Germany, the Use of Military Power and Unanimity Within a European Union Framework

Constituting Factors for Disagreement in EU Decision-Making

Leiden, June 11th, 2012

Greta Sommer

s1188828

1st Supervisor: Dr. A. W. Chalmers

2nd Supervisor: Prof. Dr. M. O. Hosli

Study: Political Science, International Relations
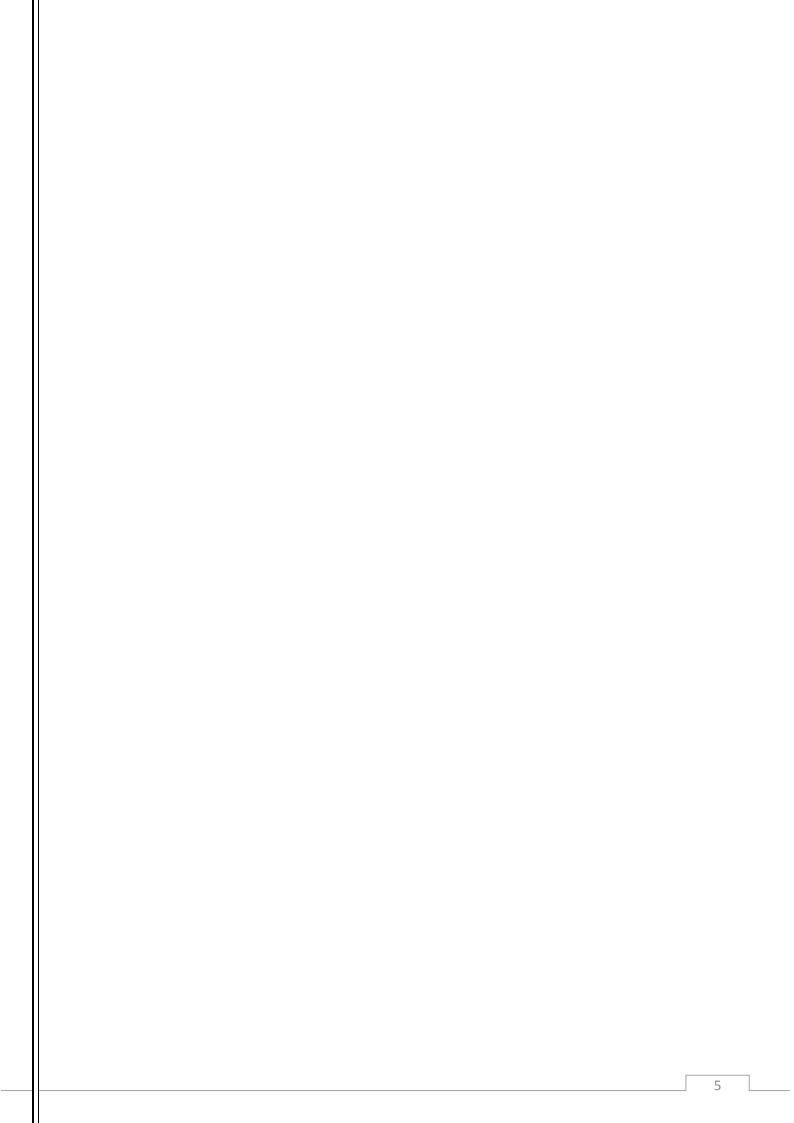
Study Year: 2011/2012

Word Count: 18,120

TABLE OF CONTENT

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This is the final thesis, the final paper really of my academic life. I have enjoyed writing about the topic; to some extent, it has always been somewhat personal to me to discuss Germany and its broad history. Still today, I feel that the horrific crimes that happened in my country decades before I was born haunt our generation. With this paper, I wanted to analyze only a small aspect of Germany's history in a European Union that seems to want to grow together, but somehow grows apart instead.

First, I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Chalmers for his support, his interest and his enthusiasm in this thesis. As I have admitted to him before, I do not really feel like the 'science kind of person', but he has helped me overcome my own skepticism and made me understand what rules to follow when writing a thesis. Also, I would like to thank my second supervisor, Prof. Dr. Hosli. I was lucky enough to follow a course she taught during my year at Leiden University, and I can say that I have never been taught by any professor or teacher at university who was as enthusiastic about her work as Prof. Dr. Hosli. When topics started to get somewhat dry and theoretical, she was the one to make it interesting. Thanks!

I would also like to thank my family, especially my parents who have enabled me to do whatever I wanted wherever I wanted, often setting aside their own problems to make things possible for me. I would like to thank them for educating me all throughout my life and giving me the motivation and the help to learn. I would like to thank my father for giving me the passion to explore the world.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends. Those who have supported me during times when I was down or worried, when I thought my last-minute paper would not be finished on time they were there to cheer me on. I would like to thank my friends and fellow students from Twente for making me accept other people's opinions more than I did before and for sharing their interest in the world with me.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

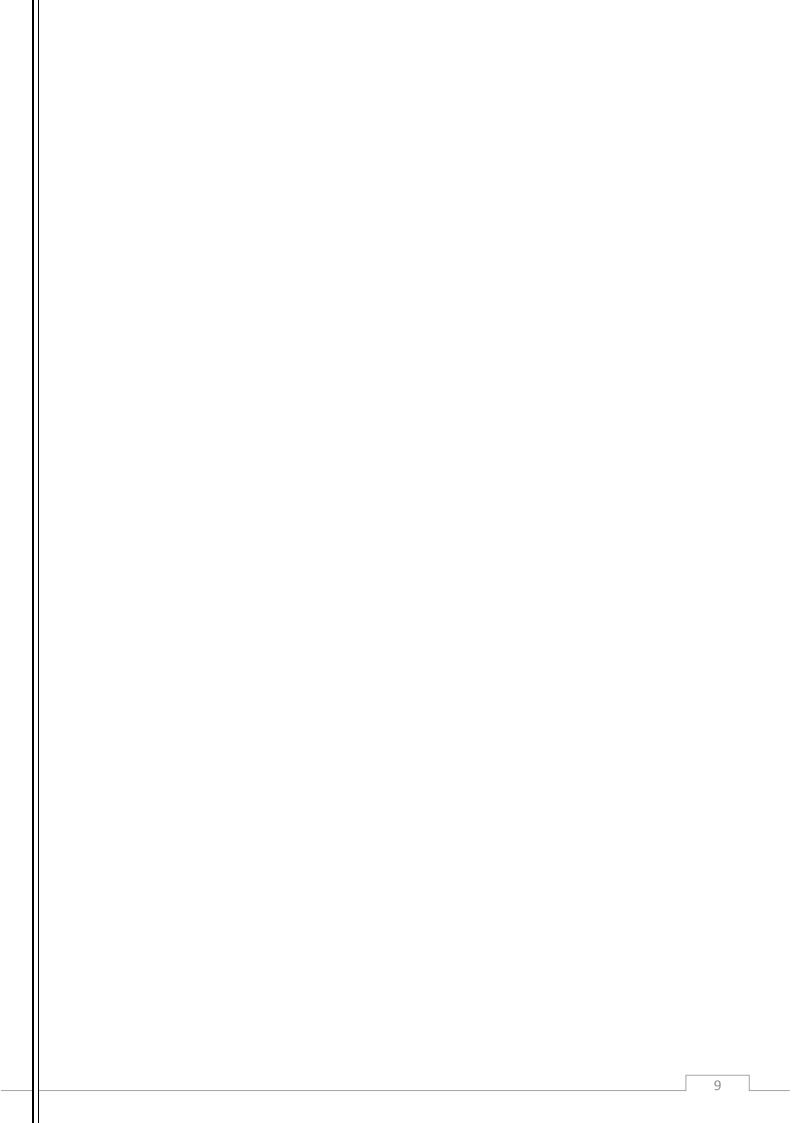|	
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
COGs	Chiefs of Government
EC	European Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EPC	European Political Cooperation
ESDP	European Security and Defense Policy
EU	European Union
EUR	Euro
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
NATO	North American Treaty Organization
WWII	Second World War
UK	United Kingdom
QMV	Qualified Majority Voting
UN	United Nations
US	United States
USD	US Dollar
WEU	Western European Union

ABSTRACT

Since the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, the European Union (EU) has seemed to work towards a unification of foreign policy interests of all member states. However, the most recent case of Libya reveals that the EU is still torn when it comes to questions of foreign policy and especially the deployments of military troops. Within the last twenty years, a number of international crises have pointed out the deficiencies of the EU with regard to these issues.

With this thesis, I aim to find reasons for the inability of the EU in questions of foreign policy, and particularly military action-taking within an EU framework. I argue that the role of Germany in this context is rather crucial. As the largest and most powerful member state, Germany's position has a large influence on the actions of the EU. Germany has been very reluctant towards using military power after the horrible events in World War II (WWII), and hence, I pose the research question: 'To what extent does Germany's aversion to the use of military power due to historic reasons affect the EU's ability to speak with a common voice on issues of security and defense?'

My main argument is the following: 'The inability of the EU to speak with a common voice with regard to military action is due to several aspects, with the largest influence being Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history'.

In my thesis I find that a number of reasons may influence the inability of the EU to speak with a common voice; however, the largest effect seems to have Germany and the country's still-existing reluctance towards using military means due to its history and consequential guilt sentiments.

INTRODUCTION

"The EU is an economic giant, but a political dwarf in foreign affairs" (Bickerton, 2010, p. 214).

This statement seems to ring true: as an economic entity (albeit not recently) the European Union (EU) is an important player on the world stage. However, when it comes to issues of foreign policy, security and defense, the EU finds it difficult to speak with a common voice.

With this thesis I aim to find causes for this condition. It has long been common belief that the inability of the EU to find common ground concerning a number of policy fields, not merely foreign policy issues, was due to its intergovernmental structure. As I will deploy further in the theoretical part of this thesis, the fact that currently twenty-seven states interact in order to arrive at decisions that leave all actors content, renders decision-making a difficult task. Particularly, the issue of foreign policy-making that has traditionally been a matter to deal with on the national level has presented an obstacle to EU policy makers.

However, in my thesis I find that the role Germany plays with regard to finding common standpoints in foreign policy and military issues in the EU is rather large. Germany is the most populous country as well as the largest economy in the EU (Central Intelligence Agency, 2012). With this powerful position in socio-economic matters comes an inherent degree of power regarding political issues. Consequently, the EU and decision-makers within it are very much dependent on the position Germany takes regarding various issues, including the country's standpoint on matters of foreign policy, security and defense. In cases of German non-participation in EU operations, it is yet possible for other actors to act either unilaterally or multilaterally. However, *common* EU decision-making becomes difficult, if not impossible here. One of the most recent examples for this is the case of Libya. Germany abstained from voting in the UN Security Council for a no-fly zone over Libya and denied to carry out any military action in the operation. With this behavior, Germany separated itself from its main European allies, France and the UK (Benitez, 2011).

Ever since WWII, Germany has had a 'dysfunctional' relationship with any sort of military engagement. The guilt of and responsibility for the horrific Nazi regime and its atrocities has been influencing German foreign policy-making for decades. This goes for national decision-making; however, with the gradual increase of the EU's importance economically as well as politically comes the fact that Germany, as the largest and most powerful state of the EU, may

influence the foreign policy-making of the EU. Hence, the research question I pose in this thesis is the following:

'To what extent does Germany's aversion to the use of military power due to historic reasons affect the EU's ability to speak with a common voice on issues of security and defense?'

In order to find an answer to this question I will test the following variables. The dependent variable in this research is the EU's ability to speak with a common voice with regard to military action. The independent variables to be analyzed here are four-fold:

1. Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history
2. Germany's aversion to use military power due to its role as the major financial contributor
3. EU member states' domestic policies
4. EU's institutional changes

I will deploy four hypotheses, each corresponding to one of the independent variables, in order to determine whether my argument can be supported.

I argue that there is not one single reason for the inability of the EU to reach common ground with regard to security and defense questions; in fact, I state that a number of aspects come together and create this situation within the EU. Hence, my central argument is:

'The inability of the EU to speak with a common voice with regard to military action is due to several aspects, with the largest influence being Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history'.

In my research I find that indeed this argument can be affirmed. Through my analysis, I come to find that the German *Schuldgefühle* (feelings of guilt) stemming from WWII are largely responsible for the fact that the EU has immense problems reaching a common standpoint on issues of security and defense. Especially with regard to the application of military means, Germany proves to be somewhat of an obstacle to the unobstructed functioning of a common defense policy. However, other aspects play a role as well. Germany's role as the major financial contributor in the EU discourages the country from participation, and the intergovernmental structure in the EU does not help to foster a functioning common EU defense policy.

I will begin by introducing arguments and hypotheses already brought forward in the existing literature. I will then move to the theoretical section in which I will go into further detail concerning the dependent variable, the independent variables, the hypotheses as well as the main argument. Subsequently, I will give an introduction to the theoretical approaches relating to the independent variables. The section on the methodology will follow; subsequently, I will analyze the independent variables with regard to their explanatory power for the dependent variable. In the conclusion I will present my findings and affirm or reject my main argument.

LITERATURE REVIEW

As I have outlined in the introductory section above, I will analyze the role that Germany plays in the apparent inability of the EU to develop a common strategy with regard to its military actions. In the section on theoretical approaches below, I will explain my dependent variable as well as my independent variables in detail; here, I will merely introduce the dependent variable and present a number of reasons and arguments that scholars have already put forward to explain it.

The dependent variable in my analysis is the EU's ability to speak with a common voice with regard to military action. In the following, I will introduce attempts of scholars to explain this (in-) ability.

The first argument that some political scientists bring forward is the role that financial aspects play in the question of whether to apply military means in a given situation or not. Menon (2011) referred to this problem by claiming that the cost factor divides member states of the EU when making decisions on military action. The author referred to this as the 'costs lie where they fall'-principle, hinting at the fact that in many cases those member states that are supporting an EU mission are to pay for these missions. However, not the entire bulk of costs are covered solely by those member states actively participating. Around 10% of the total costs for a mission are covered by the entity of the member states of the EU, a formula known as the 'Athena mechanism'. In this scheme, the member states' financial contributions to a mission are calculated on basis of gross domestic product (GDP). Hence, the lion's share (around 90%) of the expenses is being paid for by the willing participants, the minor amount is paid by all member states (European Council, 2004; Menon, 2011). Menon (2011) claimed that this *modus operandi* is twice the reason for Germany to be reluctant to using military

means in an EU framework. Firstly, it would have to contribute considerably to the costs of military operations (as any other willing participant). And secondly, Germany pays most under the GDP scale; hence, the country has become more and more sensitive and loath to the deployment of military in the EU system. Consequently, Menon (2011) argues, Germany has developed high financial doubts about EU military action.

The second argument that I outline in this section is the aspect of Germany's aversion to using military power with regard to the country's history and subsequent guilt sentiments. Menon (2011), who, as mentioned above, has named financial reasons as one factor for Germany's reluctance, has also referred to the issue of political doubts stemming from the role Germany has played in the two world wars. Philippi (2001) supported this view by referring specifically to Germany's role in the Second World War (WWII). After the rule of the Nazi regime came to an end in 1945, the Allied forces imposed a relinquishment of military power politics on Germany. This aspect, together with a deeply rooted guilt sentiment, accounted for the absence of military power to become a distinct feature of German foreign policy (Philippi, 2001). Schmidt (2011) mentioned a "traditional anxiety about contributing to combat operations" (Schmidt, 2011, p. 569). Speck (2011) went a step further in his claim and stated that this reluctance has a considerable share in the way that EU foreign policy is being shaped. He asserted that Germany has taken on a very pacifist worldview, both proclaimed by the public as well as by politicians from the entire spectrum of all parties. Most Germans regard war solely as a synonym of 'senseless destruction'; hence, this view is expressed by politicians in equal parts. When Germany was expected to become militarily more active after the country's unification, then-Chancellor Helmut Kohl denied this demand by referring to Germany's past. Twenty years later, at the wake of the Libya intervention, foreign minister Guido Westerwelle declared that "war is not a solution", a standpoint shared by the majority of Germans. As it becomes increasingly visible that Germany's post-war pacifist identity is highly present, fellow EU member states—especially the great powers France and UK—need to face that Germany's anti-military view is difficult, if not impossible to burst Speck (Speck, 2011). Speck's view is supported by Baumann and Hellmann (2001), who claimed that especially after WWII, Germany's attitudes to as well as practices of war have differed from those of other Western powers, a fact that has led to increasing tension between Germany and its partners. This abstinence from military action that has dominated German foreign policy-making after WWII has also been referred to as the 'culture of constraint', an approach supported by proponents of culturalist approaches (Berger, 1998). They argue that the foreign policy of a country is shaped to a large part by its political culture, which in turn may be

altered by the occurrence of dramatic political events; in the case of Germany, this would be WWII which led to a 'culture of antimilitarism'. Maull (2000) leaned toward the culturalist perception, claiming that Germany's evolvement as a civilian power is a consequence of the lessons learned during and after WWII.

The third aspect I will refer to in this section is the argument that a common EU standpoint on the deployment of military action is difficult due to its complex structure and intergovernmental build-up (King, 2005). Cohen's (2010) rather witty story in a news article illustrates this problem in a humorous manner: "President Obama learns with interest that Europe now has a phone number. He's told that, responding at last to Henry Kissinger's famous jibe, the European Union has appointed a President named Herman Van Rompuy from Belgium and given him a 24/7 phone line. So, Obama decides to try out Europe's phone number. Henry will be tickled. But the president forgets about the time difference and gets an answering machine: 'Good Evening, you've reached the European Union, Herman Van Rompuy speaking. We are closed for tonight. Please select from the following options. Press one for the French view, two for the German view, three for the British view, four for the Polish view, five for the Italian view, six for the Romanian view…' Obama hangs up in dismay." (Cohen, 2010). Spoken in a more serious tone, the fact that EU policy-making with regard to crucial decisions such as military engagement is decided upon via unanimity (as opposed to e.g. qualified majority-voting (QMV)) makes it very difficult to arrive at decisions. Whether a decision needs to be made in order to determine the actual launch of an operation, or to decide upon the duration, the scope or the rules of engagement, all decisions need unanimous consent of all member states (Keukeleire, 2009; Matlary, 2006; Ondarza, v., 2008). In many cases, national governments are in control of foreign, security, and defense policy; hence, divergence occurs often and common decision-making becomes an obstacle (Krotz & Maher, 2011). The authors continued to state that some aspects are easier to decide upon than others; whereas member states agree on aspects such as peacekeeping operations in general, the use of military force is a much more sensitive matter that provokes much discord. Krotz and Maher (2011) claimed that the reason for a tendency of EU member states to disagree on issues of security and defense—with special regard to military deployment—is that these aspects lie at the very core of state sovereignty and state identity. Furthermore, member states come from different strategic backgrounds. Whereas countries such as France or the UK are used to military activism, other countries do not share this experience. Applied to the very case of Germany, the country has needed a United Nations (UN) mandate as well

as national parliamentary approval for any use of force, even for peacekeeping purposes (Wagner, 2005).

Another very important factor in the realm of intergovernmentalism is the incoherence of policies on a national and on an EU level. As Tietje (1997) stated, national policies need to be 'vertically coherent' in order to match foreign policy on the EU level. In many cases, the lack of political will is a dominant reason for incoherence; with this, capability gaps remain (Rutten, 2002). As Krotz and Maher (2011) stated "in practice, European governments oscillate between different degrees of unilateralism, bilateralism, and multilateralism in pursuit of national or "European" values and interests" (Krotz & Maher, 2011, p. 555).

These arguments have been brought about by numerous scholars in order to make sense of the EU's inability to find common ground with regard to military deployment. In the following section, I will discuss my previously mentioned dependent and independent variables, my main argument, my central hypothesis as well as three theoretical approaches that classify different understandings of the problem.

THEORETICAL FRAME

In this section, I provide the theoretical framework of my thesis. I begin by outlining the different theoretical approaches that may apply to the independent variables in detail. Firstly, I will describe institutionalism. With regard to the framework of the European Union, on which my thesis is based, this theoretical approach is highly crucial. Secondly, I will discuss the rational choice theory, a way that has been widely used to describe international relations, or relations between states or actors. Thirdly, I will discuss constructivism; in this case, I will try to apply constructivism, especially with regard to norms and evolved culture.

I will then continue with the formulation of the variables of my analysis; the dependent variable as well as several independent variables. In the previous section I already mentioned the dependent variable; in this part, I will enlarge upon it, and add an overview and further explanation of the independent variables that may help explain the dependent variable. I will then follow with the formulation of my hypotheses; my hypotheses will then be tested in the analytical section of this paper. Following from my hypotheses, I will note my main argument.

Theories of IR – Institutionalism, rational choice theory and constructivism

Rational choice:

The rational choice theory started to become part of the political mainstream and by that, accepted, in the 1980s. It is generally agreed upon that the rational choice theory relies on two key assumptions: rationality and self-interest (Ermakoff, 2010; Hindmoor, 2010). Others, such as Coleman (1990), specify the aspect of self-interest and somewhat complete it by adding the notion of 'optimization'. The actors' goal is to optimize their interests. Rational choice theory assumes that one can rely upon actors to act in certain ways that will secure their set goals; these goals in turn will be in the actors' self-interest (Hindmoor, 2010). However, as Elster (1986) and Tsebelis (1990) argued, this predictability presupposes that the actors' beliefs and intentions are consistent. If beliefs and intentions are unreliable and unknown, the set goals are most likely to be unknown as well. Consequently, it is rather impossible to predict the actors' actions.

An example that Hindmoor (2010) gives to illustrate the position of how rational choice theorists view the world, and in specific political behavior, is the following. If in a given country the government decides to cut taxes, and this happens in decisive times, e.g. shortly before elections, this is solely related to the governments' try to increase chances of being re-elected. Those in power assume that a government that seems to deliver prosperity and the prospect of lower financial burdens for the average citizen will be rewarded by being re-elected. The rational choice theorist would argue solely with these *rational* deliberations of those in power. Aspects such as consumer choice, manageable deficits, crowding out private investment, and others, will not be applicable here in the rational choice way of thinking.

The assumptions of rationality and self-interest have been deployed by other political scientists before. One of a number of realist traditions which has its origins in ancient Greece assumes that the actions of a state are merely driven by its self-interested drive for power. Hence, references to any aspects other than the strife and will for power by states' leaders (which is rarely mentioned by any politician who aims for the sympathy of a country's people), such as the aim of justice or peaceful co-existence are simply 'cheap talk' (Dunne & Schmidt, 2007). Despite a number of realists who apply the above-mentioned concepts, it is mostly rational choice theorists who refer to rationality and self-interest the most (Hindmoor, 2010).

Applied to the case at hand, the inability of the EU to reach a common position on the deployment of military troops, I regard the above-mentioned variable of Germany's aversion to using military power due to its high financial burdens as applicable to the rational choice theory. Rational choice theory is based on the predominance of the state as the main actor. States, or rather those responsible for decision-making within a state, make decisions on basis of cost-benefit calculations. As mentioned in the literature review, a large part of financial contributions to a military deployment come from those states that are taking part in it. Another part is made up of contributions of all member states, which are calculated on basis of each country's GDP. Since Germany has the highest GDP amongst all EU member states, the country has to contribute a substantial amount to military deployments by the EU. Spending large amounts of money (without getting anything in return, that is) is highly undesirable by any state, and hence, not in a country's best interest (or *self-interest*). This, again, can be referred to as the result of a state's cost-benefit calculation. If a state's costs, in this case for a military operation, are higher than its benefits, it is very likely for the state not to take part in said operation.

It is important to mention the most crucial criticisms of rational choice theory. Firstly, as Friedman (1951) claimed, rational choice theorists argue that in order to judge their theory, or any other for that matter, what counts is the accuracy of the theory's predictions. However, as Green and Shapiro (1994) stated, many, or rather the largest part of claims made by rational choice theorists, have not been tested empirically.

Another argument by critics of rational choice theory is mentioned by Hindmoor (2010). The author stated that rational choice theory is too simple and disregards complex structures of political life and developments. He went on to claim that rationality contains more than calculation: Rational choice theory disregards the fact that people act out of habit, jealousy, friendship, sympathy or commitment, *as well as* out of self-interest. This claim is supported by Levy (1997) who criticized the expected-utility theory inherent in rational choice theory. He stated that experimental evidence suggests that oftentimes people evaluate choices with respect to a certain reference point, and that they do not respond to probabilities in a linear manner. Kahneman and Tversky (1979) supported this challenge to the expected-utility theory by integrating above-mentioned patterns into an already existing theory of risky choice.

Institutionalism:

As Lowndes (2010) stated, traditional institutionalism dealt with the institutions of government. As Peters (1999) claimed, there were a number of characteristics that were inherent to 'old' institutionalism. Firstly, it was normative (because it was concerned with 'good government'). Secondly, it was structuralist (because structures determine political behavior). Thirdly, it was historicist (because of the crucial influence of history on institutions). Fourthly, it was legalist (because law plays an important role in governance. And finally, it was holistic (because it was concerned with describing and comparing whole systems of government).

Lowndes (2010) went on to state that the traditional institutionalism had been replaced to some extent by a form of 'new institutionalism'. This new form of institutionalism asserts that "the organization of political life makes a difference" (March & Olsen, 1984, p. 747). Furthermore, the way in which institutions entail values and power structures is highly observed in the new institutionalism. What is of high interest to the case at hand is the way that international institutionalists view international relations and politics: they claim that the behavior of states is driven by structural constraints, formal as well as informal, of international political life (Lowndes, 2010).

These structural constraints on behavior are very well visible in the EU. The EU's predominantly intergovernmental system lays constraints on the ability of fast and efficient decision-making. As Puchala (1999) stated, the intergovernmentalist conceptualization sees the national governments, specifically those of the most powerful EU member states, as the initiators, promoters, mediators, legislators as well as promulgators of the deepening and broadening of EU integration. Hence, if national heads of state and/or ministers of a member state—acting as the representatives of a respective country—do not act in concert in order to achieve accordance on the EU stage, integration becomes rather difficult. Or, as the author continued to claim, "institutionalists readily accept that European integration is structurally and procedurally complex" (Puchala, 1999, p. 326). This is especially the case because in many policy fields, such as the applicable field of foreign policy, member states of the EU have not transferred their entire sovereignty to the EU, and hence, EU decision-making reflects very much the primacy of each individual member state (Pollack, 2011). Hence, in this intergovernmental system, national interests often outrange EU interests. Since, as has already been mentioned, the EU has a considerable amount of members (twenty-seven), and

all member states hail from different political, cultural and financial backgrounds, it is increasingly difficult to find common ground for unanimous decision-making.

Moravcsik (1998) has formulated his 'liberal intergovernmentalism'; this entails a stage in which national chiefs of government (COGs) aggregate the interests of their national governments as well as their own interests, and forward these interests to the respective institutions of the EU. In the second stage, these interests will then be negotiated on the EU level; here, the difficulties occur when different opinions and standpoints clash. However, Moravscik (1998) claimed that decisions are being taken, and compromises are being accepted in some cases in order for the national delegates to prove their willingness to commit ('credible commitment').

Institutionalism, institutions within an EU framework and the applied intergovernmental decision-making measures apply to two of the above-mentioned independent variables: firstly, the independent variable 'EU's institutional changes', and secondly, the independent variable 'EU's intergovernmental structure'. The analysis of these two variables will show if, and to what extent institutional and intergovernmental structures might be influencing the inability of the EU to find a common standpoint on if and how to use military power.

Constructivism:

The constructivist theory applied here is of highly normative character. As Guzzini (2000) stated, constructivism deals to a large part with the 'social construct'; how the current structure came into being. Constructivism refers to a 'world of our making' (Onuf, 1989) in which our identity as well as our political culture hail back to experiences from before and have been shaped by subsequent developments. Hence, as Parsons (2010) stated, according to constructivism, people (as well as states and other political actors) do one thing instead of another because of the presence of 'social constructs'. These constructs can be ideas, beliefs, norms, identities or other forms of filters through which actors regard the world.

Many of the most prominent proponents of constructivism argue that identities, culture and political relations are socially constructed. Durkheim (1984[1983]) argued that societies and everyone in it are held together by the 'social facts' of culture, as opposed to merely by 'natural facts' or 'material facts'. He went on to state that societies often invent socially constructed ideas and beliefs. Similarly, Wendt (1992, 1998) as well as Onuf (1989) saw that

rules and identities of international relations are socially constructed. In turn, once identities and cultures are constructed, Weber (1978[1922]) argued that developed ideas and culture very strongly define what people see as their interests. Arguing from these theses, constructivism is a two-way issue: First, people construct their own identities and cultures. Once constructed, these very characteristics shape what people are interested in and continue to shape their identities. Checkel (1998) supported this idea by formulating two core assumptions of constructivism. Firstly, the environment in which agents/states act is social as well as material. Secondly, this very setting may provide agents/states with understandings of their interests (and may constitute these interests).

In his article, Parsons (2010) listed three different mechanisms. Firstly, he mentions the aspect of socialization. As Checkel (2005) mentioned, this is the most commonly referred-to mechanism in current constructivist literature. This mechanism concludes that norms and ideas spread in an evolutionary way; it is generated by repeated interaction within groups. The author explained that when a group comes together, they act according to the norms that they are used to. As interaction increases with time, certain ways of action become 'normal' and are being repeated. This mechanism does not require certain 'carriers' with any authority or charisma for the ideas and norms to be spread; furthermore, it is not limited to small groups, but rather open to large groups (even as large as the people of one state, to be reflected upon below). The second mechanism is persuasion. Here, social norms, ideas and identities are shaped by a sort of entrepreneurial people who invent new ideas to sell them to others—these people are referred to as 'carriers'. In this case, social construction relies on explicit advocates, a clear distinction from the mechanism of socialization in which social norms evolve to a large extent without the consciousness of the involved actors. 'Carriers' spread their new ideas, and depending on their charisma, the strength of their concepts, as well as the fit of the new ideas with the old, are successful. Hence, this mechanism brings about social constructs in a relatively manufactured or artificial manner. The third mechanism that Parsons (2010) referred to is bricolage. This hails from the French verb 'bricoler' which translates to 'to tinker'. This mechanism views the world as messy and with overlapping social constructs.

In the case at hand, the socialization mechanism is mostly applicable. Whilst the constructivist theory as a whole applies to the independent variable of 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history', it may be specified by means of the socialization mechanism. Since WWII, the German people as a whole as well as the nation's politicians have developed a pacifist view on its foreign policy strategies. Guilt sentiments

stemming from the horrors of WWII have contributed to this, and abstinence from and aversion towards the use of military means have evolved (one characteristic of the socialization mechanism). Another characteristic of the socialization mechanism is visible, still in today's Germany: the spread of pacifist ideas amongst groups of people. Despite disagreement on many political questions that concern the country, the agreement on the issue of non-participation in military deployments is rather striking. This is not only true for larger groups of people, but rather for most citizens of the country. Hence, the interest of the country not to participate in military action can be regarded as the outcome of (still ongoing) social developments; or as Wendt (1992) stated: national interests are the result of long-term socialization processes.

Variables

As already mentioned in the introductory part of this thesis, the dependent variable I use is 'the EU's ability to speak with a common voice with regard to military action'. It has long been the case that member states of the EU were discordant with regard to decision-making on military deployment. In particular, disagreement between the great powers of the EU— mostly to mention here would be France, the UK and Germany—has been most prominent. Hence, in this thesis I aim to find out the predominant reasons explaining this situation. My dependent variable is 'the EU's ability to speak with a common voice with regard to military action'. As I will explain more thoroughly in the methodology section, I will measure the dependent variable by analyzing a number of international crisis situations and the action-taking of the EU's member states. The dependent variable is accompanied by a number of independent variables that may account for the former.

The first independent variable I present is 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history'. Germany is one of, if not *the* major player in EU politics. It is eminent that Germany's behavior towards any policy formulated within an EU framework has a large impact on the actual policy outcome. It is also often referred to the fear, doubts and reluctance of Germany to deploy military troops – both in a national as well as in an EU environment. Hence, I will analyze the independent variable 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history' with regard to its explanatory power towards the dependent variable. I define the term 'guilt' as "a feeling of having committed wrong" (Oxford Dictionary, n. d.). However, the events of WWII date back

around sixty-five years, and many of those who were actively involved have since deceased. Hence, active guilt is not applicable to the majority of the German people. Consequently, I will apply the term 'guilt by association'. This is defined as "guilt ascribed to someone not because of any evidence but because of their association with an offender" (Oxford Dictionary, n. d.). In this case the association of the German people exists through the association with their country's history.

I argue that this independent variable is the major factor to explain the dependent variable, as I will formulate in my main argument.

The second independent variable I will test is 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to its role as the major financial contributor'. As mentioned already in the literature review, Germany contributes most under the GDP scale to military deployments of the EU. It is therefore possible that Germany has a certain level of reluctance towards using military power in order not to have to contribute financially to a large extent. I will also test this independent variable with regard to the dependent variable 'the EU's ability to speak with a common voice with regard to military action'.

The third independent variable I will analyze is the 'EU member states' domestic policies'. In this section I will analyze the possibility that the domestic policies of the most powerful states in the EU, namely Germany, France and the UK, may have an influence on difficulties to find a common EU standpoint on military action-taking. It might have been the case that one country faced national elections in the time when a decision was necessary on whether to take military action. It might have been the case that national polls indicated the public's stand on military intervention.

This variable is rather connected to the independent variable on the intergovernmental structure and its consequences for EU decision-making, and the institutional development of the EU to inhibit such difficult consequences. However, this variable differs to the degree that I will analyze national standpoints at specific points of time, namely at the time of the respective military engagements.

The fourth and last independent variable I will test with regard to its explanatory power for the dependent variable is the 'EU's institutional changes' that have taken place over the course of the last decades. In particular, with the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty in 1993, a common foreign policy of the EU started to be built. In the years after the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty, the Amsterdam, Nice and Lisbon Treaties followed and further changes were added to advance an EU common foreign policy. In the analytical section of this thesis, I

will analyze the institutional changes and determine whether these had an influence on the above-mentioned dependent variable 'the EU's ability to speak with a common voice with regard to military action'.

This independent variable is closely connected to the EU's intergovernmental structure. With regard to decision-making on EU foreign policy, the structure is intergovernmental – in contrast to e.g. a supranational system. Intergovernmentalism is insofar desirable by EU member states in that a large part of their sovereignty remains preserved. Member states are often reluctant to delegate their sovereignty to EU institutions; hence, sensitive policy areas, such as foreign policy-making, and especially decisions on whether to deploy military means are placed in an intergovernmental framework. In this framework, member states need to have unanimity with regard to a decision taken. What is beneficial for the sovereignty of member states is in turn an obstacle for EU decision-making. Reliable and especially fast decision-making is almost impossible. Currently, there are twenty-seven member states, with different political, financial and cultural backgrounds. For these twenty-seven actors to agree on *any* topic, let alone a topic as sensitive and contested as military deployment is, without a doubt, a great challenge. The institutional changes that have taken place within the EU structure in the last two decades were designed to obviate collisions between national and EU-level issues. I will analyze whether this goal has been reached with regard to decision-making in foreign policy and military issues.

To summarize, the independent variables I will test are 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history', 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to its role as the major financial contributor', the 'EU member states' domestic policies', and 'the EU's institutional changes'. As mentioned above, the variables of 'the EU's institutional changes' and 'EU member states domestic policies' are related to some extent. However, they are not applicable in the same manner (as further described above), and hence, need to be analyzed separately. The independent variable 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history' might be related to the variable 'EU member states' domestic policies'; however, I will analyze not merely Germany's domestic policies, but also those of France and the UK. Furthermore, Germany's domestic policy is not likely to be based purely on the events of the country's past. Hence, I will analyze these two variables separately.

Above, I have referred to the dependent variable I will use in this paper, as well as four independent variables that might explain the dependent variable. As already mentioned, I

argue that the often visible inability of the EU to speak with a common voice on questions of military deployment is a function of a number of different factors; however, I argue that the biggest role here is being played by the aversion of Germany to deploy military power due to the country's history, and therefore, its guilt. Hence, my main argument is: 'The inability of the EU to speak with a common voice with regard to military action is due to several aspects, with the largest influence being Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history'.

The following table gives a structured overview of the dependent variable, the independent variables, the hypotheses and the main argument.

Table 1: Dependent variable, independent variables, hypotheses and main argument

		Hypotheses
Dependent variable	The EU's ability to speak with a common voice with regard to military action	
Independent variables	Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history	The more present guilt sentiments still are in Germany, the less likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with a common voice.
	Germany's aversion to use military power due to its role as the major financial contributor	The higher the share of Germany's potential financial contribution to a military operation, the less likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with one voice.
	EU member states' domestic policies	The more diverse the respective member states' domestic policies, the less likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with a common voice.
	EU's institutional changes	The more institutional changes aiming for a more unified EU foreign policy have been put into place, the more likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with a common voice.
Main argument	The inability of the EU to speak with a common voice with regard to military action is due to several aspects, with the largest influence being Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history.	

METHODOLOGY

In this section I will briefly introduce the methodology I use in this paper. As stated in the introductory part as well as in the theoretical section, I aim to analyze to what extent Germany's aversion to use military power due to historic reasons influences the EU's ability to speak with a common voice on issues of security and defense. In order to do so, I chose five different missions: the Gulf War, the Kosovo war, the Afghanistan war, the Iraq war, as well as, most recently, the Libya intervention.

I chose to take the Gulf War into consideration since it was the first international war after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the reunification of Germany and the collapse of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, it was a war that Germany did not participate in, and hence, interesting for the analysis at hand.

The Kosovo war is important insofar as it marks the first German military involvement after WWII. Hence, this case is important to consider and analyze for this paper in order to find out whether this German involvement marked a turning point in German military engagement. Subsequently, I will analyze whether dedication to or abstinence from military action by Germany in the time following the Kosovo engagement does make a difference in decision-making and finding a common ground in the EU with regard to security issues.

The war in Afghanistan is crucial to analyze in this thesis due to the anew division between the EU's most powerful states. Whereas France and Germany refused to participate in this US-led war, the UK was at its ally's side to fight in Afghanistan. Hence, a disruption in EU foreign policy ideas was visible once more.

The Iraq war is again an international crisis that highlighted the inability of the EU to get on the same page and act as a unit in defense and security questions. Whereas the UK supported the US in its fight against Iraq, Germany and France held back and opposed the war to the fullest. Again, it is again interesting for my study to analyze what the crucial points were that determined the inability of the EU to act in concert.

Lastly, I will analyze the case of the Libya intervention in 2011. This is the most recent case of international disagreement on how to act in a situation of oppression of a people. At the same time, the disagreement is not merely international, but splits the large powers of the EU again – Germany, France and the UK. Like many times before, Germany seems to be involved with the role of the 'outsider', the state that tries to stay out of military conflict.

All these conflicts represent situations in which international military missions were being carried out. These wars were all fought on the international stage, and with the exception of the Kosovo war, all operations took place without German military engagement. Why Germany did decide to participate in Kosovo will be, amongst other issues, subject of the analysis part. Furthermore, the operations that I will analyze (again, with the exception of the Kosovo war) signify the conflict among the member states of the EU (as indicated above).

Furthermore, I consider the time frame when choosing the cases to analyze. The cases of war that I will examine in the analysis section below range over a period of around twenty years. The long term will make it possible for me to potentially eliminate certain independent variables as the cause for the dependent variable. As I will depict further in the analysis, it is e. g. possible that changes over time to EU institutions may have had an effect on the EU's ability to act in concert. As I will examine the independent variables, the extended time span will be beneficial in making a reliable statement.

As described above, I will apply the possible independent variables onto the five cases: 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history', 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to its role as the major financial contributor', 'EU member states' domestic policies' and 'EU's institutional changes'. With regard to the third independent variable mentioned, I will analyze the policies of the EU's three largest and most powerful states: Germany, France and the UK (Moravcsik, 1998). The actions of these three states are rather decisive when determining the ability of the entire EU to speak with one voice.

With this approach, I will finally determine whether the main argument I posed can be supported or rejected, namely: 'The inability of the EU to speak with a common voice with regard to military action is due to several aspects, with the largest influence being Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history'.

ANALYSIS

In this part of the thesis, I will analyze the previously presented independent variables on basis of several cases of military deployment by EU states (as explained in the section on the methodology used in this paper). I will discuss each selected case by giving a short introduction of the respective situation, and then apply each mentioned independent variable

on the given case in order to conclude which variable was the most dominant regarding the issue of the EU's inability to have a common standpoint on military deployment.

Since I will focus on the role that Germany plays, it is crucial to stress again that Germany's actions are highly relevant for the actions the EU takes as a whole. Germany is the most populous, most influential and powerful member state of the EU, with many options to exert pressure on fellow member states.

In the analysis, I will focus on the independent variable 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history'; I will also consider the remaining independent variables. At the end of this section, I will give an overview of my findings.

Gulf War

The Gulf War broke out in 1990/1991, a very short time after the unification of Germany. In this rather difficult (albeit joyous) time, the country was faced with challenges both in domestic politics, as well as in foreign affairs. The German government under Chancellor Helmut Kohl decided not to take part in military deployments, much to the irritation of the country's international partners. It was argued that the German constitution did not allow for so-called out-of-area operations with German involvement; hence, German soldiers did not take part in the operation 'Desert Storm' in Iraq. It was interpreted that the German basic law ruled out any engagement of the German army, the Bundeswehr, with the exception of defending territory of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) or in unarmed humanitarian operations. An example for such an operation is the 1992-1993 UNTAC operation in Cambodia. The government argued that Article 87 a II of the German Basic Law stated that armed forces of any sort may be used exclusively in a situation that calls for defense unless the very same Basic Law explicitly allowed another use of force. Despite the fact that legal experts argued that Article 24 of the Basic Law was legally ground enough for collective military action in a NATO and/ or U.N. framework, the government doubted the legality of such out-of-area operations. As a consequence, the government expanded the competences of the Bundeswehr little by little. In the meantime, German soldiers were deployed in several missions; however, all of these missions were even below the level of peacekeeping, let alone combat operations. It was argued that Germany's 'inactivity' in the Gulf War was largely due to the country's 'history factor' (Philippi, 2001). After WWII, Germany became averse to using any sort of military means; this development continued in

the decades after WWII and was enforced by both Germany as well as the international community (Philippi, 2001). Many other countries demanded the country's abjuration from military action due to fear anything even close to the horrors of WWII might happen again (Mearsheimer, 1990; Waltz, 1993). Germany, in turn, accepted this role, and in the following decades became a country with a largely pacifist attitude; not only was this applied, but became a natural trait of German foreign policy. By the time of the Gulf War, this attitude was so strongly internalized by the German people as well as its political establishment that it was an ample reason not to participate militarily (Philippi, 2001). However, the German government did send eighteen Alpha-Jets to Turkey in order to support the NATO's Allied Mobile Force in Southeast Turkey in January of 1991. This decision again led to a legal debate in Germany, and large parts of the opposition parties criticized this procedure (Philippi, 2001). Yet, no military efforts were made by the German military; above, I argued that in this case, the abstinence of German soldiers was largely due to attitudes affected by the historical traits of the country.

The hypothesis 'the more present guilt sentiments still are in Germany, the less likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with a common voice' can be affirmed in this case.

The second independent variable is 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to its role as the major financial contributor'. As argued in the literature review as well as in the theoretical part, Germany as the largest country in the EU (at the time of the Gulf War in the EC) is the largest contributor to military expenditure. With the abstention from participating militarily, Germany saved large amounts of money. The country did, indeed, pay about sixteen million D-Mark in order to help finance the 'Operation Desert Storm' (Philippi, 2001). However, when compared to the costs as paid by the most active force, the US, this number looks keenly low: between 1990 and 1991, the US paid sixty-one billion USD for the Gulf War (Daggett, 2010). Hence, one may assume that abstinence from taking military action in this case may have been due to financial considerations.

The hypothesis 'the higher the share of Germany's potential financial contribution to a military operation, the less likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with one voice' can be confirmed in this case.

The third variable is 'EU member states' domestic policies'. As stated above, Germany's past as well as its Basic Law inhibited the country to take part in the Gulf War in 1990/1991. The two other major EU (then: EC) powers, France and the UK, did however decide to participate (Yost, 1993). Hence, I can state that this case is an example of the inability of the EU (EC) to

speak with a common voice due to the different policies of its main actors. The hypothesis 'the more diverse the respective member states' domestic policies, the less likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with a common voice' can be confirmed.

The fourth variable to consider is the 'EU's institutional changes', or the EU's institutional status at the time of the war. At the time of the Gulf War, the only foreign policy instrument present in the EC was the European Political Cooperation (EPC), established in 1970. This was initiated by and approved of in the Luxembourg Report of the foreign ministers of the then six member states of the EEC. They had agreed that it was important to intensify their political cooperation (in addition to economic cooperation) and hence, to have a mechanism for conforming their views on issues on the international level (Crowe, 2003).

The main objectives of this collaboration were three-fold: Firstly, it was to ensure an increased understanding on major international problems. Secondly, it was to strengthen the member states' solidarity, and thirdly, to take common action when needed. To fulfill these objectives, several measures were taken. Among other provisions, the foreign ministers of the six member states were to meet biannually, a Political Committee of member states' Directors of Political Affairs was to meet quarterly, and specialist working parties were established (Keukeleire & MacNaughtan, 2008). In the course of adopting the Single European Act in 1986, the EPC was granted treaty status with the objective to implement a European foreign policy (Crowe, 2003; Keukeleire & MacNaughtan, 2008).

Despite these efforts, the EPC was working rather ineffectively on the international level due to several reasons: It was solely based on intergovernmental conventions; consensus was required for every decision, no competences were transferred to the European level and European institutions were not granted any formal role (Keukeleire & MacNaughtan, 2008). Consequently, a more effective and drastic foreign policy approach had to be taken. However, after the Gulf War, Germany's demand to develop and establish a common foreign and security policy was lacking credibility since Germany had so far taken its *German Sonderwege* (own special ways) (Philippi, 2001, p. 52).

Since the institutional development with regard to a common EU foreign policy lacked a number of facets, I can confirm the hypothesis that 'the more institutional changes aiming for a more unified EU foreign policy have been put into place, the more likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with a common voice'. In this case, I confirm that 'the less institutional changes aiming for a more unified EU foreign policy have been put into place, the less likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with a common voice'.

Summing up, the status of a European common foreign policy, let alone a common military standpoint, was rather under-developed. Hence, I can conclude that this *under*development might well have contributed to the different standpoints of the then EC member states. Furthermore, the variable 'EU member states' domestic policies' played a part here. Both independent variables concerning Germany, 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history' and 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to its role as the major financial contributor' did also play large parts in this case.

Kosovo

The Kosovo war of 1999 is rather crucial in this case – it was one of the major military engagements of European countries within the last twenty years and marked the first military engagement of Germany after WWII. The situation was as follows: Serbs had entered the Kosovo, a province inhabited mostly by ethnic-Albanians, and had started a process of ethnic cleansing. The international community was not willing to stand by the sidelines and decided to take military action. After Germany's failure to participate in military deployments in the Gulf War and several missions following it, the country's international partners demanded more action and support from Germany. However, deliberations taking into account Germany's exceptional role due to WWII came into play yet again, which brings me to the first variable 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history'.

The idea of German soldiers stationed and intervening in an area that had been occupied by Germany in WWII and had suffered largely was distressing to the German public as well as its politicians. However, notwithstanding the pressure from the international community and in consideration of its increased importance as a global player after reunification, Germany, amongst other countries, took military action in Kosovo (Anonymous, 2003). Yet, it is crucial to stress the hesitation and doubts of the political actors as well as the German public. Politicians were stuck between a rock and a hard place, between 'nie wieder Krieg' ('never again war') and 'nie wieder Auschwitz' ('never again Auschwitz') (Hyde-Price, 2001). The German people were also torn between support for the war and the question of whether to deploy German soldiers. In an April 1999 survey, 61% of those questioned thought it was necessary for air strikes to be taking place in Serbia and the Kosovo. Merely 30% of those who were questioned thought this approach was not necessary, 9% abstained from answering (Infratest dimap, 1999a). However, in the same month, German citizens were asked whether they would support the deployment of NATO ground forces in Kosovo with involvement of

German soldiers. Here, only 26% of those who were questioned answered affirmatively. 68% of the respondents were against the involvement of German soldiers, 5% abstained from answering, and 1% supported the deployment of ground forces, but without any German involvement (Infratest dimap, 1999a). In the following month, German citizens were asked the same question again: whether they would support German involvement in the deployment of NATO ground forces. The number of those who were in favor of such involvement decreased within a month, from 26% in April to 21% in May. 75% were against the involvement of German soldiers in such a mission, 2% abstained from answering, and 2% were in favor of ground forces in Kosovo, yet without German involvement (Infratest dimap, 1999b). Hence, it seems like the German people felt the need to act, but felt very reluctant towards engaging German soldiers in military deployment. Summing up, the German government did decide to take military action for the very first time after WWII; however, the events of WWII were still present in the minds of decision-makers and German citizens alike, and military support was only given reluctantly. Hence, I can confirm the hypothesis 'the more present guilt sentiments still are in Germany, the less likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with a common voice' although Germany did, reluctantly, participate.

The following variable to test is related to financial aspects. It is to test whether financial considerations played a role when it was time to decide whether to deploy military troops in Kosovo. Firstly, Germany did take part in this military operation, and hence, it is not logical to argue that financial aspects were a reason for Germany to refrain from sending troops (since Germany clearly did not refrain from the operation). Secondly, in the years after the Kosovo war, financial aid was provided for continued German assistance in international efforts to secure the region. In the years 2007 and 2008 the costs for this totaled around 154 mio. Euro (EUR) (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007). Hence, Germany did pay considerable amounts of money, and I reject the hypothesis 'the higher the share of Germany's potential financial contribution to a military operation, the less likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with one voice'.

The third variable to apply to this case is 'EU member states' domestic policies'. As explained above, Germany did participate militarily in Kosovo. The other two large powers of the EU, France and the UK, also took part in the military conflict in Kosovo (Rouleau, n.d.). Hence, the domestic policies of the most powerful EU member states did not differ, and so, did not create any conflict in this case. The hypothesis 'the more diverse the respective member states' domestic policies, the less likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with a

common voice', or rather 'the less diverse the respective member states' domestic policies, the more likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with a common voice' can be confirmed in this case.

The fourth variable to consider here is again the issue of the institutional development of a common EU foreign policy strategy. It is to be expected that the further integration of European foreign policy might have enhanced the capability of European states to reach a common standpoint with regard to military deployment. Hence, in the following I will give an overview of the developments that took place between 1993 and 1999, between the end of the Gulf War and the war in Kosovo.

Stemming from the demand for a shared foreign policy, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) was introduced in the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 (Crowe, 2003). Motivations for further adjustments were recent incidents on the international level – the fall of the communist regimes from 1988 until 1991, the reunification of Germany in 1990, the military conflict in the Gulf after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 as well as the begin of the Yugoslavian crisis in 1991 revealed the shortcomings of the EPC. The hope was for the CFSP to improve these shortcomings by creating an effective and reliable European foreign policy. Preconditions for this endeavor were to strengthen European integration, to obtain the ability to manage inter-institutional relations and relations between member states and the Commission, and to create a common identity at some level (Keukeleire & MacNaughtan, 2008).

However, international influence by means of the CFSP remained limited. Decision-making processes stayed intergovernmental, the Commission had a smaller voice than the member states. This transferred the CFSP to a second pillar (within the three-pillar structure) with different decision-making procedures than applied in the first pillar (Crowe, 2003). Member states did not fully support the CFSP and hence, did not provide it with the necessary instruments or the institutional framework (Keukeleire & MacNaughtan, 2008). They were faced with obligations vis-à-vis the CFSP, based on their membership in general, the respective Presidency, and the representation of the CFSP—and therefore of the EU—abroad (Smith, 2000). To underline this problem, Pelinka (2007) depicted the structure of the European party system as a supporting factor of CFSP's difficulties. The European parties in the Parliament very much depend on their national parties; hence, if national parties are not willing to fully support the CFSP, neither will their European counterparts (Pelinka, 2007).

In 1997, the Treaty of Amsterdam brought about a major qualitative change, namely the position of 'Secretary General / High Representative of the CFSP' (Crowe, 2003; Keukeleire & MacNaughtan, 2008). This creation of a new post was mainly due to the realization that the CFSP needed more coherence and stability; a permanent leader was thought to be able to deliver these more so than the ever rotating Presidency. A downside, however, was the fact that there was very limited information with regard to the level or functions of the new position. The post of High Representative of the CFSP was merged with that of Secretary-General of the Council, and was supposed to simply assist the Presidency – hence, ways to influence were limited (Crowe, 2003).

A further change in terms of foreign policy that came with the Amsterdam Treaty was the strengthened relationship between the EU and the Western European Union (WEU). Consequently, the EU was more involved in issues such as humanitarian and peacekeeping tasks as well as duties in crisis management ('Petersberg Tasks') (Keukeleire & MacNaughtan, 2008).

In 1999, the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) was decided upon at the European Council in Cologne, Germany (Crowe, 2003). With this, a military degree was added to the CFSP; this before unthinkable development was now happening due to two main reasons. Firstly, the EU did overcome the 'European integration versus Atlantic solidarity' problem; secondly, it got over the 'Civilian power versus military power' issue (Keukeleire & MacNaughtan, 2008, p. 55/56).

The member states that were mostly concerned with the establishment of the ESDP were France, Britain, Germany and Italy (Posen, 2006).

One of the reasons for the establishment of the ESDP was the EU's attempt to counterbalance US hegemony in global politics; however, many scholars do not see this happening any time soon due to the rather 'soft-balance' approach of the EU (Howorth & Menon, 2009). Another reason for the EU to adopt the ESDP was to tackle security problems on its own, both within its territory and close by, as well as in more distant areas (Posen, 2006).

Hence, the ESDP changed the CFSP insofar as it transformed it from a rather diplomatically focused into a more action-oriented actor; this path was supposed to lead to a higher credibility of the EU as a whole, both inside and outside its borders (Keukeleire & MacNaughtan, 2008).

Following this line of argumentation that the EU did evolve into a more powerful actor with regard to foreign policy, I argue that it is possible that the efforts within the EU and the

closing of ranks of single actors into a sort of alliance had an influence on the collective military commitment of large EU powers, including Germany, in Kosovo.

Hence, the hypothesis 'the more institutional changes aiming for a more unified EU foreign policy have been put into place, the more likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with a common voice' can be carefully confirmed.

Afghanistan

As a response to the terror attacks of September 11th, 2001, in New York City and Washington D.C., the US began its mission in Afghanistan, referred to as 'Operation Enduring Freedom' on October 7th, 2001. The US was supported by its traditional ally, the UK as well as by other EU member states, amongst others France (Global Security, n.d.). Germany, however, did not take part in the 'Operation Enduring Freedom'. The government of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and Alliance '90/The Greens under Gerhard Schröder did not completely refrain from action; Germany started to send troops to support the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) that began their work on January 14th, 2002 in Kabul. The ISAF is a mission approved of by the UN Security Council, and mandated by the NATO. Germany's claimed goals of this mission were security for Germany, humanitarian aid for and reconstruction of Afghanistan as well as the safeguarding of development. Until this day, Germany still has troops stationed in Afghanistan; however, not once did the government (neither the former nor the current government) deviate from its course and officially decided for a *military* deployment. Germany remains part of the ISAF troops, but never supported the 'Operation Enduring Freedom' (Deutscher Bundestag, n.d.).

In the following, I will proceed as I did with the cases discussed above. I will analyze the four independent variables with regard to their explanatory power for the dependent variable.

Firstly, I consider the variable 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history'. As mentioned above, Germany did sent troops to Afghanistan; however, their purpose was to contribute to peace-building, reconstruction and stabilization as opposed to any engagement in the actual war (Bindenagel, 2010). Bindenagel (2010) continued to state that the German public is strongly disinclined towards any military engagement, particularly in cases of participation of the *Bundeswehr*. This seems to be supported by surveys conducted among the German public, one in 2001 and the other in 2011. When asked in November 2001 how the German public viewed the air strikes of the US in

Afghanistan, only 50% were of the opinion that it was justified and should be continued until the collapse of the Taliban regime in the country. 39% of those who were questioned answered that air strikes should be suspended in order to render humanitarian assistance, 6% stated that they were principally against the air strikes, and 5% abstained from responding (Infratest dimap, 2001). This question, however, only concerned military engagement of countries other than Germany. As mentioned before, in early 2002 Germany sent troops to Afghanistan in order to support reconstruction measures. Continuously, the German *Bundestag* extended the mandate, so that until this day, German troops are still present in the country. In September 2011, the German public was asked whether the German soldiers stationed in Afghanistan should end their engagement and be brought back to Germany. Concerned with this question on the future of *German* troops (as opposed to troops from other countries) and considering the almost ten-year duration of German engagement in Afghanistan, a clear majority of respondents wanted to see German soldiers leave the country immediately. More exactly, 66% were in favor of the withdrawal of German troops. 32% of the respondents did not answer this question affirmatively, while 2% abstained from responding (Infratest dimap, 2011). I argue that this reluctance of the German public towards the Afghanistan mission is at least partially due to the events in the two world wars of the 20th century and the subsequent aversion to apply military power and be involved in any sort of war. Hence, I confirm the hypothesis 'the more present guilt sentiments still are in Germany, the less likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with a common voice'.

Furthermore, the public attitude towards the mission in Afghanistan is likely to have influenced the national government's stand on the issue; I will analyze the national policies of Germany, France and the UK towards the Afghanistan mission below.

The second variable to consider here is 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to its role as the major financial contributor'. One could assume that Germany's reluctance towards engaging in military operations might derive from the fact that the country's decision-makers aimed at saving costs and hence, abstained from military engagement. Since 2004, the 'Athena mechanism' is in place which constitutes that 90% of a EU-led military operation is paid by those states that are participating, and 10% are paid by all EU member states on basis of their GDP (see literature review). If the EU would have operated in unity in Afghanistan, Germany would have had to pay the lion's share of the costs: Firstly for participating, and secondly, as the country with the largest GDP in the EU. In 2002, Germany had a GDP of 2.132.200 mio. EUR. Compared to that, France had an GDP of 1.542.927,4 million EUR, and the UK's GDP amounted to 1.710.109,3 million EUR (European Commission, n.d.). Hence,

Germany would have paid the largest amount of money to an EU operation in Afghanistan after 2004 (since operations are still ongoing, I argue that the 'Athena mechanism' would have played a role in this case although it was adopted several years after the beginning of the war in Afghanistan).

However, the possibility that this variable was decisive in this case is rather small. As described above, Germany did participate in operations, just not distinctly in military operations. The German Institute for Economic Research estimated that the ten years of German participation in Afghanistan have cost the country seventeen billion EUR. Additionally, another five billion EUR are expected to be added to this amount until the end of German deployment in Afghanistan in 2014 (Anonymous, 2011c). Combined, the Afghanistan operation will have cost Germany twenty-two billion EUR.
Following from this, it is rather unlikely that financial considerations did play a part for Germany's government (as well as parliament) to decide whether to act militarily in Afghanistan. Consequently, I reject the hypothesis 'the higher the share of Germany's potential financial contribution to a military operation, the less likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with one voice'.

The third independent variable I will analyze is the 'EU member states' national policies'. As mentioned above, the German governments of the last ten years have emphasized that the mission in Afghanistan that involves German troops is purely concerned with peace-keeping and rebuilding measures (Packer, 2009). This is related to the fact that the German High Court limits the possibility of German troops to be engaged in military operations (as already mentioned above). Furthermore, in each case of a *Bundeswehr* deployment a parliamentary vote is needed to legitimize the operation (Bindenagel, 2010). Hence, Germany faces hindrances when it comes to deciding whether, and if, how to deploy its troops; Afghanistan was and still is no exception to this. Hence, Germany's national policy with regard to this mission was to support reconstruction measures, but to stay out of military engagements.

France, which traditionally has had much less aversion to the application of military power as compared to Germany, did take part in the 'Operation Enduring Freedom'. By November 2001, 2,000 troops had been committed to Afghanistan; of these, 1,200 were navy troops, 200 were part of the air force staff, 100 were logistics staff, and 500 were military intelligence officers (Anonymous, n.d.b).

The UK, traditionally a loyal ally of the US, also set out their policy in order to support the US in Afghanistan. 'Operation Veritas' was founded in order to support the military engagement of the US-led 'Operation Enduring Freedom'. The UK supported the US from the beginning of the war, sending three Royal Navy submarines, tankers as well as troops. By mid-March 2002, around 1,700 British soldiers had been deployed to Afghanistan in order to support the US and its allies in their fighting against Al Qaeda (Anonymous, n.d.b).

Following from the description on the three EU member states' national policies on the war in Afghanistan, I state that indeed the respective positions of the countries might very well have been one of the reasons why the EU was not able to speak with one voice in this case. All three of the countries did participate in this operation. However, France and the UK contributed militarily, while Germany continued its commitment with regard to peacekeeping and reconstruction. Hence, I confirm the hypothesis that 'the more diverse the respective member states' domestic policies, the less likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with a common voice'.

The fourth independent variable is the 'EU's institutional changes' and whether they had an impact on the inability of a common European standpoint in the question whether to go to war with Iraq. The Nice Treaty of 2000 did bring about a change in the structure of the CFSP: Formal status was given to the EU Military Committee, as well as the Political and Security Committee. The latter was endowed with the responsibility of running the every-day business of the CFSP, including the decision-making authority regarding military action (Crowe, 2003). Although this issue was not talked about as much as about other changes in the evolving structure towards a more common foreign policy of the EU, it was without a doubt a step towards more integration. Hence, I can carefully exclude the variable of the institutional development with regard to EU foreign policy in the case of Afghanistan in my efforts to establish the cause for the inability of a common EU standpoint on military action taken by its member states and I reject the hypothesis 'the more institutional changes aiming for a more unified EU foreign policy have been put into place, the more likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with a common voice'.

Summing up, I come to the conclusion that neither the variable 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to its role as the major financial contributor' nor 'EU's institutional changes' have mattered much in the case of Afghanistan, and why EU member states were not capable of finding a common standpoint here. Since France and the UK contributed to the military deployment, as opposed to Germany that was very clear on stating that it would only

contribute to peace-building, reconstruction as well as development efforts, it seems that domestic policies have had a strong influence on the inability to get to speak with one voice. However, the domestic policies in Germany regarding this issue are very likely to be connected to the public opinion. No government acts opposed to public opinion over the course of a decade, mainly because of fear to disappoint the public, lose the following elections and hence, lose power. Public opinion in Germany, however, is still influenced by the traditional pacifist attitude that followed WWII. Hence, I conclude that both the variable 'EU member states' domestic policies' and 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history' were decisive with regard to the EU's member states' inability to speak with one voice in the case of Afghanistan.

Iraq

The Iraq war, led by the US and supported by a number of states including the UK, laid a heavy burden on the efforts of the EU to strengthen a further common foreign policy, including common positions on military engagements. In 2003, the US under the Bush administration decided to go to war with Iraq; the UK declared its support for its traditional ally. However, the other great powers of the EU, France and Germany, were in agreement not to support any military action by the US and the UK; this led to a quarrel between the three major players of the EU (Anonymous, 2003). Everts and Keohane (2003) supported this claim by stating that the Iraq war divided Europe and the EU's most influential players. Habermas and Derrida (2003) went even further by stating that this war made Europeans and their leaders strongly aware of the failure of a common foreign policy, since the EU was not able to speak with one voice.

As with the cases described above, I will go through the possible variables and try to detect which one is most applicable for the failure of a common standpoint regarding military deployment in Iraq by the EU.

Firstly, I consider the possibility that the independent variable 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history' was a factor in the process of splitting Germany and France from the UK (as well as from Spain) in the question of a war against Iraq. It is argued that at the time of the beginning of the Iraq war, Germany still retained very strong pacifist tendencies which were rooted in the history of post-war Germany (as mentioned several times above). Furthermore, as Dettke (2009) argued, the German people re-found their anti-militaristic reflexes after witnessing the horrific images of military deployments in the Balkans during the 1990s. The results of a survey carried out among parts

of the German citizenry supported this claim: in April 2003, 80% of those questioned were of the opinion that the Iraq war was not legitimate; only 14% of respondents thought it was legitimate, while 6% abstained from answering (Infratest dimap, 2003). Following from this, I can carefully confirm the hypothesis 'the more present guilt sentiments still are in Germany, the less likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with a common voice'.

The possibility that financial aspects played a role is not clearly deniable. While the war in Iraq has lasted much longer than was anticipated by the Bush administration, the US and its allies have spent billions of dollars to finance the war. Germany, as a non-member of the so-called 'coalition of the willing' consequently did not have these strong financial burdens. However, as with the case of financing the Kosovo war, Germany spent considerable amounts of money in order to finance rebuilding and relief projects in Iraq, just not in order to wage a war.

When applying the requirements as laid out in the 'Athena mechanism', I conclude that Germany would have paid the largest amount to an EU-led operation in this case. In 2003, the year of the beginning of the Iraq war, Germany's GDP was 2.147.500 million EUR. As compared to that, the GDP of France was 1.587.901,8 million EUR, and the UK's GDP amounted to 1.646.614,8 million EUR (European Commission, n.d.).

Hence, I argue that it is possible that financial considerations played a part in deliberations whether to go to war and I carefully confirm the hypothesis 'the higher the share of Germany's potential financial contribution to a military operation, the less likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with one voice'.

The third variable to discuss here is 'EU member states' domestic policies'. As discussed above, the UK did decide to support its traditional ally, the US, in this war. However, Germany and France denied their support. Hence, in this case Germany shared its reluctance of using military power with France, as opposed to the UK. Yet, disagreement among EU member states prevailed and was to a large part a reason for the EU to be unable to speak with one voice; consequentially, I confirm the hypothesis that 'the more diverse the respective member states' domestic policies, the less likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with a common voice'.

The fourth variable to test is whether the institutional development with regard to the evolvement of a common foreign policy had an impact on the inability of a common European standpoint regarding the question whether to go to war with Iraq. As discussed in the section on the war in Afghanistan, the Nice Treaty in 2000 brought about changes in the

institutional development of the EU with regards to its foreign policy-making that should have furthered the possibility of a common EU standpoint. However, as discussed above, the Iraq war brought about differences of opinion between Germany and France on the one side, and the UK on the other side. Hence, I claim that a lack of institutional prerequisites was not the reason for a common opinion to fail in this case, and I reject the hypothesis that 'the more institutional changes aiming for a more unified EU foreign policy have been put into place, the more likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with a common voice'.

Summing up, I conclude that in the case of the Iraq war, it is highly doubtful that the European integration process in the area of CFSP had any influence on the inability of the EU member states to arrive at a common standpoint. Much to the contrary, the developments established a basis on which member states would have been able to find their common ground. As argued above, financial considerations may have played a part in the decision of Germany not to participate in the war. Obviously, different domestic policies were relevant. The variable 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history' is likely to be applicable here, as described in the analysis above.

Libya

The most recent development, or rather *non-development,* of a common standpoint of EU member states concerning foreign policy and the use of military force has been the case of the Libya intervention. When the question arose in the U.N. Security Council whether to use force against the regime of Muammar Qaddafi, Germany did not vote in favor of it, but rather abstained from the vote (Herf, 2011). However, the UN Security Council decided with ten votes in favor and five abstentions—Germany, Brazil, China, India as well as the Russian Federation—that member states of the UN that have notified the Secretary-General and acting in cooperation with said were to "take all necessary measures (…) to protect civilians and civilian populated areas under threat of attack" (United Nations Security Council, 2011, Art. 4). These measures were, most notably, a no-fly zone over Libya as well as an arms embargo to be carried out with the help of naval forces (United Nations Security Council, 2011).

During the voting procedures within the UN Security Council as well as in the subsequent military operations, Germany's fellow major powers in the EU, France and the UK, were in full support and showed active participation. When NATO began military operations, including naval missions, in March 2011 as authorized by the UN Security Council as

described above, Germany withdrew two naval crafts and two naval boats (smaller sized) from NATO authority. The crew on all four vessels amounted to 550 soldiers. The German government released a statement claiming that Germany was not willing to participate in a mission that might possibly turn into a military intervention. Furthermore, the government withdrew between sixty and seventy *Bundeswehr* soldiers that had been deployed in the Mediterranean region (Neuerer, 2011). Besides France and the UK, the other states that were involved in the military operation in Libya were the US, Canada as well as Germany's fellow EU member state, Italy (Anonymous, 2011a).

This situation was again proof of the inability of EU member states to agree on a common standpoint with regard to foreign policy, in particular with regard to decision-making on military deployments (Weiland & Nelles, 2011).

As I did with the analysis of the other missions, I will analyze the possible reasons for the inability to reach a common standpoint in this very case.

Firstly, I consider 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history'. Many claim that still in the year 2011 Germans are haunted by their guilty past and hence, tend to try to abstain from military action whenever possible. As has been the case with the military engagement in Kosovo in the end of the 1990s, polls among the German population again show their ambivalent relation to military deployments. Whilst 62% of those questioned supported the use of military means against the regime of Qaddafi, only 29% were in favor of the possible participation of German troops (Herf, 2011). The fact that Germany rejected even the U.N. resolution, not even a question on possible German participation, illustrates the still-existing reluctance of Germany to applying military means - even in the most horrific of regimes. Hence, I confirm the hypothesis 'the more present guilt sentiments still are in Germany, the less likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with a common voice'.

The second possibility is the potential financial considerations about the burden of German involvement in a military strike. In order to determine whether such considerations might have inflicted a large burden on Germany financially, I will analyze the costs for those states that did participate in the military operation in Libya and paid the highest contributions to the mission.

Reportedly, the US had spent 1.1 billion USD (US Dollar) for the Libya intervention by September 2011 (Anonymous, n.d.a); Canada had spent almost 50.89 million USD by mid-

October 2011 (Dunn, 2011). The expenses of the two major EU member states besides Germany, France and the UK, look as follows: France had spent 320 million USD by mid-October 2011, and the UK had spent 333 million USD by the end of October 2011 (Anonymous, 2011b; Penny, 2011).

I assume that Germany's financial share in this operation would have been large again, as described under the 'Athena mechanism' that takes into account a EU member state's GDP when constituting its financial contribution to a potential EU military mission. In 2011, Germany's GDP was 2.570.800 million EUR. The GDP of France amounted to 1.996.583,1 million EUR in the same year, the UK's GDP was 1.737.089,2 million EUR (European Commission, n.d.).

Considering these numbers, the possibility that Germany's refraining from participation in this mission was due to financial deliberations is rather likely. Consequentially, I confirm the hypothesis 'the higher the share of Germany's potential financial contribution to a military operation, the less likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with one voice'.

The third variable is 'EU member states' domestic policies'. As described above, France and the UK were determined to start military operations in Libya. Germany, however, was not even willing to vote in favor of military action in the UN Security Council, much less *act* militarily. Hence, disagreement occurred once more among the three most powerful EU member states which was an integral part in the inability of the EU to speak with a common voice in the case of Libya, and so I confirm the hypothesis 'the more diverse the respective member states' domestic policies, the less likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with a common voice'.

Fourthly, it can be assumed that the institutional preconditions of the EU may not have been in order to offer a basis for a common EU standpoint in this case. Hence, I analyze the developments of EU foreign policy in the advent of the Libya crisis in the following. In 2007, the Lisbon Treaty was signed, coming into effect in 2009, making significant changes to the EU's handling of foreign affairs. The most crucial and obvious change came with the creation of the position of 'High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy' (currently held by Catherine Ashton). This post combined the positions of 'High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy' and the newly established position of Vice-President of the European Commission, as well as provided for the holder to chair meetings of the EU's Foreign Affairs Council (instead of the rotating Presidency).

Furthermore, the Treaty provided a newly founded 'European External Action Service' to assist the High Representative. It is composed of officials from the Council Secretariat, the Commission and the diplomatic services of the member states and is financed from the EU budget, rather than from the member states themselves.

Additionally, the new treaty provided for a President of the European Council, whose duty is to represent the EU externally on issues regarding the CFSP, without colliding with the position of the High Representative (Avery, 2007).

As Avery (2007) continued, the Treaty improved the prior system in two main ways. Firstly, it obviously reorganized the foreign policy approach of the EU. The pillar system was maintained, however, the first and second pillars were brought closer together. Secondly, the new treaty brought national and European diplomats closer together with a structure to make it easier for them to work side by side.

The Lisbon Treaty held large opportunities for the EU to develop a more coherent and reliable position in international affairs, leading to greater effectiveness and visibility if all member states are committed to this project (Avery, 2007).

Following from this analysis, it is rather unlikely that an improper framework was the (main) reason for the disagreement between the largest and most powerful member states of the EU with regard to a possible military strike against Libya. Hence, I reject the hypothesis that 'the more institutional changes aiming for a more unified EU foreign policy have been put into place, the more likely it is for the EU to be able to speak with a common voice'.

In this case, Germany's past as well as financial considerations, and consequential differing domestic policies between the major EU member states may have contributed in large parts to the country's abstinence from voting on a military mission in Libya.

Conclusion

In the sections above I analyzed a number of major military missions that were conducted in an international environment. After presenting each mission shortly, I described the view of Germany on the respective crisis. Subsequently, I applied the possible variables to the cases, as mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. I tried to either prove that one (or several) of the variables was causing the dependent variable, namely the inability of the EU to formulate a common standpoint on EU military engagements. In the following, I shortly resume my findings. In order to illustrate them clearly, Table 2 depicts the main findings.

Table 2: Main findings

	Guilt	Finances	Domestic policies	Institutional development
Gulf War	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kosovo	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Afghanistan	Yes	No	Yes	No
Iraq	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Libya	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

In the analysis it became clear that the variable of 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history' in combination with the variable of the 'EU member states' domestic policies' seems to be the largest influence on the dependent variable 'the EU's ability to speak with a common voice with regard to military action'.

As Table 2 shows, the guilt stemming from WWII that is still persistent in the minds of German citizens as well as politicians alike has been a major reason for the country's decisions taken with regard to military action in the Gulf War, in Kosovo, as well as in the Afghanistan and Iraq wars. In the case of Libya, it is not clear, however rather likely that the pacifist character of Germany has largely contributed to the government's decision to abstain from a vote in the U.N. Security Council.

As discussed above, the financial aspects did not seem to play a (large) role in the case of the Kosovo mission and the Afghanistan war. In the case of the Gulf War, the Iraq War, it is indeed possible that financial reasons may have played a part. Finally, in the Libya case, it is possible that Germany abstained from voting due to otherwise possible financial burdens.

Differing domestic policies seemed to have played a role in all missions. This variable is closely connected to the variable on Germany's guilt as well as on the variable on Germany's reluctance due to financial considerations. Germany's domestic policies have been influenced by these variables, and hence, these are interconnected. Furthermore, Germany has played the 'outsider role' in all cases except for the war in Iraq. Hence, it is rather likely that Germany's aversion to using military power due to guilt sentiments as well as financial considerations were also imminent to this variable.

Finally, I found that the institutional development, or at the time, rather *underdevelopment,* of an EU common foreign policy is likely to have contributed to the fact that states did not all act together in the Gulf War. A furthering of EU foreign policymaking might have had an effect on the rather consistent position of the main EU member states in the Kosovo conflict. However, in the remaining two decades, the development progressed, yet, the positions have been very diverse until this day. Hence, I find that the institutional situation has not been a contributing factor in the remaining three missions; to the contrary, the institutional changes should have worked towards a *more* coherent foreign and security position of the EU.

CONCLUSION

In this paper I have worked towards finding an answer to my research question: "To what extent does Germany's aversion to the use of military power due to historic reasons affect the EU's ability to speak with a common voice on issues of security and defense?"

I began my research with a literature review, collecting statements and hypotheses that scholars and (political) scientists had found for the existing problem of getting to a common position on security and defense issues within the EU. I then concentrated on the theoretical part of my thesis. I depicted the dependent variable, the independent variables to be tested as well as the hypotheses and my consequential main argument. The dependent variable 'the EU's ability to speak with a common voice with regard to military action' was to be explained by one (or more) of the independent variables, namely:

1. EU's institutional changes
2. EU member states' domestic policies
3. Germany's aversion to use military power due to its role as the major financial contributor
4. Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history

The main argument I stated in the introductory part of this thesis was stated as follows:

'The inability of the EU to speak with a common voice with regard to military action is due to several aspects, with the largest influence being Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history'.

I moved on to the theoretical discussion of the concepts imminent in the independent variables. In the following section I discussed the methodological approach and the reasons why I chose the cases as discussed in the analysis.

From the methodological section I then moved to the analytical part of my thesis. I discussed the Gulf War, the Kosovo War, the Afghanistan War, the Iraq War, as well as the Libya intervention as the most recent case. As described above, I gave a short overview of the respective case and then applied each independent variable to every case in order to determine which of the variables had the highest explanatory power in terms of the inability of the EU to find a common standpoint on security and defense.

In the analysis section I discussed the outcomes of my research and the table containing the findings.

Firstly, it becomes evident that the factor of Germany's guilt plays the major role when determining causes for the inability of the EU to speak with a common voice on issues of security and defense. In all cases that I analyzed the guilt factor either definitely played a role, or was likely to have played a role.

Secondly, the aspect of Germany's financial responsibility is apparent in the case of the Gulf War, the Iraq War, as well as the Libya intervention.

Thirdly, I concluded that the differing domestic policies of the most powerful EU member states, Germany, France and the UK, played a part in all missions. Yet, this variable is closely connected to the variables 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history' as well as 'Germany's aversion to use military power due to its role as the major financial contributor', since Germany's domestic policies are largely influenced by these factors. In all cases except the war in Iraq, Germany has played the part of the 'outsider', hence, the country that acted contrary to the other main actors (France and the UK). Consequentially, it is likely that the two afore-mentioned variables with regard to Germany played into the variable of 'EU member states' domestic policies' to some extent.

Lastly, the aspect of the EU's institutional development on security and defense as well as the EU's intergovernmental structure did not seem to play a decisive part in the explanation of the EU's inability to reach common ground in questions of security and defense either. The development of institutions steering EU foreign policy, and hence, decision-making on military deployments was designed to bring member states and their standpoints closer together; however, the opposite was the case.

It is safe to say that Germany's guilt stemming from WWII is still an aspect largely determining Germany's position towards the use of military power. Consequently, the EU's decision-making processes with regard to a common voice on defense and security issues are often inhibited and a common 'foreign policy culture' can hardly develop. However, other

factors considered above play important roles as well. I found that the inability of the EU to find a common ground in questions of defense and security is a mixture of different theoretical approaches: it is partly rational, partly institutional, and to a large part constructivist. Hence, I can confirm my main argument as stated in the beginning of this thesis: 'The inability of the EU to speak with a common voice with regard to military action is due to several aspects, with the largest influence being Germany's aversion to use military power due to reasons of guilt and the country's history'.

Outlook

The most recent case I have analyzed in this thesis is the intervention in Libya that took place in 2011. However, very current international events do not seem to give reason for hope with regard to a common EU standpoint on military action-taking. The crisis in Syria seems to bring about a continuation of European disagreement in questions of foreign policy and the application of military power. The current potentate of Syria, Bashar al-Assad, is committing acts of appalling violence against his own people. The international community has been discussing if and how to try to deter the Syrian president from continuing his actions. From an EU perspective, France and Germany are, again, the focus of attention in this case. Newly elected French president Nicolas Hollande proclaimed in May 2012 that he would not rule out the option of taking military action in Syria under the condition that such an intervention would take place under a mandate of the UN (Anonymous, 2012). The German government gave an immediate reaction, stating that a military intervention in Syria is not an option for the country to consider (Anonymous, 2012).

One year after the Libya intervention, the EU and primarily its most powerful actors face another obstacle in reaching a common standpoint on foreign policy issues and military deployment. The main reasons for the continuing inner-EU conflict have been reflected upon in this thesis. Whether the EU will be able to assume its responsibility and start acting in concert with regard to foreign policy issues remains to be seen.

REFERENCES

Anonymous (n.d.a). Biden calls Libya a job well done. *Tampa Bay Times.* Retrieved June 1st, 2012, from

http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2011/nov/03/joe-biden/biden-calls-libya-job-well-done/

Anonymous (n.d.b). Operation Enduring Freedom – Deployments. Retrieved June 2nd, 2012, from

http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/enduring-freedom_deploy-col.htm

Anonymous (2003, January 22). EU allies unite against Iraq war. *BBC News.* Retrieved May 5th, 2012, from

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2683409.stm

Anonymous (2006, October 25). Schröder on Kosovo – „The Goal Was Exclusively Humanitarian". *Spiegel Online.* Retrieved May 5th, 2012, from

http://www.spiegel.de/international/0,1518,444727,00.html

Anonymous (2011a, March 24). The politics behind the push. *The Economist Online.* Retrieved June 2nd, 2012, from

http://www.economist.com/blogs/dailychart/2011/03/no-fly_zone_diplomacy

Anonymous (2011b, October 23). La guerre en Libye a coûté 300 millions d'euros à la France. *Le Parisien.* Retrieved June 1st, 2012, from

http://www.leparisien.fr/intervention-libye/la-guerre-en-libye-a-coute-300-millions-d-euros-a-la-france-23-10-2011-1681579.php

Anonymous (2011c, October 3). Zehn Jahre kosten Deutschland 17 Milliarden. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung.* Retrieved June 1st, 2012, from

http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/afghanistan-einsatz-zehn-jahre-kosten-deutschland-17-milliarden-11480569.html

Anonymous (2012, May 30). Hollande's Syria Comments Irritate Berlin. *Spiegel Online.* Retrieved May 31st, 2012, from

http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/french-president-leaves-open-possibility-of-military-intervention-in-syria-a-835906.html

Anonymous (2012, May 29). Darum kann Deutschland nicht mit Militär kämpfen. *Focus Online.* Retrieved May 31st, 2012, from

http://www.focus.de/politik/ausland/krise-in-der-arabischen-welt/scharfe-kritik-nach-massaker-in-hula-militaerintervention-in-syrien-unwahrscheinlich_aid_759502.html

Avery, G. (2007). The new architecture for EU foreign policy. *Challenge Europe, 17,* 17–5.

Benitez, J. (2011, March 24). German leaders criticize Merkel's split with NATO and European Allies. Washington D. C., Atlantic Council. Retrieved June 1st, 2012, from http://www.acus.org/natosource/german-leaders-criticize-merkels-split-nato-and-european-allies

Baumann, R., & Hellmann, G. (2001). Germany and the Use of Military Force: 'Total War', the 'Culture of Restraint', and the Quest for Normality. *German Politics, 10* (1), 1–32.

Berger, T. U. (1998). Cultures of Antimilitarism. National Security in Germany and Japan. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Bickerton, C. J. (2010). Functionality in EU Foreign Policy: Towards a New Research Agenda?. *Journal of European Integration, 32* (2), 213–227.

Bindenagel, J. D. (2010). Afghanistan: The German Factor. *PRISM, 1* (4), 95–112.

Chari, R. S., & Cavatorta, F. (2003). The Iraq War: Killing Dreams of a Unified EU?. *European Political Science, 3* (1), 25–29.

Checkel, J. T. (1998). The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory. *World Politics, 50* (2), 324–348.

Checkel, J. (2005). International Institutions and Socialization in Europe: Introduction and Framework. *International Organization, 59* (4), 801–826.

Central Intelligence Agency (2012). The World Factbook – Germany. Retrieved June 1st, 2012, from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gm.html

Cohen, R. (2010, March 8). Gone, Solid Gone. *The New York Times.*

Coleman, J. (1990). *The foundations of social action.* Boston: Harvard University Press.

Crowe, B. (2003). A common European foreign policy after Iraq?. *International Affairs, 79* (3), 533-546.

Daggett, S. (2010). *Costs of Major U.S. Wars.* Congressional Research Service. Retrieved June 3rd, 2012, from

http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RS22926.pdf

Dettke, D. (2009). *Germany Says No: The Iraq War and the Future of German Foreign and Security Policy.* Baltimore, ML: John Hopkins University Press.

Deutscher Bundestag (2007). Antrag der Bundesregierung, Drucksache 16/5600. Berlin: Bundestag der Bundesrepublik Deutschland.

Deutscher Bundestag (n.d.). Der deutsche Einsatz in Afghanistan. Retrieved June 2nd, 2012, from

http://www.bundesregierung.de/static/flash/afghanistanOnline/swf/index.html

Dunn, M. (2011, October 29). Libya mission cost Canadians $50 million – Forces begin journey home next week. *Toronto Sun.* Retrieved June 1st, 2012, from http://www.torontosun.com/2011/10/29/libya-mission-cost-canadians-50-million

Dunne, T. and Schmidt, B. (2007). Realism. In: J. Baylis, S. Smith, and P. Owens (Ed.), *The Globalization of World Politics,* (pp. 90–107). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Durkheim, E. (1984[1983]). The Division of Labor in Society. Trans. W. Halls. New York: Free Press.

Elster, J. (1986). Introduction. In: J. Elster (Ed.), *Rational choice.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Ermakoff, I. (2010). Theory of practice, rational choice, and historical change. *Theory and Society, 39* (5), 527–553.

European Commission (n.d.). Gross domestic product at market price. Retrieved June 2nd, 2012, from Eurostat Web site,

http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/refreshTableAction.do?tab=table&plugin=1&pcode=tec0 0001&language=en

European Council (2004). Council Decision 2004/197/CFSP. Brussels: European Council.

Everts, S., Keohane, D. (2003). The European Convention and EU Foreign Policy: Learning from Failure. *Survival, 45* (3), 167-186.

Federal Constitutional Court (1994). Decision of the Federal Constitutional Court, BVerfGE 90, 286–294.

Friedman, M. (1951): *Essays on Positive Economics*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Global Security (n.d.). Operation Enduring Freedom. Global Security. Retrieved June 1st, 2012, from

http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/enduring-freedom-ops.htm

Green, D. P., & Shapiro, I. (1994). *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory: A Critique of Applications in Political Science*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Guzzini, S. (2000). A Reconstruction of Constructivism in International Relations. *European Journal of International Relations, 6* (2), 147–182.

Habermas, J., Derrida, J. (2003). February 15, or What Binds Europeans Together: A Plea for a Common Foreign Policy, Beginning in the Core of Europe. *Constellations, 10* (3), 291-297.

Herf, J. (2011, March 24). Berlin Ghosts – Why Germany was against the Libya intervention. *The New Republic*. Retrieved May 5th, 2012, from

http://www.tnr.com/article/world/85702/germany-libya-intervention-qaddafi-merkel

Hindmoor, A. (2010). Rational Choice. In: D. Marsh, and G. Stoker (Ed.), *Theory and Methods in Political Science*. (pp. 42–59). New York: Palgrave Macmillian.

Howorth, J., Menon, A. (2009). Still Not Pushing Back – Why the European Union Is Not Balancing the United States. *Journal of Conflict Resolution, 53* (5), 727-744.

Hyde-Price, A. (2000). The European Union and German *Europapolitik*. In: A. Hyde-Price: German and European Order – Enlarging NATO and the EU. (pp. 172-203). Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Hyde-Price, A. (2001). Germany and the Kosovo war: still a civilian power?. *German Politics, 10* (1), 19–34.

Infratest dimap (1999a). ARD Deutschlandtrend April 1999. Retrieved April 29th, 2012, from Infratest dimap Web site,

http://www.infratest-dimap.de/umfragen-analysen/bundesweit/ard-deutschlandtrend/1999/april/

Infratest dimap (1999b). ARD Deutschlandtrend Mail 1999. Retrieved April 29th, 2012, from Infratest dimap Web site,

http://www.infratest-dimap.de/umfragen-analysen/bundesweit/ard-deutschlandtrend/1999/mai/

Infratest dimap (2001). ARD Deutschlandtrend November 2001. Retrieved May 29th, 2012, from Infratest dimap Web site,

http://www.infratest-dimap.de/umfragen-analysen/bundesweit/ard-deutschlandtrend/2001/november/

Infratest dimap (2003). ARD Deutschlandtrend April 2003. Retrieved April 29th, 2012, from Infratest dimap Web site,

http://www.infratest-dimap.de/umfragen-analysen/bundesweit/ard-deutschlandtrend/2003/april/

Infratest dimap (2011). ARD Deutschlandtrend September 2011. Retrieved May 29th, 2012, from Infratest dimap Web site,

http://www.infratest-dimap.de/umfragen-analysen/bundesweit/umfragen/aktuell/afghanistan-einsatz-der-bundeswehr-mehrheit-fuer-sofortigen-abzug-der-deutschen-soldaten/

Kahneman, D., & Tversky, A. (1979). Prospect Theory: An Analysis of Decision Under Risk. *Econometrica, 47,* 263–291.

Keukeleire, S., MacNaughtan, J. (2008). *The Foreign Policy of the European Union.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Keukeleire, S. (2009). European Security and Defence Policy: From Taboo to a Spearhead of EU Foreign Policy? In: F. Bindi (Ed.), *The Foreign Policy of the European Union: Assessing Europe's Role in the World.* (pp. 51–72). Washington: Brookings Institution Press.

King, A. (2005). The Future of the European Security and Defence Policy. *Contemporary Security Policy, 26* (1), 44–61.

Krotz, U., & Maher, R. (2011). International Relations Theory and the Rise of European Foreign and Security Policy. *World Politics, 63* (3), 548–579.

Levy, J. S. (1997). Prospect Theory, Rational Choice, and International Relations. *International Studies Quarterly, 41,* 87–112.

Lowndes, V. (2010). The Institutional Approach. In: D. Marsh, and G. Stoker (Ed.), *Theory and Methods in Political Science*. (pp. 42–59). New York: Palgrave Macmillian.

March, J. G., & Olsen, J. P. (1984). The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life. *American Political Science Review, 78* (3), 734–749.

Matlary, J. H. (2006). When Soft Power Turns Hard: Is an EU Strategic Culture Possible?. *Security Dialogue, 37* (105), 105–121.

Maull, H. W. (2000). Germany and the Use of Force. Still a Civilian Power?. *Survival, 42* (2), 56–80.

Mearsheimer, J. J. (1990). Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War. *International Security, 15* (1), 5–56.

Menon, A. (2011). European Defence Policy from Lisbon to Libya. *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy, 53* (3), 75–90.

Moravcsik, A. (1998). *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Neuerer, D. (2011, March 23). Deutschland sucht Ausweg aus der Libyen-Falle. *Handelsblatt*. Retrieved June 1st, 2012, from
http://www.handelsblatt.com/politik/deutschland/soldaten-fuer-afghanistan-deutschland-sucht-ausweg-aus-der-libyen-falle/3980818.html

Ondarza v., N. (2008). *EU Military Deployment – An Executive Prerogative? Decision-making and parliamentary control on the use of force by the EU*. Paper for 'EU in International Affairs Conference'. Brussels: GARNET.

Onuf, N. (1989). *World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.

Oxford Dictionary (n. d.). Guilt. Retrieved June 2nd, 2012, from
http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/guilt

Packer, G. (2009). The German View of Afghanistan. *The New Yorker*. Retrieved June 2nd, 2012, from
http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/georgepacker/2009/10/the-german-view-of-afghanistan.html

Parsons, C. (2010). Constructivism and Interpretive Theory. In: D. Marsh, and G. Stoker (Ed.), *Theory and Methods in Political Science.* (pp. 42–59). New York: Palgrave Macmillian.

Pelinka, A. (2007). European Political Parties and the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy. In P. Foradori, P. Rosa, Scartezzini, R. (Ed.), *Managing a Multilevel Foreign Policy – The EU in International Affairs* (pp. 43-59). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Penny, T. (2011, December 8). Libya operation Cost U.K. $333 Million, Defense Ministry Says. *Bloomberg Businessweek.* Retrieved June 1st, 2012, from
http://www.businessweek.com/news/2011-12-08/libya-operation-cost-u-k-333-million-defense-ministry-says.html

Peters, B. G. (1999). *Institutional Theory in Political Science: The 'New Institutionalism'.* London: Pinter.

Philippi, N. (2001). Civilian Power and war: the German debate about out-of-area operations 1990-99. In: S. Harnisch, and H. W. Maull (Ed.), *Germany as a Civilian Power? The foreign policy of the Berlin Republic.* (pp. 49–67). Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Pollack, M. A. (2011). Theorizing the European Union: Realist, Intergovernmentalist, and Institutionalist Approaches. Paper, 1–30.

Posen, B. R. (2006). European Union Security and Defense Policy: Response to Unipolarity? *Security Studies, 15* (2), 149-186.

Puchala, D. J. (1999). Institutionalism, Intergovernmentalism and European Integration: A Review Article. *Journal of Common Market Studies, 37* (2), 317–331.

Rouleau, E. (n.d.). French diplomacy adrift in Kosovo. *Le Monde diplomatique.* Retrieved June 3rd, 2012, from
http://mondediplo.com/1999/12/04rouleau

Rutten, M. (2002). *Stagnation of the ESDP.* EU Institute for Security Studies, Newsletter, 1, February, p. 1.

Schmidt, P. (2011). The EU's Military Involvement in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Security Culture, Interests and Games. *Contemporary Security Policy, 32* (3), 567–581.

Smith, M. E. (2000). Conforming to Europe: the domestic impact of EU foreign policy co-operation. *Journal of European Public Policy, 7* (4), 613-631.

Speck, U. (2011). *Pacifism unbound: Why Germany limits EU hard power.* FRIDE Policy Brief, 75. Madrid, FRIDE – A European Think Tank for Global Action.

Tietje, C. (1997). The Concept of Coherence in the Treaty of European Union and the Common Foreign and Security Policy. *European Foreign Affairs Review, 2,* 211–233.

Tsebelis, G. (1990). *Nested games: Rational choice in comparative politics.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

United Nations Security Council (2011). *Resolution 1973.* Retrieved on May 28th, 2012, from http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N11/268/39/PDF/N1126839.pdf?OpenElement

Wagner, W. (2005). *The Democratic Legitimacy of ESDP.* Occasional Paper, 57. Paris: EU Institute of Security Studies.

Waltz, K. N. (1993). The Emerging Structure of International Politics. *International Security, 18* (2), 44–79.

Weber, M. (1978[1922]). Social Psychology of the World's Religions. In: H. H. Gerth, and C. Wright Mills (Ed.), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Weiland, S., & Nelles, R. (2011, March 18). Germany has marginalized itself over Libya. *The Guardian.* Retrieved May 5th, 2012, from http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/mar/18/libya-germany-un-security-council

Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics. *International Organization, 46* (2), 391–425.

Wendt, A. (1998). On Constitution and Causation in International Relations. *Review of International Studies, 24* (5), 101–118.

Yost, D. S. (1993). France and the Gulf War of 1990-1991: Political-military lessons learned. *Journal of Strategic Studies, 16* (3), 339–374.