration, WEU Council of Ministers, Noordwijk, 14 November 1994, para. 21.
10. *Ibid.*, para. 5.
11. See Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Tätigkeit der Westeuropäischen Union für die Zeit vom 1. Juli bis 31. Dezember 1993, BT-Drs. 12/7163, para. I.1.
12. Declaration, WEU Council of Ministers, Luxembourg, 22 November 1993, preamble.
13. *Ibid.*, para. I.3.
14. 'US-Präsident Clinton in Brüssel: Bande zu Europa sind einzigartig', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 10 January 1994.
15. Declaration of the Heads of State and Government, Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, Brussels, 11 January 1994, Press Communiqué M-1(94)3, paras 5–6.
16. Noordwijk Declaration, WEU Council of Ministers, Noordwijk, 14 November 1994, para. 20.
17. Final Communiqué, Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, Berlin, 3 June 1996, M-NAC-1(96)63.
18. Reflection Group's Report, Messina 2 June 1995, Brussels 5 December 1995, SN 520/95 (REFLEX 21), http://www.europarl.europa.eu/enlargement/cu/agreements/pdf/reflex1_en.pdf [17 August 2007], part I.
19. *Ibid.*, and part II paras 166 ff.
20. *Ibid.*, part II para. 177.
21. WEU Contribution to the European Union Intergovernmental Conference of 1996, WEU Council of Ministers, Madrid, 14 November 1995, <http://www.ena.lu/mce.swf?doc=14385&lang=2> [17 August 2007].

22. *Ibid.*, paras 50–8, 99.I.
23. *Ibid.*, para. 99.II, see also paras 59–92.
24. Benelux memorandum on the Intergovernmental Conference, 5 May 1996, CONF 3844/96, para. 2.5. The letter was dated 7 March 1996 and forwarded to Representatives in May.
25. Strengthened External Action Capability, Note from the Presidency, Conference of the Representatives of the Governments of Member States, Brussels 24 May 1996, CONF 3850/96, para. 3.
26. *The European Union Today and Tomorrow: Adapting the European Union for the Benefit of Its Peoples and Preparing It for the Future. A General Outline for a Draft Revision of the Treaties*, Dublin II, Brussels, 5 December 1996, CONF 2500/96, chapter 12.
27. Consolidated Draft Treaty Texts, Brussels 30 May 1997, SN 600/97 (C 101), quoted in Whitman (1999: 10). See also Agence Europe, no 6968, 5/6 May 1997.
28. Quoted in: Christopher Bellamy: 'Military Planners Work out Mechanics of Peace', *The Independent*, 11 January 1994, 10.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Earle Howe, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Defense, HL Deb 27 November 1995, c23W.
31. Address by John Major to the Assembly of Western European Union, Assembly of Western European Union Proceedings, Extraordinary Session, February 1996, 74–81; Bellamy, Christopher: 'Military Role for EU Opposed by Britain', *The Independent*, 24 February 1996, 11; Karacs, Imre and Dejevsky, Mary: 'The Europe Debate: Shedding of US Ties Satisfies Nato Members', *The Independent*, 4 June 1996, 9.
32. Birmingham Declaration, WEU Council of Ministers, Birmingham, 7 May 1996, paras 4–9; see also Bailes (1997: 56).
33. Its main points are summarized in the European Parliament White Paper on the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference, vol. II, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/igc1996/pos-en_en.htm [08 November 2007].
34. David Davis, HC Deb 19 June 1996, c831.
35. Address by John Major to the Assembly of Western European Union, Assembly of Western European Union Proceedings, Extraordinary Session, February 1996, 74–81, 77.
36. Karacs, Imre and Dejevsky, Mary: 'The Europe Debate: Shedding of US Ties Satisfies Nato Members', *The Independent*, 4 June 1996, 9.
37. Quoted in: Rifkind Attacks EU Defense 'Folly', Press Association, 24 March 1997.
38. Britain was not opposed to the EU requesting action from WEU, yet only insisted that WEU had to autonomously decide over how to deal with the request.
39. Meade, Geoff: Cook Digs in Against Franco-German Defense Plan, Press Association, 13 May 1997; see also Whitman (1999: 6).
40. The proposal was put forward by France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Belgium and Luxembourg.
41. David Davis, HC Deb 19 June 1996 c833.
42. Buchan, David: 'All Cordial at UK-French Summit', *Financial Times*, 19 November 1994, 2.
43. Sheridan, Michael and Bellamy, Christopher: 'Lesson of Bosnia Draws London and Paris Closer', *The Independent*, 31 October 1995, 10.

44. Keith Vaz, Minister for Europe, FCO, HC Deb 6 March 2000 c500W. On the areas covered by Franco-British nuclear cooperation, see also Butcher et al. (1998: chapter 4).
45. This was aptly summarized by David Davis: 'The IGC is not central to the future of European defense – the success of IFOR and NATO adaptation is much more important to the evolution of what is sometimes called the European security architecture' (HC Deb 19 June 1996, c831).
46. The United Kingdom abstained and the United States voted yes on Resolutions A/RES/48/88 (23 December 1993) and A/RES/49/10 (3 November 1994). On both resolutions all EU members abstained; see UN Voting Record at <http://unbisnet.un.org> [06 November 2007].
47. Quoted in: Clark, Bruce: 'Major Says Bosnia War Could Spread', *Financial Times*, 6 December 1994, 3.
48. Quoted by Liberal Democrat Menzies Campbell in HC Deb 17 October 1994, c78.
49. Brock, George: 'Britain Changes Tack to Back European Power Bloc in NATO', *The Independent*, 28 October 1994; see also Cornish (1999: 60).
50. Brock, George: 'Britain Changes Tack to Back European Power Bloc in NATO', *The Independent*, 28 October 1994.
51. John Major, HC Deb 12 January 1994, c178.
52. *Ibid.*, c182.
53. Quoted in: Bellamy, Christopher: 'Military Planners Work Out Mechanics of Peace', *The Independent*, 11 January 1994, 10.
54. David Davis, HC Deb 19 June 1996, c833.
55. As Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel argued in September 1995: 'If, however, a true European defense identity develops, we will have to talk about the role of nuclear weapons in this European defense'; see 'Rede von Bundesminister Klaus Kinkel zum Wechsel im Amt des Präsidenten der Bundesakademie für Sicherheitspolitik', Bonn, 20 September 1995, *Bulletin* 74/1995, 731–2, 732.
56. The article aims to demonstrate the role of epistemic communities in shaping policy ideas, discourses and eventually policies.
57. For example, 'Die Sicherheitsinteressen Deutschlands, Rede von Bundeskanzler Helmut Kohl, 30. Konferenz für Sicherheitspolitik', München, 6 February 1993, *Bulletin* 12, 10 February 1993; 'Bündnis- und Einsatzfähigkeit der Bundeswehr bleiben gewährleistet, Rede des Bundeskanzlers Helmut Kohl, Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr, Hamburg', 24 June 1993, *Bulletin* 58, 2 July 1993.
58. The speech is reprinted as Rühle, Volker: 'Shaping Euro-Atlantic Policies: A Grand Strategy for a New Era', *Survival* 35: 2, 129–37.
59. 'Deutsche Sicherheitspolitik vor neuen Aufgaben, Rede von Bundesverteidigungsminister Volker Rühle, 34. Kommandeurtagung der Bundeswehr', Mainz, 7 October 1993, *Bulletin* 83, 8 October 1993.
60. 'Stärkung der Sicherheit in Europa, Erklärung von Bundesaußenminister Klaus Kinkel, Herbsttreffen der NATO-Außenminister', Brussels, 2 December 1993, *Bulletin* 111, 13 December 1993.
61. Helmut Kohl (CDU/CSU), PIPr 12/202, 13.01.1994, 17412B.
62. 'Erklärung des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen Klaus Kinkel anlässlich der Herbsttagung des WEU-Ministerrates', Madrid, 15 November 1995, *Bulletin* 99/1995, 965–6, 966.
63. 'Konzept einer kooperativen Sicherheitsstruktur für ganz Europa, Rede des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen, Klaus Kinkel, anlässlich der Frühjahrstagung der

- Parlamentarischen Versammlung der Westeuropäischen Union', Paris, 19 June 1995, *Bulletin* 51/1995, 460–2, 461.
64. 'Die Nordatlantische Allianz als Fundament einer neuen Friedensordnung in Europa, Rede des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Volker Rühle vor der Deutschen Atlantischen Gesellschaft', Bonn, 11 May 1995, *Bulletin* 40/1995, 345–8, 346; 'Rede des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Volker Rühle anlässlich der 35. Kommandeurstagung der Bundeswehr', München, 17 November 1995, *Bulletin* 97/1995, 944–9, 945.
 65. 'Konzept einer kooperativen Sicherheitsstruktur für ganz Europa, Rede des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen, Klaus Kinkel, anlässlich der Frühjahrstagung der Parlamentarischen Versammlung der Westeuropäischen Union', Paris, 19 June 1995, *Bulletin* 51/1995, 460–2, 461; 'Erklärung des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen Klaus Kinkel anlässlich der Herbsttagung des WEU-Ministerrates', Madrid, 15 November 1995, *Bulletin* 99/1995, 965–6, 966; 'Erklärung des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen Klaus Kinkel auf der Pressekonferenz anlässlich des Herbsttreffens der NATO-Außenminister', Brüssel, 5 December 1995, *Bulletin* 106/1995, 1058.
 66. 'Rede des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen Klaus Kinkel bei der Herbsttagung der Versammlung der Westeuropäischen Union', Paris, 1 December 1997, *Bulletin* 96/1997.
 67. 'Erklärung des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen Klaus Kinkel anlässlich der Frühjahrstagung des WEU-Ministerrates', Birmingham, 7 May 1996, *Bulletin* 48/1996.
 68. Bergdoll, Udo: 'Nicht das Rad neu erfinden, nur das Radlager prüfen', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 16 May 1995; 'Pressekonferenz mit dem Bundeskanzler, Europäischer Rat in Turin, Sondertagung der Staats- und Regierungschefs der Europäischen Union', 29 March 1996, *Bulletin* 35/1996.
 69. 'Erklärung des Bundesaußenministers, Europäischer Rat in Turin, Sondertagung der Staats- und Regierungschefs der Europäischen Union', 29 March 1996, *Bulletin* 35/1996.
 70. Kohl had suggested to include a 'solidarity clause for all EU members in analogy to the mutual assistance guarantees of the WEU and NATO treaties' in February 1996. This was later somewhat watered down by Foreign Minister Kinkel to a 'political solidarity clause' without further definition, and finally became 'a general political solidarity clause which would be below the level of a military assistance clause' in the joint letter of Kohl and Chirac to the Irish Presidency in December 1996; see 'Sicherheit für ein kommendes Europa, Rede von Bundeskanzler Helmut Kohl bei der 33. Münchner Konferenz für Sicherheitspolitik in München', 3 February 1996, *Bulletin* 15/1996; 'Erklärung des Bundesaußenministers Klaus Kinkel bei der Tagung des Ministerrats der WEU in Birmingham', 7 June 1996, *Bulletin* 48/1996; 'Erklärung der Bundesregierung zum Stand der Europapolitik, insbesondere zum Stand der Regierungskonferenz, abgegeben vom Bundesminister des Auswärtigen Klaus Kinkel vor dem Deutschen Bundestag', *Bulletin* 81/1996; 'Gemeinsame Botschaft des Bundeskanzlers und des französischen Staatspräsidenten an den Vorsitzenden des Europäischen Rates', 9 December 1996, *Bulletin* 102/1996.
 71. Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel called for discussions on this idea in the fall of 1995; see 'Rede von Bundesminister Klaus Kinkel zum Wechsel im Amt des Präsidenten der Bundesakademie für Sicherheitspolitik', Bonn, 20 September 1995, *Bulletin* 74/1995, 731–2, 732; and 'Kernfragen deutscher Außenpolitik,

- Rede des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen Klaus Kinkel vor der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik', Berlin, 12 October 1995, *Bulletin* 82/1995, 800–3, 802.
72. See fn. 64.
 73. Bergdoll, Udo: 'Nicht das Rad neu erfinden, nur das Radlager prüfen', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 16 May 1995.
 74. 'Europa und Amerika: Neue Partnerschaft für die Zukunft, Rede des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Volker Rühle bei der 32. Münchner Konferenz für Sicherheitspolitik', 4 February 1995, *Bulletin* 9/1995, 73–6, 74–5.
 75. 'Deutsch-amerikanische Partnerschaft – die transatlantische Agenda 2000, Rede des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen Klaus Kinkel vor dem Chicago Council on Foreign Relations', 19 April 1995, *Bulletin* 32/1995, 267–70, 268.
 76. 'Rede von Bundeskanzler Helmut Kohl bei der 33. Münchner Konferenz für Sicherheitspolitik', 3 February 1996, *Bulletin* 15/1996.
 77. 'Deutsche Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik, Rede von Bundesaußenminister Klaus Kinkel in Sigmaringen', 29 April 1994, *Bulletin* 40/1994, 349–51.
 78. 'Angemessene Sicherheitsvorsorge ist das Gebot der Zeit, Erklärung des Bundesministers der Verteidigung zum Jahreswechsel', 1993/1994, *Bulletin* 1/1994, 5.
 79. 'Deutschlands Verantwortung in und für Europa, Rede des Bundesministers der Verteidigung am St. Antony's College der Universität Oxford', 19 May 1994, *Bulletin* 47/1994, 421–4, 422.
 80. 'Perspektiven für Europa 1996, Rede des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen Klaus Kinkel zur Eröffnung des Europa-Forums des Landtags von Baden-Württemberg', Stuttgart, 3 May 1995, *Bulletin* 36/1995, 305–7, 306; see also: 'Konzept einer kooperativen Sicherheitsstruktur für ganz Europa, Rede des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen, Klaus Kinkel, anlässlich der Frühjahrstagung der Parlamentarischen Versammlung der Westeuropäischen Union', Paris, 19 June 1995, *Bulletin* 51/1995, 460–2, 461; 'Erklärung des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen Klaus Kinkel anlässlich der Frühjahrstagung der NATO-Außenminister', 3 June 1996, *Bulletin* 47/1996.
 81. 'Rede von Bundeskanzler Helmut Kohl bei der 33. Münchner Konferenz für Sicherheitspolitik', 3 February 1996, *Bulletin* 15/1996.
 82. 'Europäische Sicherheit und die Zukunft der Bundeswehr, Rede des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Volker Rühle in Berlin', 21 March 1994, *Bulletin* 28/1994, 253–5, 254.
 83. 'Europa und Amerika: Neue Partnerschaft für die Zukunft, Rede des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Volker Rühle bei der 32. Münchner Konferenz für Sicherheitspolitik', 4 February 1995, *Bulletin* 9/1995, 73–6, 74; see also 'Die Nordatlantische Allianz als Fundament einer neuen Friedensordnung in Europa, Rede des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Volker Rühle vor der Deutschen Atlantischen Gesellschaft', Bonn, 11 May 1995, *Bulletin* 40/1995, 345–8, 346. This remains a recurrent theme in almost all of Rühle's speeches on European security.
 84. 'Europa und Amerika: Neue Partnerschaft für die Zukunft, Rede des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Volker Rühle bei der 32. Münchner Konferenz für Sicherheitspolitik', 4 February 1995, *Bulletin* 9/1995, 73–6, 76.
 85. For example, 'Rede von Bundeskanzler Helmut Kohl anlässlich der Verleihung des Eric-M.-Warburg-Preises der Atlantik-Brücke', Berlin, 18 June 1996, *Bulletin* 55/1996.
 86. 'Rede von Bundesminister Klaus Kinkel zum Wechsel im Amt des Präsidenten der Bundesakademie für Sicherheitspolitik', Bonn, 20 September 1995, *Bulletin* 74/1995, 731–2, 732.

87. 'Deutschlands Verantwortung – Perspektiven für das neue Europa, Rede des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Volker Rühle vor dem Industrieclub Düsseldorf', 12 September 1994, *Bulletin* 86/1994, 804–7, 805.
88. 'Vortrag des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Volker Rühle an der Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies/American Institute for Contemporary German Studies', Washington, 30 April 1996, *Bulletin* 34/1996.
89. 'Europa und Nordamerika auf dem Weg ins 21. Jahrhundert, Rede des Bundesministers der Verteidigung anlässlich des Frühjahrstreffens der Nordatlantischen Versammlung', Budapest, 29 May 1995, *Bulletin* 45/1995, 398–400, 400.
90. Such references are somewhat more difficult to find during this period, yet see, for example, 'Rede von Bundeskanzler Helmut Kohl bei der 33. Münchner Konferenz für Sicherheitspolitik', 3 February 1996, *Bulletin* 15/1996; 'Deutschlands Rolle in der neuen NATO, Vortrag des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen Klaus Kinkel auf dem 9. Forum "Bundeswehr und Gesellschaft" der Welt am Sonntag', Berlin, 3 June 1997.

7 From Amsterdam to Cologne (1997–99)

1. WEU Council of Ministers: Erfurt Declaration, 18 November 1997, para. 10.
2. For details on the European process between Pörschach and St Malo, see Jopp (1999).
3. The Declaration is reproduced in Rutten (2001: 8–9).
4. Hunter (2002: 31, n. 5) highlights the fact that the original text read 'when the Alliance as a whole is not engaged' and discusses the – albeit marginal – implications of the change from 'when' to 'where'.
5. Presidency Conclusions of the Vienna European Council, 11–12 December 1998, reprinted in Rutten (2001: 13) para. 76.
6. Albright, Madeleine: 'The Right Balance Will Secure NATO's Future', *Financial Times*, 7 December 1998, 22.
7. Final Communiqué of the North Atlantic Council Summit, Washington, DC, 24 April 1999, reprinted in Rutten (2001: 19–23).
8. However, the phrase acknowledging NATO's role and limiting EU-led operations to cases 'where the Alliance as a whole is not engaged' was suspiciously absent and had been replaced by a much more open 'without prejudice to actions by NATO'. This led to some transatlantic confusion because it seemed to downgrade NATO's role. The problem was remedied at the Helsinki European Council in December 1999 and from there on all EU documents outlining the EU role in the European security order stuck to 'where the Alliance as a whole is not engaged'. See Presidency Conclusions of the Cologne European Council, 3–4 June 1999, reprinted in Rutten (2001: 41–2).
9. Luxembourg Declaration, WEU Ministerial Council, reprinted in Rutten (2001: 67–71).
10. The residual functions remained necessary because the collective defense clause was neither transferred to the EU nor abandoned. As a result, a residual apparatus is still necessary to provide for this commitment. Marseille Declaration, WEU Ministerial Council, 13 November 2000, reprinted in Rutten (2001: 147–9).
11. Robin Cook, HC Deb 12 November 1997 c911, 919.
12. John Reid, Minister of State for Defense, HC Deb 28 October 1997, c726.
13. Strategic Defence Review, presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for Defense by Command of Her Majesty, Cm 3999, July 1998.

14. Blair also presented it to the North Atlantic Assembly at its meeting in November 1998 (Sloan 2000: 14).
15. For example, Baroness Symons of Vernham Dean, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, FCO, HL Deb 10 November 1998 c627.
16. In particular, he outlined them at the informal meeting of EU defense ministers in Vienna, 3–4 November 1998 (Jopp 1999: 4) and in his speech to the WEU Assembly about a month later; see: *The Future of European Defence*, speech by the British Defence Secretary, Mr George Robertson, to the WEU Assembly, Paris, 1 December 1998.
17. Ibid.
18. Joint Declaration on European Defense, British-French Summit, St Malo, 3–4 December 1998, reprinted in Rutten (2001: 8–9), paras 2–3.
19. Walker, Martin: 'EU Seizes Military Role', *The Guardian*, 12 May 1999, 11.
20. Observers have made the same claim for France (Jopp 1999: 5–6) and Germany (Howorth 2001: 771), however.
21. Bremner, Charles: 'EU Shift Towards Common Defence', *The Times*, 3 June 1999; Walker, Martin: 'Europe Takes First Steps to Common Defence Policy', *The Guardian*, 3 June 1999, 15.
22. *Europe Working For People*, speech by Prime Minister Tony Blair on the British Presidency, 6 December 1997, <http://www.number10.gov.uk/output/Page1087.asp> [14 November 2007].
23. All quotes in this and the following paragraph are from: Prime Minister's speech to the French National Assembly, 24 March 1998, <http://www.number10.gov.uk/output/Page1160.asp> [14 November 2007].
24. For press reports, see for example 'Three's a crowd', *The Economist*, 10 October 1998; Sylvester, Rachel: 'Blair Backs Plan for Pan-European Army', *The Independent*, 4 October 1998, 1–2; Walker, Martin: 'European Security: The White Race in Arms?', *The Guardian*, 27 October 1998, 19.
25. Prime Minister's speech to the French National Assembly, 24 March 1998, <http://www.number10.gov.uk/output/Page1160.asp> [14 November 2007].
26. Parker, Andrew: 'Blair to Back Creation of EU Defense Arm', *Financial Times*, 21 October 1998, 11.
27. Joint Declaration on European Defense, British-French Summit, St Malo, 3–4 December 1998, reprinted in Rutten (2001: 8–9), para. 2.
28. John Spellar, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Defense, HC Deb 11 November 1998, c303–4.
29. 'The Future of European Defence, speech by the British Defense Secretary, Mr George Robertson, to the WEU Assembly', Paris, 1 December 1998.
30. *The New Challenge for Europe*, Prime Minister's speech, 20 May 1999, <http://www.number10.gov.uk/output/Page1334.asp> [14 November 2007].
31. Press Conference of Prime Minister Tony Blair at the Informal European Summit, Pörschach, 24–25 October 1998, excerpts reprinted in: Rutten (2001: 1–3).
32. Prime Minister to Drop Objection to European Union Defence Arm, Associated Press Worldstream, 21 October 1998 5:56 ET.
33. Quoted in: Sylvester, Rachel: 'Blair Backs Plan for a Pan-European Army', *The Independent*, 4 October 1998, 1–2.
34. Prime Minister's speech to the French National Assembly, 24 March 1998, <http://www.number10.gov.uk/output/Page1160.asp> [14 November 2007].
35. Prime Minister's Speech at the NATO 50th Anniversary Conference, 8 March 1999, <http://www.number10.gov.uk/output/Page1286.asp> [14 November 2007].

36. Alastair Campbell quoted in: Prime Minister to Drop Objection to European Union Defense Arm, Associated Press Worldstream, 21 October 1998 5:56 ET.
37. For example, Gerald Kaufman, Shadow Foreign Secretary, HC Deb 11 Jun 1990 c 38; see also Wallace (1992: 442).
38. 'Gemeinsame Positionen zu aktuellen europapolitischen Fragen des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen Klaus Kinkel und des französischen Außenministers Hubert Védrine, Petersberg bei Bonn', 2 February 1998, *Bulletin* 10/1998.
39. 'Gemeinsame Botschaft des Bundeskanzlers und des französischen Staatspräsidenten an den Vorsitzenden des Europäischen Rates', 5 June 1998, *Bulletin* 41/1998.
40. 'Rede des Bundeskanzlers Helmut Kohl bei der 34. Münchner Konferenz für Sicherheitspolitik', München, 7 February 1998, *Bulletin* 15/1998.
41. The Pörschach meeting took place on 24–25 October, Schröder was elected chancellor on 27 October 1998.
42. 'Gemeinsame Erklärung des französischen Staatspräsidenten, des französischen Premierministers und des Bundeskanzlers zum Abschluss der 72. Deutsch-Französischen Konsultationen', Potsdam, 1 December 1998, *Bulletin* 79/1998.
43. 'Gemeinsamer Brief des Bundeskanzlers und des französischen Staatspräsidenten an den Vorsitzenden des Europäischen Rates', 6 December 1998, *Bulletin* 79/1998.
44. German Presidency and the Situation in Kosovo, address of President-in-Office of the Council Fischer to the European Parliament, Debates of the European Parliament, Sitting of Tuesday, 12 January 1999; 'Rede des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen in der französischen Nationalversammlung', Paris, 20 January 1999, *Bulletin* 4/1999.
45. 'Rede von Bundeskanzler Gerhard Schröder anlässlich der 35. Münchner Konferenz für Sicherheitspolitik', München, 6 February 1999, *Bulletin* 8/1999.
46. German Proposal, Informal Meeting of EU Foreign Ministers, Eltville, 13–14 March 1999, reprinted in Rutten (2001: 17–19).
47. See also Jopp (1999: 7–8) and General Affairs Council: Presidency Seeks Consensus on Concept of Common Defense Policy, European Report 2391, 17 March 1999.
48. 'Rede des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Rudolf Scharping bei der Deutschen Atlantischen Gesellschaft', Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 18 April 1999, *Bulletin* 18/1999.
49. 'Einführungsstatement des Bundesaußenministers Joschka Fischer zur Europäischen Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik anlässlich des WEU-Ministerrats', Bremen, 10 May 1999, *Bulletin* 30/1999.
50. 'Rede von Bundeskanzler Gerhard Schröder anlässlich der 35. Münchner Konferenz für Sicherheitspolitik', München, 6 February 1999, *Bulletin* 8/1999; see also: 'Rede des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Rudolf Scharping beim "Forum der Chefredakteure zur Sicherheitspolitik" der Bundesakademie für Sicherheitspolitik', Bad Neuenahr, 26 January 1999, *Bulletin* 6/1999.
51. 'Rede des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Rudolf Scharping bei der Deutschen Atlantischen Gesellschaft', Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 18 April 1999, *Bulletin* 18/1999; 'Einführungsstatement des Bundesaußenministers Joschka Fischer zur Europäischen Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik anlässlich des WEU-Ministerrats', Bremen, 10 May 1999, *Bulletin* 30/1999; 'Einführungsstatement des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Rudolf Scharping zur Europäischen Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik anlässlich des WEU-Ministerrats', Bremen, 10 May 1999, *Bulletin* 30/1999.

52. 'Rede des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Rudolf Scharping bei der Deutschen Atlantischen Gesellschaft', Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 18 April 1999, *Bulletin* 18/1999.
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54. 'Einführungsstatement des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Rudolf Scharping zur Europäischen Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik anlässlich des WEU-Ministerrats', Bremen, 10 May 1999, *Bulletin* 30/1999.
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56. 'Rede des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen Joschka Fischer vor dem Europäischen Parlament', Straßburg, 12 January 1999, *Bulletin* 2/1999.; 'Rede des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen Joschka Fischer in der französischen Nationalversammlung', Paris, 20 January 1999, *Bulletin* 4/1999.
57. 'Rede des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen Klaus Kinkel anlässlich der Vortragsreihe der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik e.V. (DGAP) zum Thema "Reden zur Außenpolitik der Berliner Republik" ', Berlin, 1 July 1998, *Bulletin* 51/1998.
58. 'Rede des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen Joschka Fischer vor dem Europäischen Parlament', Straßburg, 12 January 1999, *Bulletin* 2/1999.
59. 'Einführungsstatement des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Rudolf Scharping zur Europäischen Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik anlässlich des WEU-Ministerrats', Bremen, 10 May 1999, *Bulletin* 30/1999.
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61. 'Rede des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Rudolf Scharping beim "Forum der Chefredakteure zur Sicherheitspolitik" der Bundesakademie für Sicherheitspolitik', Bad Neuenahr, 26 January 1999, *Bulletin* 6/1999.
62. 'Rede von Bundeskanzler Gerhard Schröder anlässlich der 35. Münchner Konferenz für Sicherheitspolitik', München, 6 February 1999, *Bulletin* 8/1999; see also: 'Rede des Bundesministers des Auswärtigen Joschka Fischer vor dem Europäischen Parlament', Straßburg, 12 January 1999, *Bulletin* 2/1999.

8 Summarizing, Deconstructing, Reconsidering the Results

1. Declaration of the European Council on Strengthening the Common European Policy on Security and Defense, Cologne European Council, 3–4 June 1999, reprinted in Rutten (2001: 41–2).
2. These options were listed in the so-called 'Toolbox paper' which was presented at a meeting of EU defense ministers in Sintra on 28 February 2000: 'Military Bodies in the European Union and the Planning and Conduct of EU-led Military Operations', reprinted in Rutten (2001: 94–101).

3. This way of capturing the interaction (rather than co-constitution) of action and structure is a by-product rather than a central concern of the framework. Frameworks for analyzing foreign policy which more directly tackle this point can be found in Hellmann et al. (2005), Wagner et al. (2006) and Gadinger and Peters (2008).
4. To make things worse, social actors themselves or individuals as social actors may only exist as implications of such agreements.
5. This, of course, was what Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann originally implied with the term. They saw reification, that is the 'apprehension of the products of human activity *as if* they were something else than human products', as an important phenomenon occurring in the social world (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 89, emphasis in original).

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