الواقع الامني الاوروبي بعد الحرب الباردة

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مستخلص البحث	معلومات البحث

لقد ظلت قضية الأمن الدولي حبيسة إطارها الأوروبي عندما كانت القوى العظمى الأوروبية تمسك بمقدرات الأمن العالمي وهي القوى العظمى انذاك، لكن مع حلول العقد الأول من القرن العشرين بدا وكأن أمن واستقرار أوروبا ما بعد الحروب النابليونية قد اخذ يتداعى مع بدء الحرب العالمية الأولى التي عبرت بحيثياتها ونتائجها عن متغير واضح ألمّ بالشؤون الأوروبية تمثل بمشاركة عسكرية لقوة عظمى غير أوروبية (الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية) في ترجيح كفة القتال لصالح الديمقراطيات الرأسمالية في أوروبا مقابل قوى اخرى منافسة مثلت نقيضها. لذا فقد شرعت الولايات المتحدة ومنذ نهاية الحرب العالمية الثانية في بناء منظومة أمنية اعتبرت فيها الأمن الأوروبي جزءً من الأمن القومي الأمريكي غير ان ذلك الامر واجه ظهور قوة اخرى عالمية للولايات المتحدة وهي الاتحاد السوفييتي بشكل مناقض فكريا للغرب مما انتج حربا باردة القت بظلالها على اوروبا بعد الحرب العالمية الثانية وحتى عام ١٩٨٩.

Reality of the European Security After the Cold War

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Article info.

Abstract

The issue of international security remained confined to its European framework when the European superpowers dominated global security affairs. But in the first decade of the twentieth century it had seemed that the security and stability of Europe after the Napoleonic wars began to crumble with start of the First World War, that expressed through its consequences a clear change European affairs which had represented by the military participation of a non-European superpower (United States of America) in tilting the fighting to the capitalist democracies in Europe.

Since the end of the Second World War, the United States has embarked on building a security system in which European security has been considered as part of American national security, but that had face with the emergence of another global power versus the United States that is the (Soviet Union), which is intellectually contradictory to the West and thus had produced a Cold War that has casted a shadow over Europe after World War II until 1989.

Introduction:

The Issue of European security accounted an attention to European politicians, and for that, the efforts were made to ensure the balance of power in Europe because breach this balance could lead to the domination of one power versus of other powers.

The Instability of European security led bug of international security system as that the center of global security was on the European continent when it was dominated by European powers which was control the international events until the end of World War II in 1945.

After that year, the center of global powers moved to superpowers from out of Europe (the United States) leader of the Western capitalism and (Soviet Union) which was commander other peoples towards an international socialism than showed deep Western fears that could made Europe a hostage for Soviet communists, then Russia domination on global security.

Americans supposed that the two world wars (1914-1918), (1939-1945) boosted more global instability and threatened the Western democracies weakened by wars so that allowed for emergence big influence for Soviet Union , thus had required the intervention of U.S. strongly to re-impose security in Europe, so the United States started since the end of World War II in adopting a new security system , that mean the concept of European security has become part of the American national security to prevent sliding Europe into chaos and instability. The issue of ensuring European security raised concerns of American politicians , debates focused about the nature and extent of the contribution of the U.S. efforts to impose stability on the continent , and on the European contribution to military expenditure to face the potential threaten European security , and discussions appeared about the ability of Europeans to ensure security in the face of the emerging challenges like of the return of Russia to adopt the concepts of dominance in

international relations, or whether Europe able to prevent problems that threaten stability in its the ethnically disturbed areas . The research reviewed the concept of European security in terms of its origin and development, and then viewed the changes of responsibility transition of Europe security to forces from outside the continent, and the European visions about that.

The Concept of European Security

The concept of security can be defined as: "a group of countries that their security is interrelated to the extent that their national security problems cannot be solved in a separate way ([1]).

The idea of the collective security of the E.U started with the Treaty of Westphalia * , which was held in 1648, the rules of the Treaty, contributed to achieve security and stability in Europe, and has adopted the concept of state sovereignty in international relations and was considered the first beginning in the history of what is known as the international system ([2]) after it exceeded the religious wars among European nations , and then organize the international relations of the European continent , formed on a new directions towards the principles and mechanisms of cooperation and participation rather than the concepts of control and subjugation .

The growing strength of some European countries, such as France, and threating the situation on the continent, the European forces joined in a war against it, ended by the Treaty of "Utrecht" ** in 1713, which stressed the principles of the treaty "Westphalia". Then came the French Revolution " 1789 "([3]) that led to a breach in the international situation as a result of the Napoleonic wars, and fears greater than before after the announcement of the revolutionary council of the French Revolution intention to support the wishes of the European nations aimed to achieve freedom, willingness of France to intervene in favor of nations that want it, and issued this declaration in November 19, 1792 ([4]).

There was a strong European desire to preserve the gains of the peace achieved by Westphalia , which was based primarily on solutions to conflicts through the use of political channels rather than imposing external solutions by force (**5**), but the countries of Europe returned to face the expansion of the empire of Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821), and were able to defeat him in the battle of "Waterloo" *** in 1815 , then held the Congress of Vienna in the same year for the reorganization of the European continent (**6**).

The Congress of Vienna was a basis for the formation of the modern European Community , which began to expand with the industrial revolution and independence of states and the emergence of nationalities , these countries dominated to international politics and imposed its point of view on the eastern half of the world , Under the name of the international system that oversaw the world through the (European Conference)" (**7**) , who stated by holding conferences to resolve the problems faced by the world during the nineteenth century until the First World War and was able to establish treaties and laws that still don until now, like Geneva agreements of 1864.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, appear in international relations concept (collective security), to refer to European security , it has tended major European countries at that time , especially " Britain, France and Germany " to protect its interests outside the European continent after a quiet period in Europe at late nineteenth century because of the balance of powers and could not few of the incidents such as the war between the Ottomans and the Greeks (1821-1829) , to disquiet this calm (**8**) , so that the period of twenty or thirty years of the nineteenth century is known in British foreign policy as(the wonderful isolation period) (**9**) , so the great European powers entered what is known as the era of global politics (**10**).

The first applications of the idea of collective security in international relations through the experience of the League of

Nations , it was the idea underlying the American President (Democrat) Woodrow Wilson (1913 - 1924) in his vision of a world peace , and organized its relations through the League of Nations , the arrangements for collective security were in line with the nature of the international system at the time, when the war was legitimate as one of the ways of managing international relations. Thus, the era of the League even if did not provide for the prohibition of war, (Legitimate +) and does not make conflicts impossible, but limit their scope ([11]).

After the end of World War II (1939 - 1945) , there was changing in the system of European security , the European powers is no longer as they were great powers, and the European continent no longer a major center for responsible for the international Security Requirements , the center of effect in the collective security moved into powers from outside Europe , namely, the United States , and the Soviet Union and so the European Nations lost what ability of influence in the equation of security and international stability for the benefit of the two mentioned , and thus the international arrangement leadership of collective security turned to non-European powers .

The formulation of collective security system started within the framework of the United Nations after World War II saw great hopefulness about the nature of the role that could be played by the international organization and Security Council as the body responsible for co-management to the system of collective security as well as the means and possibilities and institutional frameworks to ensure the management of military operations on the field so as to ensure achievement of the desired results , and it was the most important thing guaranteed by the Charter is the commitment of all member States that put at the disposal of the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with the special agreements ,(the facilities necessary for the maintenance of peace and international security), as mandated in the Charter , in other words there

have been attempts to avoid the mistakes in the previous experience of the League of Nations ([12]).

The conditions of the Cold War witnessed transmission the allied victors in World War II into competitors during Cold War led to prevention of the United Nations in many cases for access to its goal of achieving collective security, especially with the transformation of the international Security Council to one of the tools of conflict between the poles of the Cold War as well as use of its enduring members the right of veto ([13]).

In fact, European security in the Cold War era was dominated by two superpowers at that time, so the control of collective security system arrangement moved from the continental (Europe) to global (the United States, and the Soviet Union), which is considered an indication for losing the Europe powers ability to maintaining international security and stability([14]).

The European Security after the Cold War

European security Situations has a long history, wars, did not stop in European history in the second half of the twentieth century, not because of human values in Europeans mind, but because development and economic conditions have changed the basics of European relations that emerged after the two world wars and created a new era of economic relations interlocking and helped to accumulate wealth and widened international trade and then the money itself has become a form of power ([15]).

The term competition appeared instead of conflict, and resolve expansion through the global market economy and the extension of political influence replaced empires and regional expansion ([16]) , turning the axis of the contest for influence between the components of the international system in the world of the north to the contest for hegemony in the world of the South ([17]).

The new economic formula after the collapse of Europe economically in the war II gave United States the site of the

financial, political , and economic leadership , and while the U.S. has developed manufacture and technologies military , based on the piling up of knowledge ,Europe intentioned on the development of the industrial economy of traditional only thus U S has depended on its military superiority and economic to impose its decisions on Europe[18] , which continued throughout the Cold War era , and perhaps this explains for example the failure the first European attempt for security independence from U S when founding of the Organization of the Western European Union (1948), and the start of the emergence of European Common Market (1957), which emerged by the European Union , but he explains at the same time look Europeans after their emission economic and after getting rid of the constraints of the Cold War, but they do not find themselves anywhere side by side the NATO dominance , and this has become the new target of European security , but according to the American vision the strengthening cooperation with U.S. would deter aggressors by showing strength European- American harmony to inform the parties that hostilities   will face a wide alliance [19], but the Americans still didn't understand that Europeans will still needs to feel safe the risks from East of continent , which form they constantly feeling mix of fear and uncertainty [20].

  In contrast ,did not have a European conception of the variables that got in the equation of international balance after the Second World War, in fact, there were variables in international politics and involved a great deal of competition beyond their borders with a view to "hegemony " [21], and it based on strategic dominance on the assumption that countries gain their security not only through the balance of power , but through the creation of an imbalance in the balance of power in their favor , , and in geographically consider the United States look the issue of security from a global perspective and any weaken comes to the Europe continent can lead to an imbalance in the system of international security , so it is Americans

realize that Europe's security in their responsibility (^{22}). There was a failure encountered the formation of the German-French army corps as a nucleus of European military power (^{23}) .the U.S. efforts include immediate steps to prevent that such as talking about reappearances a threats like "An internal setback in Russia is creating chaos in Europe " (^{24}), and agreement with Russia to reduce nuclear arms long-term without including arms intermediate- Range Nuclear of Russian , which pose a threat to Europe and not the United States , Washington's has also supported efforts of the Russian to restore its influence central Asia , in the same time spread up the concerns in eastern and western Europe from the possibility of renewed Russian aspiration to dominate European (^{25}).

Then broke out the Balkan war (1991 - 1995) , and lasted four years before the intervention of NATO where , the Americans Contributed in the transfer of decision- political and security on the Balkans to the international arena, by so-called the Contact Group which include United States, France , Germany, Britain , Italy and Russia , than made the Balkans as a loophole for Moscow through to come back for participate in Europeans security decision making (^{26}) .

These developments, drew attention about the of possible risk of future facing Europe from the East, including not allowing the Europeans to a way of America and Atlantic, so European efforts faltered for security Independence despite installed from years ago in the Maastricht Treaty (^{27}), which was signed in the seventh February 1992 and entered into force on the first of November 1993, and established the European Union security policy.

The America security policy saw developing a decisive shift by European from reject the NATO expansion eastward to the a accept to it , causing feedback Russian automatically contributed to strengthening the European concerns , and Russian - European dispute began mounts until it with the

outbreak of the war led by NATO against Serbia named as the Kosovo war ([28]).

In view of the above formula can identify the elements of the current European security in the following points:

1- Europe is still linking to NATO in it is security policy

2 -It is not expected there is positiveness for European security to take a political decision to in the future away from U.S. In the same time the Europeans desired some kind of rapprochement with Moscow and this is appeared in the quality of policy that European followed towards the issue of Chechnya. But the Americans responded by saying that the Europeans they must take full it responsibility task in Afghanistan through NATO ([29]).

3- The security policy of the European do not show homogeneous yet, but, remain for some countries concerns security, such as France in the African region and Arabic, and Britain's aspirations but European weakness of its position make it which does not want its relations with Washington to reach the point of crisis, and there is Germany, which want to install itself in the international politics, especially towards Eastern Europe, having regained its sovereignty ([30]).

The Future of Security in Europe by European Perceptions

Europeans was convinced of political independence from the NATO, when Europe realized that there was no a direct security risks threatened it after the breakup of the Soviet Union. Moreover, the European countries have the Possibilities that allow it to defend itself against any external threats and also confrontation any security threats from within the region, and has become more convinced that it must adapt with changes of the international system governed by the new concepts as economic and competitive and the emergence of the mutual cooperation and economic groups, and in order to prove itself to other international powers to as competitive especially after the signing of the Maastricht Treaty , which demanded that European countries are members of the Union to reduce military expenditures for conventional weapons , and the work on the introduction of advanced technologies into the system European military to be better able to maneuver to meet the challenges from within the European region if NATO did not move rapidly ([31]), from here the European opposition came (especially the French) to about American ideas which NATO s is the best available to address international crises ([32]).

Accordingly, there are perceptions about European security can be summarized as following:

(Vision of British emphasizes the idea of Europe with a broad economy , and based on the need to allow free trade by eliminating barriers of customs and facilitating the movement of people, goods and capital, but Britain skeptical of the idea of(Europe as one unit politically) if it meaning requires abandoning sovereignty in favor of collective security.

The German vision differ radically different from British, and see Europe as federal, based on the concept of citizenship, in order to keep security, stability.

France and to some extent Spain, consider that Europe could become a union of nation states, and on the basis of the

principle of federalism, provided they do not lead to the disappearance of States, this vision also see , Europe need for an economic protected from the threats of Foreign globalization , and at the same time be an organization able to increase political solidarity among Member States, and keep particularity for foreign and defense policy to ensure its own security and enable them an important role in the international relations (**33**)

In spite of the presence of military institution subsidiary of the Union " Western Europe Union " , which was established in 1948 after the Treaty of Brussels to coordinate among the allies of World War II like Britain, France, Belgium, Netherlands , Luxembourg , and Germany , Italy, Spain , but that the role of this institution was limited to coordination , so they want a parallel defense system of NATO and this confirms the establishment of a(European force for rapid intervention) +** a complement role NATO but not for competition(**34**). But the policy of security and defense which Europe seeks to embody, will confront security policy American which have the ability of high- containment and maneuver, and this is what worries the entity the European, and although U.S wanted a global role for NATO in the post- Cold War period but the Europeans and especially the French tried to limit this role and transform it to a more active European role in international affairs (**35**).

Although that Europe may be on its way to adoption security policy independent of NATO , but the reality indicates that Europe still has a long time to reach this goal , it was agreed to form European power military independent of NATO, but the European Union would not except in cases where the United States do not want it and when the vital interests of the European require but this strategic did not address details of how to bring about the required balance with the United States, especially aspects of the development of

defense capabilities, thus this strategy will not help significantly to the achievement of the European political desires (**³⁶**)

Europe is still in close of NATO and the crises like Bosnia and Kosovo within the European continent could not be dealt with without direct American intervention (**³⁷**).

In addition, there American opposition to any European efforts to independence in the defense aspects, although the British Economist magazine had compared between the defense capabilities of the United States and the European defense capabilities, and showed the modest European capabilities compared With the American counterpart, as follows: that the budgets of the defense of the countries of the European Union collectively amounting to $ 290 billion and represents less than half of the defense budget of the United States of America of $ (660) billion dollars (according to the 2011 budget), and the EU's ability to transfer forces to the sites of crisis only 10 percent of the capacity of the United States, but the United States has expressed fears of a risks facing Euro - Atlantic relations (**³⁸**).

The Europeans aware of that the main objective of the United States of America in Europe is to maintain the NATO, because it is for Washington , The place in which they have the role in it for institutional leadership   , and without the alliance will become the United States absent from Europe and European realizes   what is   American Intentions   which is   most Americans explain , that to maintain the dominance of Washington on international affairs, and adopting what it calls the new international system (**³⁹**).

This new international order, will not necessarily be less crises for than before, for this, the system of collective security It seems to us sad and indicates the political chaos and reminders us the status quo a periods precedent   of large clashes in the history of this world   when this world was leave out of the wars in the hope for stability (**⁴⁰**).

Conclusion:

After Westphalia conference 1648, there was needs to find consensus on the balance of European powers but didn't allowed a particular change in European reality according the desires, and therefore, the issue of security and stability in Europe might be materialized as a necessity inherent to the European reality

During the reign of Louis XIV and then Napoleon, the France breached the principles of the balance of power, thus the European powers (Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria - Hungary) , had Faced (adventure French), and re a security to the Europe.

The issue of security in Europe was within its European domain when the European powers was hold by international security, but by the first decade of the twentieth century it seemed that the security and stability of Europe after the Napoleonic Wars was falling apart with the start of the First World War whose showed that there is a clear variable represented by the military participation of a non-European superpower such as the United States of America was able to win the war for capitalist democracies in Europe.

U.S confusion contributed in dealing with the Europeans after the end of the First World War, to the loss of the opportunity to Arrangement the situation in the continent then United State went out of European affairs than led to the reversion of non-stability.

Rearmament of the Germany ,gave green light of the outbreak of the Second World War (1945) and re-arrange the conditions of the European continent by desires of the Germans who breached the balance of European powers and reflected a negative impact on the European security as a whole after it appeared that the fate of Europe has become hostage to Nazi Germany (Contrary to capitalist democracies) therefor, U.S took responsibility to defend (the free world) according by characterization west to eliminate threat security and stability. however that the defeat of Nazism in the Europe Eastern Front led to fall the Europe Eastern under communist domination , and so responsibility for the security of Europe had shift out to

forces from outside Europe, therefor did not European security refer to the international Security, but became a part from it.

With the start of the Cold War (1947-1991) United States was the largest responsible for the security Europe , enormous military has ensured security in the center and west of the continent , at least in face of expansion Communist and spread a period of stability in Europe by consensus the two American and Soviet on ensure security on the continent.

After the end of the Cold War and the demise of the Soviet threat , Europe had want security reinforcement the and regardless of reasons put forward by the European for this purpose , the perceptions of Europeans ability to perform the requirements of security away from the American , was not a realistic so the European position surprising through the refusal of Europe to the military force as a tool in international relations but system of security and stability enjoyed by Europe now flourished only under the umbrella of American power which provided the Europeans an luxury, while the Europeans had suspect that force no longer as important as they were . The United States in its vision of European security on the reality   indicates that Europe is engulfed in to weakness and aversion to the exercise of military power, thus there is a huge gap in force between both sides of the Atlantic

In this state of weaknesses   Americans does not trust the ability of Europeans to facing threats emerging in the continent and this means more chaos, and Russia returning for language of domination and threat the security and stability Europe, as well as the inability of the Europeans to address the problems of on their continent without the aid of Americans (tensions in the Balkans) and others, so the steps of America was based on the idea that the European security as a whole is an integral part of U.S. national security and independence European security out of United States will open the way for Russia's expansion , while Europeans will stands helpless in front of him and will resort to seek America help which will be forced to intervene to confront the Russians, which may lead to the possibility of the resumption Cold War

Notes

(1) Barry Buzan: People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-cold War Era. (London: 1991), p.190. Westphalia is a county in northern Germany. (*)

(2) Andreas Osiander : Sovereignty," International Relations and the Westphalia Myth ", International Organization Review, Vol.55, No. 2, Spring 2001, (Massachusetts: 2001) , p.251

(3) William Doyle: the oxford history of the French revolution, (London: 1989), pp.132-158.

(4)   Omar Abdel Aziz Omar: lectures in international relations (Alexandria: 1968), p. 19.

(**) city in Netherlands, where held the most famous international peace treaties in history. This treaty achieved the end of the wars of the Spanish succession to the throne (1701-1714 AD) and established the balance of power in Europe. This settlement consisted of three treaties, namely the Treaty of Utrecht and the Treaty of Rastatt and Baden

(5) Inken Schmidt : "The Reverberations of Peace" The Utrecht Negotiations and the Holy Roman Empire in Rethinking the Peace of Utrecht 1713, (Osnabrück : 2011) , p. 12.

(***) Near Brussels, capital of Belgium.

(6) Abdul Aziz Suleiman Nawar ,Abdul Majeed Naenai: contemporary history of Europe from the French Revolution to the Second World War, (New York: 1973), p. 122.

(7) Mahmoud Nassar and Ahmed HPA: Diplomatic History 1815 - 1991, (Alexandria: 1991) ,P. 49

(8) A. G. B. Taylor: The struggle for mastery in Europe 1848 - 1918, translated by: Kazim Hashim And yoel yoseph ,(Mosul: 1980), P.427

(9) Ibid, p. 401.

(10) Ibid, p. 427.

(+*) As defined by Henry Kissinger U.S. Secretary of State (1973 -1977), means all the powers accepted international system arrangements so that does not appear a state dissatisfied (like Germany after the Treaty of Versailles).

(11) Robert Glenn: War and change in world politics, translation by: Omar Saeed Al Ayoubi (New York: 2009), p. 31.

(12) Hassan Chalabi: public international law, Part I, (Baghdad:1964), p.165.

(13) Mustafa Hussein: the evolution of public international law,(Cairo: 1992), p.149.

(14) Ibid, p.9.

(15) Ralph Hawtery : economic aspects of sovereignty , (London : 1952), p.60.

(16) William McNeil : past & future , (Chicago university : 1954) , p.74.

(17) Mustafa Muhammad Ali: north and south, the geographical significance and use of contemporary international, University Journal Damascus, folder (27), No, (1), 2011, (University of Damascus: 2011), p. 4.

(18) Matanius Habib: "The European Union and resolve the crisis in the Middle East," Strategic Studies, University of Damascus, Issue 17, 2006,   (Damascus: 2006), p. 219.

(19) European security : US and European Contributions to Foster and Security in Europe, Report to the Congressional Committees, (Washington : 2001) , p . 45.

(20) Ricardo Alfaro :Op .Cit , p. 45

(21) Hegemony or leadership _ is a realistic strategy seeks to maintain control geopolitical after The Cold War. Supporters believe that dominant state should seek to increase its strength to maximum extent strength compared with the strength of other nation.

(22) For details, see , Christopher Lane: reformulation of American strategy, translation by Adib Yousef, Website of the Journal of Political Thought, pp. 30 – 31.

(23) In January 1994 it was agreed to form a so-called security and defense identity of European through a joint military structure involved France, Germany, Belgium and Luxembourg.
    See : Mohamed Motawea: "the development of a   common defensive security policy in Europe," Journal of International Politics, No 157 July 2004, p. 108.

(24) U.S. characterization of potential setback Russian involves attempts to show Americans the idea that Democracy in the Russian Federation exposed to risks that may lead to the return of Russia's autocratic rule during speech by U.S. Vice President Dick Cheney, 2001-2009 in the Vilnius- Lithuania . See : The Union Newspaper (Emirates) issued on May 29, 2006, citing the Christian Science Monitor.

(25) Just as the Europeans do not trust in big neighbor, Russia, the Americans do not trust that Germany may not be able to behave responsibly if it regains its strength, according to the American vision, the Germany resurgence could be lead to a security dilemma in Europe so the Americans think the Influence Russian expansion In Central Asia and Eastern Europe Lead to return of Russians to play an influential role in the Europe and thus balance with the rising German power. For details on these events. See: Christopher leen, Op. cit, p.30.

(26) Eric Laurent: the Kosovo war, the secret file, (New York: 1999), pp. 151-152.

(27) Identified the fifth part of the Maastricht Treaty   the objectives of the joint security To protect the values and fundamental interests of the Union and maintenance of independence, this declaration was taken dimension more politically than realistic in the text the treaty. For details see: Hussein Talal, Muqallad "Determinants of foreign policy and the Common European Security", Journal of the University of Damascus Economic Sciences and legal   folder (25), No. (1), 2009, p.623.

(28) Ibid , p.p.91,95

(29) Kamal shadeed - the independent European defense policy and its impact on the Middle East - military strategy International politics - Issue 156, April 2004, Vol. 39, p. 23.

(30) German policy stems from its historical experience, they want a united Europe include the Europe Eastern states and that sees in it is the strategic importance to maintain whole European security, and this is the secret of aids Provided by Germany for this region, and their participation in 1993 in the Contact   Group with the officials Politician in the former Yugoslavia, and the adoption of the German Federal Constitutional Court decision in 1994 about German army's participation in peacekeeping mission abroad, where Germany sent troops to Bosnia and Herzegovina, and supported the expansion of NATO and the European Union to joined Eastern Europe countries, see: Hussein Talal Muqallad , Ibid, p. 648.

(31) For the EU to take decisions and approve military action in the event of inaction NATO The European Union must have the appropriate structures and the ability to analyze situations and sources Intelligence and strategic planning, and the importance of it being enabled the Union without military intervention Return to NATO. For details see : Emad Gad: EU - the evolution of the experiment, international politics, No. 161 in July 2005,p.220.

(32) F. Stephen laree :" the united states and the European security and defense policy" , Rand corporation, year book 2006 , (Santa Monica :2006),p.17.

(33) Jean Marco: any tomorrow for Europe, international politics, Number 157, July 2004, pp. 130.

(+**) It was agreed at the Helsinki Summit (December 1990), to form a European military force to resolve the crisis, peacekeeping between fifty to sixty thousand troops, able to deploy within sixty days. See Hussein Talal muqallad, Op. cit, p.625.

(34) The aim is to be the European pillar of NATO, and finds British that the European Community is like the European arm of NATO. See: Ibid, p. 65.

(35) F. Stephen laree : Op. cit,p.175.

(36)   Americans think That the problem of Europe is in the wrong perceptions where they are not strong as enough, in today's world the United States of America do not need to reluctant partners, but need to Partners are strong and real, so the Americans should urge their partners to more daring, and according to the American concept, the audacity means that Europe should be adoption of the principle of strength in the face of conflict. See: Ibid ,p. 181.

(37) in the Kosovo crisis, Europeans Appeared behind the Americans between March- June 1999, Americans has proceeded to start a military campaign against Serbia without the authorization of the Security Council the Europeans noted how they Have been unable to resolve the crisis in the Balkans without Americans . See: Kher Al Deen Alaib: U.S. fears of European military projects, the website of the Journal of Political Thought , p.96.

(38) Ibid, pp. 97-98.

(39) Moses Zubi: the end of the Cold War and the re-examination of security, the website of the Journal of Political Thought P. 24.

(40) Ibid, p.249.