

## Educators-in-Residence AY 21-22



### European Unity

Kristin Norgart, Carroll High School  
AP European History, 11-12

#### Learning Objective

Students will be able to craft a cohesive argument with evidence that answers the question, "Evaluate the extent to which economics played a role in the development of European unity in the period 1945 to present."

#### Learning Standards:

- LO (J): Explain how the formation and existence of the European Union influenced economic developments throughout the period following World War II to the present.
- LO(K): Explain how the European Union affected national and European identity throughout the period following World War II to the present.

#### Exit Question:

- Evaluate the extent to which economics played a role in the development of European unity in the period 1945 to present.

#### Vocabulary

- Treaty vs Act
- European Coal and Steel Community
- European Economic Community (Common Market)
- European Union
- Brexit
- European Parliament
- Schengen Agreement

#### Frequent Small Group Purposeful Talk:

- Why is it historically significant that France and West Germany are founding members?
- Who is left out?
- Why do you think these countries are not members?

#### Teaching Points and Activities

1. European Union in the Classroom Notes with built in small group purposeful talk and graphic organizer.

2. Group DBQ Outline
  - a. Students will work in groups to analyze the documents and then outline a DBQ using the DBQ Graphic Organizer
    - i. The seven documents are a compilation of primary and secondary sources on the formation of the European Union in the post-war period. These documents may need to be edited for time.
    - ii. This might also be done as whole group in a non-AP Class
  - b. Students will then trade and score another groups DBQ
    - i. Scoring in a non-AP class could be swapped for sharing each part as a class and using the best “pieces” to craft the best class essay.
3. Possible Extension Activity: “Europe: A US Pillar or Rival in NATO?”
  - a. Have students evaluate if the United States helped or hindered European Unity.

### **Teacher Prep List**

1. Powerpoint
2. Copies of the Notes Template (1 per student)
3. Copies of the DBQ (Class Set)
4. Copies of the DBQ Graphic Organizer (1 per group per class period)
5. Copies of Extension Activity Article (Class Set)

# Essential Question of the Day



- ▶ Evaluate the extent to which economics played a role in the development of European unity in the period 1945 to present.
- 

# European Union in the Classroom

CES EDUCATORS-IN-RESIDENCE WEBINAR  
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 30, 2021



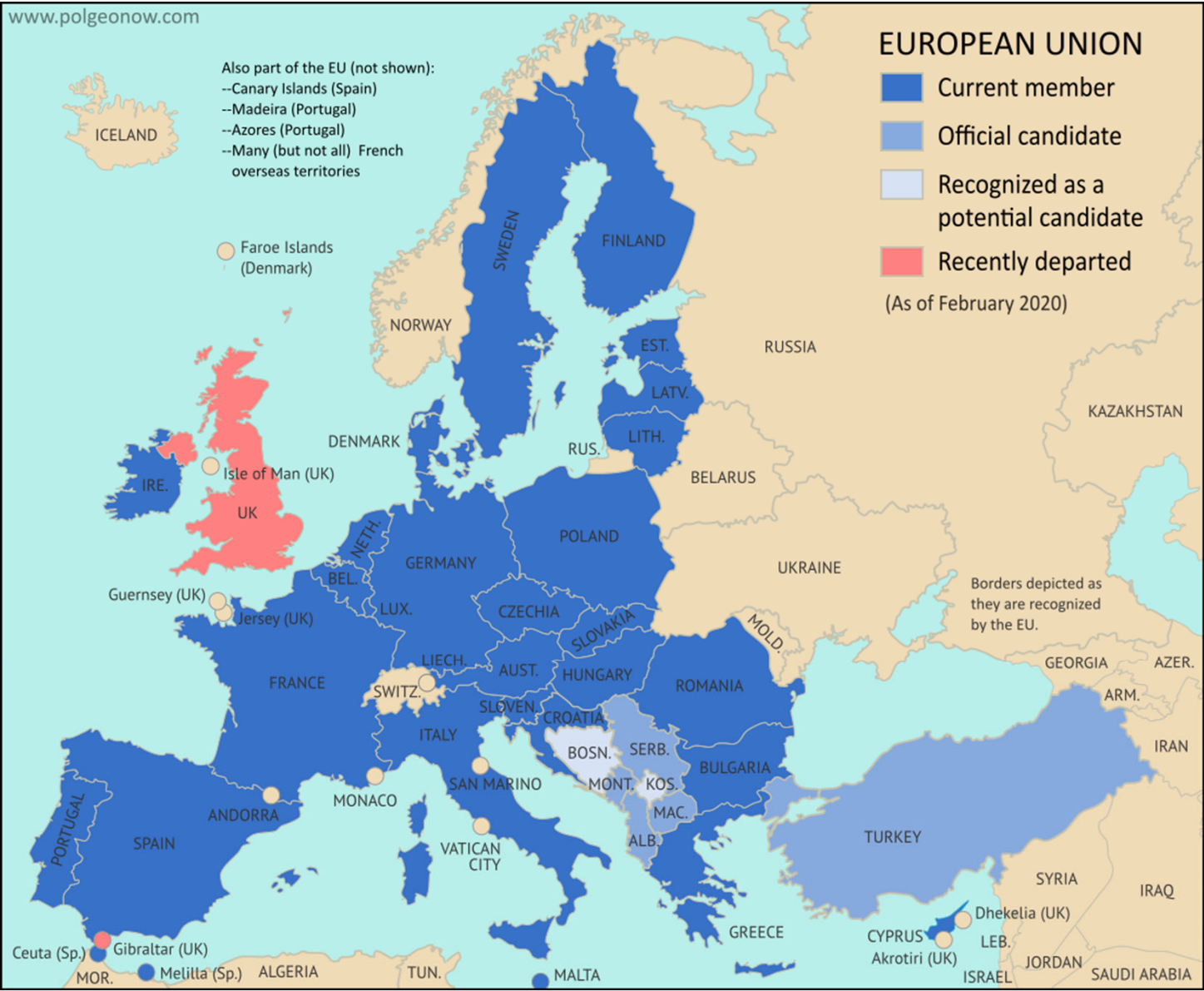
# Outline

- ▶ Europe by the Map
- ▶ History in 5 major treaties
- ▶ European Union Institutions
- ▶ From Newsroom to the classroom



European Coal and Steel  
Community, 1951

Why is it historically  
significant that France  
and West Germany are  
founding members?



# European Union, 2021

Who is left out?  
Why do you think these countries are not members?

# Schuman Declaration (1950) & the Treaty of Paris (1951)

- ▶ End of WWII – how do you stop Europe from going to war again?
- ▶ European Coal and Steel Community
  - ▶ Why coal and steel?
- ▶ 6 original members
  - ▶ Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands





# Treaty of Rome (1957)



Speech by President Kennedy, July 4, 1962 on a United Europe and a new transatlantic relationship  
(relevant part 8:55 – 12:05)

- ▶ After initial successes, attempts to expand the European Coal and Steel Community into more sectors stumbles.
  - ▶ European Defense Community rejected
  - ▶ Focus turns to economic integration
- ▶ Treaty of Rome = Two Treaties
  - ▶ Treaty Establishing the European Economic Community
  - ▶ Treaty Establishing Euratom
- ▶ Importance
  - ▶ Common Market
  - ▶ Establishes institutions we know today
    - ▶ Geek moment – the importance of language in the EU

# Single European Act (1986)

- ▶ 1970s – Eurosclerosis
  - ▶ First major treaty revision since Rome
- ▶ From Common Market to Single Market
- ▶ Four Freedoms of the European Union
- ▶ Once again, importance of language – Act not a Treaty

In the News:

“Europe: A US Pillar or Rival in NATO?”

July 31, 1987

*Christian Science Monitor*

<https://www.csmonitor.com/1987/0731/z4euro.html>

Extension Activity:  
Did the US help or hinder  
European Unity?

# Maastricht Treaty (1993)

- ▶ Historical Context
  - ▶ Fall of the Berlin Wall
  - ▶ Collapse of USSR
- ▶ Creates the European Union as we know it today
  - ▶ European Economic and Monetary Union
    - ▶ The road to the euro
  - ▶ Expansion from economic community to union encompassing new prerogatives in justice and home affairs, and foreign policy
  - ▶ EU citizenship
- ▶ With expansion comes pushback
  - ▶ Danish “No”
  - ▶ Democratic deficit



<https://www.nytimes.com/1993/10/30/world/with-european-union-s-arrival-fears-on-economy-cast-a-shadow.html>

# Lisbon Treaty (2009)

- ▶ From Constitutional Treaty to Lisbon Treaty
- ▶ The European Union as an international legal entity
  - ▶ Established European External Action Service
- ▶ Mix of supranational and national wins
  - ▶ Charter of Fundamental Rights
  - ▶ Expansion of QMV
  - ▶ Citizens' Initiative
  - ▶ National Parliament oversight
  - ▶ Article 50...Brexit





EU  
Institutions

# EU Institutions in Comparative Context

<b>Branch</b>	<b>European Union</b>	<b>United States</b>
Executive	European Council	No easy equivalent – President(ish)
	European Commission	US Cabinet
Legislative	European Parliament	House of Representatives
	Council of the European Union	Senate
Judicial	Court of Justice of the European Union	US Supreme Court

# Migration & asylum

- ▶ Migrant Refugee Crisis
  - ▶ BBC: [Europe's Migrant Crisis – The Year the Changed a Continent](#)
  - ▶ BBC: [Inside Europe – Ten Years of Turmoil \(Unstoppable\)](#) (YouTube link)
  - ▶ Council on Foreign Relations: [Europe's Migration Crisis](#)
  - ▶ European Commission: [New Pact on Migration and Asylum](#)
- ▶ Simulation – EU External Action Service, “European Agenda on Migration”
  - ▶ Complete simulation, including background on EU, institutions, learning objectives, teacher guide, and guide for each country
  - ▶ [https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/sim1-european\\_council\\_simulation\\_migration-100120-eu\\_file.pdf](https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/sim1-european_council_simulation_migration-100120-eu_file.pdf)
  - ▶ [Other simulations](#) available through EEAS:
    - ▶ Trade
    - ▶ Anti-terrorism

# How Legislation is Created

- ▶ As discussed, legislation in the European Union is similar to the United States (with a few key differences)
  - ▶ European Commission drafts legislation
  - ▶ European Parliament and Council of the European Union vote on legislation
  - ▶ European Parliament is directly elected to represent the interests of EU citizens, yet few people understand how it works.
    - ▶ Do you come across similar issues when discussing the United States legislative process?
- ▶ European Parliament in the Classroom - students take on the role of a member of the European Parliament.
  - ▶ Best done in 1-2 hours
  - ▶ Students discuss how they should tackle difficult current EU topics such as global warming, tobacco, and an EU army.
  - ▶ <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/ambassador-school/en/learning-resources.html>

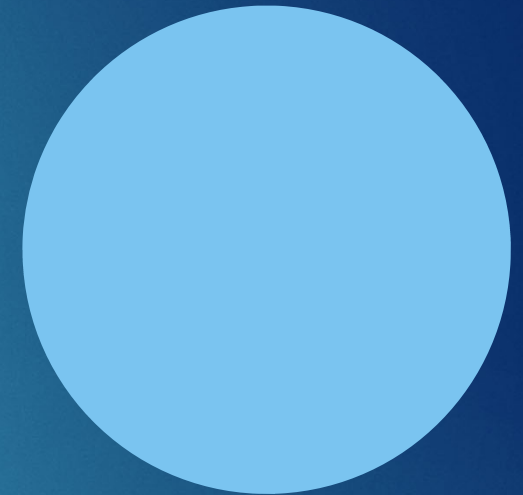


# Activity

- ▶ In groups of 4, you will read and analyze the 7 documents.
- ▶ After reading the documents, as a group you will:
  - ▶ Contextualize the prompt. (3-4 Sentences of what led to the event in the prompt)
  - ▶ Craft a historically defensible thesis that establishes a line of reasoning.
  - ▶ Create topic sentences for your body paragraphs.
    - ▶ Sort the documents into groupings under your topic sentences.
    - ▶ HIPP 4 of the documents
    - ▶ Have at least 1 piece of outside evidence
  - ▶ Craft a possible counter argument.

# Activity Part 2

- ▶ Rotate your paper to the next group.
- ▶ You will now score the other groups DBQ.
  - ▶ Contextualization- 1pt
  - ▶ Thesis- 1pt
  - ▶ Evidence- 2pt
  - ▶ Outside Evidence- 1pt
  - ▶ HIPP- 1pt
  - ▶ Synthesis (Counter-Argument) 1pt



## Notes Template

### European Unity

Schuman Declaration (1950)  
&  
the Treaty of Paris (1951)



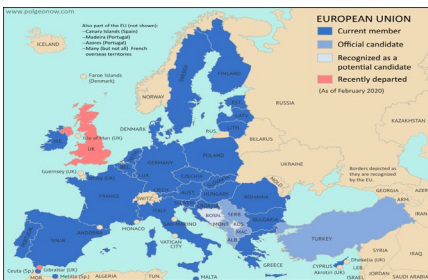
Treaty of Rome (1957)



Single European Act (1986)



Maastricht Treaty (1993)



Lisbon Treaty (2009)



### EU Institutions in Comparative Context

<b>Branch</b>	<b>European Union</b>	<b>United States</b>
Executive	European Council	No easy equivalent – President(ish)
	European Commission	US Cabinet
Legislative	European Parliament	House of Representatives
	Council of the European Union	Senate
Judicial	Court of Justice of the European Union	US Supreme Court

## DBQ

### EUROPEAN HISTORY

#### SECTION II

Total Time—1 hour and 40 minutes

#### Question 1 (Document-Based Question)

Suggested reading and writing time: 1 hour

It is suggested that you spend 15 minutes reading the documents and 45 minutes writing your response.  
Note: You may begin writing your response before the reading period is over.

**Directions:** Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise.

In your response you should do the following.

- Respond to the prompt with a historically defensible thesis or claim that establishes a line of reasoning.
- Describe a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.
- Support an argument in response to the prompt using at least six documents.
- Use at least one additional piece of specific historical evidence (beyond that found in the documents) relevant to an argument about the prompt.
- For at least three documents, explain how or why the document's point of view, purpose, historical situation, and/or audience is relevant to an argument.
- Use evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify an argument that addresses the prompt.

Prompt: Evaluate the extent to which economics played a role in the development of European unity in the period 1945 to present.

## Document 1

World peace cannot be safeguarded without the making of creative efforts proportionate to the dangers which threaten it.

The contribution which an organized and living Europe can bring to civilization is indispensable to the maintenance of peaceful relations. In taking upon herself for more than 20 years the role of champion of a united Europe, France has always had as her essential aim the service of peace. A united Europe was not achieved and we had war.

Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements which first create a de facto solidarity. The coming together of the nations of Europe requires the elimination of the age-old opposition of France and Germany. Any action taken must in the first place concern these two countries.

With this aim in view, the French Government proposes that action be taken immediately on one limited but decisive point.

It proposes that Franco-German production of coal and steel as a whole be placed under a common High Authority, within the framework of an organization open to the participation of the other countries of Europe. The pooling of coal and steel production should immediately provide for the setting up of common foundations for economic development as a first step in the federation of Europe, and will change the destinies of those regions which have long been devoted to the manufacture of munitions of war, of which they have been the most constant victims.

The solidarity in production thus established will make it plain that any war between France and Germany becomes not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible. The setting up of this powerful productive unit, open to all countries willing to take part and bound ultimately to provide all the member countries with the basic elements of industrial production on the same terms, will lay a true foundation for their economic unification.

- Schuman Declaration, May 9, 1950

## Document 2

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE BELGIANS,

THE PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY,

THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC,

THE PRESIDENT OF THE ITALIAN REPUBLIC,

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE GRAND DUCHESS OF LUXEMBOURG,

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF THE NETHERLANDS,

DETERMINED to lay the foundations of an ever-closer union among the peoples of Europe,

RESOLVED to ensure the economic and social progress of their countries by common action to eliminate the barriers which divide Europe,

AFFIRMING as the essential objective of their efforts the constant improvement of the living and working conditions of their peoples,

RECOGNISING that the removal of existing obstacles calls for concerted action in order to guarantee steady expansion, balanced trade and fair competition,

ANXIOUS to strengthen the unity of their economies and to ensure their harmonious development by reducing the differences existing between the various regions and the backwardness of the less favoured regions,

DESIRING to contribute, by means of a common commercial policy, to the progressive abolition of restrictions on international trade,

INTENDING to confirm the solidarity which binds Europe and the overseas countries and desiring to ensure the development of their prosperity, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

RESOLVED by thus pooling their resources to preserve and strengthen peace and liberty, and calling upon the other peoples of Europe who share their ideal to join in their efforts,

HAVE DECIDED to create a European Economic Community and to this end have designated as their Plenipotentiaries:

-Treaty of Rome 1957

### Document 3

**The four fundamental freedoms have been legally guaranteed since 1986:** They state that goods, services, capital and persons can move without restriction within the EU. Four out of five EU citizens believe that these four freedoms sit alongside peace on the continent as the greatest European achievement ever.

**These freedoms are cornerstones of the European Single Market.** They strengthen trade within the EU. Two-thirds of all goods produced in the EU are exported to another EU country. Since the EU is the world's largest single market, this free exchange generates positive welfare effects. Studies show that the EU's gross domestic product (GDP) has grown by several percentage points thanks to the Single Market.

**The euro is also supported by the four freedoms.** They contribute to evening out economic imbalances among the euro-area member states. Booms and downturns are mitigated, because goods and capital in particular can go wherever there is demand. These powers of adjustment apply to jobseekers and services as well provided that language barriers and regulations permit this. At the same time, the euro facilitates the integration of the Single Market: the exchange rate risk disappears and prices can be more easily compared.

- The four freedoms in the EU: Are they inseparable? Bertelsmann Stiftung EUROPA Briefing 2017

### Document 4

The early 1990s were a milestone for European integration. The end of the Cold War especially marked a turning point in history, after which the 12 European member states of the time decided to push the European project to a new level.

To this end, in February 1992, they signed the Maastricht Treaty. It entered into force on November 1st, 1993, 25 years ago today, and transformed the then-called European Communities into the European Union.

Perikles Christodoulou, curator at the House of European History, says "the member states of the prosperous European communities needed to go further than a simple economic cooperation. The cooperation should have also other levels".

The Maastricht Treaty set the stage for the birth of the euro a decade later and increased the political powers of the EU. It also created European citizenship, common foreign policy and closer judicial cooperation.

But the path to ratification was not an easy one. Referendums were held in several countries. In France, the 'yes' campaign won by a very thin margin (50.8% in favour). But in Denmark, the treaty was narrowly rejected (50.7% against to 49.3% for), sending shockwaves throughout Europe.

- *Maastricht Treaty 25 Years On*, Bryan Carter, My Europe News



## Document 5

The Treaty of Lisbon strengthens the solidarity between EU countries in dealing with external threats by introducing a mutual defence clause (Article 42(7) of the Treaty on European Union). This clause provides that if an EU country is the victim of armed aggression on its territory, the other EU countries have an obligation to aid and assist it by all the means in their power, in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

This obligation of mutual defence is binding on all EU countries. However, it does not affect the neutrality of certain EU countries and is consistent with the commitments of EU countries which are NATO members.

This provision is supplemented by the solidarity clause (Article 222 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU) which provides that EU countries are obliged to act jointly where an EU country is the victim of a terrorist attack or a natural or man-made disaster.

-Treaty of Lisbon Mutual Defense Clause

## Document 6



A political cartoon drawn by Ben Garrison. It's caption on his website, GRRR Graphics, reads, "t's time for Great Britain to escape from the disaster that is the European Union. I sum things up in this rather complex cartoon." *Courtesy Of Ben Garrison*

## Document 7

The European Union (EU) of 27 members has been operating with rules designed for an EU of 15 Member States. To realise its full potential, the European Union needs to modernise and reform.

At the same time, there is increasing support for the EU to work together on issues that affect us all, such as climate change, energy security and international terrorism. As the EU has grown and its responsibilities have changed, it makes sense to adapt the framework it operates in so that the EU has the means to tackle today's challenges and tomorrow's.

In particular, the Lisbon Treaty will lead to greater efficiency in the decision making process, increased democratic accountability by associating the European Parliament and national parliaments and increased coherence externally. All of these improvements will equip the EU better to defend the interests of its citizens on a day-to-day basis.

10 examples of benefits for European citizens

- A right for citizens to make a request to the Commission for it to propose a new initiative ("European citizens initiative")
- Better protection for citizens through the new status given to the Charter of fundamental rights
- Diplomatic and consular protection for all EU citizens when travelling and living abroad
- Mutual assistance against natural or man-made catastrophes inside the Union, such as flooding and forest fires
- New possibilities to deal with cross border effects of energy policy, civil protection and combating serious cross border threats to health
- Common action on dealing with criminal gangs who smuggle people across frontiers
- Common rules to avoid asylum shopping where multiple applications are made to different member countries
- Tackling terrorism through the freezing of assets, while full judicial review is guaranteed by the European Court of Justice
- More democratic approach to EU decision-making (strengthened role of European Parliament and national Parliaments)
- An ability to provide urgent financial aid to third countries

- MEMO/09/531 EU on the Lisbon Treaty

# DBQ Graphic Organizer

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_ DATE: \_\_\_\_\_ PERIOD: \_\_\_\_\_

## DBQ Document Analysis

Contextualization

<u>Doc #</u>	<u>Sourcing Info (HIPP)</u>	<u>Specific Evidence from the Document, Paraphrased</u>	<u>Argument</u>
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			

6			
7			

**Sourcing = HIPP (author, date, etc.)**

**Main Idea = paraphrase of what you want to use from that doc as evidence**

**Argument. = how it connects to answering prompt (i.e. how does it show the influences or causes of the revolution?)**

**DBQ Outline - COMPLETE**

<b>THESIS</b>		
<p><b>X. However A and B. Therefore, Y. YOUR THESIS MUST INCLUDE THE TIME PERIOD, TOPIC, REGION, AND CLEAR AND DIRECT ANSWER, RELEVANT TO THE PROMPT, THAT ESTABLISHES A HISTORICAL LINE OF REASONING FOR EACH OF YOUR CLAIMS.</b></p> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>		
<b>BODY PARAGRAPH 1</b>	<b>BODY PARAGRAPH 2</b>	<b>BODY PARAGRAPH 3 (?)</b>
<p><b><u>Topic of 1st Sentence/Counterargument:</u></b></p> <hr/> <hr/> <p><b><u>Evidence:</u> list doc # and summary evidence from that document you will use in essay</b></p> <p>DOC # ____</p> <p>DOC # ____</p> <p>DOC # ____</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SOURCING STATEMENT (POV)</li>   <li>• OUTSIDE EVIDENCE:</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>Topic of 1st Sentence/Paragraph Claim:</u></b></p> <hr/> <hr/> <p><b><u>Evidence:</u> list doc # and summary evidence from that document you will use in essay</b></p> <p>DOC # ____</p> <p>DOC # ____</p> <p>DOC # ____</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SOURCING STATEMENT (POV)</li>   <li>• OUTSIDE EVIDENCE:</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>Topic of 1st Sentence/Paragraph Claim:</u></b></p> <hr/> <hr/> <p><b><u>Evidence:</u> list doc # and summary evidence from that document you will use in essay</b></p> <p>DOC # ____</p> <p>DOC # ____</p> <p>DOC # ____</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SOURCING STATEMENT (POV)</li>   <li>• OUTSIDE EVIDENCE:</li> </ul>



## Extension Activity Article

### Europe: a US pillar or rival in NATO?

*July 31, 1987*

By Elizabeth Pond Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BRUSSELS

THERE are two schools of thought in the United States about closer European cooperation. Washington vacillates between them. One view - this has prevailed in public pronouncements over the years - holds that European integration is good for the US and would provide in defense a strong European "pillar" for NATO that is very much needed.

In particular, it could increase the conventional military contribution of the rich and populous Europeans to a more proportional share and relieve America's military and economic burdens.

In part it could do this by fostering quiet French cooperation with NATO, while letting Paris formally disclaim any such rapprochement in order to preserve the French security consensus for Gaullist independence.

The contrary view - this one tends to appear whenever American officials descend from the level of broad policy goals to the nitty-gritty of everyday decisions - is that a unified Europe would become a rival and make it hard for the US to exercise the leadership that a superpower must display within its alliance. In more elegant language, Henry Kissinger used to contend in his time as secretary of state in the 1970s that the European habit of laboriously negotiating a compromise position and then presenting the final product to the US as a take-it-or-leave-it proposition was quite intolerable.

And American diplomats - impatient with the obverse tendency of European governments to feud and cancel out each other's views - contend that a single dominant leader like the United States is indispensable to knock heads together and force NATO to reach any decisions at all.

Not surprisingly, the Europeans view the phenomenon of superpower leadership somewhat differently. To them it seems that the US often plays one European off against the other to secure the kinds of alliance decisions Washington wants. But Europeans have only themselves to blame, they readily concede, since their disunity allows this to happen and ensures that it is always the US that proposes and Europe that weakly reacts.

Moreover, Europeans also see their efforts at establishing a European defense consensus as the only way to prevent the expected American drawdown of troops from being dangerously destabilizing to peace in Europe.

AS nearly as Europeans can tell, the latter-day Reagan administration has never fully decided between the "pillar" and "rival" theses about European defense cooperation. When the French first revived the Western European Union (WEU) a few years back, a famous confidential letter went out from then Undersecretary of State for European Affairs Richard Burt warning the Europeans not to come to NATO discussions with precooked positions.

The suspicion implicit in this letter has subsequently been disavowed by American officials, including Mr. Burt, now the ambassador to West Germany.

But Europeans take Washington's current endorsement of the WEU and the lack of strong pressures from Washington at the moment more as a sign of disarray within the administration itself than special deference to European sensitivities.

One senior West German official made the classic case for why the US should approve the beginnings of a "European political authority" that might develop as foreign ministers and general staffs prepare for joint security decisions by heads of government:

"You would make available to NATO a larger force, because you would have the French forces [which have not come under NATO's command since 1967], or you would work together for the upgrading of your conventional forces. All that is still in the future, [of course], because the French so far have blocked any progress toward this."

But the important outcome he hoped for from European cooperation was that "heads of government see to it that ministries of defense get a sufficient part of the budget and get the manpower for sufficient size of forces and make these forces available to NATO with active French participation.

"So it's [less] a question of a European organization than of European manpower armed, of the input into common defense and of French readiness to make available resources to this end and to make available French forces as ... operational reserves to NATO, with an interpretation saying they can come close to forward defense [near the East-West German border] early in the game."

Certainly some of this is already happening. Although it is a highly sensitive subject, one West German and two French sources said, on the understanding that they will not be identified, that French Air Force and field exercises with West Germany are really exercises with NATO.



One source added that representatives of NATO's Military Committee have quietly visited French troops on maneuvers.

Sir James Eberle of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, like a number of other Englishmen interviewed, thought that "France would like to see the WEU as a forum that would endorse French ideas and present them to the US."

But he quickly noted, "I think other European countries would see it slightly differently: developing European ideas before discussion in the NATO alliance ... clearing away some of the undergrowth."

He himself saw defense as the third leg of European cooperation to join with the political aims of the European Community's "Single European Act" that went into effect this month and the economic goal of finally creating a truly free European market by the early 1990s.

This emerging European entity, he suggested, will require that NATO "change to something more of a partnership."

The American-run alliance existed "not because the US necessarily wanted to be the dominant partner, but because Europeans lay on their backs with their legs in the air and said 'please defend us.' This relationship has got to change, and management of that change is the greatest task which now faces us - management of West-West relations rather than West-East relations."

A SENIOR French diplomat also stressed that an evolving European defense identity must not come at the expense of the Americans: "What could emerge since the crisis of Reykjavik is a clear consciousness of European interests, which is not against NATO, of course, not ganging up against the US. ...

"The US should be glad. But after complaining for years that Europeans should be interested in their own security," when they do show this interest, he objected, some Americans don't like it.

A British diplomat was skeptical about French intentions but upbeat about France's actual policy: "Gaullist philosophy has not disappeared and is not likely to be in France. But in terms of what France sees as vital security concerns for Europe, it is coming some way back toward NATO."

The diplomat described the British point of view this way: "We see the WEU, which is always a slightly neuralgic point [in Washington], as a body where Europeans should more clearly identify what their interests are and put them forward in a more coherent and bolder way in the alliance. Too often we wait for an American initiative and then grumble about it.

"[Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey] Howe stressed in his speech in Brussels in March that the alliance will remain the only decision making forum. [The WEU] will be a mind-clearing forum where we don't develop a monolithic view, but a more coherent, better input to NATO."

A colleague added: "I think the WEU must avoid coming into NATO and saying, 'This is it, chums; take it or leave it!' European voices in defense will ultimately be no stronger than their contribution to defense."

He also spoke of the need for explaining to the young generation why defense is necessary and commented, "The dreadful feeling that we defend ourselves to please the Americans is appalling."

Analyzing British reservations about closer European defense cooperation, a member of the NATO secretariat in Brussels summed up the situation by saying, "There is an impetus to cooperation, if cooperation means having French concerns [about the Germans] put to rest. But as always with Britain, this [development] has to complement and not contradict the alliance."

Whether pillar or rival, then, does the new sense of crisis condemn Europe to succeed this time around in its effort to hang together? The analyst cautioned against unrealistic expectations.

"For the past four years we have all talked about the impetus to European integration because of Reagan and Reaganism, ... but I don't see [much result]. There have been a few meetings of the WEU, a few bilateral meetings." This sort of thing "always has to be stage by stage. It will probably emerge without any of us realizing it; there won't be a fanfare of trumpets."