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THE AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: THE PERIPETEIAS OF RELATIONS WITH THE MOST ANCIENT STRATEGIC PARTNER FRANCE. ABSTRACT

Abstract. *The peripeteias of relations of two powerful nuclear countries: the hyperpower USA and the European power France significantly define the world politics. The partnership between two states in the context of their influence on the world arena is studied, the shared values of two countries and their reactions to terrorist attacks is highlighted. Anti-Americanism in France and francophobia in the United States are also analyzed.*

The article proved that taking into account significant differences of power of the USA and France one can define their partnership as an asymmetric, situational strategic partnership. It is highlighted that the nuclear weapon and the status of the permanent member of the UN Security Council protect France from a purely paternalistic attitude of the USA, and France has enough resources to allow itself avoiding supporting some of the USA's decisions in the international arena and even competing with hyperpower in certain economic and technological issues.

The author emphasized that regarding global strategic issues France does not act contrary to the USA and thus it retains its status as an ally and asymmetric strategic partner of the USA. The USA being fully aware of their own resource advantages, sometimes are irritated by the lack of the support by France of their international actions.

It is summarized that sometimes the participation of France, the oldest US ally in joint operations as in Kosovo in 1999 or in crisis regulations as in Ukraine in 2014-2016 is useful for the USA.

Key words: *anti-americanism, state, NATO, USA, strategic partnership, France.*

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DOCTRINAL BACKGROUND AND LEGAL BASIS OF US MILITARY PRESENCE IN EUROPE MID 1940's – EARLY 1950's

Abstract. *The article deals with the formation and development of concepts and doctrines of foreign policy of the United States, documents and agreements that formed the basis of the creation and replacement of contingents of the Armed Forces of the United States in Europe after World War II. The article analyses the basic milestones in the development and approval of these doctrines, especially the key texts and documents of the concept of containment – “Long Telegram” of February 22, 1946, which was sent to the State Department by counselor of the US*

Embassy in Moscow J. F. Kennan, his article «Sources of Soviet Conduct», published in «The Foreign Affairs» in July 1947 under the pseudonym «X», and the Truman Doctrine, formulated in the speech of the President of the USA Harry Truman at the joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives on March 12, 1947, the role and place of international and American legal documents and agreements on military cooperation between the US and European countries in international relations in Europe. The features of the Cold War origins influence on development of American vision of cooperation with European countries are described. The history of the formation, location and operation of US occupation troops in German is considered, the process of their transformation into the US European Command troops is also described. Attention is focused on the conceptual and theoretical aspects of the described processes and events.

Key words: USA, Europe, military, doctrine, presence, cooperation.

The presence of military units and bases of the Armed Forces of the United States in Europe today is an integral part of the US military partnerships with European allies. Although the basis for the American military contingent were formed by units, placed in Europe during the Second World War, there was no contractual or doctrinal basis for their continued stay in Europe after the war, except to perform the occupation functions in defeated Germany, which was regulated by the Potsdam Conference in the summer of 1945.

Thus, the formation of foreign policy doctrines and international agreements which made possible the preservation and justified US military presence in Europe began after the Second World War and was closely linked with international processes and events of the mid-1940s – early 1950s. The researching of these processes, their components and features of the consequences is the task of this work.

The selected research topics inherent in scientific innovation, arising from the novelty of the general concept of research, both for Ukrainian and world historical science. In addition, the study and understanding of the US-European military cooperation has great relevance for contemporary Ukrainian military and foreign policy strategy, which is in the process of reorientation from non-block status doctrines to a massive military-strategic and military-technological partnership with the US, European countries and the NATO alliance.

At the time of the end of the Second World War United States placed military contingent in Europe of more than 1 million 900 thousand soldiers, organized in two army groups (6 and 12), five field armies (1, 3, 7, 9 and 15), 13 corps and 62 divisions. The general management of American troops in Europe was the task of the Military Department of the European theater operational of United States Army (ETOUSA), formed in June 8 1942. In 1945 it was headed by General Eisenhower. The primary objective of the European headquarters of the theater after the surrender of Germany were ensuring the implementation of the process of demobilization of the US military in Operation "Magic Carpet" and managing US occupation forces in Germany. Overall, during the period from May to September 1945 more than 1 million 400 thousand US soldiers left Europe [13].

However, the growing antagonism with the former partner in anti-Hitler coalition – the USSR and the beginning of the Cold War made the United States to preserve influence in Europe, which could be achieved only through constant military presence in the region because of the huge military potential of the USSR and great aggressiveness of his foreign policy. Therefore, the Cold War and its military-strategic doctrines were the

reason of saving ground troops of the United States in Western Europe after the Second World War.

The first attempt to create a systemic vision of the future of US-Soviet relations was the famous «Long Telegram» of February 22, 1946, which was sent to the State Department by counselor of the US Embassy in Moscow, not well-known at that time diplomat George Kennan. It was informing that peaceful coexistence of Soviet Union and the United States were not possible, as well as any cooperation between them in any international issues. George Kennan argued that the Soviet leadership aimed at «mortal combat with the enemy», preparing to destroy «traditional way of life «in the United States and rejects any compromise. The Soviet Union the intentions to wage a constant subversion against the Western powers and expand its control area. The main conclusion of «Long Telegram» was that the United States should go to the «hard line» against the Soviet Union, which should be based on the «logic of power». That was what G. Kennan meant by the term "containment» [8].

In July 1947 George Kennan, already as Head of Policy Planning US State Department, under the pseudonym «X», published in «The Foreign Affairs» an article named «Sources of Soviet Conduct», which was the first public outlining of the «containment doctrine». The main idea of the article was that the US, like the rest of the Western world, could not feel safe until the socialist system in USSR is eliminated. G.F. Kennan argued that the Soviet Union would try to extend the borders of the socialist camp, especially in countries of Eastern Europe and by influencing communist parties of Western Europe [11].

Despite the fact that the doctrine of «containment» found many critics among American politicians and theorists foreign policy (the clearest example are Walter Lippmann and Hans Morgenthau) actions and statements of the Soviet Union just pushed the United States to implement it as soon as possible. In February 1946 Stalin suggested in his speech the incompatibility of capitalism and socialism and the need to prepare for their inevitable clash [2]. In June 1945 a Soviet pressure on Turkey began, in February 1946 – on Iran. Greece appealed for help in the fight against communist armed intervention to Western countries in late 1946 [10, p. 108].

March 12, 1947 The President of the USA Garry Truman gave a speech at the joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives. Had noted that the seriousness of the situation forced him to appear before the general meeting of Congress, he described the situation in Greece. «The Greek government is working in conditions of chaos ... Greek army had bad equipped. It needs equipment and arms to restore government authority over the whole of Greece». Truman asked Congress to appropriate to «help» Greece and Turkey over the next 15 months 400 mln. USD. Address of the President of the United States March 12, 1947 to Congress is now called the «Truman Doctrine». Despite the ongoing preparatory work, «Truman Doctrine» met strong opposition in Congress and become legal only after 2 months [7].

Substantiating the request, Truman referred to the need to deter the onslaught of «world communism». The president offered to do that mainly by economic methods. This was the essence of his doctrine. Reasoning and terminology of the «long telegram» by G. Kennan were used in the presidential speech. It is believed that since G. Trumen address to Congress in March 1947 the concept of «containment» was officially adopted as the basis of US foreign policy [7].

In July 1947 the US Congress passed the national security law, according to which the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and National Security Council (NSC) were created as the main coordinating body under President [9, p. 87].

In the face of new opposition security guarantees were vital to Western Europe. Block system of collective security was thought to ensure security of Western Europe, primarily due to the strengthening of military capabilities of European countries. Great Britain became the center of military integration of Western Europe. Separated Germany and poor France were not considered as a guarantee against the spread of communism in London, so to achieve security it was necessary to consolidate the efforts of all of Western Europe and harmonize their activities with the US. Britain relegated to the role of communicator between the US and Europe.

The first step in the consolidation was the Treaty of alliance and mutual assistance signed between UK and France in March 4, 1947 in Dunkirk for a period of 50 years. Its main purpose was «to prevent new aggression from Germany» [1, c. 130].

March 17, 1947 in Brussels five European countries: United Kingdom, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and France signed an agreement on economic, social and cultural cooperation and mutual defense. It was concluded for 50 years and was named «Brussels Pact». The Agreement announced the formation of the Western Alliance as multilateral economic and political-military alliance of Western countries which fought against Germany or have been a victim of its aggression. According to the Brussels Treaty a Consultative Council of ministers of foreign affairs, the military committee of defense ministers and military headquarters were formed [2, p. 208].

The agreement was welcomed by the US, as it was important to appease and calm the fears of France «Gaullist» about US policy in the German question. Realizing that the Western Alliance, which, besides Britain and France, included only small and weak countries had no capability to contain the Soviet threat, the US tried to find a way to include France in search of additional security guarantees, the main of which – according to American politicians – were an American commitment. March 17, 1948, marking the signing of the Brussels pact a success, Truman said that US troops will remain in Europe as long as there will be no lasting peace guaranties [5, p. 312].

US occupation forces in Germany remained as the main contingent of US forces in Europe. After the demobilization in 1945-1946 they numbered over 290 thousand soldiers. 7th Army controlled the western part of the occupation zone, 3rd -eastern. Back in November 1945, «forces of law and order», based on the motorized joints, were formed from these two armies, and on May 1 1946 the headquarters of «forces of law and order» of the American occupation zone was located in Bamberg. From that time until the early 1950s structure of American occupation forces included the 1st Infantry Division, some infantry regiments and 10 tank regiments. 15 March 1947 Forces of European Theater (USFET) were reformatted into the European Command. In the period from February to June 1948 the headquarters were moved to a military base «Campbell» in Heidelberg [13].

Already in June 1948 the newly formed European Command was able to express themselves in action during the «Berlin crisis», which lasted from 23 June 1948 to 12 May 1949. Head of Administration of the US military in occupation zones of Germany, General Lucius Clay strongly supported the continued presence of troops in Berlin and offered to break the blockade by using tanks. However, US President Harry Truman rejected the idea, thinking that such an approach in the Berlin problem could trigger a

new war. Instead, by the propose of the command of the US Air Force, it was decided to organize the supply of West Berlin by air. The operation was headed by Air Force Lt. Gen. William Tanner, who once organized for Chiang Kai-shek troops in Chine an air bridge «Hampi», which lasted several years. [1, p. 523].

«Berlin crisis» significantly intensified k the process of bloc integration of European countries. In early October 1948 was established the military organization of Western Union. By implementing its plans of building security in Europe, the United Kingdom in April 1948 conducted secret negotiations with the United States and Canada to create a North Union of three states. According to the plan of London, this alliance could support West alliance in total security system in Europe and give England «nuclear security guarantees». The United States supported the actions of European allies for military integration and were ready to join this process. Within six months after the signing of the Brussels pact, 11 May 1948 US offered to start talks on expansion of military-political security in Europe through the conclusion of the North Atlantic Treaty involving Western European states and the US [6, p. 117].

However, an obstacle to setting up military cooperation between the United States and European allies was a tradition of American foreign policy which had provisions in «George Washington's Covenant», and in fact expressed prohibition to enter into military alliances with non-American countries. June 11, 1948 the US Congress passed the so-called «Vandenberg Resolution» to reject the principles of «Washington's covenant». It was emphasized that the need to protect the world requires US involvement in regional and global actions to ensure international peace. The resolution gave the US government permission to enter into alliance agreements with countries outside the Americas during peacetime. The adoption of this resolution had allowed the US to lead the process of creating a directly military-political blocs around the world, especially in Europe [14].

July 6, 1948 the United States initiated negotiations between the United States, Canada and members of the Western alliance. The theme of the talks was «the defense of the Atlantic». April 4, 1949, after lengthy negotiations, the ceremony of signing the Charter of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) took place at the Great Hall of the State Department in Washington. April 4, 1949 The North Atlantic pact was signed in Washington by representatives of Belgium, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Canada, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the USA and France. In August of that year contract took effect. To support Atlantic integration in October 1949 the US Senate approved the law «On mutual military assistance». Already in January 1950 in accordance with this law the US signed eight bilateral agreements with Western European NATO members for financial assistance in the military sphere. In 1951, following the law, Congress has approved appropriations amount 9,5 billion USD – credit for purchases of military technology and equipment for NATO [10, p. 102].

The final act of the formation of doctrinal and legal basis of the American military presence was the signing of NATO Convention «On the status of the armed forces of NATO member countries» on July 19, 1951. Under its provisions the United States obtained the right to maintain military bases in Europe, NATO forces got the possibility to be located in other NATO countries [4].

Summing up, it should be noted that the key stages in the formulation of doctrinal justification for the permanent presence of the Armed Forces of the United States in Europe were next:

- the beginning of the Cold War and the formulation of the concept of «containment», first expressed by G.F. Kennan in «Long Telegram», February 22, 1946 and in the article «Sources of Soviet Conduct» for «The Foreign Affairs» in 1947.

- The adoption of the concept of «containment» as the true doctrine of US foreign policy in the «Truman doctrine», formulated in an President of the United States address to the Congress, March 12, 1947.

- «Vanderburgh Resolution», June 11, 1948, which eliminated the prohibition on making the US military alliances with non-US States and made possible the US entering military-political bloc of Western states.

The legal basis for the US military presence in Europe was provided the Charter of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), signed in Washington on April 4, 1949 and the Convention «On the status of the armed forces of NATO member countries», July 19, 1951.

US occupation forces in Germany were basis for the formation of the contingent of the Armed Forces of the United States, managed by the European Command (European Command) with headquarters in the military base «Campbell» in Heidelberg.

At the beginning of the 1950s US military presence in Europe has become an integral part of international relations in the region, and further development of American doctrines and concepts of military policy in Europe never ruled out the necessity of that presence.

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ДОКТРИНАЛЬНЕ ОБГУНТУВАННЯ ТА ЮРИДИЧНІ ОСНОВИ ВІЙСЬКОВОЇ ПРИСУТНОСТІ США В ЄВРОПІ СЕРЕДИНИ 1940-Х – ПОЧАТКУ 1950-Х РР.

***Анотація.** У статті розглядаються питання формування і розвитку концепцій і доктрин зовнішньої політики Сполучених Штатів, документів і угод, які лягли в основу створення і функціонування контингенту збройних сил США в Європі після Другої світової війни. У статті аналізуються основні віхи розвитку і затвердження цих доктрин, особливо ключових текстів і документів, концепції «стримування», сформульовані Дж. Ф. Кеннаном у «Довгій телеграмі» та статті «Про витoki радянської поведінки» а також «доктрини Трумена», сформульованої в промові президента США Гаррі Трумена на спільному засіданні Сенату і Палати представників 12 березня 1947 р., роль і місце міжнародних і американських юридичних документів і угод про військову співпрацю між США і європейськими країнами в міжнародних відносинах в Європі. Описані особливості впливу початку Холодної війни на розвиток американського бачення співпраці з європейськими країнами. Також охарактеризована історія формування, розміщення та функціонування військ США в Німеччині, процес їх трансформації Європейське командування США. Основна увага зосереджена на концептуальних і теоретичних аспектах описаних процесів і подій.*

***Ключові слова:** США, Європа, військовий, доктрина, присутність, співпраця*