

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A Background

In December 1965 de Gaulle returned as president for a second seven-year term, but for the first time had to go through a second round of voting in which he defeated François Mitterrand. At his press conference on February 21, 1966 The General announced that NATO was no longer needed as a cover for an American protectorate in Europe. It was clear that France leaved the Alliance military activity to get back its 'normal sovereignty' and in order to get in back, the changes would be gradual. De Gaulle described the military integration practiced at SHAPE (Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers) and its subordinate headquarters as obsolete and said that it was designed to ensure French subordination to US policy. Shortly after that, France demanded to control over foreign troops stationed in French territory through the letter from De Gaulle to President Johnson. The reply was such far-reach proposal should be taken up by NATO. Paris, however, was interested not in the reform of NATO but in evacuation. It was caused by European Nations and its member including France might be dragged into unnecessary conflict like in Vietnam.

De Gaulle intended wasting no time in the execution of a far-ranging plan of diplomatic action. For eight years he had been talking about the imperfections of NATO. Soon afterward, France stated that it will withdraw from the headquarters of Allied Command Europe and that SHAPE and its subordinate

headquarters Allied Forces Central Europe (AFCENT) must leave French territory by April 1967.

The allies were unsuccessful in their efforts to persuade the French government to reconsider, and France then withdrew the vast majority of its military personnel from NATO military headquarters in July 1966.

The other Allies moved quickly to find new hosts for the headquarters that would had to leave France, and they decided to move NATO's political headquarters from French territory as well.

The world order in 1991 practically changed after the collapse of Soviet Union. Russia and the other Soviet republics emerged as independent states. Lack of funds, economic crisis, and political instability push the Soviet Union to a tragic ending .The long time hostility between United States and the Soviet Union finally came to the end. US became the sole super power in the world after the end of cold war. This circumstance had the impact through all over the world especially for the neighboring country in Europe. Have direct border and became the US allies during the cold war made the position of European countries as the battlefield. The end of Cold war means adaptation to the new condition which more peaceful without proxy war, nuclear race, and espionage.

The French leadership has changed from Mitterrand to Chirac which mean the changes in policy too. The Post cold war reality still continues until 1995 when Chirac took a lead in France. After several years France was notably slow in adapting to the new circumstances. Post Cold War realities did not easily penetrate the long held Gaullist precepts of French independence and the principal

threat on which French defense strategy had been premised and against which French forces had been planned. France started moving decisively toward an accommodation with NATO.

In December 1995, the French government announced a partial return to participation in NATO military bodies and consultations. In attempts to normalize the relation between France and NATO, Chirac is not busy to determine the revolutionary rupture, violation to the taboos, but to a gradual evolution, legal, and realistic.¹ After the withdrawal, the French position in the Alliance focused only in its political bodies. France only leave NATO's military bodies meanwhile still remain in the organization.

French President Jacques Chirac, since his election victory in May 1995, has led the way toward fundamental reform of French defense policy. He has, among other things, conducted a "final" set of nuclear tests, removed one leg of France's strategic nuclear triad, decided to move toward smaller but more flexible professional military forces, and changed France's role in NATO.²

Chirac was facing the economic malaises which force the reduction of defense budget. Its means less money to support French military activity and its development Chirac has to find a way to solve this problem, which how to increase military activity and development due to French European and global role with the reduced budget (3, 3% in 1994 to 3% of GDP in 1997)³

¹ Dominique MOÏSI in *Politique Etrangere; La Politique Etrangere de la France*, page.855

² Stanley R. Sloan. *French defense Policy: Gaullism Meets the Post Cold War World*. www.armscontrol.org, accessed in October 7 2005.

³ Todd Sandler and Keith Hartley. *The political and Economy of NATO: past present and into 21st century*. Cambridge University Press. United Kingdom. 1999

The French Republic did not fully participate in the military organization of the North Atlantic Alliance since 1966 when Charles de Gaulle withdrew the country's forces from NATO's integrated military structures. Despite "rapprochement" in recent years, France's participation focuses mainly on NATO's political bodies. Over the years, and especially since the Vietnam War period, France has often taken a leading role in formulating and asserting *assumed* European interests *vis-à-vis* the United States. And the "Grande nation" had a pioneering function in uniting her partner countries under the roof of what is now called the European Union

Judging the phenomenon, this mini thesis focusing on what are the backgrounds of French approach and make an analysis through the relevant theory. Having viewed the above phenomenon, this mini thesis entitled "The French Defense Policy under Jacques Chirac: Approach to NATO "

B. The Main Question

The main question of this research is: What were the reasons behind French approach to NATO?

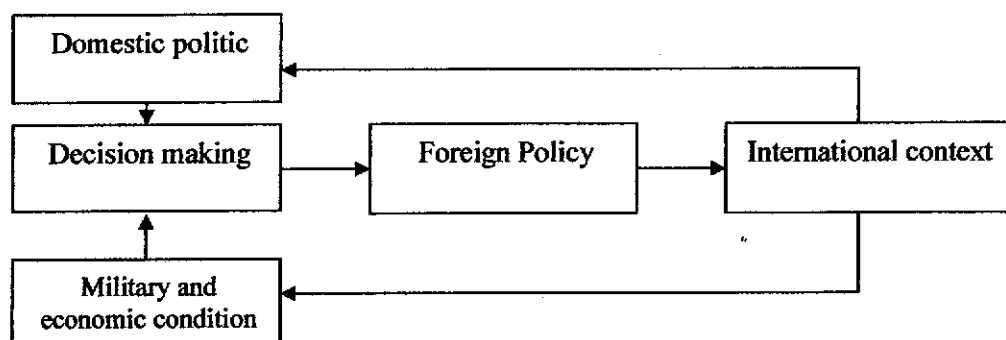
C. Theoretical Framework

Several theories can be used to explain the main question of this research. It also can explain several concepts which related to the main question. One of the important concepts is 'foreign policy'. France just like other international relation's actors, need its own foreign policy to interact with other state or

international entities. According to Jack T. Plano and Roy Alton the definition of foreign policy is: “a strategy or planed course of action developed by decision maker of a state vis-à-vis other state or international entities aimed at achieving specific goals defined in terms of national interest”⁴

Furthermore the writer tries to explain the main question use decision making theory. It is also to analyze French policy under Chirac and the decision to move toward accommodation with NATO. William D. Coplin said the process of decision making can be viewed from three main factors: 1) domestic politic; 2) military economic condition; and 3) international context.

Figure 1.1 : Foreign Policy Decision Making Process⁵



Domestic Politics

The domestic politic is an important element to determine the foreign politic. It is among the basic component of the making of foreign policy. Due to

⁴ Jack C. Plano and Roy Oltho, *The International Relation Dictionary*, Western Michigan University, Third Edition (California: ABC-CLIA), page 9

⁵ William D. Coplin, *Introduction to International Politic: a theoretical overview*, translated by Marsedes Marbun, the introduction of international politic; an analysis theoretic, Sinar Baru, Bandung, 1992

the importance of domestic factors, the writer will explain French foreign policy through the domestic politics.

Mitterrand was succeeded by Chirac which Neo Gaullist. Chirac not only respect to *le gaullisme* values, but also combining with the adaptation and domestic needs. New president means new policy, the changes are depend on the president's background and the condition faced by the country. After Chirac won in the election May 1995, he faced a new local condition that need further adaptation; include in the military. Soon, Chirac led France through a new set of French defense policy. Include French nuclear and non nuclear force. One of Chirac's first steps toward his reform goal was to announce a controversial 11 month nuclear testing program that met widespread opposition in and beyond Europe.

Inside French government, there were different reactions from the political parties. The three major parties, Chirac's party NPR which neo Gaullist NPR (*Rassemblement Pour la Republique*), center-right UBF (*Union pour Democratie Francaise*) and the Socialist. They are support the attempts to enhance the cooperation with the Alliance but France remain outside the integrated military structures. But the less dominant opposition like Communist, Ecologist, National Front and *Mouvement des Citoyen* concluded that France must avoid the cooperation with the Alliance which had lost its reason of existence. Beside those support and rejection, according to the Fifth Republic Constitution made by De Gaulle, Chirac as the President of French Republic has strong power to implement the foreign policy without any consultation. This different argument

from the opposition did not stop Chirac to bring France closer to NATO in defined limits.

Military and Economic Condition

Military and economic condition plays an important role in determining and formulating the French foreign politic. According to Robert Jackson and George Sorensen, 'there are political and economic logic which influencing each other, but economy does not controlled by politic at all and in vise versa.⁶ Krasner said the economic development generally make the state easier to finance their activity⁷

When Chirac took office in 1995, he faced that the state was in economic trouble. The unemployment and problem to raise GDP were among of them. A lot of French people were unsatisfied with his policy to solve the French economic problem like abolishing the taxes cut. The reduction of French defense budget also made the situation more complicated in applying French defense policy in foreign operation to support *la politique grandeur*

Soon he conducted a Reformation in French defense posture. The reform plan calls for moving from a Cold War, central front, defensive force to a rapid-reaction military that can be combined with the British and a German quick reaction conventional force that is also in the works. The right framework of

⁶ Robert Jackson and George Sorensen .2005. *Pengantar Studi Hubungan Internasional*. Yogyakarta.Pustaka Pelajar ; 255

⁷ ibid ; 271

future implementation of this new force lies inside Trans Atlantic cooperation within NATO

Lack of resources and funds makes France can't support a full blow of military operation. Approach to NATO and returning to an integrated military command is a French policy to share security responsibility with the allies. Furthermore it is an attempt to cover some of the French incapability in armament and the defense capability like in intelligence and air lift support.

International Context

International context refers to the global system include the phenomena within. As the system, it has a relation between the elements. The one is affecting the others. The logic consequence is the interdependence. The international context is often considered as the cause of the state behavior. A new in international and regional circumstances has the impact to French defense policy. New set of defense policy and armament believed as the answer of the recent global and regional politic.

Several global conflicts like Middle East conflict, the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the mass destruction weapon problem forced France to adapt the new security environment. The dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and disintegration of the Soviet Union removed the principal threat on which French defense strategy had been premised and against which French forces had been planned. Since the socialist president Mitterrand realized that new circumstance, France slowly adapted a news set of policy to face the post Cold War era.

Mitterrand began the approach to NATO and United States with caution. The next president goes with a further reform and adaptation to this new condition. New defense policy course must be settled when the threat from Soviet slightly reduce and vanish and the new Russia become more cooperative.

Dissolution of Warsaw Pact and the end of Soviet Union has made NATO to reform its vision. Those based in basic assumption of NATO establishment as the counter alliance to Warsaw Pact and to face the threats from Soviet Union. During the Cold War, NATO's main vision was to defend the European continent along side with United States from the threats of Soviet Union and its allies. In practice, NATO's doctrine was based on establishing a linear defense along the inter-German border and along NATO's borders in the Northern and Southern regions and backing up this posture with the nuclear portion of the flexible response doctrine.⁸ In 1989-1991 marked as the transition era. During that period, Soviet Union came to an end and cold war reaches its ending. It is a transition era from cold war atmosphere to the post Cold War era. This transition era had several impacts to the European neighborhood. They need to reformulate their defense strategy include in Alliance to face a new condition and prepare for post Cold War era. In post Cold War era NATO started to change its function from mainly as the counterbalance of Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact to the peace keeping mission and conflict prevention.

Together with the allies, France as the part of North Atlantic society that united their selves in NATO will reach the common goal and interest.

⁸ Robert B. Mc Calla, *NATO and the end of the Cold War*, in www.nato.int May, 11 2006

International Society assume that state society (or international society) emerge when a group of state are aware of their certain common value and interest, formed a society which means they believes that they are united by a set of common rules in relation of each other, and shared to run a common institution. The society will always present in the modern international system (Hedley Bull in *The Anarchical Society: a Study of Order in World Politics*)⁹.

D. Hypothesis

The background of French approach towards NATO was to face the conditions from the domestic politic, military and economic condition, and international context. So the hypotheses are:

1. Chirac conducted the approach with the support from his party and supported by his strong position as the President of French Republics.
2. The economic crisis which made the reduction of defense budget and the French military incapability made French to face the new circumstances with the approach to NATO.
3. The post Cold War change which followed by the change inside NATO's organization made Chirac bring French closer to NATO.

⁹ Robert Jackson, and George Sorensen, .2005. *ibid.* page : 186

E. Method of Research

This simple research uses a common method to sustain and arrange the data by collecting data through library research, Internet, newspaper, journal, etc. The writer tries to elaborate with the real fact and implementing the theory related to that case. The hypothesis will be taken from empirical conclusion.

F. Writing Objectives

The end of the Cold War raised fundamental issues for French defense policy, just as it did for the United States and other powers. The dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and disintegration of the Soviet Union removed the principal threat on which French defense strategy had been premised and against which French forces had been planned. But France was notably slow in adapting to the new circumstances. Post Cold War realities did not easily penetrate the long held Gaullist precepts of French independence, even as they were interpreted by the socialist leadership of President François Mitterrand.

The new defense policy under Chirac is a response of the internal and regional condition. It is a part of French adaptation to the regional European and the state military-economic condition. The French military reform, like downsizing the army and the new point of view about nuclear force has change French regional defense policy. With that downsizing means less army and minimum defense. In fact, in 1995 French had 577.360 military personnel and projected 434.000 in 2015¹⁰. Include reducing their arsenal like Main Battle Tank,

¹⁰ Ronald Tiersky. *ibid*

Nuclear Forces, Air Forces, and Navy. Conventional military strategy reoriented to general security problem includes terrorism. French realized that they cannot full-blown a military operation. They learned through gulf war. They need to make an alliance with other world power, just like in NATO and they still have to maintain their role.

The research aims to:

1. Uncover French motivation to approach NATO
2. Implement theories to analyze this phenomenon

G. Range of Research

In this research, the writer makes limitation related to the case from May, 1995 up to 1997. The limitation will facilitate the writer to explore and analyze the data and keep the research focuses on the track. The simple reason is in that time, French under Chirac make a difference from the era of Mitterrand such as military reform, a new defense policy, that have relation with the approach to NATO. The case before that time is the historical background to help understanding the evolution of French-NATO relations.

After all, it does not cover the possibility the writer will enroll another data beyond the time and explain other phenomenon that has strong relation with this topic. It is strongly recommended to sustain the completeness and the clearness of the information.

H. Writing Systematic

In the first chapter, as the beginning chapter, this mini thesis explains about the basic of this research. The backgrounds of this research include title determination background and the problem background, are the basic assumption for the topic of this research. In this chapter also explain about several theories which related to the topic. The theories become important in the research because they provide the basic point of view of problem solving. In this research, the writer tries to explain French defense policy specially its approach to NATO through several relevant theories. The result is a hypothesis as the temporary result of the research. In this first chapter there are basic things like writing objectives, writing systematic and framework.

In the second chapter, the writer will go deeper. This chapter explains about the French foreign policy. Those are include the foreign policy during and post cold war era and from the each fundamental presidential era. The explanation continues to the French internal change, which affected its foreign policy. The last parts of this chapter are the French foreign policy interest, in regional and international forum that can use to analyze French interest in the Alliance.

In this third chapter this mini thesis tries to give the explanation about the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. This explanation divided into Cold War and Post Cold War era. The explanation includes the history and the other basic information of the Alliance. The writer also tries to explain the new vision of the Alliance after Cold War is over. This is important to explain the Alliance vision and purpose after Cold War is over.

The fourth chapter will be the main focus of the research. This chapter directly analyzes about French approach to NATO and also revealed the fact behind that action. Start from the De Gaulle's decision to withdraw from NATO military bodies. The next is the rapprochement between France and NATO. Next are the Chirac reforms that rejoin French Forces into NATO's military bodies. The writer also bring the facts about the issue in the Alliance, French position, relation with the allies in the organization, and French demands to make a 'new NATO' that more 'Europe'. All those explain above tries to uncover the French motivation in approach to the Alliance after the withdrawal.

The last chapter, the fifth, contains the conclusion of this research. From the fact those explained above and through the relevant theory this mini thesis tries to take a conclusion as the result of the research. This conclusion is the answer of the main question in this research.