

## PROBLEMS AND LIMITATION FACED BY FRANCO-GERMAN TANDEM AS TWIN ENGINE IN EUROPEAN UNION AS THE FUTURE LEADING PARTNER

Fareeha Majeed\*

### Abstract

*Europe is a melting pot of diverse cultures, civilizations and amalgamation of various ethnicities. It is a land which faced many catastrophes, high intensity conflicts and wars. Two world wars have been fought on this land. Almost all the major nations participated directly or indirectly at massive scale. Franco-German axis is a term to explain the relations of both the countries in the context of their mutual cooperation and their significant role in contemporary political affairs of Europe. Post war era 1945, congenial atmosphere of synchronization between both the countries replaced three century old French- German hostility. This tandem performed active role not only in the politically integrated European nation but also they played a vital role in the formation of single currency euro as well. Comparatively their functioning is becoming slow but they are still necessary for future of Europe. It is a general impression that the Franco-German alliance is facing critical phase, or in other words they are no longer being capable to act as the twin motor of European integration but Europe do not have an appropriate replacement. As far as the future of Franco-German relationship or leadership is concerned it acted necessary of European Union's twin motor in the past but in recent years national interest became more supreme than the interest of European Union as a whole.*

**Keywords:** European Union integration, Twin Motor, leading Tandem, reconciliation a joint venture future of European Union, Franco-German Alliance

### Introduction

France and Germany, being the significant countries of central Europe enjoyed the status of leadership in Europe. They had a great contribution in EU integration and EU decision making since the formation of European Union. This tandem performed active role not only to integrate European nation politically but they played a vital role in the formation of a single currency Euro as well. In current scenario the question arises is that how this joint alliance will equally be effective in future landscape of Europe or not?

As far as the future of Franco-German relationship or leadership is concerned, it seems that to some extent it is not as much smooth as much it was in past. It is a general impression that the Franco-German alliance is facing critical phase, or in other words

---

\* Fareeha Majeed, Research Student, Area Study Centre for Europe, University of Karachi, Karachi, Pakistan

they are no longer being capable to act as the twin motor of European integration. It is a fact that Franco-German tandem successfully performed since the early period of post-war era. Critics are of the view that it was an arrangement or marriage of convenience to maintain their strong influence in European Union. Now the preferences have been changed, it was seen that after the reunification of Germany both the countries had fluctuating relations.

Now the question arises that if France and Germany are focusing upon their own national benefits instead of playing as leader of Europe will there be any other option which will replace this pair for leading Europe? In recent years smaller EU states served the interests of Europe more as compared to France and Germany. The culmination of Cold War and EU changed this relationship inside Europe. Similarly cold war era also brought changes in relations between United States and its European partners. This era also brought significant changes within Franco-German tandem. In current scenario their association became unstable because these countries are struggling to discover a renewed strength with in European acreage. Germany is the main source in the fluctuation of the relationship of both the countries. In recent years, Germany's economic power has minimized due to unification of Germany and transfer of payments to Eastern Germany by western Germany and fiscal problems also increased burden on economy and societal structures. Beside this, the German regime initiated to separate its political and at the same time foreign policy strength. Moreover, both Germany and France remained incapable to resolve their conflicts on EU expansion. France considers it as a reduction of its grip in European affairs. Other way round Germany took it as greater opportunity to maintain its power and influence in Europe solely. As a result in 1990s Franco-German alliance slowed down.

Future direction is entirely dependent upon the Franco-German tandem grip on the internal and external matters including political and economic matter of the union. At the same time there is a changing political atmosphere particularly the issues of extremism in France these days. Another most noticeable problem is decision making pattern. France and Germany cannot handle the new challenges in European Union (Ulrich 2007). Also, the larger number of countries has taken a larger degree of difference of opinions and viewpoints and greater expectations for a better future of Europe. Majority of the new member countries are more Atlantic; more parsimoniously liberal, less dependent upon on Franco-German pair and thus reluctant to agree its control without questioning. But the forthcoming victory of the Franco-German tandem is not just a problem of leadership, but political interest to leave national interests apart in support of European interests. Moreover, there is a disregard for and doubt of the new member countries and two nations. Furthermore, defilement of the EU's Stability and Growth Pact have endorsed to its weakening influence within the EU. For years European integration was the common idea of many European countries. European integration is now forward-thinking; there is no mutual idea of Europe and Germany and France do not share the same geostrategic significance.

It seems to be problematic for the French and Germans to move the other member states in describing European frontiers. Franco-German pair is a compulsory but not necessary condition for growth in European integration.

## **Methodology**

The study is designed to identify the future role of France and Germany and its impact on EU integration. This will highlight the Franco-German as twin engine and various problems that Franco-German tandem is currently facing as far as their future functioning is concerned and what measures they are taking to mitigate the issues. Secondary data was used in the study which was compiled through publications and journals of history and other authentic sources. Secondary data is a document or recording that relates or discusses information originally presented elsewhere. Secondary sources are research reports that use primary data to solve research problems, written for scholarly and professional audiences. Researchers have read them to keep up with their field and use what they read to frame problems of their own by finding the conclusions or questioning their methods. Analytical and descriptive approaches were applied in research. Important factual information based upon historical relation was analyzed to explain political and economic environment of Europe and problems faced by the Franco German Leadership.

## **Discussions**

### **Franco-German Couple as a Main Player**

Both France and Germany are considered as the most significant countries of the central Europe and main players of the European Union. There is long history of deep-rooted friendship and reconciliation of this tandem which played an integral part in the European Union integration. This pair also politically integrated the whole Europe and introduced single currency in the form of euro. In present scenario the question arises that it is a fact that this pair became the most effective pair as far as the matter of European Union integration is considered but whether this pair is going to play its desired role in the future as well or not? It is also the third hypothesis of the study that in current scenario this joint alliance will equally be effective in future landscape of Europe or not? When we talk about the future relationship as the leading partner of the European Union integration one can find out easily that this alliance is facing some critical problems or trying to coup up the challenges of tomorrow in an effective manner many critics are having the idea that this marriage of convince is no more convent for both the partners. Though this pair is working as twin motor since the post war era but it seems that these two countries have fluctuated relations. Now we have to find out what exactly are the reasons to predict that this tandem is not going to act as leading EU Partner. Now the question arises that if both France and Germany are focusing upon their own national interests instead of playing as leader of Europe will there be any other option which will replace this pair for leading Europe.

If we analyze the overall performance of all the member countries we can easily conclude that in recent years smaller EU countries served the interest of European Union more as compare to the significant countries or the leading tandem France and Germany in recent years, cold war brought too much negative changes in the EU. It brought a change in the Franco-German relationship which became weak and shaky. In other words it shows the non-flexible relationship of both the countries. In current

circumstances the association of Franco-German tandem is getting unstable and both the countries are under pressure to find out a new role in European landscape.

EU's enlargement brought too many changes in taking decision on the procedures of European Union. It means that 25 member countries vary the pattern of taking decisions within the European Union. Most of the new member countries have great degree of diversity of opinion furthermore these countries are more Atlantic's as compared to the old EU member countries such as France and Germany. Similarly these new member countries are economically strong and less dependent upon EU. They have a great sense of questioning. They do not accept each and every decision in the latter and spirit. Similarly the new member countries had a clear tilt towards their own national interest as compared to the European Union interests. New member countries have a clear tilt towards the American policies as these countries are economically strong and less dependent upon the Franco-German tandem. That is why they are not accepting their leadership without questioning. Furthermore the future achievement of the Franco-German pair is not just a leading role, but it is also about their will to forgo national interests due to the European interests.

### **Problems, limitation as tandem**

#### **France, Germany and Iraq conflict**

The conflict particularly upon the issue of Iraq between France and Germany and other member states was exposed when United States intervened into the matter at the same time. United States and its European allies showed a more aggressive policy upon this matter and further highlighted their action by giving the proposal of usage of force against Iraq. France and Germany actively opposed President Bush's government on the use of military power against Iraq. In addition even they have divergence in their individual viewpoints but still they were representing Europe as they convey this particular thought on behalf of EU. This state of affairs actually reflected their assumption that their stance is representing the views of whole Europe's point of view. This situation created an excessive degree of ill will among other member countries. They even did not consult their other partners on this issue but actually they bypass the counseling procedure within EU. European states presented a "memorandum of eight" and they amenable gave their stance in the favour of United States positions.

As a result Central as well as Eastern European states decided that in future they will not accept the similar posture which France and Germany will take up. To do so, they organized repeatedly deferment to the stance of France and Germans stance on particular issues. France and Germany used to act as the sole players of EU Theatre and their role was openly questioned.

The tension between the US and its European allies with regard to Iraq war exposed the problems within the European Union. It was evident that Germany and France opposed the President Bush's political administration and usage of armed force, and together they claimed that their situation symbolize the views of the larger European Union.

This generated animosity amongst other EU member states; in fact they wrote a memo in which they strongly and openly favoured US thus exposing the severe internal division within the EU. In particular, the eastern and central EU member states did not share the common tactical position and did not automatically differ to the Germans and French. In actual sense, the political stability that the Germans and French had cultivated for over a long period of time dissolved with regard to the communal recriminations and the weak questioning from the Franco-Germany tandem effectiveness grew louder. (Donald: 1970)

### **Role of France – Germany and Stability and Growth Pact**

The second and the most important factor which shows the weakness of tandem is their imitative which seriously affected their role of leader of Europe. In November 2003, this pair forced most of the EU member countries to agree the provisional postponement of the findings constraints which were elaborated in the pact of Stability and Growth. This act actually put certain limitation to European countries to overhaul the EU economy at the expense of their national interest.

As a result there were certain irregularities which were clearly violating the pact for instant pact put a limitation that running deficit must not cross the limit of 3% of GDP if it will exceed Pact would automatically be suspended. The denial of the euro currency area put pressure on the finance ministers to put sanctions against Germany and France due to excess of deficits to the settled limit of 3% GDP was jumped and ceiling signaled the expiration of the Pact. While there was substantial discussion on whether there would be economic significance of France and Germany and at the same time defilement of the Stability and Growth Agreement. The EU proposed to impose monetary barriers by setting a severe limit on yearly budget shortfalls on member states was very strict and nonflexible. It was not a glitch for both Germany and France only but other EU associate countries also breached the pact. In September 2004 European Commission proposed a schedule of reforms considered to create the Stability and Growth Pact more pliable and active.

### **Bypassing of Consultative process among the member countries**

Usage of the influence and ignorance of consultative process created anger among other member states. It caused extraordinary loss to Germany and France and it will not be easy to recover. It was an established fact that France and Germany violated the ceiling in 2005 and afterwards repeatedly. This raises so many questions on the future and strength of the Growth and Stability Pact and its effectiveness.

### **Role of France and Germany in European security and Defense policy**

It is an established fact that Europe cannot be considered as a fully integrated Europe minus a concrete security of Europe and defense policy as well. Broadly speaking, France and Germany agreed upon the same view on the establishment of this goal, but on the other hand they differ on the resolution and ridge of ESDP. EDA was not as much effective to gain its objectives as it was not fully get ahead in putting pressure on

member countries to raise their defense expenditure. Its reliability, though, was fully applicable to consolidate Europe's split defense industry. In current scenario, Europe is facing multidimensional challenges as far as the security matters are concerned and but it is not seen feasible that European Union can manage its armed forces to counter effectively in an effective manner to meet challenges. Recent trends shows that in future the quantity of armed forces participations in the affairs of EU will be authorized to play an effective role to increase and Europe is not in the position to handle these tasks. New members do not have an experience or long-term association with Franco-German tandem that is why they have a valid reason to not follow the Franco-German lead automatically. Furthermore new members have pro-American sentiments because of having a strong belief that the United States can give the kind of security guarantees they desire not EU. That is why they use to discourage to support what they consider anti-American policy within the EU. A fully defined ESDP is a long-term goal, which required constellation, collective wisdom and support of Franco-German tandem and other member states as well (Paul:2012).

### **Role of US in the issue European defense and security policy**

As far as the issue of the development of ESDP and US role in it is concerned, it can be clearly seen that there is a great shift in American policy toward the issue. Those who strongly supported the idea of European integration in the past they are not advocating the European defense and security policy. There is a great debate that whether this policy would serve the US interest or can create certain problems for United States. US policy experts have a stance that US must have a significant role in the security and defense matters of EU. In other words they don't want to see Europe as a strong Europe particularly on security and defense matter. On the other side the clear urge can be seen that most of the Europeans have deep rooted desires to make Europe more influential and powerful. While in recent years increased conflicts between Europe and United States can be clearly seen. There was a great difference of opinion over the use of force against Iraq during the first Bush administration. This conflict produced momentous crisis in their mutual relations. It also leads toward the serious divisions between Europe and United States.

Being the most significant member of EU, France perceived the idea of having an independent security because it is considered essential. France has pursued to guarantee Europe for the necessity for creating a counterbalance to American supremacy as well to get rid of American influence. As a matter of fact, France's antagonism with the United States and its efforts to restrain U.S. actions were expected but on the other side Germany in this particular matter had a different role which was different than France. Germany acted as a role of mediator between United States and France. Germany opted the side with France on ESDP, instead of the United States as a result she bear the consequence in the form losing its credibility. It also effected Germany's external relations with US: as a link between EU large and small states, similarly the old states and new member states and even as a connection between US and France. Germany's recommendations on issue of Iraq have changed the association not even between Germany and France between Europe and United States as well. It is a fact that Europe cannot meet the expense of a deteriorated relationship with United States which is the

only super power in the world. If Germany and France want to have good relationships they have to show numerous efforts to repair their interest based relationship with the United States. Franco-German cycle has the capability to serve the interest of each side and whenever these interests are overlooked, conflicts are unavoidable. It is the need of hour to build up a new transatlantic partnership to prepare Europe to meet the challenges of twenty-first century and to do efforts with the United States. Furthermore, a close Franco-German corporation is also required to achieve the desired objective (Toshirio: 2003).

### **German hegemonic role and weak French policies during past five decades**

In current scenario Germany is considered both too powerful and too weak, or at least too disconnected. It is situated at the heart of EU that was conceived largely to confine German power but which has served instead to increase it, and whose design flaws have unintentionally deprived many other European countries without giving them a democratic stake in the new world order. It is a fact that both France and Germany faced different problems, numerous disagreements, crunches, or even phases of prolonged tensions during past five decades. History revealed that during the regime of General Charles de Gaulle, there were fundamental and seemingly irresistible disagreements between France and Germany appeared as the most trying fact.

As a matter of fact Europe's political settings changed dramatically since 2009. Germany began as a leading EU country whereas French economic weakness condensed its control upon the affairs of Union. At the same time Mediterranean states lost their inflexible grip due to their internal political and economic problems. These countries include Greece, Italy, Cyprus, Portugal and Spain as they became partners of the European Union.

Germany today effectively runs the affairs of European Union. Its strength is irresistible to some EU states like Greece, which is under the direct control of an occupation like dummy regime which is close strategic allies of U.K. and France. France is anxiously waiting for the time of withdrawal of Merkel from EU affairs, leaving Germany to restrict its free reign on the European playground, while of advancing national interests on a large scale (Andre:1966).

This particular policy of France provided direction to an excessive change to affect Berlin, as a result of reunification, and then sustained due to implementation of common currency in the form of Euro. In actuality, establishment of Euro was a political move not an economic one. It was formulated by two men named as François Mitterrand and Helmut Kohl. Franco German pact was implemented and its basic aim was to restrict Germany's domination. As a matter of fact, after German reunification, Berlin decided to give up its national interest which was European common currency.

France's present weakness is one of the most worrying political developments in today's EU, since this has led to French insecurity, German over-confidence and a rapid deterioration of the Franco-German relationship. Similarly, François Holland, the French president in his recent move, promoted Christine Lagard, who was the head of

the International Monetary Fund for Commission president. Laggard has an opportunity to act as an effective counter-balance to the North European conviction that earnestness alone is the cure for the euro zone's problems

### **Immigration & Economic Problems**

In current scenario, European Union member countries are facing multidimensional problems. For example, they are having immigration problems from Russia. The EU member countries are trying to solve these problems with the help of certain policies that they are trying to implement. The main aim of their policies is to put pressure on member and non-member countries to limit the problems of immigration. Similarly they pressurized Turkey to stop refugee ship to reach EU countries like Greece and Italy. In recent years they led to the Turkish coast guard shooting on refugee's boat 20 miles from the coastline of northern Cyprus, killing one man and hurting five more. There have also been cases of people illegally migrating into European countries like Spain from the North African country of Morocco.

### **Problems regarding Eurozone faced by European Union**

The main issue faced by the Euro-zone member countries is that they are pursuing differing individual fiscal policies while being bound together with a common monetary policy. This trend currently shows that economies of these countries are not performing as desired or required. In current scenario it was expected that both the countries i.e. France and Germany would play their desired role to fix this problem but still this issue is not being resolved by them. In recent years Spain borrowed 40 billion Euros from the euro zone to recapitalize its shattered banks, as a result of this it brought a very high domestic and external debt levels resulted into risks for growth and financial stability. Immediately certain policies were implemented to overhaul to strengthen the economic conditions of the member countries but still it requires some more immediate relief.

### **Franco-Germany association and impact in the prosperity of Europe**

If France and Germany are rejected as future leading partner in European Union, then the question arises that is there any alternative incurrent scenario or not? For the predictable future the response is negative, at least not immediately. The Franco-German twin motor will act as central players. Some critics says that there is another option in the form of a trilateral UK-French-German association but it also seems difficult because their expansion would be seen by small countries as a move to control them and would be a source of conflict by these countries . The most credible outcome would be a dynamic style of European leadership based on shifting coalitions but it might take some decades. In current scenario, Franco-German twin engine can still perform a vital part, since it can be considered as most crucial in supporting the maintenance of partnerships in a distended Europe. It is getting difficult for France and Germany to act successfully according to new situations with in community and they must review their internal political matters as it may serve European interests first instead their own national interests. The permanence of the Franco-German partnership will be depending upon on their grip on the affairs of Europe. Future Challenges outside

Europe just as the Franco-German association can support new partnership of member countries in the development of EU goals. In future it seems that there are great challenges to be faced. Franco-German functioning is the supreme significant factor where the pattern of decision-making is transnational. European policy-formulation methods such as the Communal process and the Union Method can also produce a vibrant role in the negotiation and consulting measures in the Franco-German part in the European Union. In recent years German Chancellor Angela Merkel discussed about the Union method for the first time as a 'synchronized act in a spirit of harmony. Moreover, she said that we are going to settle a trend of working for the same objective. The question whether a change in high-level decision-making in the affairs of EU's institutional system marks the Franco-German leadership situation is another one to be reflected. The Franco-German association is frequently inspected in the Community-framework and greatly fewer in the field of CFSP and EU exterior action. Franco-German couple consents the 'engine of European integration' and is very vigorous in providing leadership in the European Union. In Euro zone crisis Franco-German couple provided leadership despite differences in their own national matters. In Common Foreign and Security Policy and EU external policies showed that Franco-German alliance and thus its leadership is very limited. In the policy formulation the Franco-German couple wants a leadership role. Moreover, other control formats emerge with regard to CFSP issues and EU exterior action, which put the Franco-German tandem into an open association. The fact of non-exclusivity has an impact on both, the Franco-German tandem as well as CFSP and EU exterior action as well.(Philip:1995)

### **Does the Franco- German couple lead the European Union**

The current scenario shows that the Franco-German tandem is having trouble in its smooth collaborative functioning and it seems that it is no longer capable of performing its primary objective of integrating European Union. It is considered that their relationship was a marriage of convenience pair and is losing its influence in the internal political matter of European Union. The most solid reason behind this situation is the national interests of both the countries rather than the interest of Europe and European integration. Similarly the political environment of the world is changing every day. External variations together with domestic changes the partnership balance of the EU member countries. The credibility and reputation of this pair is decreasing day by day and seemingly give the impression that it is difficult to linger on this relationship in the same circumstances. In recent years, France was trying hard to convince Europe regarding significance of establishing counterbalance against American power. Germany played a different but significant role on behalf of France as mediator between US and France. But as in case of Iraq crisis Germany was on French side instead of the US. As a result of that Germany lost its credibility in front of US and its bridging function was affected as well. Germany's external relations considered the bridge inside the European Union member states and a link between Washington and Paris as well. Germany's kerbing role over Iraq crisis did not influence the outcomes within Europe in the transatlantic relations. There is need of a new transatlantic partnership which required a sustainable Europe that is compatible to work side by side with the US. Similarly, in recent years smaller and newer EU member states shown their clear tilt that if the Franco-Germany tandem refuses the US, then the tandem determination not

function within EU as the leading partner because it will be working beside the interests of EU members. On the other hand there is a need for the US that it must redefine its relationship with Europe. It is suggested by the US policy makers that it should maintain its long-lasting support of European integration predominantly in the matters of foreign policy matters. It is perceived that such a recommendation is a healthy sign but universal threats and terror is still a big threat for both US and Europe. They must work together to overcome such threats. The traditional American recreation of division and surmount strategy will automatically work within the Europe and undoubtedly will weaken the critical transoceanic collaboration and hence overcoming terror threats will never be realized.

To a large extent the Franco-Germany tandem has helped the integration of Europe. However, in recent years it can be seen that Franco-Germany association is in a disaster and no longer accomplished of providing its primary objective of integrating the European Union and leading as a twin motor. It seems that their relationship is a more than a compromise as largely determined by the distress of reducing effect in the internal political matters of Europe. In addition to above Dismissal of the stability and growth pact's restraints by associate EU member states largely affected the France's and Germany's ethical reliability and control in the EU. European foreign and defence policy is also a critical matter of concern. EU member states strongly believed that probability of full EU integration cannot be without a European foreign defence policy. The Franco-Germany relationships and the United States is another acute factor that EU integration face up to a great extent. In this regard, for EU integration to be a success, German and French governments need to amend their relationship with the US.

### **Conclusion**

Franco-Germany association had a deep rooted impact in the prosperity of Europe. They drove the European economic development and political integration which resulted into the long term progress of the region. Although French and German leadership largely differed than they agreed but they also forged some common interests that provided a platform for negotiation for other EU member states. Another weakness that France and Germany is facing now a days, is structural, expanding EU to accommodate 25 states changed considerably the decision making nature in the EU, only these two states cannot probably manage the larger EU. Due to increase in the membership there is a great degree of diversity of opinions among the member countries regarding the future of Europe. This diversity of opinion is something that only France and Germany cannot handle. New member countries are economically liberal and thus cannot be controlled by Franco-German tandem. It is merely impossible for tandem to run the EU affairs without questioning of the member states.

The end of the cold war brought too many changes in the political environment of world as it resulted into new world order. It also brought significant impact on the political atmosphere of Europe and affected the relationship within Europe, and between US and its European allies. This particular situation revealed that the German government is focusing upon its own political and foreign policy strength contrary to that France is not adopting the same policies towards its domestic political system. There is another factor

that is affecting their association what is that, the two countries have never agreed on the EU enlargement. France is threatened to lose its power in Europe while Germany gets greater opportunities in enlarging and widening European Union in the future. With regard to these types of changes, by the end of 1990s the Franco-Germany association is stuck.

Secondly, the future success of the Franco-German unity will definitely depend upon the fact that Germany and France will put aside their national interests and will focus upon to accelerate European interests. Initially, European integration shared a common vision amongst the EU states, but with advancement, there is no common vision in Europe. Member countries are more focused upon their own internal economic and political problems. Moreover, France and Germany are not sharing a common geostrategic and collective vision and it is hard for them to lead other EU member states. Due to shift in balance of power in Europe, the Franco-German tandem must find its new role to lead the EU. In other words survival of Franco-German tandem primarily depends on whether it can win back the confidence of Europe or not.

Fourthly, leadership dilemmas within Europe brought most European leaders to monitor the effectiveness and validity of the Franco-Germany control in the European Union. European Constitution was a point of conflicts amongst the EU member states during the drafting of the EU constitution; the core debate was to change the voting pattern and power. Centre of voting powers must remain among the original EU member states and the EU institutions not among in the new member countries.

The deadlock on the formulation of constitutional treaty was observed during the convention of 2002. During this process to draft the constitutional French and German presidencies constantly differed with each other and with other member countries of EU. The constitution was ultimately finalized but the EU did not pass the constitution even in 2003 conference. Critics observed that EU's disagreement on the constitutional treaty was actually a failure of the Franco-Germany leadership and it was considered the incapability of Franco-German tandem to lead Europe. EU constitutional treaty was signed in 2004 and member states ratified the treaty either through parliamentary vote or through referenda. As a matter of fact this constitutional process exposed the discomfort and disagreement of EU integration amongst the European Union member countries. In 2003, Germany and France forced most of EU member countries to accept the postponement of rules and regulations defined in stability and growth pact. This action was interpreted by many political analysts as a clear move by France and Germany to defend their own national economic policies at the expense of other EU member countries.

The Franco-Germany relations and the United States is another critical factor that has effected the EU integration to a great extent. It is evident that there has been growing differences between Europe and the United States with regard to the Bush administration particularly on the following; death punishment, Kyoto protocol, and intercontinental criminal court. The issue of Iraq exposed the substantial catastrophe in transoceanic relations but also culminated differences between US and Europe but also within Europe as well. The most contested issues amongst US and European countries

included utility and application of force, international laws validity and multilateral organizations in the prosecution of nation's benefits and in the fortification of its safety.

### **References**

1954-1965. International Organization, 24.183-208

Krotz, Ulrich. (2007). Parapublic underpinnings of international Relations: The Franco – German construction of Europeanization of Particular kind. *European Journal of International Relations*, 13:3 385-417

Passeron, A. (1966). *DeGaulle Parle 1962-1966*. Paris: Fayard.341.

Puchala, Donald, J. (1970). *Integration and Disintegration in Franco –German Relations, 1954-1955*

Tanaka, T. (2003). Peace and reconciliation between France and Germany after the Second World War paper presented at the 3<sup>rd</sup> ASEF Round Table, Institute of International Relations, Hanoi, Vietnam.

Taylor, Paul. 2012. Franco -German chill reshuffles cards in Europe .Reuters, 10 December 2012.

Zelikow P, and Condoleezza R. (1995). *Germany Unified and Europe Transform: A Study in State Craft*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.