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Unraveling the European Security and Defense Policy Conundrum

Contents

Abbreviations

AFSOUTH	Allied Forces Southern Europe
ASTOR	airborne stand-off radar
AWACS	airborne warning and control aircraft
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
CBRN	chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear materials
CESDP	Common European Security and Defense Policy
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CHODs	Chiefs of Defense
CIC	Capability Improvement Conference
CIVCOM	Civilian Crisis Management Committee
CJTFs	Combined Joint Task Forces
CONOPS	concept of military operations
CONPLAN	concept plan
COREPER	Committee of Permanent Representatives
CRESO	Complesso Radar Eliportato per la Sorveglianza
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
DCI	Defense Capabilities Initiative
EC	European Community
EP	European Parliament
EPC	European Political Cooperation
ESDI	European Security and Defense Identity
ESDP	European Security and Defense Policy

EU	European Union
EUMC	European Union Military Committee
EUMS	European Union Military Staff
FRY	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GAC	General Affairs Council
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GIA	Algerian Armed Islamic Group
HG	Headline Goal
HORIZON	hélicoptère d'observation radar et d'investigation de zone
IFOR	NATO-led Implementation Force
IGC	Intergovernmental Conference
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
JSTARS	joint surveillance and target attack radar system
KFOR	Kosovo Force
MAP	Membership Action Plan
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MILREPS	military representatives (of EU member states)
MTI	moving-target indicator
NAC	North Atlantic Council
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
OCCAR	organisation conjoint de coopération en matière d'armement
OIC	Organization of Islamic conferences

OPLAN	operation plan
OPORD	operations order
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PARP	NATO's planning and review process
PCG	Policy Coordination Group
PfP	Partnership for Peace
PMG	Politico-Military Group
PoCo	Political Committee
PSC	Political Security Committee
PSO	Peace Support Operations
RMA	Revolution in Military Affairs
RRF	Rapid Reaction Force
RRM	Rapid Reaction Mechanism
SAP	Stabilization and Association Process
SEE	Southeastern Europe
SFOR	Stabilization Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina
SP	Stability Pact
TEU	Treaty on European Union
TIPH	Temporary International Presence in Hebron
UAVs	unmanned arial vehicles
UN	United Nations
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
WEU	Western European Union

Preface

In 1997, the Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research at the ETH Zurich and the Research Institute of the German Council on Foreign Relations in Berlin began a project aimed at facilitating an international approach to understanding and analyzing international and regional security problems. The specific goal of the project is to involve young scholars and new elites in debates on international foreign policy subjects.

For many years, the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) in London has pursued a similar concept to that underlying the New Faces Conferences. However, unlike the traditional IISS concept, the New Faces Conferences are not only intended to bring together new and promising scholars and to let them practice their skills at an international conference, but also to provide them with an opportunity to have an impact in terms of substance, creativity, and innovation. For this reason, we look for candidates with expertise in specific areas and who promise to bring in innovative thinking. Since 1997, we have been inviting young scholars from across the globe to these annual conferences. The chapters of this book originate from papers presented at the last New Faces Conference, held in Hamburg, Germany, in March 2002.

The editors would like to thank the Society for Security Studies and Arms Control for their generous support. They would also like to extend their thanks to the conference participants for their contributions and, in particular, for their efforts in revising and updating their papers. For the organization of the conference, special thanks goes to Barbara Gleich and Eileen Kücükkaraca. The editors would also like to thank Marco Zanoli and Barbara Gleich for their help in the final stages of completing the manuscript.

The views expressed in the following chapters are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the institutions and individuals they are associated with.

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General Introduction

At the 1998 Franco-British summit in St Malo, British Prime Minister Tony Blair and French President Jacques Chirac declared that the time had come for the European Union (EU) to develop a credible military force with which to reinforce its capacity for autonomous action in the area of crisis management. The subsequent transformation of the St Malo declaration into a common European security and defense policy represents a milestone in the history of the European integration process – defense, for the first time, has been brought within the scope of EU policy coordination. Notwithstanding earlier failed attempts at developing a common defense policy, leading EU member states (with the exception of France) had, until recently, preferred to place the emphasis on securing greater influence within NATO. They had long since learnt – principally from US outrage at British and French military action during the 1956 Suez crisis – that that there was little room for an independent European military role in the bipolar context of the Cold War.

In the early 1990s, Europeans appeared to be making gains with this strategy. Despite Washington's ambivalence about European ambitions in the area of defense, former US president Bill Clinton embraced the idea of strengthening the European pillar within NATO. A European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI) – the framework that would allow Europeans to develop a more prominent role *within* NATO – was subsequently created. The institutional dimension of the ESDI, approved at the 1994 NATO summit in Brussels, included the creation of "separable but not separate" defense capabilities through the Western European Union (WEU) – Europe's defense arm at that time – and Combined Joint Task Forces (CJTFs) within NATO, designed to enhance NATO's flexibility and to facilitate WEU-led crisis-management operations. However, both measures failed to attain any significant operational relevance, since NATO continued to be viewed as the only credible institution capable of performing such tasks.

One of the major factors hardening European resolve to play a more vigorous role in managing their own security was the EU's tragic failure to respond quickly and decisively to the crises in the Balkans. The EU's early Balkans experience painfully demonstrated the danger of too much dependency on the US and the importance of being able to act effectively in crisis situations, particularly on the Union's own borders. It convinced the EU and its member states that a coherent defense and security policy was critical if the Union was to be taken seriously, not just in the international arena but also by the people of its member states. More recently, the 1999 Kosovo intervention acted as a catalyst for concrete decisions and capabilities commitments on the part of Union's members. It persuaded them – most notably the staunchly Atlanticist Britain – that a greater degree of European decision-making autonomy was vital to the success of any common security and defense effort. NATO's air campaign had demonstrated Europe's overwhelming dependency on US technology.

Since the St Malo declaration of four years ago, the EU and its member states have made significant progress towards the development of a common security and defense policy. At the 1999 European Council summit in Cologne, European leaders decided upon a set of institutional measures designed to accommodate the military dimension of security policy within EU decision-making structures. These included:

- Regular and *ad hoc* meetings of the General Affairs Council (GAC), including defense ministers;

- The creation of an EU Political Security Committee (PSC), an EU Military Committee (EUMC) charged with making recommendations to the PSC, and an EU Military Staff (EUMS), including a Situation Center;

- The transfer of WEU assets to the EU;

- The creation of the position of high representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).

At the European Council summit in Helsinki at the end of that year, EU leaders took the process a step further by approving:

- The various institutional changes decided upon in Cologne;

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- The establishment of a Headline Goal (HG) for the creation of a 50'000–60'000-strong military force that is deployable within 60 days, can be sustained for at least one year, and is able to carry out the full range of Petersberg Tasks by 2003. Originally conceived in June 1992 as a list of "low-end" tasks for European armed forces drawn up by the WEU, the Petersberg Tasks refer to humanitarian and rescue missions, peacekeeping efforts, and tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking.

In mid-2000, the HG was complemented by the pledge to be able to deploy 5'000 policemen for international missions, of which 1'000 would be available within one month.

The scope for potential EU action is thus extremely broad, ranging from civil protection and emergency assistance to interposition between conflicting parties, and perhaps even peace enforcement, and remains open to interpretation. In addition, the EU's geographical area of operation is unclear. In many respects, the remarkable speed with which these developments have taken place has been at least partly due to this so-called constructive ambiguity. However, whilst a certain degree of ambiguity has undoubtedly been crucial in allowing progress to be made in such a sensitive area, a number of thorny issues remain and the limits of ambiguity are beginning to be felt. If the EU and its member states are to consolidate their successes to-date, they must answer a number of open and interconnected questions related to the ESDP's political structure, its force capabilities, and its mission.

The famous "three Ds" outlined by former US secretary of state Madeleine Albright – no duplication of NATO assets, no discrimination against non-EU NATO members, and no actions that threaten to decouple the US from Europe – still dominate the debate over the institutional dimension of the HG. While concerns over duplication and decoupling appear to have somewhat dissipated since the EU has made clear it does not intend to establish a separate European military planning capability outside NATO's established planning structures, France remains guarded about how close EU and NATO consultation should be. Moreover, whilst NATO is expected to grant the EU permanent, guaranteed access to NATO's planning structures, doubts still remain

with regard to access to NATO assets. A number of non-EU European allies (most notably Turkey) are still wary of the potential for "discrimination" *vis-à-vis* the EU's use of NATO assets. Turkey has continually blocked an accord on EU–NATO relations, demanding it be included in the ESDP's decision-making process. In December 2001, Turkey finally accepted a EU–NATO agreement that gave assurances that the EU would not undertake military operations against a NATO member, such as Turkey, and allowed Turkey a veto on specific EU missions depending on NATO assets. However, this compromise was rejected by Greece as too favorable to Turkey. If the EU and NATO are unable to make headway on this issue, the Union's envisaged crisis-management role could be seriously compromised, given that its success depends, at least in the near- to medium-term, on the conclusion of NATO command and asset sharing agreements. This situation is likely to be further complicated by the upcoming NATO enlargement later this year.

In the area of capabilities, the Union declared at the Laeken European Council summit in December 2001 that it was capable of carrying out *some* crisis-management operations. The transatlantic division of labor within NATO has effectively left EU member states short of many capabilities required to head operations and project power. European capabilities therefore need to be "upgraded" in many crucial areas, including strategic air- and sealift, air-to-air refueling, helicopters, precision-guided munitions, command, control and communications, as well as reconnaissance and strategic intelligence. However, the continued desire for a "peace dividend" and the European preference for nonmilitary solutions to security problems means that new financial outlays within member states are very slow in coming, casting doubt on the EU's ability to fill these gaps and to perform the full range of Petersberg Tasks.

Ultimately, the EU needs a security concept and strategic review process to help guide member states in the formulation of their force structures and accompanying defense budgets. Unless both the type and the extent of EU crisis-management missions are clarified, with evolving capabilities in mind, lack of funds may very well end up determining the type of Petersberg Tasks the EU will be able to perform, as well as the geographical scope of its operations. The problem is thus a politi-

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cal one rather than a financial one. Without additional political commitments, and corresponding financial outlays, EU missions will be geographically confined to the European continent and to low-intensity crisis-management tasks. This will have important implications for the transatlantic division of labor. The EU risks being relegated to a second-tier role within the Alliance, regardless of any ambitions it might have to play a role beyond its borders. Moreover, the political dilemma facing the EU and its member states has been intensified by the huge increase in the US defense budget following the 11 September attacks, and by the resulting challenges to EU member states in terms of interoperability within NATO.

This volume attempts to chart the evolution, the remaining challenges, and the possible future of the ESDP within the broader context of transatlantic relations. Part One focuses on the implementation of the EU's HG. *Christina V. Balis* assesses the state of affairs in the development of the ESDP following the 2001 European Council meeting in Laeken. Her discussion is structured around the three key elements of the project: its evolving political structures, its capabilities, and its anticipated operations. The chapter concludes that notwithstanding recent progress, particularly with regard to the creation of appropriate EU political structures, the ESDP remains very much a work in progress, with particular attention needed in the area of capabilities development. In the following chapter, *Tania Chacho* discusses in greater detail the military progress towards the HG force. She maintains that in order to achieve an operational rapid deployment capability by 2003, the EU needs to provide clearer guidance to military commanders regarding the ESDP's likely missions, to improve and integrate intelligence capabilities and strategic airlifts, and to increase defense spending. In the third and final chapter of the section, *Giovanna Bono* examines the institutional changes accompanying the implementation of the HG and assesses their advantages and disadvantages with regard to the EU's success as a foreign, security, and defense actor. She concludes that while the newly-created political arrangements have given the EU the potential to act as a credible international security actor, they allow for only limited democratic scrutiny of the ESDP and thus threaten to worsen the EU's already existing "democratic deficit."

Part Two deals with issues related to cooperation between NATO and EU candidate states. *Jennifer Medcalf's* chapter discusses the arrangements concluded so far and the remaining stumbling blocks in the increasingly complex EU–NATO relationship. She concludes that despite the difficulties encountered in coordinating their efforts, the ESDP and NATO, due to respective internal constraints, are likely not only to draw from the same pool of resources, but also to operate in a similar geographical area. Drawing on the perspectives of select candidate states, *Vladimir Bilcik* points to the positive potential of enlargement for the ESDP, particularly with respect to the endurance of a strong transatlantic link and to the future development of the Union's eastern policy. Nevertheless, he concludes that the present level of involvement of candidate states in the ESDP and the EU's lack of clarity regarding its future course in relation to NATO do not bode well for future success in this area.

Part Three examines the possible scope of the ESDP. The first chapter in the section, by *Hajnalka Vincze*, examines the prospect of a stronger EU military presence in the Balkans. She attempts to expose the relationship between the EU's past and present experience in the Balkans and the evolution of the Union's military role, and maintains that the Balkans theater is likely to continue to influence the development of the EU's military force, providing it with its first major test. However, she points out that in order pass this test, the EU must overcome a number of remaining obstacles. *Serhat Güvenç* explores the potential for a EU military role in the Middle East. After surveying the EU's track record in the region, the problem of military overstretch, and the competition the ESDP would face with NATO, he concludes that any EU military role in the region would most likely develop as a function of a broader NATO operation, given the strategic importance of the region for the US. The last chapter in the section by *Timothy N. Williams* deals with the issue of EU–NATO cooperation in fighting Islamic-fundamentalist terrorism. After reviewing the reactions of NATO and the EU to the 11 September attacks in New York and Washington, Williams concludes that cooperation between the two organizations on this issue is presently woefully inadequate, with little hope of improvement in the near future.

Part Four is dedicated to the long-term implications of the ESDP for the transatlantic relationship. In this concluding section, *Samantha Davis* demonstrates that the evolution of the transatlantic security relationship will depend on the ability of the EU and NATO to successfully manage problems related to command and assets sharing, and on the extent to which the divergences between European and US perceptions and capabilities can be contained within the NATO framework.

Part I
The Implementation of the Headline Goals

CHRISTINA V. BALIS

The State of European Defense and Security Policy After the Laeken Summit

Introduction

Ever since the fateful Helsinki European Council of December 1999, at which European Union (EU) member states announced the adoption of "a common European headline goal," Europeans have embarked on a rigorous quest toward achieving this objective and their much-repeated, self-established 2003 deadline.[1] To be sure, much has changed in the international security environment in recent months, but initial expectations that the terrorist attacks of 11 September against the US would spur swifter implementation of this goal have not been realized.[2] Despite recent progress, particularly with regard to the creation of appropriate EU political structures, the European Defense and Security Policy (ESDP) remains very much a work in progress – for anyone familiar with the inner workings of EU policy, this can be both a cause for concern and a basis for relative calm.

To most critics, especially in the US, the December 2001 EU summit in Laeken, Belgium, and a meeting of EU defense ministers the previous month in Brussels, seemed to confirm their views about European disunity and Europeans' tendency to pay lip service to the need to ad-

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1   For a general overview of the more recent European efforts to establish an autonomous defense capability, see Charges G. Cogan, *The Third Option: The Emancipation of European Defense, 1989–2000* (Westport: Praeger, 2001).

2   Alexander Nicoll, "European Union Urged to Forge Defence Identity," *Financial Times*, 16 November 2001; Maartje Rutten, "Stagnation of the ESDP," *ISS-EU Newsletter*, No. 1, February 2002; Laurent Zecchini, "La défense Européenne ne parvient pas à se structurer," *Le Monde*, 25 March 2002.

dress long-standing deficiencies in their military capabilities.[3] The decision at Laeken to declare "the operational capability" in the presence of continued shortcomings in key areas reinforced lingering suspicions that Europe may once again have failed to learn from its past experience in the Balkans, prompting *The Wall Street Journal* in early 2002 to dismiss the EU's Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) as "a pipe dream."[4] Five months later, in a dispassionate speech before the German Bundestag, President George W. Bush repeated the well known US mantra of urging Europeans to assume a greater role as "fully military partners" in the transatlantic alliance, while criticizing them for their "wishful thinking" about the new "threats to our common security." The president's tone starkly contrasted the optimistic – some would say, self-delusional – statement of EU High Representative for CFSP Javier Solana, made only a few days earlier, that "Europe is on the move (…) develop[ing] the tools it needs to become a stronger and more equal partner for the US."[5]

Criticizing the EU's performance has long been a consistent practice, but all measurements of "success" must by definition be judged as relative and exclusive of any misplaced analogies to US standards of power.[6] Beyond the accepted ambivalence and ambiguities of the ESDP project, and acknowledging the existence of "multiple realities" in the

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3 See, for example, John Vinocur, "On Both War and Peace, the EU Stands Divided," *International Herald Tribune*, 17 December 2001; "If Only Words Were Guns," *The Economist*, 24 November 2001; Judy Dempsey, "Not Rapid Enough: Lack of Money and Clear Goals Is Hampering Plans for an EU Defence Force," *Financial Times*, 19 November 2001.

4 "Unmighty Europe," *The Wall Street Journal*, 5 February 2002.

5 Speech before the *Bundestag*, Berlin, 23 May 2000; Javier Solana, "America's Trusty Partner: The US Is Better Off With an Independent-minded Europe Than a Meek Follower," *Financial Times*, 21 May 2002. Contrast also with Charles Wolf Jr.'s assertion that since 11 September "the EU has quietly and unilaterally shelved ESDP." See "Europeans Are Unilateralists Too," *Wall Street Journal Europe*, 17 May 2002.

6 Lawrence Freedman, "A Future for European Defence," *Financial Times*, 22 April 2002.

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world of EU politics,[7] Europeans' approach to foreign and security matters betrays a certain commonality in purpose that cannot easily be dismissed.[8] This was already evident in 1997, when EU members agreed in Amsterdam on "the progressive framing of a common defence policy (…), which might lead to a common defence." More than four years later, such a statement could be qualified in ways that would have eluded even the most optimistic supporters of this project. Thus, the EU presidency at Laeken was able to conclude that, "Through the continuing development of the ESDP, the strengthening of its capabilities, both civil and military, and the creation of the appropriate EU structures, the EU is now able to conduct some crisis-management operations."[9] The Laeken declaration also called for progress to be made in three areas in particular: balancing the development of military and civilian capabilities; finalizing the arrangements with NATO; and implementing the arrangements with non-EU partners.

Progress on all these fronts during the coming months would be welcome, particularly with regard to the development of capabilities where the strongest doubts remain. Thus, in assessing the present state of the ESDP, the emphasis will need to be placed on the three key aspects of the project: its evolving structures, its present and projected capabilities, and its envisioned operations. This analysis does not take into account the individual contributions of key EU member states, although Britain's continued support, following British Prime Minister Tony Blair's defining intervention at the 1998 Franco-British meeting in St Malo, and a renewed political will and commitment on behalf of

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7 Knud Erik Jørgensen, "The European Union's Performance in World Politics: How Should We Measure Success?" In *Paradoxes of European Foreign Policy*, ed. Jan Zielonka (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 1998), 87–101. For a more skeptical view, see John van Oudenaren, "E Pluribus Confusio: Living With the EU's Structural Incoherence," *The National Interest* 65 (Fall 2001): 23–36.

8 This evolving view also differs from what Josef Joffe once described as a process that "follows the 'anything goes' rules of post-modern architecture." Josef Joffe, "'Bismarck' or 'Britain'?" *International Security* 19, No. 4 (Spring 1995): 112.

9 Presidency Conclusions of the European Council Meeting in Laeken, 14–15 December 2001 (Brussels: General Secretariat of the Council, 2001), Annex II.

Germany to the European project, will be crucial for future the ESDP developments. As with all European initiatives in the past, the steady and consistent support of key EU members for the ESDP project is an inescapable precondition for its successful realization.

Emerging Structures, Uneven Arrangements

Since the launch of the ESDP project, consistent efforts have been made toward the establishment of an appropriate institutional framework for the new policy. Thus, the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty created the post of secretary-general of the Council, who also functions as the high representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), and the Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit (PPEWU), whose tasks include "providing timely assessments and early warning of events or situations (…), including potential political crises." The 2000 Nice Treaty established the Political and Security Committee (PSC),[10] in addition to a whole range of supplementary bodies that have not been codified in treaty. These include a EU Military Committee (EUMC), composed of the member states' chiefs of defense and chaired currently by a Finnish General, Gustave Hägglund, and a 135-strong EU Military Staff

10 The PSC, known also as COPS from its French acronym and defined in Annex III to the Nice Presidency Report as the "lynchpin" of ESDP, is called upon to exercise "political control and strategic direction" of any military crisis-management operation conducted by the EU. It is codified in the new Article 25 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU), replacing former Articles 17 and 25 that made reference to the now defunct Western European Union and its previous organ, the Political Committee. This kind of legalization of ESDP, however, is compromised by the new provisions in the Nice Treaty under Title V of the TEU (and as part of the new Article 27), which excludes "enhanced cooperation" in CFSP from "matters having military or defense implications." For a detailed analysis, see Antonio Missiroli, *CFSP, Defence and Flexibility*, Chaillot Paper, No. 38, (Paris: Institute for Security Studies, 2000). Duke argues that despite the modifications on the TEU introduced at Nice, there was, in strictly legal terms, no progress on defense policy. See Simon Duke, "CESDP: Nice's Overtrumped Success," *European Foreign Affairs Review* 6 (2001): 155–175.

(EUMS), led by Lt-General Rainer Schuwirth of Germany and acting under the military direction of the EUMC.[11] In addition, the Institute for Security Studies in Paris, formerly under Western European Union (WEU) direction, and the European Union Satellite Centre in Torrejon, Spain, have been in operation since 1 January 2002.

With the exception of the PSC, whose role and functions are explicitly laid out in the Nice provisions, no legal changes to existing EU treaties have been introduced to accommodate other elements of the ESDP. Such "constructive ambiguity" is nothing new in the EU way of life, but it is also indicative of significant remaining divergences in opinion among EU member states about the degree of "autonomy" to be extended to the ESDP-related bodies, as well as a desire to avoid the perception of a "decoupling" from NATO structures.[12] Indeed, some have argued that since further development of the ESDP "no longer depends on US strategic choices (…) the establishment of new permanent EU structures, together with the catalogue of forces for EU-led operations (…) has created a momentum independent of US policies."[13] Others point to the similarities between the ESDP and NATO structures, which, in the absence of SHAPE-like facilities for operational planning purposes in the EU, would seem to encourage coordination between the two institutions.[14]

11   All three main bodies, the PSC, EUMC and EUMS, became permanent on 22 January, 9 April, and 11 June 2001 respectively, after functioning as interim bodies for a brief period from March 2000.

12   For an analysis of the legal aspects of ESDP and the arguments for its medium-term incorporation into the EU treaties, see Lydia Pnevmaticou, *aspects juridiques de la politique Européenne de sécurité et de défense*, Occasional Paper, No. 31 (Paris: Institute for Security Studies, November 2001).

13   Rob de Wijk, "Debate: Is the Fundamental Nature of the Transatlantic Security Relationship Changing?" *NATO Review* 49, No. 1 (Spring 2001): 15–19

14   Guillaume Parmentier, "After Nice: The Discreet Emergence of a Military Partner for the United States," *US–France Analysis* (Washington, D.C.: Center on the US and France, The Brookings Institution, April 2001).

Whereas concerns over "duplication" and "decoupling" *vis-à-vis* NATO have to a large extent been muted in recent months,[15] doubts remain with regard to the potential "discrimination" of non-EU European allies – former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's famous third "D." The creation of a "Committee of Contributors" in which all (EU and non-EU) participants in EU-led operations would have co-decision rights offers a formula acceptable to all sides, but leaves several issues unresolved. Such questions are broader and extend beyond the current impasse in reaching an agreement over EU access to NATO assets, first objected to by Turkey only to be later challenged by Greece. A more serious situation is likely to arise in the event of a crisis, where quick action might be hindered by the need for extensive consultations among various actors.[16] Even for such a creative body as the EU when it comes to resolving internal differences, the envisioned consultations in either the "15+6" (EU member states plus the six non-EU European members of NATO) or the "15+15" (adding the 12 EU candidate countries that are not members of NATO) format are mind-baffling. Such institutional asymmetries do not augur well for the future, especially in light of the union's envisioned enlargement, which is likely to broaden the pool of available capabilities, but not necessarily improve or accelerate the ESDP decision-making processes.[17]

Finally, none of the institutional provisions and new structures addresses the issue of leadership within an evolving ESDP/CFSP.

15 The first joint meeting between the EUMC and NATO's Military Committee took place on 12 June 2001. The finalization of EU–NATO arrangements, as called for by the Laeken Declaration, is expected to be on NATO's agenda at its next summit in Prague in November 2002. See Tom Canahuate, "NATO Summit to Address Military Relationship With European Union," *DefenseNews.com*, 15 February 2002. See also Kori Schake, *Constructive Duplication: Reducing EU Reliance on US Military Assets* (London: Centre for European Reform, January 2002).

16 One is reminded here of the frequent US criticism of "war-making by committee" that has been considered as a major obstacle to the efficient conduct of NATO's 1999 air campaign in the former Yugoslavia.

17 Missiroli suggests the elaborate formula of $15 - x + y + n$, with x representing the non-participating EU members, y the participating non-members, and n the added value of acting together plus any possible linkages with NATO. See Missiroli, *Op. cit.*, 194.

Whereas most would agree that some sort of leadership or clear line of command is necessary for the planning and conduct of any effective military operation, this need cannot be addressed at the political level through short-term rotational presidencies and troika-type formulas. At the same time, any proposed solution will need to address both the traditional reluctance of member states to delegate decisions of a security nature to external bodies and the growing fears of smaller countries that their views will be disregarded in favor of those of the larger EU members. Recourse is thus sought in consensus-based procedures, because "a Europe based on political solidarity cannot accept the silent NATO rule 'who pays, plays'."[18] Ironically, since no EU member appears presently willing to shoulder most, or even a sufficient part, of the financial burden for the smooth and timely implementation of the ESDP goals – including the political will that comes with it – everyone is allowed equal participation and say in any and all decisions.

Defining the Capabilities Equation

The dirty little secret that only few in Europe would dare to openly acknowledge is that Europe's performance in the military area will ultimately determine the overall success of the ESDP. Accordingly, a policy that relies on new institutions, but lacks real military capabilities, is the worst scenario for both the EU and the US. Admittedly, it is also politically the most controversial issue, resting on the will of individual EU capitals to provide the necessary funds and to share the burden and responsibility for matters that have traditionally belonged to the realm of national politics.

The Capabilities Commitment Conference, held on 20 November 2000, identified a list of 144 capability targets, which by last November's Capability Improvement Conference had been reduced to 50 major

18 Peter van Ham, *Europe's New Defense Ambitions: Implications for NATO, the US and Russia* (Garmisch-Partenkirchen: George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, 2000), 19.

shortcomings.[19] Of these 50 items, only 20 per cent had been remedied by the end of 2001, while shortfalls remained in such crucial areas as early warning systems, ISR (intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance), and general support logistics, most of which are also covered by NATO's Defense Capabilities Initiative (DCI). If only a fifth of all declared key deficiencies could be addressed within a year (and most of these in areas where progress was more readily available but not as urgent as in others), what does this imply for Europe's ability to sufficiently redress all remaining shortcomings by the end of 2003, or even beyond that date?

The Headline Goal (HG) that was declared at the Helsinki European Council in 1999 calls for the development of the "full range of capabilities," which includes both military and civilian capabilities. Much has already been written about the apparent simplicity of the figures on the military side – 60'000 troops to be deployable within 60 days and sustainable for at least a year – which do not spell out the additional requirements for rotation (a force three times the 60'000 suggested size), for combat support (to sustain troops on the field), and for strategic airlift (for purposes of deployability).[20] In November 2000, EU members agreed, as part of a "Force Catalogue," to provide a total pool of more than 100'000 persons and about 400 combat aircraft and 100 vessels,

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19 Nicholas Fiorenza, "Filling the Gaps: Europeans Improving the Capabilities of Its Rapid-Reaction Force," *Armed Forces Journal International* (February 2002): 54–58. Within more than a year, Europe's so-called capability targets had proliferated from the 58 items singled out in NATO's 1999 DCI to the two-and-a-half times longer list initially identified by EU defense ministers. This trend is symptomatic of the Europeans' propensity to set out grand goals at the expense of limited progress in a few but select areas. Recent attempts to reduce the DCI list to a handful of key items in order to focus attention on real interoperability issues should serve as a reminder that "small is beautiful" can still be a useful maxim, even for an enlarging and increasingly ambitious union.

20 For a succinct analysis of what a European capacity entails, see Rob de Wijk, "Convergence Criteria: Measuring Input or Output?" *European Foreign Affairs Review* 5 (2000): 397–417, especially 402–406.

in addition to contributions by non-EU European NATO members and EU candidates.[21]

What continues to overshadow the practicability of the HG is the absence of any new projected financial outlays on the part of individual member states to fill the gaps in such key areas as research and development, procurement, force protection, operational mobility, and combat search and rescue (CSAR) operations. Undoubtedly, as Europeans like to argue, this is not merely a question of what is spent, but also how it is spent. Yet, in the end, everyone concedes that mere restructuring or shifting of funds will not suffice. NATO Secretary-General Lord Robertson's stern warning last summer that Europeans must do more if the RRF is not to remain "a piece of paper" has so far failed to spur EU governments into action.[22] Recent calls from French officials, following the 11 September terrorist attacks, for increased European defense spending have equally gone unheeded.[23] As Sir Charles Guthrie, the former chief of the UK defense staff, summarized this trend rather caustically two years ago:

> Today, in European NATO countries, there are about two million people under arms; in the US there are only 1.4 million. The Europeans have five military satellites, the US have 64. The Europeans have four Carrier Task Groups, the US have 12. The Europeans do not have a single Strategic life aircraft between them. The US owns 80. The US, with just over a third of the population of NATO provides well over half the defence spending. US defense expenditure per capita is approximately 125 per cent higher than the Europeans and both France and Germany are looking at cutting around 3.5 per cent from their budgets next year.[24]

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21 The proposals made at the Capabilities Commitment Conference were endorsed by the North Atlantic Council in Brussels a few days later, and were adopted by the European Council in Nice one month later.

22 Toby Helm, "EU Force Is 'Halted By Broken Pledges'," *The Daily Telegraph*, 6 July 2001.

23 Luke Hill, "EU Rejects Proposal for More Spending on Security, Defence," *Jane's Defense Weekly*, 24 October 2001; Daniel Dombey, "Chirac Urges More Spending on Space Sector," *Financial Times*, 19 December 2001.

24 General Sir Charles Guthrie, "Bringing the Armed Forces into a New Millennium," *RUSI Journal* 145, No. 1 (February 2000): 3.

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Since this statement was made, the transatlantic divide in defense spending has sharpened dramatically, following an unprecedented rise in planned US defense funds to more than US$ 380 billion for the fiscal year 2003. Nevertheless, there have also been some salutary developments with regard to the professionalization of European armed forces (notably in France and, to some degree, in Italy and Spain) and the restructuring of defense industries (evident in all six major European arms-producing countries),[25] but these trends have yet to translate into tangible benefits for Europe's military capabilities. The continued presence of conscript armies in many countries, and particularly in Germany, casts doubts over the still largely theoretical question of "out-of-area" missions, while the Kosovo experience in which Europeans could hardly field two per cent of a near-total of 2 million men in uniform proved that even modest operations in Europe's own back yard can still face embarrassing obstacles and delays.

Similarly, and despite EU member states' recent support for a European Capability Action Plan aimed at avoiding duplication and encouraging cooperation in production, financing, and acquisition of defense equipment,[26] examples such as the Italian withdrawal from the multinational project to produce Airbus's A400M transport aircraft, or Germany's

25 A letter of intent signed in July 2000 by France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Sweden, and the UK, known also as LOI 6, led subsequently to a Framework Agreement for the coordination of procurement and joint projects among participating countries. This effort, which is basically intergovernmental in nature, along with EU initiatives in the field of dual-use export controls has been heralded as a major step forward for the European defense market. For a good analysis on recent related developments in EU legislation, see Burkard Schmitt, *Toward a Common European Export Policy for Defense and Dual-use Items?* Study Group on Enhancing Multilateral Export Controls for US National Security, Working Paper, No. 9 (Washington, D.C.: The Henry L. Stimson Center/CSIS, April 2001).

26 See Chapter III of Statement on Improving European Military Capabilities, 2386th Council meeting, General Affairs, Brussels, 19–20 November 2001, as well as Chapter III to Annex I to the draft Presidency report on European Security and Defence Policy, Brussels, 12 December 2001. The report outlines a "bottom-up" approach to European defense cooperation, based on a so-called capability development mechanism (CDM) that will monitor progress in this area while avoiding "unnecessary duplication" with NATO assets.

continued reluctance to commit the necessary funds to it, provides further evidence that some of the momentum following the Paris Air Show in late June 2001 may be fading.[27] To be sure, past procurement policies and defense postures that tended to emphasize force structure rather than capability are slowly changing,[28] but how many of those ambitious procurement programs will, in the end, be realized is still an open question, especially in view of the slow economic recovery and continued structural rigidities in the eurozone.[29]

In order to remedy the shortcomings in defense budgets and military procurement, several suggestions have been put forward. These include the introduction of specific "macro-defense convergence criteria," "in-

27 Several agreements among leading European countries were signed at this show, aimed at closing the gap in military capabilities in key areas, such as tactical airlift and precision-guided weapons. Eight European Countries, including Turkey, signed up to the Memorandum of Understanding for the purchase of the A400M transport aircraft, while the UK-led Meteor program had at the time already the approval of France, Sweden and the UK and at least three more partners were expected to sign on to it later. The creation of the new European military procurement agency OCCAR, which is to manage the A400M project, was another major breakthrough on the European defense scene. Also see Ann Roosevelt, "NATO Inches Toward Improved Defense Capabilities," *Defense Week* 22, No. 27 (2 July 2001).

28 Stefano Silvestri, "Atlantic and European Defence After Kosovo," *The International Spectator* 14, No. 3 (July–September 1999): 16–17; Chris Donnely, "Shaping Soldiers for the 21st Century," *NATO Review* 48, No. 2 (Summer/ Autumn 2000): 28–31.

29 See, for example, Byron Callan, "Are European Defense Eyes Bigger Than Stomachs?" *DefenseNews.com*, 13 October 2000. According to a recent RAND study that departs somewhat from traditional assessments of European defense expenditures, military spending particularly in Germany, France, the UK and Italy "could rise modestly as a consequence of the additional resources generated by economic growth," though not in time to meet the 2003 target date and not before the end of the 2001–2010 decade. See Charles Wolf, Jr. and Benjamin Zycher, *European Military Prospects, Economic Constraints, and the Rapid Reaction Force* (Santa Monica: RAND Publications, 2001).

put commitments," "output criteria," and "best practices."[30] Were such a Maastricht-like approach easily translatable into the defense area, it would certainly prove most effective for issues of compliance and as a means to measure progress in specific areas. At present however, little stomach for such fiscal discipline exists on the part of European governments. Another proposition, which might be defined as the comparative advantage approach, involves the development of a "collective defense review process" that would outline areas of specialization for each EU country.[31] However, such a proposition would seem even less acceptable to national governments – now as well as in the foreseeable future. Thus, in the absence of other feasible options in the medium term, European capitals will have to resort to traditional peer pressure practices and *ad hoc* intergovernmental initiatives to facilitate greater convergence among their militaries.

Besides mustering the necessary financial backing for future capabilities, equally important is improving European interoperability. This means better force planning as opposed to mere force generation. One way of doing so is through what retired General Klaus Naumann calls a "Force Planning Triad," which would allow for some economies of scale on three fronts: NATO's commonly-funded budgets (focusing on NATO infrastructure programs), common procurement of enablers and force multipliers (by means of common EU funds), and reorganization

30 See, for example, Gianni Bonvicini, "European Defence: Beyond Functional Covergence," *The International Spectator* 14, No. 3 (July–September 1999): 21–28; Alyson Bayles, "European Defence: What Are the 'Covergence Criteria'?" *RUSI Journal* 144, No. 3 (June 1999): 60–65; Antonio Missiroli, "European Security and Defence: The Case for Setting 'Convergence Criteria'," *European Foreign Affairs Review* 4 (1999): 485–500; François Heisbourg, "Europe's Strategic Ambitions: The Limits of Ambiguity," *Survival* 42, No. 2 (Summer 2000): 5–15; and de Wijk, "Convergence Criteria."

31 "A Common European Military Policy: Serious at Last?" *Strategic Comments* 5, No. 6 (July 1999): 2.

and modernization of national forces (through national budgets).[32] The first of these three implies a continued reliance on some key NATO structures, thus somewhat compromising the degree of "autonomy" for the new RRF, while the third proposition is hampered by the persistent fiscal impediments at the national level. By contrast, the notion of some common EU defense budget seems to be gaining ground, although no consensus exists yet as to the size or structure of such a hypothetical budget. Three options recently proposed by Solana – "all costs are common," "costs lie where they fall," and an "intermediate option" – have found diverse supporters among EU member states, but with no clear agreement on either of them.[33]

By contrast, progress may seem more readily available on the civilian side of the ESDP. The Police Action Plan, adopted at the June 2001 European Council in Göteborg, Sweden, following a Conference of National Police Commissioners the previous month, aims at supporting UN and OSCE-led operations, and, in some cases, autonomous EU-led missions. A Police Unit responsible for planning and conducting police operations has been created in the Council Secretariat. At a Police Capabilities Commitment Conference, held in Brussels on 19 November 2001, member states agreed to provide the required 5'000 police officers for such missions by 2003, with 1'400 officers – exceeding the initial target of 1'000 – deployable within 30 days.

Even before the events of 11 September, the June 2000 EU summit in Feira had defined four specific areas for strengthening civilian capacities, including police, the rule of law, civilian administration, and civil

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32 "Implementing the European Security and Defense Policy: A Practical Vision for Europe," Speech at the joint Atlantic Council/ National Defense University conference in Washington, D.C. in early 2000. An adapted version can be found at http://www.acus.org/publications/bulletins/internationalsecurity/naumann.pdf.
Another suggested formula involves a common planning and budgetary system under which EU members would decide whether to contribute defense capability or money. See Michael Alexander and Timothy Garden, "The Arithmetic of Defence Policy," *International Affairs* 77, No. 3 (2001): 527–528.

33 Judy Dempsey, "Wrangling Over Finances Delays European Defence Policy," *Financial Times*, 2 November 2001.

protection. These have once again gained in urgency, and progress over the medium term should be more forthcoming in this area than on the more sensitive military side. Initial doubts about the ability to integrate diverse EU police forces no longer seem so serious, spurring the Belgian EU presidency to conclude last year that "This diversity [among forces with civil status and police forces with military status of the gendarmerie type] is a qualitative asset for the European Union" and that the EU will thus "be able to achieve or provide the full range of police missions, at various stages of crisis management and conflict prevention."[34] Such optimism also explains the recent decision to send a 500-strong EU Police Mission (EUPM) to replace the UN-led International Police Task Force (IPTF) in Bosnia, the mandate of which is due to expire at the end of 2002.[35] Should this mission be approved, it would serve as a litmus test of the EU's ability to meet its 2003 target in the civilian areas of the ESDP.

The EU's Role as a "Civilian Power"

Even as questions remain with regard to whether or how specific targets on either the military or the civilian front can be met, none of the above the ESDP arrangements should be assessed in isolation from each other or from other EU policies in general. "Soft power," to quote Harvard professor Joseph Nye, matters, and as Chris Patten, the EU Commissioner for External Affairs, consistently points out, the ESDP forms part of a whole gamut of policy instruments already at the disposal of various EU agencies. A report by the US Congressional Budget Office conceded recently that, notwithstanding Europeans' failure to increase their defense spending in absolute terms, traditional mea-

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34 See *Statement on Police Capabilities Commitment Conference*, 2386th Council meeting, General Affairs, Brussels, 19–20 November 2001.

35 Judy Dempsey, "EU to Take Over Police Operations in Bosnia," *Financial Times*, 29 January 2002. See also *International Police Task Force (IPTF) Follow-on – Council Conclusions*, 2409th Council Meeting, General Affairs, Brussels, 18–19 February 2002.

sures of burden sharing in NATO tend to disregard some of the other European contributions to security that are seen as more relevant to post-Cold War conditions but which fail to receive sufficient appreciation in Washington.[36] Or, as Michael Smith has aptly put it, "the EU has the economic capacity to reward and punish; it has the technical and administrative capacity to support and stabilize, and it has the capacity to negotiate in ways unknown to many of the other participants in the European order."[37] A strict "mind the gap" mentality that focuses only on the military side of the equation is thus both misleading and counterproductive.

However, alongside the benefits of such comprehensive approach to foreign policy and security issues come problems of coordination. In particular, the incorporation of the ESDP into CFSP following the Cologne and Helsinki summits has raised serious institutional questions with regard to the consistency and coherence of any European security policy – and thus, by implication, of any subsequent European defense policy. According to Antonio Missiroli, there is already a shift in emphasis "from the *F* of foreign to the *S* of security, i.e. the *S* that is common to both the CFSP and the ESDP and that combines diplomatic (the *F*) and military (the *D*) action with other, less traditional and virtually complementary instruments, which do not lie primarily in the second

36 *NATO Burdensharing After Enlargement* (Washington, D.C.: US Congressional Budget Office, August 2001).

37 Quoted in Christopher Hill, "The EU's Capacity for Conflict Prevention," *European Foreign Affairs Review* 6 (2001): 329. According to Hill, "the EU has limited intervention and crisis management capabilities in the short term (…). Its comparative advantage lies more in the medium term of conflict resolution and (particularly) in the long term of conflict prevention." *Ibid*., 330. A recent study on EU member states' defense policies attests to the growing importance – albeit to different degrees – of missions with a peacekeeping or humanitarian content as part of the defense policy of most member states, thus pointing to as an area where policy convergence is most likely to occur on an intra-European level. André Dumoulin, Raphäel Mathieu, and Vincent Metten, *présentation comparative et thématique des politiques de défense des états membres de l'Union Européenne* (Brussels: Centre d'Etudes de Défense, December 2001).

[CSFP] pillar remit."[38] A more acerbic critic, Professor Simon Duke sees "a stark contrast between the advances in CESDP and the lack of any comparable progress in CFSP" underlining the need for a "permanent central coordinating body" (as also suggested by Javier Solana more than a year ago) that would guarantee "a seamless web of options to address any given crisis at the appropriate level."[39]

European officials are often heard defending the ESDP as if it were a project backed by identical motives on all sides. Yet, how similar is the justification for the ESDP among EU states – and does it matter? On the one hand, some degree of ambiguity is inevitable and even necessary to reach a consensus on anything in the long term. On the other hand, if the ESDP is all things to all people, there is arguably little added value for any of the parties involved (other than possibly pointing the finger at others in the case of failure). When German Defense Minister Rudolf Scharping warns that "In the transatlantic alliance we don't have too much America, we have too little Europe,"[40] he is not speaking only on behalf of his own government. Rather, he addresses a concern that is shared equally among all EU leaders. But "more Europe" means more cooperation and greater commitment on the part of individual capitals, leading in turn to more coordination and coherence in Brussels. Like the emperor's clothes, hiding behind the cloak of Europe is of no benefit to anyone, let alone the institutions on which all hopes are seemingly placed.

38   Antonio Missiroli, "European Security Policy: The Challenge of Coherence," *European Affairs Review* 6 (2001): 184. Missiroli distinguishes four different dimensions of a EU security policy: internal/political, external/functional, geographic, and bureaucratic.

39   Duke, *Op. cit*., 167. For the joint statement by Solana and the Commission, see *Improving the Coherence and Effectiveness of the European Union Action in the Field of Conflict Prevention,* Report presented to the Nice European Council by the Secretary General/High Representative, 8 December 2000.

40   Craig R. Whitney, "Europe Says Its Strike Force Won't Impair Role of NATO," *The New York Times*, 2 December 1999.

Elusive Missions

Whereas the ultimate rationale for the ESDP is by necessity a vague one, a clear definition of the type of military missions that the EU may be called upon to undertake would appear necessary. Future crisis-management operations are supposed to cover "the whole range of Petersberg Tasks, including operations, which are the most demanding in terms of breadth, period of deployment and complexity."[41] Notwithstanding the explicit articulation in the 1992 Petersberg declaration of the types of missions to be assumed, the margins of interpretation, especially with regard to the geographic limits of any such mission, remain wide.

To begin with, Europe's current ability to project power is not serious, and thus the assumption would seem to be that only conflicts in close geographic proximity to EU borders would be plausible areas for any EU-led intervention in the medium term.[42] Such an approach would also concur with Henry Kissinger's assertion of almost three decades ago – and, arguably, still nowadays – that Europe has only regional interests. Judging from more recent EU official statements and documents however, this no longer appears to be Europe's vocation. In a report published in 2000, the Commission argued, among others, for a Europe that "can show genuine leadership on the world stage."[43]

Although a Europe that becomes more engaged in the world beyond its borders carries strong support on either side of the Atlantic, there

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41 Annex II to the Presidency Conclusions of the European Council Meeting in Laeken. The Petersberg Tasks were first defined in 1992 at a meeting of foreign and defense ministers of the WEU members. They include three categories of missions: humanitarian and rescue tasks; peacekeeping tasks; and tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking.

42 Brzezinski, who defines Europe as "a de facto military protectorate of the United States" and "a polity constructed on convenience" goes so far as to argue that the only locations where the EU might be able to mount a crisis-management operation are Transylvania and Corsica. See Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Living With a New Europe," *The National Interest* 60 (Summer 2000): 17–29.

43 See Commission of the European Communities, *Strategic Objectives 2000-2005 – Shaping the New Europe*, Brussels, 9 February 2000.

are still important qualifications that need to be made with regard to the nature of such engagement. Unless both the type and breadth of related crisis-management missions are addressed, and in relation to evolving capabilities, very few operations out of the "full" range of Petersberg Tasks will be realistically undertaken. Indeed, most scholars and officials agree that none of the missions that the EU RRF may find itself engaged in over the next three to four years are likely to be conducted outside traditional NATO structures and assets. Accordingly, "full range" does not imply that all tasks will or need to be fulfilled to their "full extent."[44]

Undoubtedly, there have been some successful operations in the recent past that might point to a pattern for future missions under ESDP direction. Operation Alba, a 6'000-strong force deployed in 1997 in Albania under Italian leadership and the 1999 French-led NATO Extraction Force in Macedonia are cases in point.[45] Yet, outside such isolated cases, it is difficult to conceive of missions where US interests will not be deemed vital enough and where EU capabilities will have become so reliable as to exclude the need for any US involvement, be it under a NATO or UN flag. Moreover, the above operations were initiated and conducted under the auspices of one leading nation, thus making it difficult to replicate the situation in an ESDP scenario, involving multiple actors and consensual decision-making procedures. Simmering conflicts, such as the Nagorno-Karabakh area, Sierra Leone, or the still unsettled Balkans, have been mentioned at different times as potential areas for EU military intervention, but no situation will have the EU act in an exclusive or "independent" capacity. If "EU military action is a third or fourth string to the EU bow,"[46] then a coherent approach should substitute for the illusion of some overarching strategy at EU level. Rather, allowances should be made for a whole range of diverse mis-

44 Ian Kemp and Luke Hill, "Europe on Standby," *Jane's Defense Weekly*, 12 December 2001.

45 Quoting French Defense Minister Alain Richard, Jim Hoagland states: "In its way, the Macedonian crisis shows clearly the advantage of a European capability." See "The Humble Cease-Fire," *Washington Post*, 12 July 2001.

46 David Owen, "An Effective CFSP for the Future" In *How Can Europe Prevent Conflicts?* (Brussels: The Philip Morris Institute for Public Policy Research, November 1997), 38.

sions in which the EU members may, on a case-by-case basis, decide to participate – and, under certain circumstances, even take the lead – through the use of specific resources already at the EU's disposal. An initial agreement by EU members to take over Operation Amber Fox, the NATO peacekeeping force presently deployed in Macedonia, by summer 2003 could, in the event of finalized EU–NATO institutional arrangements, provide a first case to test the "operationality" of the ESDP, notwithstanding the various critical voices about the wisdom of such an action.[47]

Conclusion

Less than a decade ago, at a time when "Europe's hour" was said to have struck, Christopher Hill warned against a rising "capability-expectations gap" in Europe's ambitions.[48] To many, the ESDP might appear as another such example of Europe's inability to match rhetoric with reality. By contrast, those who nurture hopes for the successful evolution of the ESDP tend to point to the role of institutions in establishing legitimacy and the necessary momentum toward a common purpose that no single European nation would otherwise be keen or able to elicit on its own. Karl Deutsch had astutely captured this idea more than 40 years ago in his notion of an "amalgamated security community," while more recent observers point to the emergence of a "European strategic culture" that lends itself to the gradual development of common policy

47 Judy Dempsey, "EU Agrees to Take Over Macedonian Security Role," *Financial Times*, 9 February 2002.
48 Christopher Hill, "The Capability-Expectations Gap, or Conceptualizing Europe's International Role," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31, No. 3 (September 1993): 305–328.

instruments, including the use of force.[49] Indeed, almost 50 years after the aborted attempt to set up some common European defense, the stakes now appear very different. The move from a European way of life to a "European way of defense"[50] may still involve several steps, but the idea *per se* no longer calls for a huge leap of faith.[51]

The comparison is often made with NATO. Just as NATO is an unqualified success, the ESDP remains an untested aspiration. Whilst we may know what NATO does or how it operates, but prefer to be less explicit about what it really stands for, the ESDP purports to have a goal and an identity of its own even as it still struggles to match present means with proclaimed ends. In a way, then, NATO's "performance legitimacy"[52] contrasts sharply with the EU's deficits in both military performance and political legitimacy. "Europe's military revolution" may thus prove to be less military and less revolutionary than what its early proponents

49 Paul Cornish and Geoffrey Edwards, "Beyond the EU/NATO Dichotomy: The Beginnings of a European Security Culture," *International Affairs* 77, No. 3 (2001): 587–603. Robert Kagan's assertion that Europe has recently adopted a more pacific strategic culture is less a testimony to Europeans' rejection of military force *per se* than it is a tribute to the European Union as the most successful institutional alternative to the old European balance-of-power politics. See "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review* (June–July 2002). For a broader discussion on the role of institutions, see also Gilles Andreani, "Why Institutions Matter," *Survival* 42, No. 2 (Summer 2000): 81–95; John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of Institutional Institutions," *International Security* 19, No. 3 (Winter 1994/95): 5–49; and John Gerard Ruggie, "The False Premise of Realism," *International Security* 20, No. 1 (Summer 1995): 62–70.

50 Alyson Bayles, "European Defence: Another Set of Questions," *RUSI Journal* 145, No. 1 (14 February 2000): 39.

51 De Wijk suggests that the creation of European military capabilities inevitably implies establishing "supra-national policies i.e., a European defence," while one of Duke's three scenarios for the future includes the construction of a new EU pillar, which he titles "Common Defence Policy" (and, symbolically, "Britain's fourth pillar"). See De Wijk, "Convergence Criteria: Measuring Input or Output?" and Simon Duke, *The Elusive Quest for European Security: From EDC to CFSP* (Basingstoke, Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000), 307–312.

52 François Heisbourg, "New NATO, New Europe: New Division of Labour," *The International Spectator* 34, No. 2 (April–June 1999): 64.

seemed to suggest,[53] and it will certainly take some time before the EU can truly declare the "glass ceiling" broken.[54] A new and more assertive Europe that is less inhibited by history, however, is no longer mere fantasy.

The ESDP is in line with the broader logic of "EU-ropean" integration,[55] and should be treated pragmatically without recourse to dangerous and naïve ideas of some predefined future. This does not mean that Europe does not or ought not to have aspirations, interests, and, indeed, a vision about its own role in the world. But attending to such a vision implies more than "a" common policy or a shared identity – let alone a single "big idea."[56] It also requires that any new commitments be backed by a strong common political will and credible resources. The ESDP should be guarded against those who may be quick to raise its flag, but would ultimately prove reluctant to follow its lead.

The EU needs to develop a kind of strategic concept that would link its policies to those of the Alliance and to its own ambitions, as well as some sort of periodic strategic review that would seek to coordinate and converge intra-European practices and procedures. The road from a "*solidarité de fait*" to a "*finalité stratégique*" will be marred by bumps and occasional detours.[57] Missing the much-heralded 2003 HG in all its facets is one such likely detour, but it should not distract its members from the broader rationale of this journey. As the EU Select Committee of the UK House of Lords recently concluded, "EU governments

53 Gilles Andréani, Christoph Bertram, and Charles Grant, *Europe's Military Revolution* (London: Centre for European Reform, 2001).

54 Anne Deighton, "The Military Security Pool: Towards a New Security Regime for Europe?" *The International Spectator* 35, No. 4 (October–September 2000): 41–54.

55 Timothy Garton Ash, "The European Orchestra," *The New York Review of Books* (17 May 2001): 60–67. In the process of becoming "EU-ropean," argues Garton Ash, Europe's triple challenge lies in the areas of enlargement, efficiency, and legitimacy.

56 Richard Medley, "Europe's Next Big Idea: Strategy and Economics Point to a European Military," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 1999): 18–22.

57 François Heisbourg, "Debate: Is the Fundamental Nature of the Transatlantic Security Relationship Changing?" *NATO Review* 49, No. 1 (Spring 2001): 15–19.

are unlikely to be able to meet all aspects of the headline goal by 2003, but the ESDP is an evolving policy area of the Union with significant political momentum behind it."[58] It would be unfortunate for Europe if such a momentum, with all its potential benefits, were to be sacrificed on the altar of political expediency, bureaucratic squabbling, or lofty rhetoric.

The EU agenda implies an extended timeline for the ESDP. Taking the latter seriously is thus "not tantamount (…) to suggesting that 'it,' however defined, is about to occur."[59] "From time to time," writes Jacob Burckhardt, a perceptive European mind of a past world, in his *Reflections on History*, "we try to delude ourselves with an apparently nobler explanation, but our only motive is one of retrospective impatience." As Europe prepares itself for a Treaty Review in 2004 and an unprecedented enlargement to the north, east, and south of its current borders in the years ahead, assessing the real success of the ESDP cannot be confined to any particular progress achieved by December 2003. Even the *finalité politique* of an "ever more united" Europe must, in the absence of any clear notion of the future, rely on the progressive "ever more" rather than on some fixed end goal that might derail the entire process.

With regard to its evolving defense identity and policy, Europe's challenge is two-fold – political as well as military – with implications that touch upon three policy levels, no single one of which can be seen in strict isolation from the other two, even as each one must at times be addressed separately: the domestic level (as regards budgetary questions and needed political leadership); the EU level (establishing institutions, pooling capabilities, and agreeing on decision-making

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58 Select Committee on European Union, House of Lords, Eleventh Report, 29 January 2002, available at http://www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/ld200102/ldselect/ldeucom/71/7102.htm. This report focuses explicitly on the military aspects of ESDP and thus its conclusions must be assessed in relation to these aspects and not to the civilian elements of ESDP.

59 Simon Serfaty, *European Common Foreign, Security, and Defense Policies – Implications for the United States and the Atlantic Alliance*, Hearing before the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 106th Congress, First Session, 10 November 1999 (printed in Serial No. 106–106).

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procedures); and the transatlantic level (with regard to NATO, but also in terms of potential future joint missions undertaken in cooperation with the US outside Europe's narrowly defined borders). Since security "Made in the United States of Europe" is an unrealistic scenario, now and for the foreseeable future, Europe as a whole will remain largely a consumer of the well-tested US security goods – unless a viable transatlantic alternative can emerge that takes sufficient account of Europe's post-Cold War status and post-World War II sensitivities, while recognizing the US' contribution to these developments and its preeminent role for maintaining the continental security of the Eurasian space. All this, however, does not prescribe a gloomy scenario for Europe's evolving security and defense policy. The ESDP, like many other EU-sustained projects, remains a work in progress – rather than merely a progress at work – and the fundamentals on which it rests are ultimately more important over the long term than the various present doubts about its ultimate course. European leaders recognize that there is no better alternative to the current course, and if rhetoric occasionally tends to blind the orator and disillusion his transatlantic audience, reality has already transcended both sides' historic ambiguities and recurring apprehensions.

Tania M. Chacho

Implementing the Headline Goals: The Military Aspect*

Headline Goal

To develop European [military] capabilities, Member States have set themselves the headline goal: by the year 2003, cooperating together voluntarily, they will be able to deploy rapidly and then sustain forces capable of the full range of Petersberg tasks as set out in the Amsterdam Treaty, including the most demanding, in operations up to corps level (up to 15 brigades or 50'000–60'000 persons).

These forces should be militarily self-sustaining with the necessary command, control and intelligence capabilities, logistics, other combat support services and additionally, as appropriate, air and naval elements.

Member States should be able to deploy in full at this level within 60 days, and within this to provide smaller rapid response elements available and deployable at very high readiness.

They must be able to sustain such a deployment for at least one year. This will require an additional pool of deployable units (and supporting elements) at lower readiness to provide replacements for the initial forces.[1]

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* The views expressed are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Department of the Army, the US Military Academy, or any other agency of the US government. They are not for citation or reproduction without permission of the author.

1 "Headline Goal," composed by The Council of the European Union, Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), EU Military Structures, at http://ue.eu.int/pesc/Military/en/HeadGoal.htm.

Introduction

The Headline Goals (HGs) outlined in the 1999 Helsinki European Council meeting set an ambitious agenda for the creation of military capabilities designed to allow the European Union (EU) to react to a variety of international circumstances. Specifically, EU member states agreed to create a rapid reaction force of 60'000 personnel, capable of deploying in less than 60 days and remaining in theater for up to 12 months. The target date set for the establishment of this European Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) capability is 2003, which gives the EU less than one year to muster, train, equip, and validate their force. What progress has the EU made so far? To systematically analyze the readiness of the RRF, I propose adapting a planning tool used by the EU Military Committee (EUMC): the operation plan (OPLAN).[2] The intent of such a plan is to methodically prepare military forces for the execution of a specific mission, and I suggest that the OPLAN offers an effective method of gauging military progress toward the HG force. It also illuminates shortcomings that require attention. Analysis based on the OPLAN indicates that in order to achieve an operational rapid deployment capability by 2003, at a minimum the EU needs to provide three things: (i) clear mission guidance to military commanders, (ii) improved and integrated intelligence capabilities and strategic airlifts, and (iii) increased defense funding.

2 Many militaries use some version of OPLANs to prepare their forces for missions. The plan's intended level of analysis is (as the name implies) operational; however, I am adapting the format to assess the development of a specific capability at the strategic level.

Military Plans and Orders

The military decision-making process establishes a procedure for analyzing a situation and reaching logical decisions.[3] The process results in three distinct products in the following order: a concept plan (CONPLAN), an OPLAN, and an operations order (OPORD). The CONPLAN begins the process with a vision, and the OPLAN takes it down to the level of detail necessary to execute the mission. Both NATO and the EUMC use this methodology for planning and executing military operations, and it offers a useful framework for analyzing the EU's military progress on the HGs.

The OPLAN provides all of the analysis elements needed to determine the steps the EU must take to achieve an operational rapid reaction force capability. The document contains five separate paragraphs, or sections: (i) situation, (ii) mission, (iii) execution, (iv) service support, and (v) command and signaling.[4] Subparagraphs further divide the order, creating a document designed to ensure that a commander overlooks nothing during the preparation for a specific mission. Furthermore, it ensures that subordinate commanders understand their mission and the intent of the higher commanders. While not directing the exact actions of subordinates, the order sets the parameters required to achieve the mission. Subordinates retain the freedom to decide exactly what actions they take to accomplish the stated goals.

This structure has clear applicability to the RRF arrangement, right down to the latitude allowed to subordinate elements. Member states have the option of nonparticipation in missions they find politically distasteful or untenable. The OPLAN format is also useful in that it highlights gaps that exist even after the member states pool their military capabilities. As such, it can identify shortcomings that may not

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3 US Department of the Army Field Manual 101–5, *Staff Organization and Operations*, 31 May 1997, provides the doctrinal source for the US military for this decision-making process.

4 See NATO Standardization Agreement 2014, *Operations Orders, Annexes to Operations Orders, Administrative and Logistics Orders*. This manual contains formats for military planning and operational procedures, including the operations order.

present if analyzed in separate contexts. In the case of the RRF, we cannot measure the whole force merely as a sum of its parts, with the parts defined as the force and equipment contributions of each member state. As with any coalition operation, interoperability and coordination issues concern military professionals and require attention prior to the deployment of the force.[5]

OPLANs usually require a means of evaluation to ensure that the forces gathered can actually carry out the task at hand. A force that appears ready on paper may, in fact, be unprepared to assume a mission and undertake all of the tasks associated with it. Training and exercises provide a means of testing the force and assessing its strengths and weaknesses. In this regard, the RRF has recognized the need for evaluation and has developed an exercise program that will "test and validate" the command structures and procedures of the European crisis-management mechanisms.[6] These exercises, though limited in scope, should provide valuable feedback to leaders in the EU.

Situation: The Current Operating Environment

Given the development path taken by European collective security agreements and alliances, the new RRF has a web of commitments, forces, and arrangements to navigate as it creates the military capabilities outlined in the HG. The situation portion of the OPLAN demands the enumeration of "friendly forces," and in this case they include

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5 See General Klaus Naumann, *Europe's Military Ambitions* (Centre for European Reform Online, June/July Bulletin 00, available at http://www.cer.org.uk/articles/n_12_2.html.

6 Transcript of Common Security (Council, Brussels) – Meeting of defense ministers of the EU member states, the candidate countries, and Iceland and Norway, round table, available at http://europa.eu.int/comm/ebs/shotlist/ref19644.htm. The European defense ministers agreed to conduct two exercises in 2002. These exercises will take place at political and chief-of-staff level and will not involve troops. Working groups will gather again to prepare these exercises. The exercise program foresees joint exercises with NATO in 2003, upon the development of a formal agreement.

NATO and the US. And yet, these relationships are not ones of unmitigated support: the US has indicated its concern over potential overlap of missions and forces, and NATO has recently addressed the issue of dual force designation.[7] Nonetheless, in order for the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) to succeed, the military force proposed by the EU needs to leverage the support of such friendly forces. Exactly how it goes about achieving this is a critical decision that requires attention from policymakers.

The OPLAN also requires definition of "enemy forces," and this equates with a discussion of the security threats facing the EU. However, defining threats is problematic for many in today's international arena: potential threats include nonstate actors employing asymmetric techniques, as the events of 11 September 2002 and the foiled terrorist plots in Rome and Strasbourg made clear. For the RRF, other threats may include failed states, noncombatant evacuations, peace support and humanitarian operations, and regional conflicts within or outside of the European continent.[8] Always difficult to counter, such threats will challenge the reaction capabilities of the RRF and necessitate the development of tailored force packages to respond to this wide variety of threats. Further complicating the issue, the RRF cannot plan these force packages with any degree of certainty due to potential shifts in their pool of available resources: the RRF structure allows member states to withhold their forces from any operation as they see fit. Accordingly, some member states have expressed their desire to not participate in

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7 See the *NATO Handbook* (NATO Office of Information and Press, Brussels, 2001), particularly chapter 4, "The European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI)," 97–103, available at http://www.nato.int/docu/handbook/2001/hb0401.htm. See also Ivo H. Daalder, "A US View of European Security and Defense Policy," adapted from lecture given at USAREUR Senior Leadership Forum, Grafenwohr, Germany, 7–9 March 2001, available at http://www.brook.edu/views/articles/daalder/2001lecadpt.htm.

8 See Julian Lindley-French, "Boosting Europe's Military Muscle – the Build up and Future Role of the EU Rapid Reaction Force," lecture in the Cicero Foundation Great Debate Seminar, Paris, 9–10 March 2000, available at http://www.cicerofoundation.org/p4lindleyfrench.html.

"high-risk" operations where combat is likely.[9] Clearly, the decision to intervene militarily against any enemy force lies firmly in the political arena, and hence the responsibility for defining threats rests with EU leaders and those of its member states. The RRF military leaders cannot establish an effective force without this articulation of potential enemies, and the EU is currently wrestling with this policy issue in an attempt to provide the necessary guidance.[10]

The task of organization of the RRF began to take shape in mid-2001, when the EU assumed some defense institutions from the Western European Union (WEU) and established other organizational structures. [11] Most notably from a military institutional standpoint, the Political Security Committee (PSC), the EUMC, and the European Military Staff (EUMS) came into existence. Member states have promised contributions totaling "more than 100'000 men, around 400 combat aircraft, and 100 ships."[12] Although the EU has not released an exact breakdown of contributions by country (as pledged by member states at the November 2000 Commitment Conference), the table below provides an approximate breakdown of troops available for the RRF, along with the funding available to them.

9   See Summary of the EU–NGO CFSP Contact Group Meeting "Achieving the Helsinki Headline Goals," *International Security Information Service, Europe*, 10 January 2002, available at http://www.isis-europe.org/isiseu/cfsp_reports/report20.html.

10 See the Western European Union (WEU) Audit, presented to European Foreign Ministers in Luxembourg, November 1999.

11 *NATO Handbook*. The European Union has assumed the role of the WEU, in accordance with decisions taken by the Council of the European Union in Helsinki (December 1999) and in Feira, Portugal (June 2000). In November 2000, the WEU Council of Ministers formally transferred the operational role of the WEU to the EU and made arrangements for the WEU's residual functions and structures.

12 Council of the European Union, *Draft Presidency Report on European Security and Defense Policy*. COSDP 333 (Brussels: EU Council, 11 December 2001), Annex I, 18.

Country	Military budget (% of 1998 GDP)	Troops pledged
Germany	1.5	13'500
France	2.8	12'500
Britain	2.7	12'000
Italy	2.0	6'000
Spain	1.4	6'000
Holland	1.8	5'000
Greece	4.8	3'000
Finland	1.5	2'000
Sweden	2.2	2'000
Belgium	1.5	1'000
Ireland	0.8	1'000
Portugal	2.2	1'000
Luxembourg	0.8	500
Denmark	1.6	0
Austria	0.8	0
		Total: 65'500

Source: International Herald Tribune, 20 November 2000; SIPRI Year Book 1998.

Notable is the discrepancy between the 100'000 personnel claimed by the EU in December 2001 and the force totals that member states publicly admitted to committing to the RRF a year earlier. It is clear that the leaders of member states have concerns about the number of troops that their constituencies will accept as dedicated to the RRF.[13]

Moreover, the figures on the level of defense spending relative to GDP, cited in the table above, appear overly-optimistic. For example, recent figures for France indicate that military spending has declined steadily since the mid-1990s.[14] The French defense budget has decreased in a move to cut public spending to meet the Stability Pact criteria for launching the euro. Defense spending, excluding salaries, fell 8 per

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13 The Annex containing each member state's specific troop and equipment commitment to the EERF remains confidential. See Council of the European Union, *Op. cit.*

14 Robert Graham, "DEFENCE: Government Faces a Financial Squeeze," *The Financial Times*: online at http://specials.ft.com/ln/ftsurveys/country/sce1b6.htm.

cent between 1997 and 2000.[15] *The Financial Times* reports that France is now spending less than 2 per cent of its GDP on defense, compared with 2.5 per cent in Britain.[16]

Mission: Eurovision 2003

The EU seeks to declare the RRF capability operational by 2003, yet the exact uses of this force (as established by the Petersberg Tasks) remain unclear.[17] Some members have expressed a greater willingness to undertake missions at the so-called high end of the force spectrum, while others have expressed reluctance to commit forces to a combat-oriented mission.[18] Others have called for more specific definitions of the Petersberg Tasks.[19] However, the ambiguity of the situation has

15 *Ibid.*

16 *Ibid.*

17 Derek Brown, "The European Rapid Reaction Force," *The Guardian*, 11 April 2001. Brown argues that the ERRF will have three main roles: (i) to give assistance to civilians threatened by a crisis outside the EU, (ii) to respond to UN calls for peacekeeping forces, and (iii) to intervene in order to separate warring factions. In all three scenarios the EU would deploy its forces only if NATO decided not to become involved.

18 Summary of the EU–NGO CFSP Contact Group Meeting, "Achieving the Helsinki Headline Goals," *International Security Information Service, Europe*, 10 January 2002, available at http://www.isis-europe.org/isiseu/cfsp_reports/report20.html. The differing interpretations of the range of Petersberg Tasks is particularly evident when combat forces are involved. France and Italy appear to have the most expansive definition, which includes operations such as Desert Storm in the Gulf and the Kosovo air campaign. The governments of the UK and The Netherlands are more cautious in their assessment of the upper limit, but they do acknowledge the requirement of some element of combat power. Germany and Sweden have the most restrictive definition, focusing on peacekeeping.

19 See "An Analysis of European Military Capabilities in the Light of the Process of Developing Forces to Serve the European Security and Defence Policy," November 2001, research directed by Timothy Garden and Michael Clarke at the Centre for Defence Studies, King's College, London, available at http://www.tgarden.demon.co.uk/writings/articles/2001/011129rusi.html.

political benefits for the EU; they should therefore not relinquish them lightly. For example, clearly-defined parameters for the use of force could result in strategic inflexibility, locking the RRF into accepting only those missions that fall into a specific crisis range and thus opting them out of a military response to incidents outside that range. Of course, this complicates the job of military commanders as they attempt to train their forces, as they must now broaden their repertoire and prepare for a wider variety of missions. However, military readiness need not suffer as long as the guidance to military commanders includes instructions for preparing the RRF for missions across the spectrum of conflict types. Granted, this approach will require more resources – money, troops, equipment, and training – but it provides the EU with the greatest flexibility.

From an operational standpoint, focusing on high-end capabilities creates an assemblage of troops with a certain gamut of skills. This "skill set" contains useful tools that could be transferred over to operations further down the conflict spectrum (e.g., peacekeeping operations). The experience of the US military in stability and support operations, such as those in Haiti, Bosnia, and Kosovo, proves the applicability of this skill transfer: it is generally easier to take troops trained for high-intensity combat on peacekeeping operations than the other way around.[20] The same holds true for equipment and logistical support requirements.

Recently, EU ministers addressed the potential pitfalls inherent in allowing the Petersberg Tasks to remain ambiguous, and determined that the method of British case law provided the best means of reconciliation: agree to allow some gray area to remain, with the expectation that

20 This is not to say that the skill set for high-intensity operations correlates well with the skills needed in stability and support operations. The US army recognizes this, and has developed a training program for soldiers about to embark on stability and support operations. See "Stability and Support Operations," Center for Army Lessons Learned, Newsletter No. 98–11, available at http://call.army.mil/products/newsltrs/98-11/98-11toc.htm. The US army is currently grappling with the best way to create the flexibility needed to respond to a full spectrum of conflict. See Thomas McNaugher, David Johnson, and Jerry Sollinger, "Agility By a Different Measure: Creating a More Flexible US Army," *RAND Arroyo Center Issue Paper*, IP-195, 2000.

this will define itself as cases arise.[21] These cases will then serve as precedents upon which to base parameters for future uses of force.

Furthermore, the ambiguity of the Petersberg Tasks is not likely to be resolved soon. Again, this is not necessarily a negative aspect; in mature democracies, debates necessarily arise over the decision to employ military forces in missions other than pure self defense. Of course, problems will arise if certain member states decide to withhold their forces and/or equipment from certain missions, and the EU owes it to its military commanders to resolve this issue. The member states can provide this while still retaining the strategic flexibility to respond to unforeseen situations that arise.

Execution: Can They Walk the Walk?

The execution paragraph forms the crux of the plan, as it outlines expectations of how the organization will carry out the mission. The section begins with the commander's intent, which specifies leader expectations and establishes an end point for the operation. In this case, the end point – the development of the HG capability – is clear, while the expectations of the various leaders are not. As mentioned above, the political disagreements between European member states remains problematic, particularly when attempting to coordinate the mission. Nonetheless, despite varying viewpoints offered by Atlanticists and Europeanists, the EU has committed itself to the establishment of the RRF, seemingly indicating a baseline level of agreement on the end point.

The concept of the operations portion of the order includes guidance on such matters as maneuvers, fires, reconnaissance and surveillance, intelligence, engineer assets, air defense, and information operations.

21 See Summary of the EU–NGO CFSP Contact Group Meeting. At the Capabilities Improvement Conference in November 2001, EU ministers agreed that the definition of the Petersberg Tasks would evolve in a similar way to British case law, being practically defined by the record of EU decisions taken.

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While all of these areas are relevant to the RRF, I will focus on the intelligence arena to illustrate some of the challenges faced by the EU. As Richard Norton-Taylor noted, a common intelligence policy creates "the ties that would really bind, the ultimate test of mutual trust."[22] Unfortunately, establishing these ties is a detailed process that requires extensive coordination, planning, and a strong will.

The discussion surrounding the acquisition of a moving-target indicator (MTI) system provides an example of the standardization difficulties facing the EU. The EU is considering procuring up to 18 JSTARS (joint surveillance and target attack radar system) aircraft from the US, but it also has not ruled out the option of developing supplemental technology with compatible surveillance capabilities.[23] Among the candidate systems are the French HORIZON (hélicoptère d'observation radar et d'investigation de zone), the Italian CRESO (Complesso Radar Eliportato per la Sorveglianza), and the British ASTOR (airborne stand-off radar) systems. HORIZON and CRESO are helicopter-mounted systems with MTI radar antenna connected via data links to a ground station.

However, the EU has not committed to purchasing JSTARS aircraft from the US. The ASTOR is one of two potential British JSTARS alternatives. Like JSTARS, ASTOR uses a combined synthetic aperture radar/MTI to track moving objects on the ground as well as to produce landscape images. The second British system is the Pilatus Britten-Norman multi-sensor surveillance aircraft, which offers a multimode radar capability.

To avoid duplication, excess spending, and interoperability issues, the EU must decide on a single system. Political and economic constraints have prevented it from acting in the necessary decisive manner, and this inaction will eventually impact on the ability of the RRF to function efficiently.

22 Richard Norton-Taylor, "Intelligence Test," *The Guardian*, 20 December 2000, available at http://www.guardian.co.uk/eu/story/0,7369,413754,00.html.
23 Robert Ropelewshi, "Achieving Information Advantage for Strategic and Tactical Battle Success," available at http://pollux.com/dsr97/14-info1.htm.

Such shortcomings can be addressed in the tasks to subordinate the units portion of the order, which outlines specific actions that component elements need to take to ensure mission accomplishment. EU member states must agree to resolve the MTI system procurement issue, and the decision must be binding. Contracting one system for the ERRF will be politically unpopular in some member states, but it is absolutely critical if the force is to obtain the necessary intelligence and surveillance capabilities. This example is just one of many such compatibility and procurement issues facing the RRF – all must receive attention. To achieve success in the HG, the EU must establish a precedent and demand a common standard. The EU Council recognized and addressed this issue at the Capability Improvement Conference on 19 November 2001, by establishing a European capability action plan that recognized the need for coordination to combat the existing fragmentation of defense efforts.[24]

The coordinating-instructions portion of the order contains information common to all, such as risk-reduction control measures, rules of engagement, and force protection. The EU must identify the issues at stake and provide guidance to military commanders. Of course, decisions here are also not without peril: the RRF risks enfeeblement should it calculate incorrectly in the arena of force protection and rules of engagement, a fate that befell the UN forces in Yugoslavia in 1995. Correspondingly, it risks escalation of a situation should it overestimate the amount of military force needed in any given situation. Civilian guidance is necessary here.

24 European Union General Affairs Council, *Statement on Improving European Military Capabilities*, Brussels, 19 November 2001, available at http://www.defense-aerospace.com/data/verbatim/data/ve236/.

Service Support: Beans, Bullets, and the A400M

Traditionally, this section of the order or plan deals with material and services, medical evacuation, personnel, and civil-military issues. While all these topics are relevant to the development of the RRF, I will focus specifically on procurement of material. As some commentators have noted, the most serious issues for the European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI) "lie in the logistical side: EU members lack sufficient airlift and sealift [capabilities], transportable docks, communications equipment and headquarters; and intelligence-gathering satellites, aircraft, and UAVs."[25] But there are also some serious gaps in combat capabilities, including the suppression of enemy air defenses, combat search and rescue, and precision-guided weapons.

One of the most serious tests of European commitment to the RRF lies in their handling of the procurement of the Airbus A400M military transport plane. Some commentators see the aircraft – backed by Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Turkey – as a "litmus test of whether Europe is serious about the ESDP."[26] If they press forward in contracting the A400M, Europe will indicate its commitment to developing its strategic lift capability. Should the EU drag its feet on signing a contract, the A400M project may unravel, and the ESDP would lose credibility.

The EU appears to be making progress on other issues in the procurement arena. Britain has taken delivery of its first few C-17 transport aircraft, France recently announced a modest increase in its procurement budget over the next 5 years, and four EU countries have created OCCAR (organisation conjoint de coopération en matière d'armement), an organization that should improve the efficiency of the management of transnational weapons programs.[27] OCCAR is currently considering the A400M for integration into their contractual management pro-

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25 Charles Grant, "A European View of EDSP," prepared for the IISS/ CEPS European Security Forum, 10 September 2001, available at http://www.eusec.org/grant.htm. UAVs refer to unmanned arial verhicles.

26 *Ibid.*

27 *Ibid.*

gram.[28] Such efforts will serve to streamline logistics, increase the efficiency of the defense procurement system, and ultimately benefit the military effectiveness of the RRF.

Of course, it is difficult to discuss procurement without raising the issue of defense budgets. Analysts have argued that without increasing expenditures on defense, the EU cannot hope to create a functional RRF.[29] Domestic considerations and constituencies have prevented increases in military spending in many member states, and this could cause the effectiveness of the RRF to falter. Military commanders require resources to accomplish any given mission, without which they cannot offer a viable capability.[30] The member states of the EU must make some difficult choices regarding government expenditures – to create the type of force they have agreed upon clearly requires an increase in military spending.

Command and Signal: Can They Talk the Talk?

The command structure of the RRF presents challenges, particularly regarding "separability" from NATO. Besides the obvious concern of an overlap of resources, the specific chain of command becomes problematic. According to the EU, their military structures will be "separable but not separate from the NATO. The aim is that there should be no unnecessary duplication."[31] Some duplication is unavoidable, but keeping dual structures to a minimum will have obvious payoffs in cost reduction and efficiency of operations.

28 See http://www.occar-ea.org/C1256B0E0052F1AC/vwContentFrame/N254S MTV400SLEREN.

29 See House of Lords, *European Union, Fifteenth Report*, 25 July 2000, available at http://www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/ld199900/ ldselect/ldeucom/101/10108.htm.

30 The saying "pas d'argent, pas de Suisses" applies here: "without money, the capability will not develop." The author wishes to thank Étienne de Durant for his insightful comments and background information on this issue.

31 Information on the EU's official stance on the ERRF's relationship to NATO is available at http://ue.eu.int/help/en/faq_en.htm - 6.

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Yet, the detangling of an RRF command structure from NATO faces several political obstacles. Turkish opposition to the concept proved particularly troublesome, and could pose a serious obstacle to the development of the ESDP. Ankara has strategic concerns relating to national security; however, by preventing the use of NATO planning staffs and other assets, Turkey can potentially force three damaging effects on the EU:

1. An expensive duplication of NATO headquarters (which currently comprises 13'000 staff);

2. Uncertainty on the part of potential adversaries about whether NATO would reinforce an EU operation;

3. Estrangement between the US and the EU, as the Bush administration continues to oppose duplication of NATO planning.[32]

When discussing command, accountability also becomes an issue. Specifically, who will ensure that all elements of the RRF are trained to common standards? The Gothenburg European Council, held between 15 and 16 June 2001, established a monitoring and evaluation system, called the Capability Development Mechanism (CDM),[33] and this is certainly a step in the right direction. Joint exercises will also help develop an assessment capability, but training and assessment systems often take years to develop and implement. EU member states should be prepared for an extended period of trial and error as they establish this capability.

The signals portion of the order addresses communications equipment and protocols. Once again, the RRF faces challenges, particularly related to technological compatibility. Some commentators have expressed concern over the EU's ability to develop and fund a research and development capability, and noted that this requires a greater expenditure of

32 Kori Schake, "Managing Diversity," article prepared for the IISS/CEPS European Security Forum, 10 September 2001, available at http://www.eusec.org/schake.htm.

33 European Union General Affairs Council, *Statement on Improving European Military Capabilities*, Brussels, 19 November 2001.

resources.[34] Others have noted the potential for a "technological gap" that renders European forces incompatible with those of the US.[35]

Conclusion

This chapter has addressed some of the issues facing EU military forces as they seek to develop a European RRF in pursuance of the HG. By using the OPORD as a framework for analysis, I have attempted to put forward a methodological tool with which to assist in framing the debate. In view of the above application of the OPORD, I would suggest that whilst significant progress has been made toward realizing the military side of the HG, considerable obstacles must be overcome before the RRF becomes a reality.

First and foremost, Europeans must address the question of defense spending. Budgetary decisions are never easy, and the EU's task is complicated further by the divergent interests and desires of its member states. Nevertheless, a basic truth remains: the EU must spend money on military forces if it wants to develop a viable rapid reaction capability. This fiscal expenditure, more than any other action, will signal the seriousness of European intent with regard to the new force. In turn, a

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34 House of Lords, *European Union, Fifteenth Report*, 25 July 2000, available at http://www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/ld199900/ldselect/ldeucom/101/10108.htm. The report cites Marwan Lahoud as providing evidence that "we are spending, in Europe, less money on this activity and we are spending it in a less efficient way." Furthermore, the report notes that the US "spends $35 billion per year on defence research and development (R&D) whilst the remainder of NATO spends only $9 billion. While the European members of NATO together spend about 60 per cent of the US figure on overall defence, duplication and inefficient national practices means they come nowhere near generating 60 per cent of the U.S. capability."

35 Elinor Sloan, "DCI: Responding to the US-led Revolution in Military Affairs," *NATO Review* (Spring/Summer 2000): 4–6. Sloan predicts that unless the EU takes action, the widening technological gap will soon lead to European troops being unable to operate alongside US troops because of their "technological backwardness."

credible RRF could lead to greater European operational input in joint missions. The allies of the EU focus on capabilities and commitment rather than force size. If the EU does seek to play a greater role on the world stage, creating and funding a viable rapid reaction force is a necessary first step.

Giovanna Bono

Implementing the Headline Goals: The Institutional Dimension*

Introduction

The Headline Goals (HGs) are stated targets for the establishment of a European Union (EU) military force of up to 60'000 troops, with appropriate naval and air support, to be deployed within 60 days and sustained in theater for up to 12 months.[1] The HGs were agreed at the EU Helsinki summit in December 1999 and constitute an integral part of the development of the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP). In order to implement the HGs and to give shape to the ESDP, a number of political institutions, that were previously part of the *acquis* of the Western European Union (WEU), have been transferred to the EU.

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1 The decision to establish the HGs is reprinted in Maartje Rutten, *From St Malo to Nice: European Defence: Core Documents,* Chaillot Paper, No. 47 (Paris: WEU Institute for Security Studies, 2001), 84–86. For an in-depth discussion of the HGs, see *Achieving the Helsinki Headline Goal* (London: Centre for Defence Studies, November 2001). For an update of the decisions taken in relation to the HG since mid-2001, see Council of the European Union, *Draft Presidency Report on European Security and Defence Policy*, COSDP 333, Annex to the Laeken Declaration. (Brussels: EU Council, 11 December 2001), available at http://ue.eu.int/Newsroom, especially the "European Capability Action Plan" to be found as Annex 1; House of Lords, Select Committee on the European Union; *The European Policy on Security and Defence*. Session 2001–2002 11th Report. HL Paper 71(1) (London: House of Lords, 29 January 2002), 16, 20.

The institutional changes accompanying the implementation of the HGs are the focus of this chapter. The advantages and disadvantages of these new arrangements are identified and evaluated *vis-à-vis* the EU's success as a foreign, security, and defense actor. The chapter argues that the newly-created political institutions have given the EU the *potential* to act as a credible international security actor. The developments underway should encourage a greater synthesis of interests among EU member states, preventing individual states from pursuing unilateral policies. In addition, the new institutions also employ economic, diplomatic, and legal resources in conflict prevention and crisis management in a manner that does not imitate the functions of NATO's institutions. The new political arrangements should also give the EU increased diplomatic clout when negotiating in a variety of international bodies, such as the UN and the IMF. And since there is an agreement among EU member states to advance an agenda that addresses the root causes of conflict, the potential for a positive contribution to conflict prevention is promising. Finally, the institutional dimension of the HGs represents a further step toward deeper European integration as EU member states pool their sovereignty in the areas of security and defense.

There are however shortcomings of the initiative, the most serious of which stem from the method adopted to establish the ESDP. When policymakers decided to create the new institutions associated with the common defense and security policy, they were still in the process of negotiating the essential features of a new burden-sharing arrangement in the European security domain. As a result of competing national agendas, they failed to agree on a strategic concept for the foreign, security, and defense policies of the EU and instead allowed a "bottom-up" approach, driven by the requirements of the HGs, to prevail. The new political arrangements are therefore rather weak, and the new political institutions, as they stand at present, have made the EU's infamous "democratic deficit" even worse.

The New Political Structure of European Security

The HGs relate to the military side of the ESDP and result from a number of EU/WEU Council decisions taken between 1999 and 2001.[2] The HGs essentially outline the EU's intention to establish a rapid reaction force and to give the EU the capacity to undertake external military operations. Agreement on the HGs went hand in hand with the creation of new political structures that have significantly changed the institutional composition of the European security architecture.[3]

Until 1998, the WEU had the task of implementing the defense dimensions of Europe's common foreign and security policy (CFSP), in close cooperation with NATO. Up to this point, the EU had no military structure or forces under its direct control.[4] By mid-2001 however, the EU had taken over most of the *acquis* of the WEU, specifically its defense tasks and institutions. The ESDP established bodies under Pillar

2 The key EU Council summits that shaped ESDP were: Cologne (June 1999), Helsinki (December 1999) and Feira (June 2000). For a compilation of the key official documents, see Maartje Rutten, *Op. cit.*

3 For a literature review of the ESDP that captures the changes that took place in the European security architecture from 1997 to mid-2001, see Giovanna Bono, *European Security and Defence Policy: Theoretical Approaches, the Nice Summit and Hot Issues* (Research and Training Network, ESDP and Democracy, February 2002), available at http://www.esdpdemocracy.net/7_publications.htm. For a condensed version, see Giovanna Bono, *European Security and Defence Policy: The Rise of the Military in the EU*, Peace Studies Working Papers (Bradford: Peace Studies Department, University of Bradford, March 2002), available at http://www.brad.ac.uk/acad/peace/pubs/psp4_title.pdf.

4 For further reading on the role of the WEU, see Anne Deighton, ed. *Western European Union 1954–1997: Defence, Security, Integration* (Oxford: European Interdependence Research Unit, St Antony's College, 1997); Guido Lenzi, ed. *WEU at Fifty* (Paris: The Institute for Security Studies, Western European Union, 1998); Wyn Rees, *The Western European Union at the Crossroads: Between Transatlantic Solidarity and European Integration* (Boulder, CO.: Westview Press, 1998).

II of the EU, the pillar responsible for the CFSP.[5] The ESDP was thus established both within and in parallel to the CFSP.

The CFSP was the product of interaction between the European Council, the Commission, and the European Parliament (EP) prior to 1999. The bodies responsible for CFSP under the Council auspices were: the General Affairs Council, the Presidency, the Political Committee (PoCo), the Committee of Permanent Representatives (COREPER), and the Secretariat, with a number of working groups cutting across the Council and the Commission. The 1997 Amsterdam Treaty led to the creation of two new bodies for the CFSP: the post of secretary-general/high representative of CFSP and the Policy and Planning Early Warning Unit.[6] By December 2000, EU leaders had agreed, in the form of an appendix to the Treaty of Nice, to approve a number of new political institutions that had already been established by the EU/WEU Council decisions.[7]

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5   The other two pillars are: Pillar I (responsible for the Common Market) and Pillar III (responsible for Justice and Home Affairs). The pillar structure was established under the 1992 Maastricht Treaty.

6   There is extensive literature on CFSP. For an overview of the political institutions under the Council and the Commission responsible for Common Foreign Security and Defence Policy until mid-1999, see Andrew Cottey, *The European Union and Conflict Prevention: The Role of the High Representative and the Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit* (London: International Alert/Saferworld, December 1998); Roy H. Ginsberg, "The EU's CFSP: The Politics of Procedure," in *Common Foreign and Security Policy: The Record and Reforms*, ed. M. Holland (London: Cassell, 1997), 12–33; Ben Soetendorp, *Foreign Policy in the European Union: Theory, History and Practice* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 1999); Ramses A. Wessels, *The European Union's Foreign and Security Policy* (The Hague etc.: Kluwer Law International, 1999).

7   The report appeared as Annex VI to the Nice Treaty. It is available electronically at EU Council, (4 December 2000) *Presidency Report on the European Security and Defence Policy*, Press Release Nr 14056/2/00. The Nice Treaty and the Presidency report are available at http://ue.eu.int/Newsroom. For the Nice Treaty, see European Communities, *Treaty of Nice Amending the Treaty on European Union, the Treaties Establishing the European Communities and Certain Related Areas* (London: HMSO), No. 1 Cm 5090, March 2001.

The new institutions created by the Councils are: the Political Security Committee (PSC), the EU Military Committee (EUMC), the EU Military Staff (EUMS), the EU Situation Center, the Civilian Crisis Management Committee (CIVCOM). In addition, a number of other institutions were created as agencies of the Council: the Satellite Center and the EU Institute for Security Studies. Below is an overview of the changes in the political arrangements that took place and the nature of the new political structure.

ESDP 2002: political structures
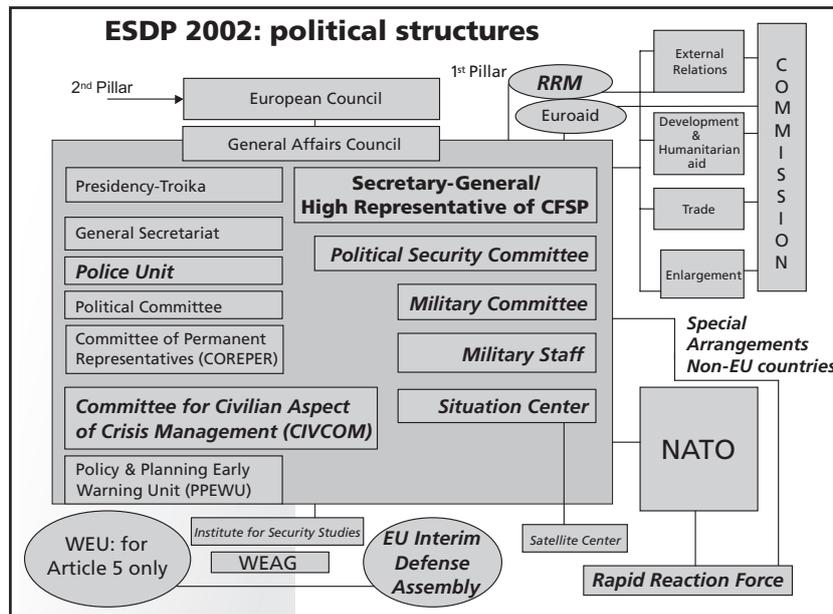
Note: In **bold-italic**: new institutions for ESDP agreed between 1999–2000. In **bold**: institutions agreed by the Amsterdam Treaty (1997) that came into operation during 1998–1999.

The Political Security Committee

The PSC, (COPS in French), is the leading body for decision making on the CFSP and ESDP policies.[8] It acts both as a crisis-monitoring and crisis-management body.[9] In addition to keeping track of the state of international affairs, examining the role of the General Affairs Council, and providing guidelines to other committees on matters falling within the CFSP, it deals with crisis situations. It is the PSC which advises the Council on the overall EU strategy to be taken for a given crisis situation. Under such circumstances, the PSC is charged with examining all options available and exercising "political control and strategic direction of the EU's military response to the crisis." It also evaluates the opinions and recommendations of the EUMC and, in particular, "the essential elements" (strategic military options including the chain of command, operation concept, and operation plan) to be submitted to the Council.[10] The PSC has taken over some of the functions of the PoCo and the COREPER, both of which were, and still are, partly responsible for CFSP.[11]

The European Union Military Committee

The EUMC is the highest military body established within the Council. It is composed of member states' Chiefs of Defense (CHODs), represented by their military representatives (MILREPs). It exercises direc-

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8 Taken from the *Presidency Report*, Annex III.

9 European Communities, *Op. cit.* (March 2001).

10 *Presidency Report*, Annex III.

11 The PoCo is composed of the political directors of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the past, they had the task of monitoring the international situation in areas covered by CFSP and had to contribute to the definition of policies by the delivery of options to the Council. The COREPER, consisting of Ambassadors from the member states that had the task of examining the dossiers coming from the PoCo. The role of both PoCo and COREPER has slightly changed since the establishment of the PSC. This transformation is discussed in a later section.

tion of all military activities within the EU framework. The EUMC meets at the level of CHODs as and when necessary.

The EUMC provides military advice and recommendations to the PSC on all military matters within the EU as and when requested. The EUMC develops the overall concept of crisis management in its military aspects, assesses the risk of potential crises, and makes a financial estimate of the cost of operations and exercises. Although the EUMC advises on the concept of military operations (CONOPS) and on the associated operation plan (OPLAN), it is the operation commander that develops CONOPS and hence supervises the planning of military operations. The task of military planning is undertaken by the so-called Committee of Contributors, an *ad hoc* group created by the countries contributing military units to any given EU force.

The EU Military Staff

It is hoped that by 2003 the EUMC will ultimately consist of about 135 officers and support staff. The role of the staff is to provide early warning, situation assessment, and strategic planning for the Petersberg Tasks, including the identification of relevant forces. The EUMS has the additional role of implementing the policies and decisions of the EUMC.

The head of the Military Staff, a three-star general, is the senior military adviser to the high representative. He or she participates in the PSC and, when appropriate, in meetings of the Council of Ministers. General Rainer Schuwirth, a German national, was appointed Head of the Military Staff in November 2000. His deputy is a British brigadier, Graham Messervy Whiting.

The EU Situation Center

A EU situation center has been set up and linked to both the Military Staff and the Policy Unit under the high representative for CFSP. It is jointly-run by civilian and military personnel. The Situation Center's function is to coordinate and process information relevant to a particu-

lar crisis, and to disseminate it to the institutions concerned. The Center has a small staff and operates on a 24-hour basis, using a system of duty officers. In conditions of crisis, the Situation Center supports the PSC and the EUMC.

The Civilian Crisis Management Committee

The Feira European Council summit of June 2000 created the CIVCOM. The aim of this committee is to strengthen policing, civilian administration, and civil protection. CIVCOM reports directly to the COREPER but receives guidance from and provides information to the PSC. It has begun to develop an inventory of resources required for nonmilitary crisis response and conflict prevention within EU organizations and member states respectively. The inventory of resources includes a police force of 5'000 officers, 100 of them to be deployable within 30 days for international missions by 2003. CIVCOM is also in the process of establishing targets for the deployment of 200 officials (prosecutors, judges, and correctional staff) and civilian administration experts. CIVCOM has also developed targets for civil protection assistance involving a pool of up to 100 experts who are on 24-hour call, and a Civil Protection intervention team of up to 2'000 people.

In order to strengthen the policing capabilities of the ESDP the Secretary-General/High Representative for CFSP Javier Solana announced in May 2001 the establishment of a Police Unit at the Council Secretariat.[12]

New working arrangements between NATO and the EU

A number of working groups and special political-military arrangements have been established by the EU and NATO to resolve some outstanding problems. These issues relate to three controversies surrounding the transatlantic security relationship: the extent to which the EU

12   Message from Javier Solana to the EU Conference of National Police Commissioners, Brussels, 10 May 2001. Reprinted in Maartje Rutten, *From Nice to Laeken: European Defence: Core Documents,* Chaillot Paper, No. 52 (Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies, 2002).

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member states can consult in crisis situations without having to do so at the level of NATO's North Atlantic Council (NAC) – in other words, whether or not NATO has the right to refuse a mission before the EU can undertake it; the degree of autonomy the EU will have when using NATO assets; and whether the EU will make use of NATO's operational planning capabilities or whether it will decide to build its own. Most of these issues remain unresolved at the time of writing, as will be discussed in more detail below.[13] Other working groups have also been set up to facilitate the involvement of non-EU NATO candidate member states and other partners in EU-led crisis-management operations.[14]

The Satellite Center and the EU Institute for Security Studies

Two institutions that were also part of the WEU have been transferred to the EU. One is the WEU Satellite Center in Torrejon that has now become the EU Satellite Center. It provides satellite images to the EU Situation Center. The other body is the WEU Institute of Security Studies that has been transformed into the EU Institute for Security Studies and has obtained the status of an agency under the Council. The aim of the Institute is to create a common European security culture and to contribute to the development of the CFSP/ESDP by undertaking research for the Union's Council, stimulating the strategic debate, and enhancing transatlantic dialogue.[15]

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13 For an overview of the transatlantic security relationship and ESDP, see Stanley Sloan, *The United States and European Defence*, Chaillot Paper, No. 39 (Paris: WEU Institute for Security Studies, 2000); Giovanna Bono, *Op. cit.* (February 2002), 41–44.

14 *Presidency Report*, Part IV, VI and Annex VI and VII. As a result of recent consultations, Norway and Iceland have announced that they are willing to contribute 762 police officers to international EU operations beginning in 2003. The Polish government also announced its intention to contribute two battalions of 1'300 men. Romania and Turkey have made clear that they would be willing to pledge up to 3'000 men if the outstanding issues with regard to NATO–EU cooperation, as explained above, are resolved. *Bulletin Quotidien Europe*, No. 8095, (21 November 2001): 4.

15 For further information on their activities and status, see http://www.iss-eu.org/ and http://www.weu.int/satellite/en/.

Changes in the Commission

Parallel to the establishment of the new bodies for the ESDP, changes have been introduced in the working of the Commission to strengthen its input in the CFSP and the ESDP. A Rapid Reaction Mechanism (RRM) was agreed to in order to facilitate the allocation of resources for civilian crisis management in February 2001. The RRM is managed by three staff located in the Unit of Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management of Directorate A (CFSP Directorate) in the Directorates-General (DG) Relex, the DG responsible for external relations.[16] The Commissioner for External Relations Chris Patten restructured its humanitarian aid operations in January 2001. It established the EuropeAid Cooperation Office, which acts as an implementing agency for both DG Development and DG Relex projects.[17]

The institutional changes introduced between 1999 and 2001 are thus of some magnitude. It is therefore important to explore the likely consequences of these developments for the future role of the EU as a foreign, security, and defense actor. The positive and negative aspects of the new political structure are dealt with in the next section.

The Positive Aspects of the New Political Structure

In less than two years, EU member states have made great strides toward endowing the EU with institutions and capabilities that have the *potential* at least to strengthen its ability to act as a credible international security actor. EU member states have demonstrated a readiness to face up to their external responsibilities and to coordinate their foreign, security and defense policies in a way that had not been attempted since the failure to construct a European defense community in the 1950s.

16 For further information on the Rapid Reaction Mechanism, see *EU Crisis Response Capabilities: An Update*, IGC Issues Report, No. 29 (April 2002), 11.

17 For the mission statement of EuropeAid, see their web site: http://europa.eu.int/comm/europeaid/general/index_en.htm.

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As many commentators have pointed out, the institutional aspects of the ESDP signify a first significant step towards the "Brusselization" of member states' foreign, security, and defense policies.[18] The new political arrangements should over the long run foster common understandings on a number of strategic issues and thereby contribute to preventing individual states from pursuing independent and possibly contradictory policies.

Another vital merit of these new institutional developments is that EU member states have agreed *in principle* not to duplicate some of the tasks undertaken by NATO. EU member states have in fact been willing to admit that it is essential to put more emphasis on the importance of conflict prevention rather than on military intervention. Although military structures have been created under the Council, the experiences in the Balkans and in Afghanistan demonstrate that the EU has so far preferred to use a variety of tools that rely on traditional diplomacy, humanitarian aid, and economic power.

It could also be argued that through the ESDP, the EU is not only becoming an international security player, but at the same time is reinforcing its overall role as an actor on the world stage. From a realist point of view it is clear that having access to the use of military force bestows greater influence upon a state or a regional entity in the international arena. Some commentators have indeed argued that the EU's lack of military instruments has in the past undermined the effectiveness of its international actions.[19] Even if one were to disagree with the use of military power and some of the realist assumptions contained in this argument, it is apparent that having a foreign, security, and defense policy figure, such as Solana, and staff and institutions dedicated to ensuring that the EU's voice is heard internationally, fulfill some of the criteria of "actor capacity" in global politics.

18 Wolfgang Wessels, "Nice Results: The Millenium IGC in the EU's Evolution," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39**,** No. 2 (2001): 197–219; Jolyon Howorth, *European Integration and Defence: The Ultimate Challenge* (Paris: WEU Institute for Security Studies, November 2000).

19 M. Keens-Soper, *Europe in the World* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999).

Experts have argued that there are four criteria for so-called actor capacity: recognition, authority (the legal competence to act), autonomy, and cohesion.[20] It can be argued that through the establishment of the ESDP, the EU is acquiring recognition on the world stage (an idea captured in the axiom that one can now dial a number and obtain an answer from a representative of the European peoples). And although the ESDP has not yet conferred complete autonomy and cohesion on the EU, it has given the organization greater authority in international affairs. This newly-acquired influence could potentially be translated into enhanced diplomatic clout when holding discussions in a variety of international bodies, such as the UN and the IMF. And since there is an agreement among EU member states to advance an agenda that addresses the root causes of conflict, the potential for a positive contribution to conflict prevention is even greater.

In addition, the institutional changes associated with the ESDP have also moved the EU member states further toward deeper integration, even if perhaps only *à la carte*. In the past, security and defense have been considered issues of such vital national importance that they should not be subject to the dynamics of "communitarization." Although the special legal status given to the ESDP institutions reflect the continuing desire of member states not to relinquish their national control over policymaking, it is clear that the Commission will be involved in the CFSP/ESDP decision-making process. Most importantly, the leading role played by some EU member states during the negotiations on the ESDP seems to point to the creation of a *moyen dur* (a hard core) of countries leading Europe across a number of issue-areas and that are committed to ensuring that the EU becomes a leading foreign, security, and defense actor.

However, despite the progress made so far, the new political structures face a number of challenges that will need to be met if their positive attributes are to be realized. The next section thus addresses the thornier side of the institutional equation.

20   Jupille Jupille and James A. Caparaso, "States, Agency and Rules: The European Union in Global Environmental Politics," in *The European Union in the World Community*, ed. Carolyn Rhodes (Boulder, CO.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998), 213–229.

The Negative Aspects of the New Political Structure

EU member states have so far failed to delineate a concept with which to guide policymakers in the formulation of foreign, security, and defense policies. This failure stems in large part from the piecemeal approach adopted when establishing the new institutions. The ESDP came into being between 1999 and 2001, not as the result of a "grand design" but rather as a consequence of conflict amongst member states over the nature of European security.

Britain and France came to a common understanding at St Malo in December 1998 and issued a joint declaration calling for EU member states to "upgrade" their military capabilities. The initiative took on momentum partly because of the impact of the Kosovo crisis. Some European countries, particularly Germany, Italy and the neutrals (Austria, Finland, Ireland, and Sweden) endorsed the initiative because they felt alienated by US conduct during the war in Kosovo, and also because they came to realize that in order carry more weight internationally, it was necessary to have access to both military and political resources.

Behind the Franco-British consensus there were however divergent viewpoints. Britain favored developing the new political structures outside of Pillar II. It wanted EU member states to upgrade their military capabilities to ensure the survival of NATO. French political élites were more divided on the long-term aims of the ESDP. The French Ministry of Defense had for a long time recognized the importance of integrating its forces with those of NATO member states, whereas the Ministry of Foreign Affairs clung to the Gaullist vision of France "leading" a European bloc at least in part independent in its foreign policy from the US. The German and Italian governments favored a strong European foreign and defense policy in so far as this did not undermine NATO. Sections of the German government and the political leadership of the neutrals emphasized the importance of strengthening the civilian side of crisis management. At the same time, in the majority of EU member states, respective ministries of defense were in favor of the HGs since they promised to facilitate the upgrading their national military forces.

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Because of these differences of opinion and the lack of an overall foreign, security, and defense concept, EU/NATO military planners were not given precise guidelines for planning operations. They have thus shaped key aspects of the *political* nature of the ESDP through a set of technical proposals. This can be observed in the way in which the upgrading of the tasks of the institutions and the HGs has taken place. For example, the WEU was originally charged with undertaking the Petersberg Tasks that include "tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking." In reality, the planning undertaken by WEU military staff had been limited to low-level military operations – those involving the separation of belligerent parties by force. The WEU had been engaged militarily in minesweeping operations (Gulf War), monitoring and enforcement of UN sanctions at sea (Adriatic and Danube in the former Yugoslavia), and in managing low-level policing operations in Mostar (Bosnia and Herzegovina).[21] These operations did not however include peace-enforcement activities. The EUMC and military experts have, by contrast, agreed that the definition of the Petersberg Tasks, and hence one of the functions of the ESDP, should be to prepare for peace-enforcement activities comparable to Operation Desert Storm.[22]

The lack of a foreign, security, and defense concept agreed at the highest political level has thus effectively allowed the most powerful EU member states and transnational forces to shape key aspects of the agenda of the new institutions through the use of nontransparent and unaccountable policymaking practices.

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21 For the original definition of the Petersberg Tasks, see WEU Council of Ministers, "Western European Union Council of Ministers Petersberg Declaration" (Brussels: WEU, 19 June 1992). For an overview of the WEU's military operations, see Arie Bloed and Ramses A. Wessels, eds. *The Changing Functions of the Western European Union* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1997); Mathias Jopp "The Defense Dimension of the European Union: The Role and Performance of the WEU," in Efriede Regelsbeger, Philippe de Tervarent Schoutheete and Wolfgang Wessels, *Foreign Policy of the European Union: From EPC to CFSP and Beyond* (Boulder, CO.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997).

22 Centre for Defence Studies, O*p. cit.* For a discussion of the decision making process, see Bono, *Op. cit.* (February 2002), chapter 4.

While many commentators argue that the creation of the political institutions associated with the ESDP has proceeded smoothly in contrast to member states adherence to the HGs,[23] the opposite could equally be argued. EU member states have failed to provide the new institutions with a sufficiently clear political mandate. They have been too eager to permit a bottom-up approach to evolve in the absence of a common political vision.

Failure to agree on the ESDP's parameters raises questions about the long-term role and tasks of the newly-created institutions. These institutions in fact face significant challenges that can be captured as horizontal and vertical issues that cut across the political and military fields. At a political level, there is a problem of "institutional over-provision" and lack of clarity regarding the division of labor between the various different bodies. There are four institutions whose functions overlap: the General Affairs Council (GAC), the PSC, the PoCo, and the COREPER.[24] There is also disagreement amongst EU member states as to whether members of the PSC should be of a higher diplomatic status than those represented in the PoCo. The PoCo has traditionally been composed of the political directors of the member states' foreign ministries. This ensured the transgovernmental character of the CFSP. While the PoCo has remained in operation, its functions have been downgraded to official meetings with third countries and to finalizing preparations for European Council meetings since mid-2001.[25] A number of observers now argue that the PoCo should be dissolved and that the PSC should be composed of high-ranking ambassadors

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23 Simon Duke has for example argued that whilst the development of new institutional arrangements is significant, little progress has been made with respect to EU defense capabilities. Simon Duke, "CESDP: Nice's Overtrumpeted Success?" *European Foreign Affairs Review* 6 (2001): 155–175.

24 In a statement to the EU Parliament's Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, the President of the EU's Military Committee, General Gustav Haaglund, admitted that the relationship between the EUMC, the PoCo and the Council General Affairs Council was obscure. *Bulletin Quotidien Europe*, No. 8134, (23 January 2002): 3.

25 Antonio Missiroli, *Coherence for European Security Policy: Debates, Cases and Assessments,* Occasional Paper, No. 27. (Paris: WEU Institute for Security Studies, 2001).

who should eventually develop their own ethos and thereby facilitate a further Brusselization of the ESDP. However, such a conception of the future role of the PSC raises concern in some European capitals.

There is also a lack of clarity about the division of labor that should be established between the Commission and the Council. Although at a superficial level the media has often captured the tension between the role of the Commission and the Council by focusing on the personal ambitions of Solana and Patten, the issues involved are not simply a question of clashes of personality. There is friction between the Commission and the Council, due to the fact that the former has more financial and human resources at its disposal to shape the CFSP than the newly-created bodies of the ESDP has. There are also divergent visions regarding the role of the EU in international relations. In short, the Council is under the influence of those who would prefer the EU to prioritize its legal, economic, and humanitarian means in external relations, whereas the institutions under the Council auspices, having allowed the ministries of defense a say, are more interested in preparing for external military engagement.[26]

The role of the new institutions in controlling the conduct of external military engagements is also problematic. The extent to which the high representative for CFSP, the PSC, and the EUMC will have at their disposal access to a *military command structure* and to troops to lead military operations outside EU borders remains unclear. Although the Nice Treaty clarified that the EU could act autonomously and could decide to call upon the use of NATO assets – planning resources and military capabilities –, it should be emphasized that, at present, the EU does not have extensive planning capabilities to undertake its own operations. As the policy director of the British Ministry of Defence, Richard Hatfield, explained:

> The key thing that is autonomous is the ability to take political decisions. The only independent input that the EU will have in

26 For an overview of the issue, see Giovanna Bono, *Op. cit.* (February 2002), section 5.2, 41–43; Jolyon Howorth, "European Defence and the Changing Politics of the European Union: Hanging Together or Hanging Separately?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39, No. 4 (2001): 765–89, especially 774–778.

terms of machinery is a small-ish military staff, about the same size the WEU had which has been abolished, which can frame the questions that will be sent off to the NATO planning staffs for preparing options for them to consider. Beyond that, it will depend on drawing on capabilities either from NATO or from the EU nations, so there will not be anything else independent being created for the EU as such. [27]

The future viability of the ESDP does, in fact, depend on a transatlantic security arrangement being worked out that allows the EU to have access to NATO's operational planning capabilities and military assets. Negotiations to resolve this issue have been underway for more than two years. Until late November 2001, the EU was faced with a Turkish veto. Officials in Ankara argued that the modalities for participation in EU-led missions did not allow third countries to take part in the decision to launch an operation – in other words, they discriminate against non-EU NATO member states. Turkish officials wanted the right to veto the deployment of an autonomous EU force in the Eastern Mediterranean. Britain and the US concluded a deal with Turkey in December 2001, which appeared to lead to a breakthrough. Politicians in Ankara accepted that the EU would have assured access to NATO assets, but only on a case-by-case basis. Turkey was given some guarantees over the geographical scope of EU operations and consultation rights in return, although decisions about when and how an external military operation should be carried out would fall to the EU Council of Ministers. The deal however could not be sealed because of objections raised by Greece. At the time of writing, the Greek government continues to oppose NATO jurisdiction over EU operations that do not depend on Alliance installations.[28]

As a way around this problem, emphasis has been placed on a piecemeal approach that relies on establishing some high-level political co-ordination when responding to external crises. This puts the member states' willingness to cooperate in the military field to the test. At the

27 Quoted in Mark Oakes, *European Security and Defence Policy: Nice and Beyond,* Research Paper 01/50 (London: House of Commons Library: International Affairs and Defence Section, 2 May 2001), available at http://www.parliament.uk/commons/lib/research/rp2001/rp2001.htm.

28 *Bulletin Quotidien Europe*, No. 8159 (27 February 2002): 4.

highest *political* level close consultations have therefore taken place during the launching of recent military operations in Macedonia (Operations Essential Harvest and Amber Fox, respectively). The desire to achieve a greater degree of coordination was also noticeable in a number of recent initiatives taken by the EU to deploy forces in the Balkans. One such initiative is an agreement to send 500 EU military officers to Bosnia and Herzegovina to take over the UN's mission there. The force will be deployed from 1 January 2003. The responsibility for the daily management of the operation will come under the authority of Solana.[29] The second initiative began in early 2002, when proposals emerged for the EU's Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) to militarily intervene in Macedonia. The French and Spanish governments have been lobbying for such action, but no agreement has yet been reached. The objective of the force would be to protect the 120 or so European field observers who are there on the ground.[30]

However, it should be stressed that if an agreement is achieved on EU access to NATO's operational planning and assets, the political institutions created under the Council could become influenced by military thinking present in the NATO integrated military structure. This could mean that the EU would be hampered in its attempts to develop new strategies for external crisis management that rely on diplomatic, legal, and economic tools. The EU could find itself transformed into a subcontractor for NATO in the areas of humanitarian intervention and peace building, without having the chance to develop a new approach to conflict management and conflict prevention.

The potential future division of labor between NATO and the EU can be observed in the formulation of NATO's new doctrine for Peace Support Operations (PSO). This doctrine conceptualizes external engagement, based on a mandate that is halfway between peacekeeping and peace enforcement, and relies heavily on coordinating the activities of civilian organizations involved in long-term conflict resolution. This doctrine does not exclude the need for war fighting on the scale of Operation Desert Storm. Although the US has both the ability to

29 *Bulletin Quotidien Europe*, No. 8153 (18 and 19 February 2002): 4–5.
30 *Bulletin Quotidien Europe*, No. 8148 (11 and 12 February 2002): 5; *Bulletin Quotidien Europe*, No. 8147 (9 February 2002): 5.

engage in war fighting and in extensive post-war reconstruction, it is hesitant to become involved in the latter for historical reasons. The major European powers (Britain and France) also have the capabilities to engage in war fighting, but can only master the expertise and civilian capabilities coordinated by the EU (e.g., aid, reconstruction, policing, and judicial expertise). By establishing a link between NATO and the EU, the US and some dominant EU member states are hoping to be able to use both NATO and EU assets for these new types of external military interventions on an *ad hoc* basis.[31]

This division of labor envisaged between the EU and NATO is already evident in the current conduct of the military operation in Afghanistan, and NATO's past and present operations in the Balkans. Whilst the US has conducted air and ground campaigns against the Taliban and Al-Qaida forces, some EU member states have provided support to the US military effort by leading the peacekeeping/peace-enforcement contingent: the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF).[32] During the Kosovo crisis and its aftermath, Britain and the US undertook most of the war fighting. At this time, EU member states provided the largest contingent of peacekeeping forces to the area and paid for the biggest

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31 PSO was first developed by the British Army, but is currently shaping some of the military planning at NATO Headquarters and possibly within the EU. For a background to the British doctrine, see Tom Woodhouse, "The Gentle Hand of Peace? British Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution in Complex Political Emergencies," *International Peacekeeping* 6, No. 2, (1999): 24–37; Philip Wilkinson, "Sharpening the Weapons of Peace: Peace Support Operations and Complex Emergencies," *International Peacekeeping* 7, No. 1 (2000): 63–79.

32 ISAF is a force of 5'000 troops and it is drawn mainly from Western states. Britain provides the lead with 1'800 troops, including the headquarters base, followed by Germany (800), France (550), Italy and Spain (300 each), and Turkey (260). The Netherlands and Greece come after with approximately 100 each, followed by smaller numbers from Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Romania, and Sweden. At the beginning of March, Danish, French, German, and Norwegian soldiers were involved in combat operations in the mountains of Shah-e-Kot. David Teather, "US Steps Up Ground Offensive," *The Guardian*, 4 March 2002, 13.

share of the cost of economic reconstruction.[33] During the current intervention in Afghanistan, NATO and the EU have made available their assets to an *ad hoc* coalition of the willing.

If this type of new division of labor between the EU and NATO were to be consolidated, it could potentially undermine the functions of the newly-created political institutions of the ESDP. It would mean that the EU would simply act as a subcontractor to NATO in external engagements. In effect, the EU would make available its civilian, financial, and military capabilities for low-intensity crisis management operations that would be controlled by an *ad hoc* coalition of the willing, led by either Britain, France or the US. The newly-created institutions would remain politically weak and would likely follow orders from self-appointed EU capitals.

The danger of legitimizing the policies of selected member states is increased by the fact that the new institutions are not democratically accountable.[34] It should be remembered that at present European parliamentary assemblies – the EU Interim European Security and Defense Assembly and the European Parliament (EP) – and the national parliaments of EU member states are hardly able to scrutinize the ESDP.[35] This can be demonstrated by briefly looking at the tasks of such assemblies.

33 For an overview of EU involvement in the Kosovo war and its aftermath, see Lykke Friis and Anna Murphy, *Negotiating in a Time of Crisis: The EU's Response to the Military Conflict in Kosovo,* EUI Working Paper, RSC 2000/20 (Florence, Fiesole: European University Institute, 2000).

34 For an in-depth discussion of the problem of democratic accountability *vis-à-vis* the ESDP, see Giovanna Bono, "New Developments of the ESDP: International Military and Police Co-operation Within the EU and Its Consequences for Democratic Accountability," paper presented at the *Workshop on Strengthening Parliamentary Oversight of International Military Cooperation/Institutions in the Euro–Atlantic Area,* organized by the Geneva Center for Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), July 2002, soon to appear on DCAF's web-site: http://www.dcaf.ch/pcaf.

The EU Interim European Security and Defense Assembly

The development of ESDP has led to the transformation of the WEU Assembly into the EU Interim European Security and Defense Assembly.[36] Although during the post-war period the WEU Assembly played an important role in raising the debate about a European security and defense identity, it did not exercise control over the activity of the WEU Council. Its supervisory role was limited to posing questions to the Council about its activities and making recommendations.[37] It could only express an opinion once a decision had already been taken. Its role has not changed, despite the creation of ESDP.

The European Parliament

The EP has no significant rights of scrutiny over the ESDP. This is due to the traditional limitations of the EP in the EU's pillar structure and the piecemeal approach used to develop the new institutions for the ESDP. The EP has different ways of supervising the role of the Commission and the Council, depending on whether a policy comes under Pillar I, II or III of the EU.[38] As previously mentioned, the newly-created institutions for the ESDP have been established under Pillar II. At present, the EP has extremely weak powers to supervise decisions taken under this pillar. Despite the establishment of the new institu-

35 Unfortunately as yet there is little work on the democratic accountability of defence and security policy at the EU level. The exception to the rule is the work of Stelio Stavridis, "The Democratic Control of the CFSP," in *Common Foreign and Security Policy*, ed. Martin Holland (London: Pinter, 1997).

36 In the past, the modified Brussels Treaties defined the WEU Assembly as an interparliamentary assembly. The Assembly remains in operation because the Brussels Treaties still stand since the EU has not taken over Article 5 of the Brussels Treaty, the article that deals with the defense of its members.

37 For a review of the history and the role of the Assembly, see Christoph Lotter, *Die parliamentarische Versammlung der Westeuropaischen Union* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1997). For an overview of its current activities, see the Assembly's web site: http://www.assemblee-ueo.org/.

38 For an introduction to the role of the EP in EU policymaking, see Richard Corbett, Francis Jacobs, and Michael Shackleton, *The European Parliament: Fourth Edition* (London: John Harper Publishing, 2000).

tions for the ESDP and the extensive range of tasks allocated to them, no additional rights of supervision were conferred on the EP. (Most of the new institutions for the ESDP were, in fact, created prior to the signing of the Nice Treaty and without a change in the overall pillar structure).[39] This means that the EP cannot fully supervise the implementation of the HGs and decisions related to the deployment of the RRF and the EU international police force.

The EP's rights of scrutiny of the CFSP/ESDP can be broadly summarized in four with reference to areas. Firstly, it has the right to be informed about CFSP developments by the Presidency and by the Commission. The Presidency must consult the EP on the "main aspects and the basic choices of the CFSP." Secondly, the EP has the right to call upon the high representative for CFSP and the special representative to appear before the EP's Foreign and Defense Committee in order to give evidence about the mandate and appointments. Thirdly, the EP can use a certain number of Rules of Procedure to make recommendations in a specific policy area (Rules 46 and 92) and to oblige the Presidency to listen to its views (Rule 91). Finally, since a number of CFSP areas are included in the EC Treaty, the EP is allowed to make use of the existing Community procedures (e.g., cooperation, co-decision) in its supervision of CFSP.[40]

39 Lydia Pnevmaticou, *Les aspects juridiques de la PESD*, Publications Occasionnelles, No. 31 (Paris: Western European Union Institute for Security Studies, 2001), available at http://www.iss-eu.org/.

40 These include three areas: *(1)* the EP can decide on general foreign policy guidelines for development cooperation, to which the co-decision procedure applies (Article 179, paragraph 1 EC); *(2)* the assent of the EP is required for association agreements with third countries and international organizations on the basis of Article 300 EC, and for the accession of new member states on the basis of Article 49 TEU; *(3)* the EP has a direct influence once CFSP expenditure is charged to the budget of the European Communities. For further reading on the role of the EP in the CFSP/ESDP, see R. A. Wessels, *The European Union's Foreign and Security Policy* (The Hague etc.: Kluwer Law International, 1999); Catriona Gourlay, *The European Parliament's Role in Scrutinising Defence and Security: An Uncertain Future*, ISIS Briefings Paper, No. 21 (Bussels: ISIS, 1999).

The national parliaments

The national parliaments have different methods of scrutinizing foreign, security, and defense policies. Without coordination at the international level, they are unable to influence the decisions taken by the EU Council and the NAC. Even when EU governments decide to go to war, the majority of EU states are not obliged to consult and obtain the approval of their own parliaments.[41]

These rights do not fulfill the basic standard of democratic scrutiny of decision making. The EP can only seek to influence general guidelines and not the concrete decisions that stem from them. MEPs and members of the EU Interim European Security and Defense Assembly can only bring pressure on CFSP/ESDP decision making by asking questions and making recommendations. They can only express an opinion *post de facto.*

The establishment of the new political bodies has moreover reinforced rather than changed the extremely opaque nature of the EU policy-making process. EU policymaking differs from national policymaking due to its nonhierarchical and fragmented nature. Political power is dispersed across different levels and branches of government. This leads to decisions having a nonrational, random character – sometimes described as the "joint-decision trap" or the "garbage can" model of decision making.[42] In order to overcome these phenomena the EU has allowed a great deal of policy initiatives to pass to a series of "policy-communities," which act as an interface between the national and European bureaucracies, and which include experts and lobbyists. They act through informal and formal processes such as the comitology.[43] These networks corrode established hierarchies and lead to poli-

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41 For an overview of national parliamentary procedures in the case of external armed intervention, see EU Interim Assembly, *National Parliamentary Scrutiny of Intervention Abroad by Armed Forces Engaged in International Missions: The Current Position in Law,* Report No. 1762 (Paris: EU Interim Assembly, 12 November 2001), available at http://www.assembly-weu.org/en/documents/sessions_ordinaires/rpt/rpt.php?annee=2001.

42 Lord, O*p. cit.*, 84.

43 For an analysis of the system of comitology, see Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1999): 41–44.

cymaking being characterized by the search for consensus solutions. The result is that decisions are taken in an opaque and *ad hoc* fashion. The establishment of new EU–NATO working groups and other groups under the PSC and EUMC has thus added to the overall lack of transparency in EU decision making.

Conclusion

The political institutions created between 1999 and 2001 to implement the HGs and to give shape to the ESDP have strengthened the *potential* of the EU as an international security actor. The new political arrangements represent a significant acceleration of the process of coordination of EU member states' foreign, security, and defense policies. The EU now has at its disposal additional diplomatic, legal, security, and military resources that can be used in external engagements. This development should contribute to the deepening of the Union's economic and political integration.

The major drawback of the new political structure is that it was created through a piecemeal approach. In democracies, it should be political leaders who, in consultation with their national parliaments, make decisions about their country's foreign, security, and defense aims. Institutions and capabilities should then be established accordingly. This procedure was not however followed in the formulation of the ESDP. Bottom-up social forces, which are unaccountable to EU citizens, are therefore shaping the strategy of the new political institutions. Moreover, the bit-by-bit approach adopted for the establishment of the ESDP has failed to clarify a number of important political and military issues. The exact division of labor between the institutions created for the CFSP and those created for the ESDP remains undefined, though extensive efforts to remedy this deficiency are underway. In addition, it remains moreover an open question as to whether the new political institutions under the Council auspices will have their own military command structure and operational planning capabilities.

Even if a deal were to be worked out with NATO that would allow the EU access to NATO operational and military capabilities, unless a clarification of institutional tasks and a strategic concept is formulated, the EU is in danger of becoming a mere subcontractor of NATO, and risks becoming involved in external conflicts without an exit strategy.

In addition, the new institutional arrangements for ESDP have worsened the problem of the democratic accountability of the EU. They have created a new layer of working groups that cut across the Council, the Commission, and NATO structures. These working groups are not answerable to national parliaments or the EP. If the ESDP is to be democratic and capable of contributing to peace and stability in and around Europe, the EU's pillar structure will have to be reformed and a new model of transnational policymaking will have to be developed.

**Part II
Cooperation With NATO
and EU Candidate States**

Jennifer Medcalf

Cooperation Between the EU and NATO

Introduction

Cooperation between the European Union (EU) and the NATO is complex and has become increasingly thorny as the EU has made progress towards the Common European Security and Defense Policy (CESDP).[1] The degree of difficulty that the evolving relationship between NATO and the EU has provoked is surprising as they have eleven common members and both organizations include nations which have a long history of interaction in political, military, and economic forums. These commonalities would normally diminish the probability of the sort of contentious debates that have characterized the EU–NATO relationship since CESDP emerged in the latter part of the 1990s. However, there are certain features of the contemporary relationship between the EU and NATO that help to explain why resolving key issues has been so challenging. A first feature is that attempts to create a European security and defense capability during the Cold War not only raised the question of whether such a capability would strengthen or weaken NATO, but also ultimately failed. Moreover, the momentum driving CESDP in the post-Cold War context was not simply a natural progression of European integration, but was also a clear response to the difficulties of cooperation within NATO throughout the 1990s, and specifically the relationship with the US. A last feature of the contemporary

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1 One of the complications encountered when analyzing cooperation between the EU and NATO is the fact that despite declarations from Brussels that the CESDP is operational, the CESDP remains a virtual military capability. Some of the issues identified in this chapter as presenting difficulties for cooperation the two institutions are therefore potential rather than actual. The real test of cooperation between the EU and NATO – and of the CESDP's success – will come when the EU is actually engaged in a military operation.

relationship between the EU and NATO is that attempts to enhance Europe's role in security and defense have traditionally been pursued within NATO. In contrast, CESDP is an EU political project that has been developed outside of the NATO context. Given the poor history of attempts to create a European security and defense capability and the contemporary factors that contributed to the emergence of CESDP, it is not surprising that there has been a degree of mistrust and skepticism and subsequently a difficult working relationship between the EU and NATO as they strive to redefine the transatlantic bargain.

This chapter begins by examining the reasons why NATO endured even in the absence of its *raison d'être* following the end of the Cold War and the factors that contributed to the emergence of the EU as an actor in European security. It then briefly discusses the main developments that have occurred and the arrangements that have been made in the EU–NATO relationship. It identifies key problems that are inherent to the CESDP regardless of its relationship to NATO, and also some of the difficulties that have been raised by cooperation between the EU and NATO. This part of the chapter seeks to demonstrate that the EU and NATO not only draw from the same pool of resources, but also intend to operate in a similar geographical area, because of internal constraints. It concludes by briefly examining some of the factors that could affect cooperation between the EU and NATO in the post-11-September context.

The End of the Cold War and Its Impact on the European Security Architecture

The collapse of Communism provoked at least two significant changes in European security. The first was that the end of the Cold War meant that Europe became less threatened than it had been for the entire post-World War II period. Subsequently, most Europeans no longer faced the danger of military invasion or the possibility of the use of other forms of organized force against them. The end of the Cold War and the collapse of Communism was therefore a two-edged sword for NATO:

NATO had clearly "won" the Cold War, yet at the same time, the demise of NATO's *raison d'être* called into question its future relevance in the post-Cold War era. Nonetheless, a second change, as events in the former Yugoslavia demonstrated, is that the end of Cold War did not herald the beginning of stability on the European continent, but instead provoked greater instability than Europe had seen for fifty years. Although the end of bipolar confrontation provided an opportunity for the EU to build on the foundations of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and to bolster the role of the Western European Union (WEU) as the EU's potential defense arm, the magnitude of the Yugoslav crises very quickly revealed that the EU was far from being the capable security actor that Jacques Poos' proclamation about "the hour of Europe" suggested. The incoherence of the EU's decision-making processes, the inadequacies of WEU and therefore the absence of an appropriate alternative to NATO, the dependence of the Europeans on the US for out-of-area contingences and the rapid reconfiguration of NATO's military structures subsequently resulted in NATO – not the EU – managing crises in the Balkans throughout the 1990s. Even though France, the most "Europeanist" of the EU partners, initially blocked NATO's involvement in the former Yugoslavia, because it perceived NATO's role as encroaching upon the sort of contingency envisioned for a potential European security and defense capability, France eventually conceded that only NATO with its capacity for facilitating joint planning and interoperability could manage European crises. The realities of European security in the 1990s subsequently resulted in the beginning of a process of *rapprochement* between France and NATO. With the deployment of IFOR in 1995, the EU as whole therefore appeared to agree that NATO was "the only military show in town," which caused a lull in the debate over EU's security role in the post-Cold War context.

Over the course of the post-Cold War period, NATO pursued a multi-dimensional approach to consolidate its position as Europe's pre-eminent security organization. The broadening of NATO's agenda thus ensured that in the absence of a threat that justified a solely collective defense posture, NATO became an organization whose main activities relate to security concerns that occur or emanate from beyond its members' borders. Moreover, a parallel development throughout the 1990s was the

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initiation of a process of internal adaptation within the Alliance. The European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI), a NATO military project, became the framework through which a more substantial European security and defense capability could be achieved. At NATO's 1996 Berlin summit, the structures for an effective European pillar and the means through which ESDI could be conducted – the Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF) concept – were set in place.[2] Moreover, the intricate Berlin Plus arrangements were established, which were designed to enable potentially all-European "coalitions of the willing" to draw on NATO assets in order to conduct military operations.[3]

Despite the changes that had been initiated to enhance the role of NATO in the European security arena and the European pillar within NATO, the very factors that consolidated NATO's role in European security over the course of the early post-Cold War period were also those that eventually led to the emergence of the EU as a potentially serious security actor. Although the US had promoted non-Article 5 missions since the collapse of the Soviet Union, European incoherence and inability to manage the Bosnian crisis in its early stages meant that the US eventually found itself obliged to act in the kind of non-Article 5 missions – crisis management, peacemaking, and peacekeeping in Europe – that it had not prioritized. Moreover, the inadequacies of the European Allies caused the US' contribution to the Alliance's response to events in the former Yugoslavia to be disproportionately large. The US thus became involved in the Alliance's new missions to an extent that did not match its expectation of post-Cold War burden sharing. The Alliance's involvement in the former Yugoslavia not only provided NATO with an out-of-area role, but it also hastened the renewal of

2 The CJTF concept is not simply – or even primarily – a device designed to enable the formation of all-European coalitions of the willing. Its primary objective and benefit is the versatility and flexibility it offers in creating coalitions of the willing – all-European or otherwise – that can perform a wide range of tasks.

3 Rather than being a set of agreements, Berlin Plus was – and remains – an ongoing process that sought to put the nuts and bolts on the ESDI/CJTF mechanisms. From the outset however it was fraught with problems, which continue to hamper efforts to equip the Europeans.

NATO in precisely the direction that the US had wanted to avoid. The ambivalent reaction in the US to involvement in the crises in the former Yugoslavia provoked the growing perception among the European members of NATO that the US was not fully committed to NATO's new out-of-area missions, that it could not be relied upon to intervene in European crises in the future, and that even if it did, it would only get involved and define strategy on its own terms. The lessons of the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia – that the US would not necessarily intervene in and underwrite European security in the same way it had been prepared to during the Cold War – and the implications for the EU – a global economic giant, but a political dwarf, ill-equipped to intervene in conflicts its own backyard – were clearly instrumental in reinvigorating the debate over the necessity of constructing an autonomous EU security and defense capability. A further key impetus to the development of CESDP was the unfortunate and arguably avoidable dispute between the US and France over the command of AFSOUTH in 1997, which signaled the relativization of France's *rapprochement* with NATO.[4] The consequence of this was the realization by EU members – and British acceptance – that any European security and defense capability would have to be constructed outside of the NATO context and within that of the EU.

The St Malo Defense "Breakthrough" and the Emergence of CESDP

As a consequence of difficulties of Alliance engagement in the former Yugoslavia, uncertainty about the nature of the US' future contribution to European security, and the relativization of France's repeat *rapprochement* with NATO, the latter part of the 1990s saw the emergence of the CESDP, an EU political project. The reluctance of the US to conduct non-Article 5 operations in Europe had exposed a niche in

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4 The AFSOUTH dispute was avoidable because even if the US had been willing to give the command role to France, France's Mediterranean NATO partners would have objected.

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European security that the EU sought to fill. British Prime Minister Tony Blair launched the CESDP process in Pörtschach, Austria, in October 1998, where he stated that he was in favor of a European security and defense capability that would enable EU member states to act together without the US.[5] Blair's declaration thus lifted a fifty-year British veto on the development of a European security and defense capability outside of the NATO context. Two months later in December 1998, during the annual Franco-British summit in St Malo, French President Jacques Chirac and Blair added substance to this initial concept and announced a bold and creative Franco-British defense initiative. The St Malo declaration affirmed that NATO remained "the foundation of the collective defense of its members."[6] However, it also stated that the EU should have "the capacity for *autonomous* action, backed up by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them and a readiness to do so, in order to respond to international crises."[7] The Franco-British declaration therefore left open the possibility that the EU could act outside of the NATO context, thus potentially providing an additional EU military capability for Europe alongside NATO.

The response of the US to the Franco-British defense initiative, as articulated by then secretary of state Madeleine Albright, was immediate. Albright presented the "3 Ds," three conditions that the potential EU force would have to meet: there should be no "discrimination" against non-EU NATO members, notably Turkey; there should be no "duplication" of NATO assets; and there should be no developments that could lead to the "decoupling" of the US and Europe.[8] Despite the ambivalent response of the US, the initial idea floated by Britain and France within

5 The timing of the Pörtschach statement and the subsequent Franco-British defense "breakthrough" is significant since the St Malo declaration predates Operation Allied Force, demonstrating that European governments were already considering developing an autonomous European security and defense capability regardless of the controversial conduct of the Kosovo conflict.

6 "Joint Declaration on European Defense," Paragraph 2, available at http://www.info-france-usa.org/news/statmnts/1998/stmalo.asp.

7 *Ibid*., emphasis added.

8 See Madeleine K. Albright, "The Right Balance Will Secure NATO's Future," *Financial Times*, 7 December 1998.

months turned into a concrete proposal – the Headline Goals (HGs) – that was announced at the December 1999 European Council meeting in Helsinki. The HGs outlined the EU's intention to create a rapid reaction force to conduct the so-called Petersberg Tasks when NATO as a whole chose not to intervene in a conflict, relying on forces and assets normally assigned to NATO. The reliance of the EU on NATO assets built upon the foundations of the Berlin Plus procedures. The progress that the EU seemed to have made between 1998 and 1999 was therefore striking. In the space of one year, the EU had initiated more institutional changes related to a European security and defense capability than it had done in the previous fifty years. In addition to the *perceived* convergence between the EU's two essential security actors – Britain and France – about the necessity of developing a European security and defense capability, a strong political dynamic was driving CESDP. On a practical level, by the summer of 2000, four NATO–EU *ad hoc* working groups addressing security issues, permanent arrangements for consultation and cooperation, modalities for EU access to NATO assets and capabilities were established. Further agreements for cooperation between the EU and NATO were developed at the end of 2000 and 2001. These agreements seemed to have resolved the main difficulties in establishing effective cooperation between the EU and NATO, including the awkward issues of how to involve members of non-EU NATO members and how to assure EU access to NATO assets. With the HGs defined and agreed upon and key aspects of the relationship between the EU and NATO apparently resolved, the progress that the EU had made on paper appeared to signify the emergence of the EU as a second security actor within the European security architecture.

Although the broad parameters of the CESDP appear to have been defined and a dialogue with NATO established, key conceptual and practical difficulties in the relationship between the EU and NATO remain, and a number of crucial questions have to date been left unanswered. These have hindered effective cooperation between the EU and NATO and have ultimately compromised the CESDP.

We Know What CESDP Is, But What Is It for?

A first conceptual dilemma is the way in which EU partners conceive of the Petersberg Tasks. The EU has defined the Petersberg Tasks that the Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) should be able to perform as "humanitarian and rescue tasks; peace-keeping tasks; tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peace-keeping." This general definition of the Petersberg Tasks therefore covers the full range of military operations, from low intensity to high intensity operations, potentially sanctioning the EU to conduct missions as diverse as Operation Allied Force – technically at the high end of the Petersberg Tasks – and Operation Essential Harvest – at the low end of the Petersberg Tasks. It is precisely the elasticity of the EU's definition of the Petersberg Tasks that has resulted in the emergence of a clear spectrum of opinion within the EU about what the thrust of the Petersberg Tasks really is. For some EU partners, France for example, the Petersberg Tasks could extend to the high-intensity end of crisis management operations. For others, the Swedes and the Finns for example, the Petersberg Tasks are first and foremost humanitarian operations. Blair's comments at Camp David in February 2001, where he indicated that CESDP "is limited to the peacekeeping and humanitarian tasks that are set" are also indicative in this respect.[9] The diversity of the long-term visions that are driving the EU's evolving security role is hardly surprisingly given the existence of four neutral or "non-aligned" members in the EU. The lack of clarity and agreement about the meaning of the Petersberg Tasks nonetheless reveals that the members of the EU are fundamentally divided over what sort of military capability the EU should have and what the thrust of CESDP's missions should be. Because the EU works on the basis of consensus, intra-EU divergence about the precise definition of the Petersberg Tasks potentially places some clear limitations on the sorts of military missions that the EU could conduct, regardless of the relationship of CESDP to NATO.

9   Remarks made by US President George W. Bush and the British Prime Minister Tony Blair in the joint press conference at Camp David, 23 February 2001, available at http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/02/20010226-1.html.

Who Acts and When? The Operational Responsibility of the EU and NATO

Even if the EU partners are able to resolve divergent perspectives on the military role the EU should aim to play, a second dilemma for the EU and NATO is how to define which military missions the EU should conduct and which NATO should conduct. The agreements that NATO and the EU have made to date allow for three possible configurations for military missions involving NATO or the EU: military operations that are conducted by NATO only; military operations that are conducted by the EU using NATO assets; and military operations that are conducted by the EU only. NATO and the EU appear to have clarified the issue of operational responsibility by reaching agreement on the terms of "right of first refusal." The position of the US, which was first established by the Clinton administration and later continued by the Bush administration, is that NATO should have the right to decline intervention in a conflict before the EU can decide to act. After a degree of hesitation on the part of some EU partners that were suspicious that such an agreement would mean that the EU would always play second fiddle to NATO, EU members as a whole eventually agreed with this vision.[10] The current arrangement between the EU and NATO therefore appears to be straightforward: if NATO decides not to intervene in a conflict, the EU force is activated. Every communiqué that the EU has released since Helsinki has included language to this effect. As many within the US have emphasized however if any serious crisis in Europe arose that could threaten European security, the US would want to be involved and the Europeans would equally want the US involved. The US will evidently only act within the NATO context, which would mean in effect that NATO would automatically be engaged in any serious crisis in Europe. This inevitability, in conjunction with the "right of first refusal," is seen by some EU partners as relegating the CESDP to the position of a convenient sub-contractor for addressing those tasks in Europe that the US does not consider to be core tasks for its military – primarily peacekeeping and peacemaking operations. This appears to be the Bush administration's view of the utility of the CESDP and can perhaps explain why the tone of transatlantic security discourse over the CESDP has become more positive since the Bush

administration took office. The CESDP is thus not likely to become the "autonomous" and robust European security and defense capability that some EU partners want it to be, nor will the relationship between the EU and NATO become the "genuine strategic partnership in crisis management" that NATO has described it as potentially being. There are evidently some benefits to such a limited vision of the CESDP. The tasks of peacemaking and peacekeeping clearly mirror the expectations that some of the EU partners have about the CESDP's scope. Moreover, the EU's present limited military capabilities would seem to indicate that such an interpretation of the functional tasks of CESDP is a realistic and desirable vision, at least in the short term. However, it remains to be seen how long those EU partners with a more ambitious view of the CESDP will remain satisfied with this NATO-first, EU-second, NATO-crisis-manager, EU-peace-keeper arrangement.

A further stumbling block to be overcome in this respect is how EU partners view the relative weight of the EU *vis-à-vis* NATO. Britain and other "Atlanticist" EU partners have tended to emphasize that most military operations will be conducted by NATO only or by the EU using NATO assets.[11] Other "Europeanist" EU partners, led by France, have in contrast tended to emphasize that most military operations will be conducted by the EU only or by the EU using NATO assets. This difference in emphasis again reveals significantly different approaches to the role of the CESDP and the influence the EU should have relative to NATO in European security. As Stuart Croft *et al*. note, these divergences can be explained by the respective starting points of EU members: "For France, the starting point is that CESDP is above all a European project which involves, under certain circumstances, making

10 France expressed dissatisfaction with the deferential relationship between the EU and NATO in early 2000 and only backed down under pressure from other EU partners, which were concerned about the stalling effect France's threatened veto would have on evolving arrangements between the EU and NATO.

11 As Jolyon Howorth comments, when British officials were asked to give hypothetical examples of situations in which the EU would act alone the response was "a blank stare." See Jolyon Howorth, *European Integration and Defence: The Ultimate Challenge?* Chaillot Paper, No. 43 (Paris: Institute for Security Studies, 2000), 34.

use of an Atlantic instrument: NATO. For Britain and others, the starting point is a reflection on the best means of safeguarding the Atlantic alliance, which involves making use of a European instrument: CESDP."[12] Despite the perceived convergence between British and French positions and the St Malo defense "breakthrough," these two key security players clearly have different visions of the role of the CESDP, which is representative of a similarly wide spectrum of opinion among other EU partners.

One area in which there appears to be clarity about which tasks NATO and the EU perform is collective defense, which remains NATO's sole responsibility. However, although the EU and NATO have agreed that collective defense remains NATO's prerogative, there is still a degree of ambiguity present. From the outset the EU has not attempted to portray CESDP as a potential defense capability and appeared to have shunned a defense role by declining to assume all of the WEU's functions at the Cologne summit. Nonetheless, the acronym CESDP includes a reference to "defense," which is misleading at best, and careless at worst, if the EU's ambitions for the CESDP do not extend to collective defense. Moreover, although the events of 11 September demonstrated that NATO's collective defense role is still relevant, the current absence of a direct conventional military threat to Europe suggests that this scenario is likely to be the exception rather than the rule. Thus, emphasizing NATO's exclusive responsibility for collective defense does little to clarify the EU and NATO's functional responsibilities in Europe.

The EU clearly faces serious potential problems due to internal divisions between the neutrals and "more muscular" states and differences in emphasis accorded to the EU and NATO by Europeanist and Atlanticist partners. Deciding on the operational responsibilities of the EU and NATO is further complicated by the fact that the EU and NATO intend to operate in a similar geographic area. Despite a contentious debate during the 1990s about endowing NATO with a mandate to operate beyond Europe, an extra-European role for NATO remains out of

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12 Stuart Croft, Jolyon Howorth, Terry Terriff and Mark Webber, "NATO's Triple Challenge," *International Affairs* 76, No. 3 (2001): 506.

reach.[13] In contrast, the EU has so far deliberately avoided limiting the geographical competence of the RRF. High Representative for CFSP Javier Solana has even suggested that it could operate in Africa, as well as places as far a field as East Timor.[14] This is partly because the RRF is intended to underpin a global policy – CFSP – and as such there is no "out-of-area" category for CESDP in the same way as there is for NATO. Moreover, a number of EU members are conceptually used to thinking globally, some have performed a power projection role in the past and some have retained a power projection role in the present, most notably Britain and France. However, it is unlikely that any EU military intervention will occur beyond Europe. A first reason is that the EU's perception of the location of the principal present and future security challenges is in Europe. The EU has consistently defined strategy in terms of the regional aspects of security and the European continent has remained the primary, if not the sole focus of EU strategic thinking. As during the Cold War, only Britain and France share the US' concern with security outside of the European continent. An implication of this perception is that European militaries generally do not possess – and have not sought to acquire – power projection capabilities to intervene in contingencies beyond Europe. Moreover, there is a sense of reluctance among many EU members to endow the RRF with the capabilities to intervene globally. This is because the majority of the Europeans clearly aspire to play only a regional security role, and a minority does not desire to play a military role at all. As one Whitehall official commented, "The majority of the EU partners would have the gravest concerns if ESDP was to go global (….) A lot of the European partners are not interested in the world beyond Europe, full stop."[15] These constraints clearly suggest that the European continent

13 The events of 11 September have clearly initiated some changes in this respect. Paragraph 5 of the Final Communiqué of the meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers in Reykjavik states for example that NATO "must be able to field forces that can move quickly to wherever they are needed, sustain operations over distance and time, and achieve their objectives." This clearly shows that NATO will have a more expansive view of its geographical remit should it respond in the future in an Article 5 context.

14 Siegesmund Ilsemann, Dirk Koch, and Alexander Szander, "Europa Baut Eigene Armee," *Der Spiegel* 29, (1999): 188–191.

15 A Whitehall official, London, 2002.

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is likely to remain the focus of and arguably the only feasible theater for the engagement of most European militaries for the foreseeable future.[16] The EU's available power and military capabilities demonstrate that although the EU has portrayed itself as a global power, its military capabilities do not allow it to perform a global military role, even if consensus could be forged to that effect. As a result of this geographic constraint, it is generally agreed that the 4'000 kilometer "limit" of the CESDP ensures that the EU's RRF – like NATO – is likely to operate in and around Europe. This geographic overlap arguably further complicates cooperation between the EU and NATO.

EU Access to NATO Assets: Assured or Uncertain?

The above analysis of the conceptual difficulties of cooperation between the EU and NATO presupposes that the EU has access to NATO assets and can therefore employ these in an EU-led operation should the EU be in agreement to act and should NATO have exercised the "right of first refusal." Like the *de facto* agreement over the right of first refusal, EU access to NATO assets is another facet of the EU–NATO relationship that is generally perceived as being resolved, particularly as the EU has declared itself "capable of conducting some crisis-management operations."[17] Nonetheless, the guarantee of access to NATO assets is far from certain and this pivotal issue in the EU–NATO relationship remains unresolved. The Berlin Plus procedures that sought

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16 Although many Europeans tend to accord less importance to global security issues, this does not mean that they do not possess global interests or that they do not recognize the existence of the extra-European dimension of security challenges. Nonetheless, most members of the EU have concentrated their global concerns and policies in the economic rather than the security sphere. Even when they do address extra-European security concerns, they tend to place more emphasis on diplomatic or political levers rather than military levers to achieve their objectives.

17 "The European Security and Defense Policy," paragraph 6 of the Presidency Conclusions of the European Council Meeting in Laeken, 14–15 December 2001 (Brussels: General Secretariat of the Council, 2001), 2.

to allow CJTFs access to NATO assets were complex, and with the emergence of CESDP and the heterogeneous combination of countries that are members of the EU only, countries that are members of NATO only, and countries that are members of the NATO and the EU, the Berlin Plus arrangements became even more complicated.[18] The only way that the EU can use NATO assets is by the collective approval of all 19 NATO members.[19] Non-EU NATO members therefore effectively have a veto over any potentially EU-led operation that would employ NATO assets and, as a result, CESDP's dependency on NATO assets, has clearly significantly empowered non-EU NATO members, and the six European non-EU NATO members in particular.

From the outset, the position of Turkey among the six European non-EU NATO members has been different from that of the others: the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland are first in line for EU membership; Norway has thus far rejected membership in the EU and its position outside of the CESDP is therefore self-imposed; and Iceland does not possess any armed forces, which automatically limits the role it can play in the CESDP. Turkey, by contrast, has long had aspirations to join the EU and although Turkey received candidate status at the Helsinki summit, the prospects of Turkish membership of the EU in the near future seem rather bleak. Moreover, Turkey's strategic geographic position ensures that Turkey is likely to play an important part in many of the operations that the EU might be called upon to conduct. These specificities subsequently place Turkey in a unique position and it is not surprising that it has been Turkey among the six non-EU NATO Allies that has protested most vigorously about the terms of EU access to NATO assets, as this appears to be the only way that Turkey can ex-

18 From 1992 onwards, the WEU's arrangement to use NATO assets allowed non-members to have "associate member" status. The CESDP severely restricts this and essentially excludes non-EU NATO members.

19 Describing the EU's potential use of assets as *NATO* assets is misleading as NATO has very few assets that could be termed collective. The vast majority of assets that are relevant to the EU are in fact American assets. As Philip Gordon comments, "The very capabilities the Europeans need but do not have, NATO, as such, does not have either." See Philip H. Gordon, "Europe's Uncommon Foreign Policy," *International Security* 22, No. 3 (1997/1998): 94.

ercise influence over the EU. The Turkish veto of EU access to NATO assets has long bedeviled the CESDP and even though there appeared to have been a breakthrough in December 2001, when the so-called Istanbul document signaled Turkey's willingness to allow the EU access to NATO assets in exchange for a number of assurances regarding the impact of the CESDP on Turkey's national security and geographic interests, Greece quickly vetoed the agreement since it was perceived in Athens as giving too many concessions to Ankara. At the time of writing, NATO foreign ministers meeting in Reykjavik had failed to resolve the dispute between Greece and Turkey, which demonstrates that the EU's access to NATO assets is far from assured.

The effective veto wielded by non-EU NATO member states, due to the EU's reliance on NATO assets would clearly not apply if the EU were conducting an operation that did not rely on NATO assets. From a pragmatic perspective however, the EU is far from being able to conduct a military operation without NATO assets and of equal significance; it does not yet carry the political weight and credibility that the US automatically brings to a conflict situation. The opportunities for the EU to act alone will therefore be few and far between. Even if the opportunity arose, the possibility of conflict escalation would raise many more questions about EU capabilities than have been raised already. This would subsequently bring into question whether it would be wise for the EU to intervene in the first instance, an issue that the US has legitimate reason to be concerned about.

The CESDP: An Autonomous Capability?

Resolving the assets issue in a way that is conducive to both Greece and Turkey is clearly a key hurdle to be overcome. Until this happens, potentially EU-led operations will evidently be compromised.[20] Even when NATO and the EU reach agreement on the terms of EU access to NATO assets, the initial acquiescence of NATO members in allowing the EU to use NATO assets does not necessarily guarantee a long-term commitment. The close relationship between members of the EU and the US reduces the likelihood of a situation in which the EU would conduct an operation that was diametrically opposed to the wishes of the US, for example. Nonetheless, it is difficult to imagine a situation in which the US would allow NATO assets to be used by the EU if it disapproved of the course and progress of an EU-led operation. The reliance of the EU on NATO assets – and the acquiescence of the non-EU NATO Allies – therefore poses the question of what EU "autonomy" really means. More significantly, as Kori Schake comments, "a real assurance of availability would mean that the EU's crisis-management priorities would take precedence over other global responsibilities and interests of the US."[21] The strains on the US military resulting from on-going commitments and requirements in other parts of the world were apparent even before the 11 September attacks, which are sure to exacerbate this trend. Given these constraints, it is difficult to imagine a situation in which the EU could have *guarantees* – which is what "assured access" implies – that US assets would be available or redirected for use by an EU-led force.

One solution that has been proposed to overcome the problems of EU access to NATO assets is the constructive duplication by the EU of NATO assets, which would enable a less dependent relationship between the

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20   The current dispute between Greece and Turkey has jeopardized the EU's plans to conduct Operation Amber Fox in Macedonia later this year. As one EU ambassador commented, "The force [RRF] is meaningless without assets." Cited in Judy Dempsey, "EU Military Operation in Doubt," *Financial Times*, 16 May 2002.

21   Kori Schake, *Constructive Duplication: Reducing EU Reliance on US Military Assets*" (London: Centre for European Reform, 2002), 16.

EU and NATO to emerge.[22] Constructive duplication however hinges on changes in two key areas. The first necessity is agreement among EU partners that duplication of NATO assets is in fact desirable. The prospects of this are far from certain given the divergent positions of France, which supports substantial duplication, and Britain, which does not wish to encourage duplication at all.[23] The second necessity is long-overdue increases in defense expenditure by European governments. It is widely recognized that European governments spend significantly less on defense than the US, because of differences in threat perception, strategic priorities and subsequent required military capabilities. These differences are underpinned by the US' status of being a superpower with global responsibilities while the Europeans are regional powers that generally only have regional responsibilities. Nonetheless, the gap in spending between the US and the Europeans has long been a source of contention within NATO and despite the periodic re-emergence of the burden-sharing debate, the spending gap and the subsequent capabilities gap between the US and the Europeans has continued to grow. At present, the prospect of "assured access" to NATO assets – however flawed this concept may be – does little to encourage European governments to spend more on defense and, equally importantly, to spend more wisely. Although some predicted that increases in defense spending would be easier to justify in the name of the EU rather than NATO, the evidence thus far indicates that the EU's record in this area has not been substantially better than NATO's and that spending by EU governments remains well below what is required.[24] This arguably brings into question how serious EU partners are about enhancing the EU's role

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22 For a comprehensive discussion of constructive duplication, see ibid.

23 Jolyon Howorth, "EU–US Foreign and Defence Policy Cooperation: A European Perspective," paper presented at the BP Chair in Transatlantic Relations Conference on "Change and Continuity in Transatlantic Relations: From the Second Bush Administration to September 11th and Its Aftermath," European University Institute, San Domenico di Fiesole, 8–9 February 2002, 8.

24 The International Institute for Strategic Studies estimates that the "final operating capability" of the RRF is unlikely to reached before 2012. See International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance 2001–2002* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

in security and defense beyond institution building. The impact of substantial increased spending, however unlikely this may seem at present, would also only be seen in the medium to long term, which means that the question of access to assets – NATO's or otherwise – is a long-term problem without a quick-fix solution. The prospects of the necessary resources being forthcoming in order for constructive duplication to provide the answer to the problematic issue of access to NATO assets therefore seem rather bleak.

Summary of the Issues Plaguing EU–NATO Cooperation

The conceptual and practical difficulties of cooperation between the EU and NATO outlined above can be placed into three categories. In a first category are intra-EU divergences regarding the parameters of the tasks that the EU should perform, which have implications for the EU's CESDP regardless of its relationship to NATO. The positions of the four non-aligned EU partners, as well as the difference in emphasis placed on Petersberg Tasks by Britain and France are clearly crucial here. In a second category are issues that bring into focus intra-EU divergences about the influence of the CESDP relative to NATO. This second area therefore concerns the eleven members of the EU who are also members of NATO and how these eleven EU partners prioritize the roles of NATO and of the EU in European security. The third category encompasses practical issues – notably EU access to NATO assets – that have the potential to prevent or compromise EU-led operations. For the EU to act under the aegis of the CESDP whether using NATO assets or acting alone, three conditions therefore have to be fulfilled: EU partners must be in agreement about which tasks the EU should perform; they must be in agreement to act, which is by no means certain given the somewhat patchy record of the CFSP[25]; and NATO must

25 One example of confusion regarding whether the EU was acting or not was in late December 2001 when the Belgian foreign minister proclaimed that the EU's decision to send forces to Afghanistan was "a turning point in the history of the European Union." Blair quickly denied that British leadership

have exercised the right of first refusal by sanctioning EU involvement in a European crisis *and* allowing the EU to employ NATO assets in the short and potentially long term. If one or more of these criteria is not met, then a potentially EU-led operation is compromised. In spite of the progress the EU has made – much of which has been institutional[26] – there are clearly a number of issues essential to the CESDP that have not been resolved, not least key aspects of the relationship of the CESDP to NATO. To have declared the CESDP capable of operating without having reached agreement about these fundamental issues, which could clearly prevent the CESDP from being operational, is somewhat premature on the part of the EU. It appears that the capabilities-expectations gap that has plagued the development of the EU's security role since its very beginnings could conceivably return to haunt the EU.[27]

of the ISAF and the participation of most EU members signified that this was an EU operation, which caused Mr. Michel to state that, "There may have been a misunderstanding and if so, I was responsible." Cited in Barry James and Thomas Fuller, "EU Plans a Peace Force for Kabul," *International Herald Tribune*, 15 December 2001.

26 Even within this area, the CESDP has been the subject of institutional wrangling between HR–CFSP, COPS, EUMC, foreign ministries and defense ministries and national capitals and "Brussels." See Jolyon Howorth, "European Defence and the Changing Politics of the European Union: Hanging Together or Hanging Separately?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39, No. 4 (2001).

27 Belgian Foreign Minister Louis Michel essentially acknowledged this risk before the Laeken summit by commenting that, "If no access to NATO's resources can be secured, it [the RRF] must declare itself operational without such a declaration being based on any true capability." Cited in John Vinocur, "On Both War and Peace, the EU Stands Divided," *International Herald Tribune*, 17 December 2001.

Prospects for EU–NATO Cooperation Post-11-September

Before the events of 11 September, some British officials saw a possibility – in spite of the EU's rhetoric – that the EU might opt out of security and defense altogether. The factors they identified were insufficient increases in military spending and to a lesser extent, the concerns of the neutrals.[28] Nonetheless, the events of 11 September seem to have made the logic behind CESDP even more compelling. The war on terrorism in Afghanistan and beyond will no doubt further bring into question the nature and extent of the US' future contribution to European security within the NATO context and demands on the US military will in all probability necessitate transferring increasing responsibility for European security to the EU. The Bush administration appears to have endorsed this possibility, which may have positive spillover effects in some of the areas of the EU–NATO relationship that remain problematic. Implementing the HGs should therefore theoretically become imperative. Nonetheless, the conclusions that can be drawn thus far about the EU's efforts are mixed at best. In the immediate aftermath of the attacks, EU governments preferred to respond individually rather than collectively within the EU context, which indicates that responding as the EU is far from being a natural reflex. In terms of capabilities, the EU held a Capabilities Improvement Conference in November 2001, the objective of which was to attempt to address the growing capabilities gap between the US and the Europeans. The conclusions reached were subsequently adopted at the Laeken summit in December 2001.[29] However, although the EU has placed security and defense issues at the top of its agenda since the 11 September attacks, it remains to be seen whether this renewed emphasis will translate into real increases in European defense spending and tangible improvements in European capabilities. The signs in this respect are far from encouraging given that no European government has as yet made the case for increased defense spending. There is subsequently a clear risk that the EU will of-

28 A Whitehall official. *Op. cit.*
29 See the "Declaration on the Operational Capability of the Common European Security and Defence Policy," Annex II to the Presidency Conclusions of the European Council Meeting in Laeken, 14–15 December 2001 (Brussels: General Secretariat of the Council), 27–29.

fer a weak additional military capability at a high political cost, which will provoke an enormous political backlash if the EU does not deliver and avoidable risks for European security if the US is no longer willing or able to intervene.

Even if the events of 11 September revitalize what seemed to have become a decreasing momentum towards CESDP, it is far from certain whether this will improve the prospects of cooperation between the US and its European allies, which should arguably be the most pressing issue on the EU's agenda. The Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) meant that the US had already reached the technological battlefield long before 11 September. In contrast, the Europeans had spent a large part of the 1990s maintaining their defensive posture on the conventional battlefield. In spite of US-led attempts to bridge the capabilities gap within NATO with the Defense Capabilities Initiative (DCI), the capabilities gap remained, largely due to the failure of the European Allies to take the DCI seriously.[30] Significant increases in US defense spending in the wake of the 11 September attacks are sure to exacerbate this trend, which has led many to conclude that interoperability between the US and its European allies is now a lost cause. CESDP, in spite of its potential benefits for the international standing of the EU and for the management of small-scale crises in Europe, does not address this problem. The decoupling of the US from Europe is therefore less to do with the possibility of the CESDP constituting a threat to NATO's primacy – which is highly unlikely given NATO's unique abilities and position in European security – and much more to do with capabilities. Of the "3 Ds" that Albright identified, the possibility of the decoupling of the US and the EU partners is therefore the most serious and arguably the most likely.

The evolution of NATO is also a key factor in this respect. Although the now-familiar predictions of NATO's demise have been a prominent feature of journalistic and academic literature since 11 September, NATO is likely to emerge from the events of 11 September strengthened rather

30 Although launched at NATO's 1999 Washington summit, by 2001 an internal NATO report had concluded that only 50 per cent of the DCI's objectives had been met. The broad scope of the DCI also contributed to the lack of progress made.

than weakened. However, although NATO may emerge stronger, it will also emerge in quite a different shape. The impact of NATO's inevitable enlargement on NATO's collective military capabilities and the Allies' ability to interoperate is likely to further weaken NATO's role as a military instrument and gradually transform NATO into an institution that has a far more political role. Although this will ensure that NATO remains the cornerstone of the security of North America and Europe, it will also further compromise the military relationship between the US and its allies in Europe.[31] This combination of factors could conceivably result in the US conducting high-intensity war fighting beyond Europe while the Europeans are only able to conduct low-intensity peacemaking and peacekeeping operations in Europe. The Allies had previously agreed that this was neither politically sustainable, nor desirable as such a division of labor could increasingly endanger the long-term health of NATO by progressively undermining the unity of strategic vision and purpose that has traditionally constituted one of the core components of NATO. This could eventually lead to the break up of NATO and the undermining of transatlantic security relations in general. However, this scenario closely matches the functional objectives and *de facto* geographic limitations that the EU has set for the CESDP, as well as the objectives of the Republican Party, as promoted in the run up to and after the US presidential elections. Moreover, because of the constraints discussed above, such a scenario may now be inevitable.

31 Operation Allied Force indicated that the current 19 NATO Allies experienced major difficulties projecting power jointly, which would in all likelihood be exacerbated with the participation of additional members of NATO. However, a degree of caution about Operation Allied Force needs to be exercised as the US chose a strategy that played to its strengths and thus arguably artificially enhanced the capabilities gap between the US and the European Allies.

Conclusion

Effective and mutually beneficial cooperation between the EU and NATO evidently remains an unfinished project. The events of 11 September have increased the urgency of resolving some of the problems that have been prominent in the relationship between the EU and NATO to-date. The conceptual and practical obstacles identified in this chapter clearly need to be overcome before the EU and NATO can begin to enjoy a more productive and less contentious working relationship. However, the key feature of the transatlantic relationship that has been emphasized by the emergence of the CESDP is how differently Americans and Europeans have come to view the strategic environment. This process of increasing strategic divergence will be much more important in the long term for the future of trans-Atlantic security relations than technical issues, such as the precise formulation of EU access to NATO assets. It is in the area of bridging the perceptions gap that most work is yet to be done.

This chapter concludes that the transatlantic relationship as expressed through NATO continues to provide the most desirable framework for ensuring the security of North America and Europe and, of equal importance, the principal forum for transatlantic security relations. As such, safeguarding and consolidating NATO is of crucial importance. This does not imply that there should be a focus on revitalizing NATO at the expense of the EU and the CESDP, nor should this be seen to imply that the EU should develop a strategic mindset and approach that is closer to that of the US. This misses the essential point that the wide range of tools that the EU has at its disposal enables the EU to adopt a multi-faceted approach to security in a way NATO cannot. The challenge facing policymakers on both sides of the Atlantic is therefore to find the best way to combine the strengths of NATO and the EU without resorting to a division of labor that will progressively undermine the transatlantic security relationship. This is the key to ensuring that the EU and NATO will provide the most effective solution to the complex security problems of the post-11-September environment and will sustain the vitality of the transatlantic security relationship over the long term.

Vladimir Bilcik

ESDP and the Security Policy Priorities and Perspectives of Central European EU Candidate States[*]

Introduction

The topic of the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) and cooperation with other European states can be tackled from a number of angles, including the various views and visions both inside and outside the European Union (EU). This particular contribution aims to assess the latest developments in the ESDP from the perspective of select EU candidate states.[1] The marked developments of the ESDP in the context of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) over the course of the past three years have added a new dimension to European security policy. At a time when the EU is completing the task of eastward enlargement, the EU is also committing itself to playing a more visible and more coherent international role. Therefore, whilst the ESDP remains largely outside of the Treaties' framework, its goals, its guiding institutional structures and its potential political, strategic, and economic implications raise a number of questions related to the impact of the current round of EU enlargement. By assessing the statements and concerns of Central European post-Communist EU candidate states this chapter argues that enlargement is bound to bring not just a host of opportunities, but also possible problems with respect

[*] I am grateful to several Slovak diplomats and policymakers for their invaluable comments and insights. The chapter draws heavily on research carried out within the context of the working group "Issues and Consequences of EU Enlargement" sponsored by the Bertelsmann Foundation and research undertaken during the author's stay at the Austrian Institute for European Security Policy (AIES) during the spring of 2001.

[1] For a good overview of this perspective, see Antonio Missiroli, ed. *Bigger EU, Wider CFSP, Stronger ESDP? The View from Central Europe*, Occasional Paper, No. 34 (Paris: EU Institute, 2002).

to the future effectiveness and cohesion of the ESDP. Drawing on the attitudes of candidate states toward transatlantic relations and the EU's evolving security and defense arm, the chapter points to the positive potential of enlargement, particularly with respect to the endurance of a strong transatlantic link and to future formation of the Union's eastern policy. At the same time, there are a number of uncertainties, concerns and even confusions over the course of the transatlantic relations and the ESDP's developments. It is true that the accession into the Union will allow for full participation of new member states in these developments. However, their present level of involvement and the Union's lack of clarity regarding the ESDP's direction in relation to NATO seem insufficient preconditions for the future success of this policy area in the future.

The chapter begins with a brief background of the foreign and security policies of the candidate states. It sketches the path of the Visegrad countries to NATO membership and looks at the views of the candidate states toward the evolution of the ESDP. It draws on their attitudes toward the transatlantic link and, in particular, examines their concerns about EU–NATO relations. Finally, it suggests possible improvements in the participation of applicant states in the development of the ESDP prior to enlargement and discusses the potential contribution of Central European states toward formulating active policy initiatives in relation to the EU's future neighbors. The chapter attempts to address broad questions, it draws on select examples from the Visegrad states, and does not seek to fully capture the diversity of ideas and relevant issues with respect to all candidate states for EU membership.

The paper illustrates that the post-Communist candidate states have a short tradition of independent foreign policymaking. The low level of institutionalization in foreign and security policymaking of the post-Communist states has to do largely with the unique circumstances of post-1989 developments. Since the break up of the bipolar world Central and Eastern Europe experienced the establishment of several new and young states. Six current accession countries are less than eleven years old. All have had to cope with the challenge of newly-found sovereignty in a redefined political environment. Consequently, foreign and security policy, as a fairly recent phenomenon, has been signifi-

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cantly shaped by the domestic goals of post-Communist transition and by Europe's post-Cold War international context that prompted the respective enlargements of both NATO and the EU.

The Visegrad States After the End of the Cold War

After the break up of the bipolar world, three Central European countries – Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland – emerged as the three most natural candidates for closer integration with the existing Western political, security, and economic institutional structures. Together with the former German Democratic Republic (GDR), these states comprised the most economically-developed region of the former Communist block with strong historical ties to their respective immediate western neighbors – Germany and Austria – and the West more broadly. The three countries gradually regained their sovereignty following the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact in 1991 and the departure of the Soviet armies from the region. In the changing international context of the early 1990s, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland sought their new place in a formerly-divided continent. The three countries gradually developed closer ties among themselves in the form of the so-called Visegrad cooperation.[2] Externally they established strong connections with both NATO and the EU. These two international groupings in turn became the dominant factors in the shaping of their respective foreign, security, and economic policies.

Following the dissolution of Czechoslovakia on 1 January 1993, the Czech Republic and Slovakia emerged as the two new successor states. Since its independence, Slovakia's political developments followed a somewhat divergent path from its three Visegrad neighbors. Slovakia's case of regime change has been described as "a borderline case between

2 Visegrad cooperation was initiated in February 1991, when Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia signed the Visegrad declaration pledging mutual support for the objective of integration "into the European political, economic, security and legislative order." Today the Visegrad group – the so-called V-4 – is composed of four members: Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia.

that of more advanced Central European and lagging Southeast European countries."[3] The difference in the political trajectory of Slovakia and that of its post-Communist Central European neighbors has manifested itself in the area of foreign policy, particularly in the country's relations to both NATO and the EU. At the same time, the respective Czech, Hungarian, and Polish paths toward membership in these Western security and political structures were by no means identical.

Although on the face of it, today's orientation of post-Communist Central Europe toward NATO and the EU seems self-evident, the road to the present position of the Visegrad countries *vis-à-vis* these organizations proved less uniform and even complicated at times. In the 1980s, Hungary and Poland experienced both moves toward some formal ties with the West and the presence of a visible domestic opposition to the Communist political regime. Yet, by the late 1980s, Czechoslovakia was still an example of a hard-line Communist regime after the suppression of the Prague spring reform movement in 1968. Thus, Hungary joined the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in 1982. In 1988, the country established full diplomatic relations with the European Communities.[4] Conversely, a strong internal anti-Communist movement in the form of *Solidarnosc* peaked in Poland at the beginning of the 1980s. After its suppression and a period of martial law in Poland (1981 to 1983), in 1989 the government and the opposition agreed on "semi-free" elections. As a result, Poland became the first Soviet-block country led by a non-Communist prime minister, Tadeusz Mazowiecki.[5] In contrast to the gradual changes in Poland and Hungary, the Czechoslovak transition to post-Communism proved a lot more sudden. Initiated by the student protests in November 1989 and complemented by vast nationwide demonstrations, the anti-regime movement quickly gained momentum, and, by December 1989, a

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3   Sona Szomolanyi, "Political Elites and Slovakia's Transition Path," *Slovak Foreign Policy Affairs* 1, No. 1 (2000): 16.

4   Lajos Pietsch, *Hungary and NATO* (Budapest: Hungarian Atlantic Council, 1998), 9.

5   Cornelius Ochmann, "Polen," in *Europa-Handbuch*, ed. Werner Weidenfelded (Gütersloh: Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung, 1999), 221–232.

number of former dissidents together with the Communists formed a new government. Furthermore, Vaclav Havel, a dissident playwright, replaced Gustav Husak as the new Czechoslovak president.

Security Through NATO

Domestic changes in the three countries together with the shifting international context had marked implications on the new foreign and especially security policy of Central European states. Still, the orientation toward NATO did not become immediately apparent following the dissolution of the Soviet block. Czechoslovakia, in particular, went through a brief period of "idealistic foreign policy,"[6] characterized by a preference for the dissolution of both the Warsaw Pact and NATO, and by support for the activities of pan-European security structures, especially the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), predecessor of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The Czechoslovak policy changed fairly quickly with the failure of the CSCE at the outbreak of civil war in the former Yugoslavia. More broadly, this idealism evaporated fast with the break up of the Soviet Union. Gradual preference for NATO as "the only functioning security institution"[7] was reinforced by the perception of US strength and ultimately its decisiveness during the Gulf War.

In contrast to the initial phase of Czechoslovakia's official "idealistic foreign policy," Hungarian Prime Minister Guyla Horn pondered the possibility of NATO membership as early as February 1990, stating that, "The proposal of many years for the simultaneous dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and NATO is an illusion at present (...) the Warsaw Pact has to be transformed into a body of consultation and co-ordination (...) tight relations have to be created with the North Atlantic Alliance; in fact I do not consider it impossible that Hungary shall become

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6 Josefine Wallat, "Tschechien und Slowakei," in *Europa-Handbuch*, ed. Werner Weidenfeld (Gütersloh: Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung, 1999), 234–235.

7 Speech by the Czech President Vaclav Havel at NATO headquarters, Brussels, 21 March 1991.

a member of the various political organs of NATO."[8] Horn's statement certainly stirred up controversy and other voices inside Hungary suggested that "a small nation can only flourish if it is neutral."[9] Likewise, the Polish goal to join the North Atlantic Alliance was not completely smooth. Marked by turbulent and often tragic history in relation both to Russia and Germany, Poland probably seemed the most obvious candidate for voicing a clear preference for close ties with NATO. Still, the move toward NATO and beyond the notion of neutrality or other potential regional or pan-European structures demanded strong leadership from the country's political elites.[10] The country's membership in NATO was mentioned as an explicit strategic goal of Polish foreign policy in 1992.[11] Indeed, by this time the regional and wider international setting had changed in some fundamental ways: the Warsaw Pact dissolved in 1991, the same year witnessed the departure of last Soviet troops from the region, and in the fall of 1991 the Soviet Union ceased to exist.

At the same time, NATO enlargement entered the agenda of the Alliance only gradually. The debate was initiated in the US thanks to an article published in *Foreign Affairs* by the RAND troika in October 1993.[12] According to the authors, Europe's post-Cold War challenges lay almost exclusively along two "arcs of crisis." Nationalism and ethnic conflicts posed the greatest threat to Central Europe's fledgling democracies and NATO, led by a fully-engaged US, provided the most appropriate mechanism for addressing security threats in these

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8   Speech by Guyla Horn, Hungarian Foreign Minister at the meeting of the Hungarian Society of Political Sciences, 20 February 1990.

9   See Pietsch, *Op. cit.*, 11. This statement comes from Hungarian historian, Miklos Szabo, of the SZDSZ (Alliance of Free Democrats).

10 Speech by Andrzej Karkoszka, State Secretary of the Polish Defense Ministry, Vienna, 18 July 1998. ÖIES, *ÖIES-Workshop – 'Die NATO-Erweiterung und die Sicherheit Mitteleuropas*, Occasional Paper, No. 1 (Maria-Enzersdorf: ÖIES, 1998).

11 This goal was mentioned in the official 1992 document *Foundations of Polish Policies of National Safeguards*.

12 Ronald Asmus, Richard L. Kugler and F. Stephen, "Building a New NATO," *Foreign Affairs* 72, No. 4 (1993): 28–40.

regions.[13] In their seven-set program to develop a new "US–European bargain" they proposed – as one point – integration of the Visegrad countries into the EU and NATO – a move that would "strengthen the Atlanticist orientation of the Alliance and provide greater internal [NATO] support for US views on key security issues."[14]

Next to the American initiatives to expand the Alliance, German support was crucial to the momentum of NATO enlargement. In 1993, former German defense minister Volker Rühe stated that, "Without our neighbors in central and eastern Europe, the strategic unity of Europe would remain a torso and an illusion."[15] The breaking point in favor of enlargement in the whole Alliance came at the 1994 NATO summit in Brussels, when the sixteen Allied leaders reaffirmed that NATO was open to membership of other European states. In particular, NATO welcomed enlargement that would include democratic states in Central and Eastern Europe. In September 1995, the Alliance came up with its *Study on NATO Enlargement* that – among other factors – specified the criteria for inviting future members. During 1996, the Alliance undertook an intensive dialogue with 12 interested Partner countries that included the four Visegrad states. The decision to enlarge was taken at the Madrid summit on 8 July 1997, when NATO invited the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland to begin accession talks. Other countries were left out – including Slovakia[16] –, but the Alliance remained open to future enlargements. Following the accession talks with the three countries, the ratification of Protocols of Accession and the domestic legislative procedures in the candidate states, NATO officially enlarged to the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland on 12 March 1999.

Today, NATO maintains its open door policy and it is widely expected that the Alliance is going to enlarge further at the next summit, scheduled for the fall of 2002 in Prague. Following the political changes in Slovakia after the parliamentary elections in 1998 and the end of a period of relative international isolation under the government led by the then prime minister, Vladimír Mečiar, between 1994 and 1998,

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13 George W. Grayson, *Strange Bedfellows: NATO Marches East* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1997), 38.

14 Asmus et al. *Op. cit.*, 28.

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Slovakia has become one of the primary candidates for the next wave of NATO enlargement. Despite the proclaimed consensus of Slovak political elites to join the Alliance, Slovakia's admission to NATO hinges to a significant extent on the outcome of the next parliamentary elections in the fall of 2002 and the political make up of the next coalition government. Notwithstanding the existing contingencies in Slovakia's path to NATO, the country – like its Visegrad neighbors – has in recent years with concrete deeds consistently endorsed its explicit wish to become a member of the North Atlantic Alliance.[17] In short, the goals of NATO membership and security guarantees through the full-fledged inclusion in the Alliance have been among the most urgent foreign policy priorities of the Visegrad states.

Security Through the European Union

In the early 1990s, the European Communities (EC) – though not an organization of collective defense – represented another institutional framework that became instrumental in the direction of Central Europe's post-Communist transition into a new security environment. Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland managed to establish formal

15 Volker Rühe, "Shaping Euro-Atlantic Policies: A Grand Strategy for a New Era," *Survival* 35, No. 2 (Summer 1993): 135.

16 Slovakia was excluded from the enlargement round largely due to political reasons and concerns over the undemocratic practices of the coalition government led by Prime Minister Vladimír Mečiar between 1994 and 1998. See Marián Leško, „Príbeh sebadiskvalifikácie favorita" (The Story of a Self-disqualification of a Favorite), in *Slovensko v šedej zóne? Rozširovanie NATO, zlyhanie a perspektívy Slovenska* (Slovakia in a Grey Zone? NATO Enlargement, Failures and Perspectives of Slovakia), ed. Martin Bútora and František Šebej (Bratislava: Institute for Public Affairs, 1998), 15–85.

17 On the latest Slovak foreign and security policy developments, see Vladimír Bilčík et al., "Foreign and Security Policy of the Slovak Republic," in *Slovakia 2000. A Global Report on the State of the Society*, ed. Grigorij Mesežnikov, Miroslav Kollár and Tom Nicholson (Bratislava: Institute for Public Affairs, 2000), 233–296.

ties with the EC rather quickly. Yet, the ultimate goal of full membership in this grouping began to materialize only at a slow rate. The three countries signed their respective bilateral "Europe Agreements" in December 1991. Whilst the signing of these documents signaled potentially closer ties between the post-Communist Central Europe and the EC, the "Europe Agreements" fell short of expectations. They offered neither the prospects of full membership for the countries of the ex-Soviet block nor did they provide for liberalization of EC agricultural, steel, and textile markets in which the Visegrad group possessed a notable comparative trading advantage. The initial institutionalization of relations between the Visegrad group and the EC became somewhat emblematic of subsequent interactions between the EU and the four Central European countries. In comparative terms, enlarging NATO has proved a less complex task than enlarging the EU.

The EU strategy of eastern enlargement has been characterized by a great deal of uncertainty and incremental steps forward. The Copenhagen summit in June 1993 opened the possibility of eastern enlargement by setting the criteria for the candidate countries. Next, followed the agreement at the Essen European Council meeting in December 1994 that negotiations for the accession of the new member states could not begin until after the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference reviewing the workings of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) had been completed. The Madrid summit in December 1995 confirmed that enlargement negotiations would begin six months following the completion of the 1996 IGC, which concluded in June 1997. The Luxembourg summit in December of the same year invited the first group of six countries (the so-called 5+1 group) to start negotiations, while five other countries were offered the possibility of a screening of the *acquis*.[18] Yet, the conclusions of the Luxembourg summit did not preclude the possibility that countries of the second group could, in fact, overtake states invited to the negotiating table in the first group. The EU has maintained its position of negotiating entry on an individual– rather than bloc–basis. At the Helsinki summit in December 1999, the EU invited the addi-

18   The so-called 5+1 countries comprised the first group of negotiating states: Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, and Estonia. The second group of five countries was composed of Slovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, and Bulgaria.

tional five countries of the second group plus Malta to the negotiating table. Since February 2000, the EU has been negotiating with twelve countries, most of which stand a realistic chance of joining the Union in the foreseeable future.

In preparation for EU membership the CFSP that originated with the 1993 Treaty of Maastricht has been shaping the boundaries and the focus of the candidate states' foreign and security policies. The candidate countries – in their status of associated countries – have been taking an active part in the forms of cooperation within the CFSP framework. They have been rather consistently aligning themselves with the declarations, demarches, common positions, and joint actions of the EU.[19] In certain cases, such as during the Kosovo conflict, the candidate states have imposed sanctions adopted by the Union *vis-à-vis* third countries. Whenever possible, cooperation and coordination of positions takes place in international forums and inside international organizations, such as the UN. The framework of CFSP has encouraged good neighborly relations, for instance between Hungary and Slovakia. It has also emphasized participation in and compliance with nonproliferation regimes and export controls.

Formally, due to the existing limits to the effectiveness and the coherence of the CFSP, this policy domain has not posed problems for Central and Eastern European countries. Since Maastricht, changes to the CFSP have been rather marginal. It remains a principally intergovernmental policy area that has had its ups, fostering a greater European external stance on a number of issues, but also its downs, suffering heavily in the face of the EU's failure to act and intervene successfully in the former Yugoslav crises. Compliance with the CFSP provisions requires no extra financial or institutional resources. The character of cooperation in this area does not necessitate major changes to domestic legislation. Thus, the chapter on "Common Foreign and Security Policy" has been among the easier parts of the accession process. All candidate states have been able to close it provisionally and all are expected to be ready to participate fully in the formulation, adoption,

19   Clear exceptions to this rule have been specific démarches or common positions adopted directly in relation to one or more candidate countries.

and implementation of all CFSP instruments available under the EU Treaty on accession.

Enlargement raises the obvious question of how the CFSP may be affected by the full inclusion of as many as twelve new member states in the EU. While in the past, enlargements seemed to have had little to no impact on the CFSP or the earlier European Political Cooperation (EPC),[20] the current wave may be different. The size and the geopolitical reality of the EU will change more fundamentally than during any previous rounds of enlargement. The boundaries of a wider EU will reach some potentially unstable borders and regions with more strategic significance for Europe as a whole. Although peer pressure toward reaching unanimity remains high inside the Council, effective decision making and common action may be increasingly difficult to achieve without further communitarizing further. More importantly, advancements in the area of the CFSP have largely taken place thanks to the pressure of external crises. Recent developments in Europe, and specifically in Kosovo, have prompted the evolution of the ESDP. Future cooperation and action in the area of defense may not be possible without a more formidable, efficient, and strategically prepared CFSP. The goals of the ESDP are already reshaping the role of the EU. These may give new meaning and impetus to the Europe's foreign policymaking.

Security Through the ESDP

Although the ESDP is a rather new policy area and remains almost exclusively outside of the framework of the EU Treaties,[21] it has brought a new dynamic into the building of the EU's security role. By raising the issue of the EU's military capabilities, its capacities for

20 David Allen, "Wider But Weaker or the More the Merrier? Enlargement and Foreign Policy Cooperation in the EC/EU" in *The Expanding European Union: Past Present and Future*, ed. John Redmond and Glenda Rosenthal (Boulder, CO. Lynne Rienner, 1998), 107–124.

21 The Treaty of Nice modified Articles 17 and 25 that deal explicitly with the goals and institutional aspects of ESDP.

action in the area of security and defense, and its relationship to NATO, the ESDP has introduced a number of important factors in relation to the current round of EU enlargement. Since the announcement at the Franco-British summit in St Malo in December 1998 in favor of the development of a European "capacity for autonomous military action, backed by credible military forces," the development toward an operational ESDP took off relatively quickly. The Cologne summit in June 1999 established the basic institutional structures for the emerging EU security and defense policy. The Helsinki summit came up with the so-called Headline Goal (HG) of desired force levels for a European rapid reaction force, capable of deploying in crisis management operations – including peacemaking – after 2003. The Helsinki summit also invited *third countries* (these included EU candidate states and all non-EU NATO member states) to contribute to the improvement of European military capacities. The Feira and Nice summits of 2000 made further progress toward the ESDP. The former created a structure for dialogue with 15 countries outside of the EU that are either EU candidates (13 states) and/or non-EU NATO members (6 states). The latter modified the TEU and thus created basic preconditions for the ESDP's development inside the EU Treaties' framework. Most recently, the Laeken European Council reaffirmed that "the ESDP is an open project: it has therefore particularly sought to implement the arrangements agreed at Nice."[22]

The ESDP's progress has been remarkable, particularly in the area of new security, defense, and military commitments made by the EU, and in the developments of institutional structures that are to underpin the functioning of this policy. However, its further progress will be determined by the acquisition of real capabilities, by addressing the issues of planning and relations with NATO, and by delimiting the ESDP's strategic and operational objectives. Today, the ESDP begs many questions and provides few answers. This situation naturally raises a whole set of views and concerns on the side of the candidate states.

22 "Presidency Conclusions, European Council Meeting in Laeken, 14 and 15 December 2001," available at http://ue.eu.int/Newsroom/makeFrame. asp?MAX=&BID=76&DID=68827&LANG=2&File=/pressData/en/ec/ 68827.pdf&Picture=0.

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The ESDP added a whole new dimension to issues of the second pillar. Whereas the CFSP has so far been largely an exercise in political and bureaucratic integration, the development of ESDP encompasses a bigger array of other tasks. The ESDP is no longer just about the EU business of political and legislative integration. It touches on, and in some ways competes with, other security and defense initiatives and priorities that have shaped the foreign policy goals of post-Communist countries throughout the 1990s. In particular, these include the desire to join NATO –, which has been primarily motivated by the guarantees of collective defense – an area not covered by the ESDP. The limited debate in the candidate states about the ESDP has partly reflected general uncertainties over its future development inside the EU. It has focused on relations between NATO and the EU and has addressed the question of participation in the present and future developments of the ESDP by current accession states.

Statements about the ESDP by candidate states have tended to be rather reserved and general. The Polish Position in relation to the latest IGC in 2000 came up with a statement reflecting some of the confusion on the side of both the EU and the candidate states. The Polish government wrote: "As the EU Common European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) is at initial stage of its evolution, it is extremely difficult to assess the significance of the Intergovernmental Conference's potential decisions. That there is no agreement among the EU members themselves as to the final shape in which to build the ESDP makes the problem even more complex."[23] Official negotiating positions on CFSP have been vague. Post-Communist countries that began negotiations following the Luxembourg summit provisionally closed the CFSP chapter even before the ESDP became an issue. Slovakia has been "monitoring the developments related to the European Security and Defence Policy in connection with the building of autonomous decision-making capacities and, where NATO as a whole will not be engaged, supports possible EU-led peace-keeping operations."[24]

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23 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, *Intergovernmental Conference 2000: The Polish Position*, 12 June 2000, 19.

24 This quote comes from Slovakia's official negotiating position on the CFSP chapter.

While the ESDP has received political backing in a number of candidate countries, it seems to lack a clear operational structure that could both foster more clarity in understanding the policy process and its problems, and help draft a more constructive contribution to the current debate. Instead, there remains much confusion. Slovakia, a country that has caught up in accession negotiations with the Luxembourg group of states, is a very good illustration of this. The debate on the ESDP has been vague and has received a general welcome by the governing political parties. Simultaneously, the Slovak National Party, rightwing nationalists, endorsed the idea of autonomous European defense capabilities, motivated by their anti-NATO and anti-American stance.

At the policymaking level, the ESDP is only slowly being viewed as a part of a wider security and defense policy agenda. At the basic institutional level, the position of European correspondent handles the ESDP matters virtually alone. The policy is limited to the established institutional structures in the context of the CFSP and the primary concern rests with the existing modes of dialogue with the EU. A broader strategic view, including wider security matters and issues of planning and coordination, is still lacking.

Apart from weak institutional structures, some notable representatives of the candidate states view the ESDP as causing a potential clash with one of their primary security policy priorities, namely, membership in NATO. In a TV interview, Vaclav Klaus, Chairman of the lower house of the Czech Parliament and the Civic Democratic Party, said: "European defense is driving a wedge between NATO and the EU."[25] Klaus's view is somewhat extreme. The candidate countries generally recognize European integration as a political project and therefore the building of the ESDP is both necessary and inevitable. Still, there is a definite concern about the maintenance of a strong and clearly-defined EU−US connection. Viktor Orbán, Hungary's prime minister, emphasized that, "A new EU−US relationship is key: the transatlantic link is at

25   "Klaus: Evropska obrana je klin proti NATO," [translation] *Lidove Noviny*, 4 June 2001.

the core of a balanced Europe."[26] During a visit to Moscow, Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, former Polish foreign minister, diplomatically summed up the Polish position, calling it "clear and consistent." He went on, "As a European country we recognize the need for development of the European defense and political identity; as a NATO state with a burden of a certain historic experience, we shall strive for preservation of the Alliance's full potential."[27] Similarly, in its official statement, Slovakia understands the formation of security and defense policy of the EU as "a complementary process to the system of collective defense of the North Atlantic Alliance."[28]

With varying degrees of domestic elite and public consensus, NATO membership has been the key security policy priority in practically all Central and Eastern European post-Communist states. Three Visegrad countries became members of the Alliance in 1999, nine other states[29] are hoping to be invited to join at the Prague summit in November 2002. Given the date, for most candidate states membership in the Alliance represents a more pressing priority than membership in the EU. While most EU member states – also members of NATO – are principally concerned with the ESDP and crisis-management operations, most EU candidate states are focusing much of their current energies on gaining admission into an alliance of collective defense. In addition to the issue of diverging goals, the preoccupation with the maintenance of the transatlantic link stems partly from the historical experience and from the threat perception of Central and Eastern Europeans. As some of the previous quotes demonstrate, these countries, including new NATO members, still feel more exposed to dangers of instability than

26 "Europe Is Still Scarred by the Cold War," speech by Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban, delivered at a conference of European banks held in Frankfurt, 8 December 2000, available at http://www.kum.hu/euint/quot_1.html.

27 Speech by Bartoszewskie in Moscow on "Polish-Russian Relations in the Context of European Union Enlargement," 6 February 2001.

28 *Security Strategy of the Slovak Republic,* approved by the Council of the Slovak Republic on 27 March 2001.

29 These include the following candidate states for EU membership: Slovenia, Slovakia, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Romania, and Bulgaria. Albania and Macedonia are the remaining two countries.

perhaps much of Western Europe does. Also, past reliance solely on Western European powers – particularly prior to, during, and shortly after World War II – did not work to the benefit of Central and Eastern Europe. From the standpoint of this region, continued involvement of the US in Europe's security structures and guarantees is crucial. More-over, applicant states for EU membership have invested heavily both in gaining and maintaining NATO membership. For them, the endurance of the transatlantic connection is vital.

The candidate states have also had differing experience with the exist-ing modes of participation inside structures of cooperation created by NATO and by the nascent ESDP. The Feira summit of June 2000, identified principles and modalities for arrangements to allow for non-EU European NATO members and other EU accession candidates to contribute to EU military management. At the same time, it invited contributions from all partner third states to the improvement of Euro-pean capabilities. Proposed arrangements for dialogue suggest that "full respect for decision-making autonomy of the EU and its single institutional framework." Simultaneously, they aim to create "a single, inclusive structure in which all the 15 countries concerned (the non-EU European NATO members and the candidates for accession to the EU) can enjoy the necessary dialogue, consultation and cooperation with the EU."[30] The proposed structures have created a framework for dialogue under the so-called 15 plus 15 formula (15 EU members states plus 15 non-EU European NATO members and other EU acces-sion states) and under a formula 15 plus 6, whereby the latter include all non-EU NATO member states. The Feira conclusions indicate that a minimum of two meetings per Presidency will take place both in the EU+15 format and in the EU+6 format.

Although the candidate states are going to become full-fledged actors in the institutional structures and the decision making of the ESDP upon EU enlargement, present modalities for participation in the build-ing of the ESDP do not seem adequate. The current structures imply a certain degree of exclusion regarding the decision-making contribu-

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30   Maartje Rutten, ed. *From St Malo to Nice. European Defense: Core Docu-ments*, Chaillot Paper, No. 47 (Paris: The Institute for Security Studies, 2001).

tion of applicant states. While it is foremost necessary for the ESDP to establish its decision making and its institutional identity inside the EU, it is equally important to offer a greater degree of inclusion to those countries that are soon to enter the Union. A recent set of Polish "proposals for practical development of Feira decisions concerning the EU cooperation with non-EU European Allies"[31] stressed – with the reference to the inclusion of the six non-EU NATO member states – the importance of two factors. First, it focused on the inclusion in the decision-shaping process and, second, as a practical example, it emphasized the WEU culture of working with non-members in the formulation of its policies.

Indeed, the comparison could be extended to the involvement of other EU candidate states and broadened to the example of their participation inside structures created by NATO. The three Visegrad NATO members are already fully-engaged in the NATO defense planning process. All other post-Communist accession countries are included in NATO's planning and review process (PARP) that operates under the Partnership for Peace (PfP) program. At the same time, the most recent ex-Communist NATO member states are also Associate Members of the WEU, while the other seven Central and Eastern European candidate countries are WEU Associate Partners. One of the derived privileges is that Associate Partners participate in the decision-shaping process by being able to propose concrete policy initiatives. With the transfer of most WEU functions to the EU, involvement of EU candidate states in the ESDP's decision-shaping process does not seem comparable.

The non-NATO candidate states also participate in the Membership Action Plan (MAP) – a more advanced version of the PfP – in their respective bids for full NATO membership and entails a good degree of joint defense planning with the Alliance.[32] Contrary to the ESDP, NATO offers both operational and political backing. One of the driving ideas behind the PfP program has been the inclusion of others. Through the PfP, a number of states have become partial decision-shapers within NATO. While at present EU member states "invite" and "welcome"

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31   See: www.msz.gov.pl.
32   Francois Heisbourg et al., *European Defence: Making It Work,* Challiot Paper, No. 42 (Paris: The Institute for Security Studies, 2000).

additional contributions of forces by candidate states, the PfP program explicitly calls for contribution of forces. Arguably, NATO has been keener to involve outsiders. The Alliance's political and military framework for participation – created in the context of the PfP – includes more than forty countries. As the Kosovo crisis demonstrates, a common framework of inclusion of both members and non-members of NATO has been an important factor in preventing any spillover of violence into neighboring countries. As a follow up, NATO's PARP and permanent operational structures created in the context of the PfP help to ensure smooth participation of forces from countries in engaged in the PfP in the KFOR operation.

Although participation of candidate states in either NATO or WEU structures has never implied involvement in the decision-making process of these organizations, it has certainly allowed a comparatively greater involvement in the preparation of decisions. The current mode of political participation in the ESDP – with regular ministerial meetings of EU member states and EU candidate states – is somewhat reminiscent of the Union's Structured Dialogue, initiated by the German Presidency of the EU in 1994. The Structured Dialogue was a multilateral framework of regular interactions between the EU and the associated Central and Eastern European countries that preceded the opening of direct accession talks after the 1997 Luxembourg summit of the EU.[33] Devised and implemented at the start of the enlargement process, the Structured Dialogue soon proved both ineffective and insufficient in providing space for voices from the applicant states and in addressing their respective concerns. The existing arrangements of association in the ESDP resemble these frameworks that eventually proved inadequate.

The ESDP is a new and evolving policy area. The current inclusion of the soon-to-be EU member states may not only affect their behavior after EU accession, but also set a specific precedence for dealing with future EU candidate states. Furthermore, positive experience with NATO operational structures does appear to suggest that from the

33   Barbara Lippert and Peter Becker, "Structured Dialogue Revisited: The EU's Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion," *European Foreign Affairs* 3, No. 3 (1998).

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standpoint of the EU accession states, the ESDP should have a definite Euro–Atlantic dimension. One of the basic preconditions for successful inclusion of future EU member states rests with NATO's involvement and a clear agreement between the EU and NATO on issues of strategy, capabilities, and access to assets and permanent structures of consultation. By the end of 2001, the two organizations had not yet reached agreement, although "[d]iscussions between the EU and NATO on arrangements, based on those approved by the European Council at its Nice meeting, to allow the EU to use NATO resources and capabilities, are continuing with high priority."[34]

EU Foreign, Security, and Defense Policies and the Visegrad States Upon Enlargement

There are naturally questions over the future active participation in and contribution to the foreign, security, and defense policy formulation of the EU. The geographic and the geopolitical dimensions of the next round of EU enlargement indicate a variety of potential strategies and practical additions in the realm of the second pillar. Approaches toward the eastern and the southern neighborhoods of a wider EU will have to consider the different nature of their political, economic, legal, and security dimension. Among other factors they will have to take into account the size and the relative weight of each neighboring state. In certain cases, they will be building upon the existing strategies, in others they will be forced to start from scratch. The breadth of the focus of EU security policies will undoubtedly grow. However, current accession states are most likely to pay attention to and to come up with concrete proposals for future EU relations with Russia, Ukraine, and Southeastern Europe.

Enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe represents only a relative change in the nature of the existing strategies in the context of

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34 *Presidency Report on ESDP,* Laeken European Council, 14 to 15 December 2001, 8.

the second pillar. The Union seems many years away from having to deal with consequences of direct borders with Iran or Iraq, whereas Russia is already one of its neighbors. Nonetheless, the conclusion of the current round of enlargement is going to give the whole continent a much clearer dividing line between Russia and the rest of Europe. Also, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova are going to be separated from the Union by a much more distinct and less porous frontier. Whilst the Union has been rather open to offers of possible membership to the unstable successor states of the former Yugoslavia, such as Macedonia, or its immediate neighbor Albania, the "European" prospects of the EU's future eastern neighbors seem less clear.[35]

Both Russia and Ukraine – the largest and strategically most significant countries in the EU's eastern neighborhood – are in no position to ponder accession any time soon. In June and December of 1999, respectively, the EU adopted its "Common Strategy of the European Union on Russia" and "Common Strategy of the European Union on Ukraine."[36] Generally defined strategic goals include support for democracy, market economy, and European stability and security in relation to Russia and support for post-Communist transition and closer cooperation in the context of enlargement in relation to Ukraine. Furthermore, Russia's special position is highlighted by regular EU–Russia summits held at the highest political level.

Since the end of the Cold War, the foreign policy priorities of the candidate states have principally included the goals of NATO and EU memberships and development of various forms of regional cooperation, such as the Visegrad group. Clear and comprehensive policy toward Eastern European states has been largely lacking – except for the general aim of distinguishing oneself from them most intellectual, political, economic, and financial resources have been consumed on the path to key western institutions and structures, but accession to the EU system of common rules and norms could place some candidate states

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35 The EU has signed Stabilization and Association Agreements with several Balkan states.

36 See the Presidency Conclusions of the Cologne European Council, 3 to 4 June 1999, and the Helsinki European Council, 10 to 11 December 1999.

in a strong position to gradually shift focus on relations with their eastern neighbors.

The EU policy toward its two biggest future neighbors will always be shaped by the broader context of transatlantic relations. However, the Visegrad countries have the potential to bring new value to future policies and eastern initiatives. Their respective comparative advantage stems from common historical ties, geographic and linguistic proximity, as well as shared experience of post-Communist transition. Upon enlargement, accession countries will be most immediately confronted with a double challenge, namely how to combine an effective eastern strategy with commitments to EU trading rules, visa regimes, and border controls.

However, there are already limits to the common eastern approach of the Central European neighbors. The Visegrad group's relations with Ukraine provide a good example. Although during the Summit of Prime Ministers of the Visegrad countries in the High Tatras in October 1999, the participants agreed to coordinate the course of action in meeting EU requirements in connection with the implementation of the Schengen Treaty, the Visegrad countries proved unable to coordinate their action. During February and March 2000, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, respectively, decided to introduce visas for Ukrainians starting from 28 June 2000. Yet, Poland and Hungary remain committed to implementing their visa regimes in relation to Ukraine at the latest possible date. This specific event demonstrates both differences in the perception of national interests of the Visegrad states in the post-Soviet state and the lack of concepts for regional responsibility among the Visegrad Four.[37] It suggests that whilst the post-Communist countries have a comparative advantage in knowledge and experience with the current and future eastern and southern neighbors of the EU, the task of following a common approach is and will be more complicated.

Other, less ambitious tools of foreign and security policy could play a useful role. These include practical initiatives at a more local level. Today, there exists a number of Euroregions that cut across the future

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37 Alexander Duleba, "Ukraine, Central Europe and Slovakia's Foreign Policy," *Slovak Foreign Policy Affairs* 1, No. 2 (2000): 86.

dividing lines of the EU "insiders" and "outsiders." The Carpathian Euroregion is a good example. It covers a vast area that cuts across five countries (Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Ukraine, and Romania) and includes a plethora of ethnic and religious groups totaling around 10 million people in a territory with distinctly varying economic standards. Initiatives inside the developing structures of Euroregions could create pressure for concrete policies at the national- and EU-level. Local solutions may prove most applicable not only in the case of the Carpathian Euroregion, but also in other areas, such as Kaliningrad.

There are also additional agents of political change. Most notably, many post-Communist candidate states have a relatively well-institutionalized, nongovernmental sector. During a recent visit by Ukrainian President Kuchma to Slovakia, Slovak Prime Minister Dzurinda called upon Slovak nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that aim to support structures of democracy and market economy in Ukraine.[38] Civil society in Central and Eastern Europe and regionally-based NGOs have been equally active in the institutional rebuilding of the war-ridden successor states of the former Yugoslavia. More recently, they have helped to facilitate last year's democratic change in Serbia through educational activities and the sharing of experience and know-how. Similar efforts could be replicated elsewhere in the vicinity of an enlarged EU.

The ESDP – as a recent addition to the main concerns of the CFSP – already benefits from the domestic stability of the Central European candidate states. Their domestic developments and reforms on the path to EU membership represent the most visible contribution of these countries toward the success of the ESDP. In specific military terms, the Capabilities Commitment Conference held in November 2000 saw pledges from EU candidate states to the EU military force. On 19 November 2001, the EU held its Capability Improvement Conference (CIC) in Brussels. Its aim was to reinforce the military and civilian capabilities of the EU. The following day, the candidate states were informed of the outcome of the CIC, and they pledged additional contributions that were included in a supplement to the Forces Catalogue. Moreover, the candidate states have revised their original offers in both

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38   The President of Ukraine, Leonid Kuchma, visited Bratislava between 13 and 14 June 2001.

quality and quantity.[39] Following the aftermath of the events of 11 September 2001, the offers also included pledges of police forces.

Although the pledges exist on paper, in reality it is questionable whether the candidate states could sustain and finance the contributions they have pledged. Realistically, the numbers are likely to be smaller. The accession countries have already allocated some forces that are serving within the framework of SFOR and KFOR in Bosnia and Kosovo, respectively. Additional interoperable forces are likely to be limited in availability and too expensive to support over a longer period of time. However, while expectations of defense and military contributions should be modest, candidate states' peacekeeping experience over the last ten years puts them in a sound position as reliable participants in future crisis-management operations.

In the institutional and practical context of decision making and decision shaping, EU enlargement is likely to strengthen the Euro–Atlantic dimension of the ESDP. The Polish position in relation to the 2000 IGC states that involvement in a potential EU crisis management operation will depend on particular states' case-by-case individual decisions, and that "there are no advocates at present among the States of the Fifteen of giving the Communities any competence in the second EU pillar." At the same time, according to the Polish viewpoint: "EU civilian crisis management may be one area where competencies could be transferred to the Communities as the resources necessary to implement them are to be found mainly within the EU first pillar."

With the growth of policy tools (such as internal policing or policing of borders) in connection with the ESDP, pressure toward some communitarization of security and defense could increase. After all, several candidate states already favor moves toward the harmonization of asylum policy and toward more open police cooperation. The area of civilian crisis management may nurture greater involvement of the European Parliament (EP) in the formation of the ESDP. The questions of accountability and legitimacy with respect to foreign, security, and defense policies will become increasingly essential. However, enlargement could offer a chance to address them.

39   "Statement on Improving European Military Capabilities," Annex I to the *Presidency Report on ESDP*, 11 December 2001.

Conclusion

Against the backdrop of their respective foreign and security policy priorities, this chapter has attempted to sketch the principal attitudes of the Visegrad countries toward the ESDP. The post-Communist Central European states remain concerned about the transatlantic political and security link. Overall, they have devoted much of their energies and resources toward gaining membership in the North Atlantic Alliance. Since the early 1990s, NATO has played a very formative role in foreign and security policies of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. Today, three of the Visegrad states are full-fledged members of the Alliance, and Slovakia ranks high amongst the candidate states that are expected to receive an invitation to join NATO at its Prague summit in the fall of 2002.

The recent developments in the area of the ESDP have added a new dimension and a separate set of questions to the future course of transatlantic relations. From the perspective of the candidate states, the evolution of the ESDP cannot be viewed in isolation from their broader foreign and security policy goals. Nor can they be separated from developments inside the accession states and from internal policy concerns of the Union as a whole. While enlargement of the EU has a definite potential to add to the dynamism to the ESDP, it also brings with it some unanswered questions. If these are not handled in a proper and timely manner, they could pose problems for the future functioning of common foreign, security, and defense policies in an enlarged Union.

At the moment, the ESDP is primarily consumed with resolving thorny issues halting its progress inside the EU. Yet, with prospect the accession of the first post-Communist countries in 2004, the ESDP is bound to take a more encompassing view of its activities and offer a more inclusive and intensive structure of involvement to candidate states. The attitudes of Central and Eastern European policymakers reflect both a degree of caution and some confusion about the ESDP and its direction. Partly, this has to do with a wider set of foreign policy goals, such as the current focus on NATO membership. However, it also reflects the degree of exclusion in the debate over the future of EU–NATO relations, most notably among the non-NATO applicant

countries. The lack of clarity regarding the ESDP's direction and the missing input and information on the ESDP place countries that enjoy a realistic chance of full-fledged EU membership in the foreseeable future in an inadequate position.

Apart from the aforementioned concerns, enlargement of the EU in the context of its nascent security and defense identity offers an opportunity for a more visible and a more meaningful EU role in international affairs. The candidate states will enter the Union offering a unique set of experiences, know-how, and flexibility gained in their respective paths of post-Communist transition. Whilst their financial and military resources remain limited, the candidate states could potentially bring in fresh ideas, regional initiatives, and innovative modes of institutionalized interactions in relation to future eastern and southern neighbors of an enlarged Union. Here, the accession process already offers some positive gains for the EU as a whole.

Part III
**The Scope of the European Security
and Defense Policy**

Hajnalka Vincze

A Stronger Military Role for the EU in the Balkans?

Introduction

The necessity for the European Union (EU) to play a more assertive role in the Balkans is on the agenda now more than ever. In fact, after the events of 11 September 2001, the withdrawal of the bulk of the US troops from the region and their replacement by European contingents is, for the first time, considered as a politically feasible (and militarily sensible) option. At the same time, the EU's evolving defense policy has been declared "operational" at the Laeken summit in December 2001,[1] with all the related institutions in place and with the Western European Union's (WEU) crisis management capabilities and functions transferred to the EU. The EU is therefore theoretically the actor that is most competent to play a military role (in addition to other, more traditional aspects of EU crisis management) in the neighboring Balkan region. In addition, the experience of the Eurocorps, having been in command of the KFOR operation from March to October 2000, is seen by many as a point of reference opening the way for more ambitious missions. Last but not least, the Macedonian crisis in 2001 demonstrated that the stabilization process of the whole region is far from over, and that the military component still constitutes an integral part of the toolbox for achieving this aim.

This chapter seeks to make the case for a greater EU military presence in the Balkans. In doing so, it attempts to comprehend the relationship between the EU's past and present experience in the Balkans and the evolution of the Union's military role. It argues that the Balkans is

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1 "Declaration on the Operational Capability of the Common European Security and Defence Policy," Presidency Conclusions of the European Council Meeting in Laeken, 14–15 December 2001 (Brussels: General Secretariat of the Council, 2001), Annex II.

likely to go on influencing the development of the EU's military force by providing it with its first major test. However, in order for this "test" to be passed successfully, the EU must meet a number of challenges still facing its military role in the region.

The EU and the Balkans: The Implications of Cohabitation

Traditionally, the EU regards its utmost priority as bringing stability and prosperity to the whole of the European continent. Obviously, this mission is much more a vital interest than a mere altruist, value-based vocation for the EU. The view that trouble in one part of the continent is a problem for the whole continent[2] increased in relevance at the beginning of the 1990s with the dramatic events accompanying and following the demise of the former Yugoslavia. After the Helsinki decision on enlargement in December 1999 (i.e., the invitation to open accession negotiations with an additional six countries, including Bulgaria and Romania, as well as the recognition of official candidate status for Turkey), the stability of the region became an even more crucial issue for the EU: Southeastern Europe (SEE) ceased to be simply a region of Europe's backwaters whose flare-ups need firefighting by Europe; it is now regarded as a part of the Continent that is eventually to be integrated into the EU. Therefore, the stakes are now even higher, and the consequences of possible failure even more serious for both the region and for the EU in general.[3]

A wide array of nonmilitary instruments

It is obvious that "Europe" and "the Balkans" are not two distinct entities, but rather two interconnected parts of the same European area. Recognition of this fact is reflected in the EU's deep involvement – in

2   See Timothy Garton Ash, "Europe's Endangered Liberal Order," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 1998).

3   See Dimitrios Triantaphyllou, ed. *The Southern Balkans: Perspectives from the Region*, Chaillot Paper, No. 46 (Paris: The Institute for Security Studies, 2001).

arenas such as economic, financial, and diplomatic – in the whole Balkan stabilization process from the very beginning of the conflicts. The declared aim of the EU is to create in SEE a situation in which military conflict will become unthinkable, and thereby to expand the zone of peace, stability, prosperity, and freedom that the current 15 member states have created over the last 50 years to SEE. With this in mind, the EU is by far the single largest assistance donor to the western Balkans as a whole. Through its various aid programs the EU has provided more than €6.1 billion between 1991 and 2001, and, in the year 2001, over €845 million has been made available for the Phare, Obnova, and CARDS aid programs.[4]

In the 1990s, the EU's political, trade, and financial relations with the western Balkan region focused on crisis management and reconstruction, reflecting the countries' emergency needs at that time. However, as the region emerges from that difficult period, a more long-term approach to its development is clearly required.

The Stability Pact (SP) launched by the EU and adopted by the Cologne meeting of the European Council on 10 June 1999, which embraces the countries of the region as well as others (including the US), is an important element in the EU's effort to foster peace and democracy across the whole region. The initiative arose in late 1998, and thus predates the war in Kosovo. Yet, that war later undoubtedly acted as a catalyst in strengthening international political will for coordinated preventive action in the region. In fact, the SP is the first serious attempt by the international community to replace the previous reactive crisis-intervention policy in SEE with a comprehensive long-term conflict prevention strategy.[5]

Also in May 1999, the European Commission set out the rationale for moving towards a more ambitious vision for the region's development. This was based on:

- A recognition that the main motivator for reform – including the establishment of a dependable rule of law, democratic and stable institutions, and a free economy – in these countries is a relationship

4   For further information, see http://www.europa.eu.int.
5   For further details on the SP, see http://www.stabilitypact.org.

with the EU that is based on a credible prospect of membership once the relevant conditions have been met. This prospect was offered explicitly at the Feira European Council meeting in June 2000;

- The need for the countries to establish bilateral relationships amongst themselves to allow development of greater economic and political stability in the region;

- The need for a more flexible approach which, although anchored in a common set of political and economic conditions, allows each country to move ahead at its own pace. Assistance programs and contractual relations have to be flexible enough to accommodate a range of situations from postconflict reconstruction and stabilization to technical help with matters such as the standardization of legislation with the core elements of the EU *acquis.*

This led to the proposal by the European Commission, on 26 May 1999, of the so-called Stabilization and Association Process (SAP) for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), and Albania in order to enhance the existing "regional approach" of the EU *vis-à-vis* these countries. The SAP aims to stabilize the region and restore cooperation between Balkan countries by offering them the prospect of joining the European integration process. In brief, the SAP helps the region to secure political and economic stabilization by developing a closer association with the EU, involving new kinds of contractual relations (the tailor-made Stabilization and Association Agreements) and thereby opening a road towards eventual EU membership once the conditions have been met.[6] In fact, for most countries in the region the SP and the SAP can only be provisional and transitory; they cannot replace the accession process, with its final goal of acquiring full membership in the EU. The most important political instrument of the EU in the SEE region is precisely the promise of full membership – provided the political and economic criteria are met, and the reform policies are implemented.

To aid this complex and manifold process, the EU had already adopted liberal trade policies towards SEE, allowing more than 80 per cent of

6   See http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/see/actions/sap.htm.

regional exports to enter the EU duty-free. And on 18 September 2000, the Council of Ministers decided to further extend duty-free access to the EU market for products from SEE; this trade liberalization took effect on 1 December 2000. Fully-liberalized access to the markets of the EU is also foreseen as part of the Stabilization and Association Agreements.

The EU's Limited Military Presence in the Region

The EU is also present on the ground. For example, in Kosovo some 36'000 troops (80 per cent of the total force) and 800 civilian police from EU member states serve alongside international partners, but there are several reasons why this fails to constitute an assertive EU presence. First, the military participation of EU member states suffers from a significant lack of credibility, in that there is a widespread perception that European military are only good for so-called soft security tasks, unlike the war-fighting US soldiers.[7] Second, EU member states hold diverse opinions regarding the extent to which the EU should and could be militarily involved, and although the EU has indeed been acknowledged as the main donor for reconstruction and development, its role in military-related aspects is still far from being generally accepted. Third – and closely linked to the above-mentioned diverse opinions – military-type European involvement has thus far simply not happened under the EU flag, i.e., upon decisions of the EU Council.[8]

One of the consequences of such a low-profile military presence, paired with an ambitious economic and diplomatic program such as the SP is that "given Europe's Balkan track record, the SP's efficiency and longevity will suffer from such an imbalance between war-making and

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7 "When it comes to nation-building or civilian administration or indefinite peace-keeping, we do need for the Europeans to step up to their responsibilities. We don't need to have the 82nd airborne escorting kids to kindergarten," statement by Condoleezza Rice to the *New York Times*, 21 October 2000.

8 On the difficulty of military involvement under EU flag, see Section 2.

peacekeeping or reconstruction."[9] The main problem here is the lack
– from the EU's side – of necessary coherence between diplomacy (us-
ing both political and economic instruments), coercive diplomacy and
the use of force, and the credible threat of use of force (implying both
political and military credibility).

The EU's quasi-absence in the military dimension of post-conflict reso-
lution in the Balkans (or at least the absence of an EU flag associated
with the European military presence), as well as its lack of credibility
in defense matters (due partly to the political divergences between the
15 member states, and partly to its lack of convincing capabilities)
threaten the credibility – or even the undermining of – other, non-
military EU efforts in the region, even though it is quite obvious that
eventual integration into the EU is the key incentive (reference, anchor,
and motivation) for SEE countries to move towards stabilization and
democratization.

The EU and Its Military Role: Inherent Schizophrenia?

Paradoxically, any EU initiative in the region suffers from the lack of
military credibility to underpin it, but events in the Balkans have un-
doubtedly played a key role in the creation and the development of the
EU's defense dimension. The Yugoslav conflicts have not only revealed
the impact of instability on the rest of the European continent, but also
highlighted the interdependence of both "hard" (military) and "soft"
(nonmilitary) security. It became apparent to all that "a long-term, co-
ordinated, and coherent international presence, the core part of which
will be European, will therefore be needed to implement change and

9 Daniel N. Nelson, "The Southeast Europe Stability Pact: Stability Without Secu-
    rity Is Bad for the Balkans," speech at the East European Studies Noon Discus-
    sion, The Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, D.C., 20 October 1999. Nelson
    even affirms that "The Stability Pact is not what we or the Balkans needed. It is
    diplomatic Prozac at a time when shock therapy is required. It offers inducements
    and rewards before the heavy lifting. It suggests that we can buy and educate the
    Balkans towards market democracy in the long term, before a secure milieu exists
    in which to nurture such fragile institutions."

transition through combined means, encompassing the whole spectrum of conflict prevention and crisis management mechanisms."[10]

If the EU possessed the tools and instruments for the largest, nonmilitary part of this spectrum, it notoriously lacked both capabilities and competence in the military dimension. The lessons of the Balkan crises revealed the necessity for Europe to acquire the appropriate means – conceptual, operational, and institutional – to address crises on its own continent. Already possessing and putting into use a whole range of economic, political, and diplomatic instruments, the EU launched the creation and the reinforcement of its defense dimension. The EU is committed to enhancing security, but not in becoming a military actor *per se*. Therefore, its recent endeavors in the field of the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) must be seen as an additional tool – albeit an important and necessary one – in a broad and unrivalled range of economic, political, and diplomatic capabilities.[11] Also, the development of the common ESDP stems mainly from the very logic of European integration – the shift from a mere economic power to a political one, the progressive building of its strategic dimension, and thereby the emergence of Europe as a global actor on its own right. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the Balkan crises had a significant impact on the actual shaping and acceleration of ESDP. Most notably, the Balkan wars of 1991 to 1995 and the lessons learned from them have greatly contributed to the Amsterdam Treaty's (mainly institutional and procedural) improvements in the field of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)–ESDP, whereas the Kosovo intervention triggered a positive dynamic on concrete capabilities and commitments, as well as more-audacious strategic objectives, the whole process occurring with unprecedented speed and determination.

10   Sophia Clement, "The Balkans and Beyond: The European Perspective on Future Regional Stability," in *East European Studies/West European Studies Special Reports*, available at http://wwics.si.edu/ees/special/2000/clemen.pdf.

11   Julian Lindley-French, "Boosting Europe's Military Muscle – the Build-Up and Future Role of the EU Rapid Reaction Force," lecture in the Cicero Foundation Great Debate Seminar *Europe: An Emerging Global Actor?*, Paris, 9 to 10 March 2000.

The emergence of the EU's military dimension would and should enlarge the EU's field of competence from economics and politics to defense, enabling the management of all the dimensions of crises in Europe, including military ones. Yet the effective functioning of a coherent CFSP–ESDP is hampered, delayed, and even called into question by a number of – mostly internal – factors. Several of these are relevant to the Balkan case:

- Budget insufficiency, or rather inefficiency, including duplications among EU member states, overspending on force structures and personnel, inappropriate budget distribution, and segregated defense industries;

- Difficulties linked to the transatlantic relationship, including the politically sensitive issue of division of labor, and differing degrees of emancipation from the US desired by different EU member states;

- Divergent approaches among member states as to the very nature (e.g., all economic or mostly political) of the integration, let alone its – *par excellence* political and highly sensitive – military component;

- Inter-pillar rivalry and redundancy within the EU, which hampers effective implementation of a coherent crisis management policy, and a lack of unity even within the second pillar (different rules of the game for CFSP and for issues "having military implications");

- Capability deficiencies, or the lack of key assets in the field of command and control, strategic and tactical air- and sealift capabilities, and satellite intelligence. However, it should be noted that in spite of all reproaches from Washington pointing to the so-called capability gap, European efforts to palliate these deficiencies often meet a hostile US reaction if they do not follow the "buy American" order or risk allowing real strategic autonomy for the EU, as was the case for the A400M and the Galileo navigation system, for example.

Given that defense issues are at the heart of the remaining national sovereignty of EU member states, the evolution of the ESDP is closely – even if not openly and officially – linked to the debate on the political-institutional future of the EU. As long as even tentative solutions do not emerge on issues as fundamental as "what do we want to do

together?" or rather "which member states want to do which policy areas together?," European defense is arguably condemned to *ad hoc* responses, involving slow, often ill-coordinated mechanisms and ambitions necessarily reduced to the lowest common denominator. The common denominator will become even lower as the number of member states attempting to reach a consensus on extremely delicate issues grows from 15 to some 30. It is therefore foreseeable that if European defense is to function, it will need to do so in a flexible framework, on the basis of closer cooperation among "the willing and able."[12] For the time being, all these long-term uncertainties count mainly as factors hindering a coherent and efficient EU military involvement in the Balkans. (Just like anywhere else, as was demonstrated by the debate surrounding the possible sending of troops to Afghanistan, the impossibility of even conceiving an EU peacekeeper–observer envoy to the Middle East, and EU military presence in Africa. The obstacles are also visible most recently in the Balkan context, on the issue of the EU taking over the role of NATO in Macedonia, for example).

The way ahead for the EU becoming an effective international actor with credible military component is long and bumpy, but the ultimate goal – i.e., the EU being able to deal, even autonomously, with the crises in its own backyard and becoming a more capable partner with the US in dealing with security problems – seems such a sound and legitimate one, and it is quite popular among EU citizens, as shown by Eurobarometer results.[13] These results indicate that "European defense" has continuously been among the most favored issues, with popular support reaching well above 70 per cent in recent years.

One of the key conditions for maintaining this popular support – obviously necessary for all serious defense investment – is to choose sen-

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12   The EU member states' approach to military operations in Afghanistan was telling in this respect: the declaration of the extraordinary European Council meeting in Brussels (September 2001) had to be amended – on demand from neutral member states – to include not that the EU as a whole, but only EU member states would support any US response. In October, at the Ghent summit (and at Tony Blair's London dinner), it became evident that on the grounds of rejecting the exigencies of the "big three," the other EU members are not willing to tolerate closer cooperation on defense.

13   For the exact results, see http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion.

sible, easily explainable and realistic strategic goals that are seen as linked to real European interests. Some analysts point out therefore that while the EU should think strategically and globally, it should start with the nearest neighbors: "The EU should be an active, outward-looking global player, and should deepen its political relations with Asia, Latin America, and Africa. But it should focus attention on the Balkans, the Middle East, Russia, Ukraine, and North Africa."[14] The EU's foreign, security, and defense policies should start by taking care of its own backyard. Within this backyard, it is clearly in the Balkan region that Europe has the most "accumulated experience"; and the highest stakes in the sense that this region will geographically not only be neighboring but in the heart of the enlarged EU; and also – most unfortunately – the most opportunities for attempting to manage complex crisis situations, in which – as far as it can be foreseen – the military component would only play an additional, rather minor, but nevertheless necessary role.

EU's Military Role in the Balkans: A Mission by the Force of Things

The current European presence in the Balkans – 80 per cent of the approximately 50'000 NATO troops on the ground are European – reveals that a stronger European military role for the Balkans is, in a sense, not a question for the future but rather a fact of the present. Nevertheless, the absence of the EU flag over this European presence demonstrates that most of the factors impeding a stronger military role for the EU in the Balkan region are based on political rather than capability considerations. This is all the more so given that the current situation in the Balkans appears to have reached a point where Kosovo-type coercive actions – those which are generally mentioned as "the most demanding of the Petersburg tasks" to be executed by the EU according to the Helsinki Headline Goals (HGs)– can be, if not ruled out completely, at least considered as a contingency scenario.

14   Steven Everts, "Shaping a Credible EU Foreign Policy," analysis for the Centre for European Reform, 19 February 2002.

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At the same time, in the post-11-September environment, a major attention shift is underway on the part of the US, with an unavoidable impact on the Balkan region. In fact, this development will only reinforce already ongoing tendencies, such as that the gradual disengagement of the US in the direct post-war management of the Balkans will increase, and the devolution to the EU of full responsibilities for the Balkans will accelerate. Some experts say that, "the post-11-September environment places stronger demands on the political leaders of the region and on the European guardians of the process." In a sense the governments and other players in the area will be called upon to make a "leap in maturity, overcoming their dependence on external forces of stabilization which post-11-September tendencies render increasingly difficult. Conversely, the EU will have to remain involved in the area, and be even more aware of its role as the primary regional stabilizer."[15]

Nevertheless, previous European attempts at military involvement in Balkan crisis-management processes brought to light some capability deficiencies and serious political obstacles within the EU, which continue to constitute the "variable factor" for future EU engagements.

Previous Attempts to Get Involved

In the light of past experience and more recent controversies on possible operations, some concrete examples are unfolding as to the extent and number of difficulties lying ahead of an effective EU military engagement in the Balkan region. In fact, European military forces have been very active in the Balkans throughout the past decade, in operations varying from peace enforcement to peacekeeping to humanitarian assistance. In spite of the display of serious capability deficiencies and the obvious need for further changes in force structures, European military forces have performed well in many of these operations, and obtained significant experience from which to draw in the process of meeting the capability and force structure challenges, as well as in the

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15   Nicholas Whyte, "Europe and the Balkans, a Year After Milosevic," CEPS Europa South East Information Center, October 2001.

creation of a credible ESDP. Nonetheless, recent developments still point to the above-mentioned substantial political divergences between EU member states towards defense issues in general, or *vis-à-vis* the EU's defense dimension. The fate of the "test balloon" sent up by the EU special envoy to Macedonia at the beginning of September 2001,[16] or the much-publicized leaks about British reaction to the EU taking over the operation in Macedonia in July,[17] all attest to the need for substantial changes – on the basis of more flexibility – if the EU is to become a global (or even regional) player in the security field.

From the experience of the UNPROFOR, IFOR, KFOR, and SFOR missions, operation Alba, and the Kosovo intervention, one can argue that "over the past several years in Bosnia and Kosovo, European militaries have become increasingly effective, have carried a greater percentage of the troop burden, and have commanded the international military presence. Moreover, as illustrated by innovative advances such as the Multinational Specialized Unit, European militaries have shown a willingness to adapt operationally to circumstances on the ground."[18] However, these same experiences have demonstrated the desperate

16 François Léotard suggested on 5 September 2001 that the EU send a force to replace NATO's 4'800 multinational force after their 30-day mission (Essential Harvest) ends. But EU diplomats reacted promptly and unanimously stating that the proposal only reflected his private view.

17 Britain's reluctance to participate and its reservations about military engagement under the EU flag in Macedonia became obvious after the EU foreign ministers' meeting in Caceres, Spain, on 9 February 2002, when they decided that the EU should take over the responsibility for the Macedonian peace force from NATO. As a leaked letter from the British defense minister's office put it: "There would be a real risk that the EU's first mission would end in failure, or rescued by a re-engaged NATO, which would be disastrous in presentational terms (….) An EU-led operation in Macedonia would not be 'premature' but simply wrong." At the same time, another leaked letter, from the Foreign Secretary Jack Straw's office, informed the prime minister there was a strong political case for taking part on the ground: "If we do look like becoming isolated, we would better accept an EU mission, and seek to shape it to our own specifications." See "UK Troops May Join Euro Army," *BBC News Online*, 3 March 2002; "Britain Says EU Not Ready to Send Peace-keeping Force to Macedonia," *Euractiv News*, 4 March 2002.

18 John G. McGinn-Timothy Liston, "Beyond the Rhetoric and Acronyms: The Reality of European Military Capabilities," in *National Security Studies Quarterly*, Volume VII, Issue 1 (Winter 2001): 75–96.

need for changes in European force structures (e.g., the shift from the predominantly territorial-defense force structure to lighter, more mobile, and easily deployable power-projection forces) and for enhanced capabilities (mainly in the field of reconnaissance and surveillance, target acquisition, and strategic air- and sealifts, as well as in command, control, and communication capabilities)[19] in order to be able to meet the challenges posed by the rapidly evolving ESDP process.

The EU's Immediate Challenges

Some observers argue that 11 September 2001 may lead to "a long-term reduction of US interest in security issues around the fringes of Europe (…) however unprepared and divided it may be, the EU will have no choice but to assume greater responsibility for aspects of Continental security."[20] It seems more and more probable that the Balkan stabilization process – with its ongoing difficulties and potential emergencies – will provide the EU with the first few opportunities to test the most recent changes in its military dimension. Namely, the police mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the takeover by the EU of the NATO-led operation in Macedonia would be the first genuinely EU operations under the *aegis* of ESDP.

The EU police mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina would test the civilian aspect of the ESDP's crisis-management capabilities. The General Affairs Council meeting in Brussels between 18 and 19 February 2002 announced that the EU was ready to deploy an EU police mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina to take over from the international police task force in January 2003. Its main task will be the establishment of sustainable local police structures, and will require monitoring, mentoring, and inspecting Bosnia and Herzegovina police managerial and operational capabilities, with particular emphasis on exercising appropriate

19 Nicholas Fiorenza, "Balkan Lessons: European Ground Forces Become Leaner, But Are They Meaner?" *Armed Forces Journal International* (June 2000): 68–74.

20 Anatol Lieven, "The End of NATO," *Prospect*, December 2001.

political control over the police. Although this first EU-led mission is to be seen as a milestone in the operationalization of ESDP, some argue that the reluctance of member states to consider it as precedent-setting will risk entrenching the ESDP in a tradition of *ad hocism*.[21]

In addition to the British government's reluctance to get involved in an EU-led mission in Macedonia (see footnote 17), the ongoing Greek–Turkish dispute over the EU–NATO defense agreement could postpone and endanger the first EU military operation.[22] At their informal meeting on 23 March 2002, the defense ministers of the EU member states discussed preparations for taking over NATO's lead in the 700-strong Macedonian task force "Fox," an operation assisting local authorities in the protection of observers from the EU monitoring mission and from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), as from September 2002. However, the long-awaited formal agreement with NATO on assured access to NATO's resources (the so-called Berlin Plus agreement) was clearly identified as a precondition for launching the operation.

21   Jamie Woodbridge, "Putting ESDP to the Test: The EU's Police Mission to Bosnia–Herzegovina," *European Security Review*, March 2002.

22   After having blocked the EU–NATO agreement for two years, Turkey, a NATO but not an EU member, agreed with Britain and the US in December 2001 to lift its objections after receiving guarantees that EU operations would not endanger Ankara's interests in the region. Greece, an EU and NATO member, now demands the same assurances, stating its historical problems with Turkey as the reason. The issue has gained importance ahead of the November municipal elections in Greece. Greek Prime Minister Costas Simitis has warned that giving a nonmember, such as Turkey, a say on the EU's defence policy would undermine the EU's autonomy and principles. He reiterated that Greece would veto the deal in its present form. See "EU Military Operation in Macedonia in Doubt," 16 May 2002, available at http://www.euractiv.com.

Conclusion

The current dynamic characterizing the development of the EU's military dimension (the ESDP) was stimulated by the common determination to learn from previous European failures in the Balkans and the general desire never to get caught the same situation again. The EU's security is now viewed as intimately connected to that of the Balkans. Recognition of this is reflected in the Union's deep involvement – economically, financially, and diplomatically – in the whole Balkan stabilization process. Future security thinking in Europe, as well as the fate of the ESDP, will no doubt continue to be shaped by experiences in the Balkans. The post-11-September environment is likely to accelerate the gradual disengagement of the US from the Balkans and the devolution of full responsibilities for the post-war management of the Balkans to the EU. This is likely to provide the first major test of the ESDP. As Jolyon Howorth puts it, "the aim should be for the EU progressively to assume direct responsibility, under ESDP, for Balkan stabilization. This ought to be considered as the minimum operational remit of an effective ESDP. If the EU does not have the political courage or the military wherewithal to assume such a mission, then it surely needs to ask itself what precisely ESDP is for."[23]

The case for the EU assuming greater responsibility for stabilizing its nearest neighbor is all the more strong given the complex nature of the Balkan crises, and that the new types of risks involved (the interconnection between soft and hard security) seem to fit a more comprehensive, European-style response, encompassing a broad range of instruments as well as long-term political solutions, rather than a strictly military approach to crisis management. Nevertheless, as long as the EU has no credible – both in capability and political terms – military tool at its disposal (in case of escalation, or just as a means of deterrence), its influence in shaping the future of the region will not be commensurate with its efforts and resources involved in the stabilization process. It is not only that "the western Balkans pose a real threat to the security and stability of the current and future member states," but also that it

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23   Jolyon Howorth, "The European Security Conondrum: Prospects for ESDP After September 11, 2001," *Notre Europe Policy Paper*, No. 1, March 2002, 14.

threatens "the credibility and authority of the EU as a global actor."[24] In a larger context, it is the possibility of the EU becoming one of the pillars of the future, desirably multipolar international system that is now at stake in the Balkans.

24   Bertelsmann Stiftung, "The Balkans and New European Responsibilities," quoted in *Euractiv News* (Archive), 3 August 2000, available at http://www.euractiv.com.

Serhat Güvenç

The Limits and Possibilities of a Military Role for the EU in the Middle East

Introduction

Geographic, economic, and political factors moderate the European Union's (EU) pursuit of a military role in the Middle East. Geographically, the region is on the periphery of the EU. It is considered part of a larger Mediterranean space which the EU External Relations Commissioner Christopher Patten, dubbed the Union's "near abroad" in 2001.[1] The Middle East is also identified as "a key external priority for the EU."[2] The upcoming wave of enlargement will mean that the EU's borders will reach the Middle East. Cyprus, either divided or unified, seems to be on the fast track to full membership by 2004. The island's inclusion will bring the EU geographically even closer to the region. If Turkey eventually becomes a full member, the EU would have physical borders with several Middle Eastern countries, namely Iran, Iraq and Syria.

The EU's stakes in the region do not stem only from geographic proximity. Europe's growing demand for Middle East oil warrants constant EU interest in the region – as one of the world's economic powerhouses, the EU needs to have secure access to Middle Eastern energy

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[1] Christopher Patten, "Common Strategy for Mediterranean and Reinvigorating the Barcelona Process," SPEECH /01/49, 31 January 2001, available at http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/news/patten.

[2] The EU's Mediterranean and Middle East Policy, available at http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/med_middleast/intro/index.html.

at affordable prices.[3] Hence, to a certain extent prosperity in the EU hinges on political stability in the Middle East.

Last, but by no means least, the terror attacks on the US on 11 September 2001, have prompted – justifiably or unjustifiably – the association of Islam with terror. As Osama bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda organization attempt to legitimize their terror campaign through the use of Islam, they are in turn identified with that religion. This in itself carries the risk of creating a new fault line (or accentuating an existing one) between Muslims and non-Muslims. As as Consequence, Muslims now face the risk of becoming "Others" to a diverse range of cultures and religions. The military operations in Afghanistan and elsewhere can at best be considered the early skirmishes in a long war to root out the version of terrorism that seeks justification under the banner of Islam.[4] The Middle East will probably be the theater of the most decisive battle in the struggle between the forces for and against what Samuel Huntington referred to as "the clash of civilizations." Avoiding Huntingtonian world system is closely related to the political and economic future of the Middle East. Morever, the EU is now home for about 15 million Muslims. Hungtington's civilizational fault line may not only delineate "the West from the rest," but also cut across the European continent with potentially destabilizing consequences for EU member states.[5]

3　J. Robinson West, "We Can't Get Along Without the Saudi Oil," *Washington Post*, 9 April 2002. See also John Roberts, "Checking the Gauge: Western Assessments of Gulf Oil Development," *RUSI Journal* (October 2001): 39–45. The projections indicate about one per cent annual average growth in Western European countries' oil consumption until 2020. *EIA International Energy Outlook 2002*, available at http://www.eia.doe.gov/oiaf/ieo/pdf/appa1_a8.pdf.

4　For an argument that Islamist (not Islamic) terrorism represents "a modern totalitarian challenge to both traditional Islam and modern democracy," see Ladan Boroumand and Roya Boroumand, "Terror, Islam and Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 13, No. 2 (2002): 5–20.

5　See Samuel Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order (London: Touchstone, 1998).

Economic integration helped a "security community"[6] to emerge and consolidate itself in Western Europe during the Cold War. The post-Cold War conflicts on the fringes of Europe demonstrated the need to expand this security community beyond the confines of existing EU borders. The forthcoming enlargement and prospects for eventual inclusion of all Balkan states offers a way to consolidate security and stability. In other words, the EU's soft power accounts largely for the impact it has made in this region.[7] Moreover, the forecast US withdrawal from the Balkans after 11 September 2001, will also help the EU test its hard power as an emerging military actor.

There are also two other potential troublespots that call for urgent attention: the Middle East and the Caucasus. Denied its principal soft-power resource (i.e., enlargement), the EU has to rely on a much more limited repertoire of instruments than that available to it in the Balkans. This limited repertoire includes military power – a new and largely untried instrument for the EU, which has built its global career on a "civilian power" posture. Leaving the Caucasus aside, this chapter seeks to answer if or what type of military role there will be for the EU in the Middle East. To answer this question from a comparative perspective, the present contribution draws occasionally on the two cases of military engagement by the EU and its member states in post-Cold War conflict zones: (i) the Balkans, where the EU's military role has been somewhat comprehensive and successful; and (ii) Afghanistan, where the EU member states have been less willing (and less welcome) to commit themselves militarily.

The gradual improvement of the EU's military performance in the Balkans would normally allow for optimism for the future. However, the Afganistan experience has inevitably brought up questions regard-

6 Ole Weaver, "Insecurity, Security and Asecurity in the Western European Non-War Community," in *Security Communities*, ed. Emanuel Adler and Michel Barnett (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), 69–118.

7 Soft power, also termed "indirect power," is related to "the attraction of one's ideas or the ability to set the political agenda in a way that shapes the preferences others express." This attraction or ability draws on intangible power resources including culture, ideology, and institutions. Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Understanding International Conflict*, 4th ed., (New York: Longman, 2002), 60–61.

ing the geographic limits of the EU's new military muscle. These limits seem partly self-imposed and partly related to factors outside the Union's control. In this context, to gauge the prospects for an EU military role in the Middle East, the following questions need to be answered:

- Is the EU already militarily overstretched?[8]

- How far is the EU ready to engage in "out-of-area" or "non-European" contingencies?

- Will the US welcome a EU military role in the Middle East as it did in the Balkans?

- Will an EU military role be acceptable to the regional actors?

- What sort of role is Britain likely to play in the Middle East? In other words, will it act militarily as an EU member state (as in the Balkans) or as a special ally of the US (as in Afghanistan)?

- Finally, will Turkey have a place in the EU's plans in the Middle East?

The EU's Track Record in the Middle East

For much of the Cold War, the external identity of the European Community (EC) was as a "civilian power" dealing with "low politics" in its external relations, which reflected a rejection of power politics. Considering the foreign military engagements of the two superpowers, such a posture was acceptable both domestically and internationally, particularly for the former colonies of European powers.[9] Indeed, Ralf

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8   Judy Dempsey, "EU Agrees to Takeover Macedonia Security Role," *Financial Times*, 9 February 2002.

9   Panos Tsakaloyannis, "The EC: From Civilian Power to Military Integration," in *The European Community and the Challenge of the Future*, ed. Juilette Lodge (London: Pinter Publishers, 1989), 243.

Dahrendorf argued that "cooperation with the EC offer[ed] a way out of the depressing choice between the superpowers" for such countries.[10]

The Middle East was a region in which the EC sought to garner a role for itself during the Cold War, but this was hindered by the international system and the EC's own internal dynamics. The EC initiatives towards the region were usually frustrated by US opposition. For instance, the US failed to approve the six-member Community's attempt to address the humanitarian aspects of Palestinian refugees in 1971, nor the nine-member EC declaration on the creation of a homeland for the Palestinians in 1980. The six-member EC of the 1970s had problems even devising a common approach to external affairs. The 1973 Arab–Israeli War was an early test case for a European role in the Middle East, which failed and exposed the structural limits to such endeavors. The lofty goal of a Mediterranean policy also fell victim to the 1973 War. The Euro−Arab dialogue remained the sole surviving EC initiative in the region during the 1970s. Both during and after the crisis, member states preferred to act independently. With successive enlargements, the EC focused more on internal reforms in the 12-member Community than the pursuit of concerted action in external affairs. Moreover, during the renewed superpower tension of the early 1980s, the EC essentially had to settle for traditional diplomacy in the Middle East. By the end of the Cold War, it was evident that the international system and the EC's own political consultation scheme limited the scope of its military actions in the Middle East.[11]

Coupled with the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Gulf War heralded US ascendancy in the Middle East. The way in which the Gulf War was fought and financed established the division of labor between the US and the EC (later the EU) in the Middle East. In line with its established civilian power status, the EC provided financial backing to US-led military operations. Although some individual member states also contributed militarily to the coalition against Iraq, the EC itself had little political or military relevance to the overall effort. Consequently, unsupported by military strength, the common foreign policy position

10   Ralf Dahrendorf, "Possibilities and Limits of a European Communities Foreign Policy," *World Today* 27, No. 4 (April 1971): 151.

11   Tsakaloyannis, *Op. cit.*, 244.

of the EC members was not taken seriously during the initial crisis and subsequent war.[12]

The disintegration of the Soviet Union increased European optimism for a greater role in the world councils. However shortly thereafter, the (now) EU faced both internal and external challenges, which inevitably prompted a more guarded view of the future of European integration. The conflict in the former Yugoslavia occurred at a time when the EU was performing damage control at home following the Danish rejection of the 1992 Maastricht Treaty and a close call in the French referendum. The Yugoslav conflict should have provided an opportunity to make up for Europe's poor political and military showing during the Gulf War. But the EU's response to the crisis was uncoordinated, incoherent, and inconsistent. While it managed to keep the Maastricht Treaty from unravelling at home, its crisis-management performance was not reassuring to those who looked to the EU for guidance and leadership at its periphery.[13]

Undeterred by its earlier failures, the EU has never been shy to engage in the Middle East. It tried to squeeze itself into the Middle East peace process in the first half of the 1990s. However, a series of initiatives, including the appointment of a special envoy, failed to culminate in a role beyond observer status.[14] Although the EU leaders saw no peace in the Mediterranean basin without Europe, the Israelis and the Palestinians were reluctant to encourage the Union's involvement. Nevertheless, the EU never gave up on its quest for a place alongside the US in the peace process. Particularly at times when the talks stalled, the EU was increasingly vocal in its demand for a full-fledged participation in pushing or revitalizing the talks.[15]

12 Philip H. Gordon, "Europe's Uncommon Foreign Policy," *International Security* 22, No. 3 (Winter 1997/1998): 89.

13 Michael Mihalka, "Political Economy, *Weltanschauung* and the Transformation of European Security" *European Security* 10, No. 3 (Autumn 2001): 7–8.

14 Miguel Angel Moratinos was appointed EU Special Envoy for the Middle East peace process on 25 November 1996. See: http://ww.ue.eu.int/pesc/envoye.asp?lang=en.

15 See, for instance, "EU Flexes Its Economic Muscle in the Middle East," *Europe* (December 1997/January 1998).

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The most comphensive EU plan for the region came in the form of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership (EMP) under the Barcelona Process, launched in 1995.[16] This process is aimed at creating a zone of stability, peace, and prosperity by promoting the economic integration model that worked sucessfully in Western Europe, and treats the Middle East as a subregion of the larger Euro-Mediterranean space.[17] On balance, the EMP has helped to amplify the EU's profile in the Mediterranean basin, but it has also proved to be susceptible to the ebbs and flows in the Middle East peace process. The key weakness of the EMP is that it represents a geoeconomic approach to a region marked by overriding geopolitical concerns. The markedly low level of regional interdependence does not provide solid ground for the promotion of an economic integration model of Western Europe.[18] Both Arabs and Israelis have demonstrated in the past a willingness to make economic sacrifices for their geopolitical concerns[19] – as the third parties have also grasped from previous experiences, the two main participants in the Middle East disputes have not been very responsive to economic inducements.[20]

Nonetheless, the EU has become the largest contributor to the Palestinian Authority. Until recently, the EU provided a crucial economic dimension to the political leadership provided by Washington. In this context, the EU sees itself as "peace consolidator" and claims "there is no peace process (...) and no long-term solution without

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16 For a comprehensive discussion on the potentials, achievements, and failures of the Barcelona process, see Alvaro Vasconcelos and George Joffe, eds. *The Barcelona Process: Building a Euro-Mediterranean Regional Community* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000).

17 *The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership*, available at http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/euromed.

18 Steve A. Yetiv, "Peace, Interdependence, and the Middle East," *Political Science Quarterly* 112, No. 1, (1997): 29–49.

19 Roberto Aliboni and Abdul Monem Said Aly, "Challenges and Prospects," in *The Barcelona Process: Building a Euro-Mediterranean Regional Community*, ed. Alvaro Vasconselos and George Joffe (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000), 216.

20 Scott Lasensky, "Underwriting Peace in the Middle East: US Foreign Policy and the Limits of Economic Inducements," *MERIA Journal* 6, No. 1, (March 2002), available at http://meria.biu.ac.il.

Europe."[21] This may amount to yet another "the hour of Europe" in a different geographical context.[22] The EU's calls for recognition of its status in the peace process have so far only partially been met.[23]

Whatever role the EU envisaged for itself originally, it had to revise it after 11 September 2001. The EU's renewed effort to further political and military cooperation was caught once again in a major international crisis. The European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) underwent an early test on that day, and the EU's performance was reminiscent of its uncoordinated response to the Balkan conflict in the early 1990s. Major European powers preferred to respond separately rather than to embrace a common European approach. In relation to Afganistan, London differed prominently from other EU capitals in its unqualified support for the US war on terrorism. It also spearheaded European diplomatic efforts even to the exclusion and dismay of some EU members states,[24] leading to a "self-inflicted marginalization of the EU as a community of nations."[25] Militarily, the EU had to contend with an even lower profile, with the US being very selective about offers of military contributions from European states.

The Problem of Military Overstretch

The geographical limits of the power-projection capability of the ESDP have not yet been conclusively defined. These limits are far more modest than is typical for a military actor with global reach, which is both

21   "The EU and the Peace Process," *Europe* (December 1997/January 1998).

22   Jim Anderson, "The European Union: Time for a Place at the Table," *Middle East Policy* 6, No. 3 (1999): 160–166.

23   "EU Presses Its Case in Search of Peace Role" *European Voice*, 24 October 1996.

24   "Guess Who Wasn't Coming to Dinner?" *The Economist*, 10 November 2001.

25   Alain Dieckhoff, "The Israeli–Palestinian New War of Attrition: A European Perspective, 11 March 2002, available at http://www.eusec.org/dieckhoff.htm.

by choice and by necessity. From the outset, the EU has considered scenarios involving short- to medium-range operations for the ESDP. The shortest operational range considered is reportedly 1'000 kilometers (km),[26] and it is not even clear whether this range is measured from the nearest EU border or from Brussels. By any standard, it represents a very small power-projection capability. Brussels-centered scenarios are based on operational ranges of 6'000, 4'000, and 2'000 km. The longest of these includes the Middle East, but the shortest does not even reach the borders of an enlarged EU in Eastern Europe.

The ESDP power-projection range is a matter of means as much as of intentions. The EU has already identified its capability gaps and set a timetable for rectifying these. It appears unlikely that the EU member states will increase their defense expenditures enough to overcome the identified capability gap.[27] In addition to shortages of military assets, the EU has to confront a cultural issue: "the paradox of power." An active international role for the EU still requires military power, but the prevailing European strategic culture has a strong element of rejection of military power. According to Robert Kagan, the power gap between the US and Europe breeds this strategic culture and perpetuates the division of international labor between the US and the EU.[28]

Another challenge for the ESDP is that fulfilling the strictly military Petersberg Tasks requires materiel and personnel the EU neither has nor is not likely to have in the foreseeble future. Therefore, to avoid expensive – and largely unnecessary – duplication, the EU needs to secure access to NATO planning structures for such missions, the terms of which are still awaiting EU approval. The previous differences between Turkey and the EU on this matter were ironed out back in December 2001. However, Greece – a member of the EU – has objections to the deal. This has already had serious implications for the military role Brussels is contemplating for the ESDP in the Balkans.

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26 Anthony Forster and William Wallace, "What Is NATO for?" *Survival* 43, No. 4 (Winter 2001–2002): 109.

27 Stuart Croft, "Guaranteeing Europe's Security? Enlarging NATO Again," *International Affairs* 78, No. 1, (2002): 102.

28 Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review* 113 (2002): 6–10.

The shift of focus in the US strategy away from Europe created more latitude for EU action at its periphery. The EU is scheduled to gradually take over NATO and the US' role in the Balkans. To assume this burden, the EU is planning to rely on NATO assets. However, without the EU formalizing its deal with Turkey, Ankara will not consent this. With or without access to these assets, it would appear that the Balkans represents the geographical limits of the an EU military role. Post-Taliban Afganistan could be a validation ground for the nonmilitary Petersberg Tasks, including peace support and humanitarian operations. Since the US has been doing the fighting, Britain assumed the first command of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), which is involved in low-level military tasks. However, no other EU member state has volunteered to take over the ISAF's command from Britain. Although Germany seemed a strong candidate for a while, it has ruled out such a role, pointing to growing military responsibilities in the Balkans after the US withdrawal. Obviously, the EU will be unable tackle two major regional military engagements for some time to come.

It remains to be seen whether the EU's military behavior will change as it augments its military capacities. In its present form, the ESDP is not likely to function collectively outside of Europe. However, there will still be a need for European military capabilities in out-of-area missions. Such missions are likely to be led by the US and to include contingents drawn from leading European NATO member states that are more accustomed to operating together and using a common military doctrine.[29] The NATO connection is thus likely to be maintained for the foreseeable future.

It is suggested that the EU does not plan to confine its military operations to simple peacemaking – it has been contemplating so-called high-end tasks, such as separating parties by force. Separation of parties by force in a global context would not be possible without NATO. The enduring need for NATO partly accounts for the narrow geographical scope of the ESDP.[30] However, the Middle East is a different case in point. Based on the longest range scenario, it is lies within the geographical boundaries of the ESDP, however narrowly they are defined.

29   Foster and Wallace, *Op. cit.*, 110.
30   Croft, *Op. cit.*, 27.

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Beyond this, EU military action is hard to imagine without US involvement, and is unlikely to include purely military Petersberg Tasks.

The EU is also not institutionally prepared or able to handle high-profile military operations in this extremely volatile region. The institutional problems in a sense reflect the lack of a common vision amongst EU member states. That the EU remains an association of equals makes it difficult to arrive at a common position. Incoherent and uncoordinated views among the member states presents a serious handicap for the EU's military ambitions.[31] Moreover, the institutional rivalry, including "turf battles between the different agencies and fora" within the EU aggravates the problem further.[32] The EU's ability to assume a high-profile international role is also crippled by the problem of who speaks on behalf of it: Brussels or memberstate governments? Whilst it might be important to take into account the EU's institutional balances internally, externally this obscures the EU's voice.

The personality and skills of the EU's High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) Javier Solana have markedly improved the EU's international credibility. However, unless reinforced by institutional arrangements, his personal achievements may be overshadowed. To overcome the shortcomings of the current institutional arrangements, Solana proposed a set of changes to streamline the operation of the European Council in external matters. The most daring change he proposed was related to the term of presidency or rotating presidency in the Council – he suggested it be substituted with an elected president.[33] His proposal has yet to strike a chord with the member states who are reluctant to relinquish their most significant gain *vis-à-vis* the "politics-of-scale" within the EU. In the meantime, he still yearns for some kind of military muscle to back up his diplomatic skills

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31 William Pfaff, "Europe Is Unqualified for the World Role It Seeks," *International Herald Tribune*, 26 May 2002.

32 Jolyon Howorth, "European Defence and the Changing Politics of the European Union," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39, No. 4, (2001): 779 (citation p. 786).

33 Council of the European Union, General Secretariat, *Preparing the Council for Enlargement,* 11 March (OR fr.) S0044/02 (Brussels, 2002).

in the Middle East.[34] The proven EU track record of integration will not be of much help in that part of the world; the Union needs to come up with a functional equivalent of enlargement. Andrew Moravscik labels the "promise of membership in the EU" as "the most powerful and unique instrument of European foreign policy."[35] However, neither the Union nor Solana can rely on this in the Middle East.

Moreover, the constructive ambiguity that has been built into the ESDP to defer thorny issues until the time is right may not be constructive in the context of military power or an expanded role in the Middle East, particularly if such ambiguity emerges from the lack of a blueprint for action. The EMP does not amount to a comprehensive doctrine for political and military engagement in the region. Piecemeal and spontaneous EU reactions have so far been counterproductive. In the lastest Israeli–Palestinian crisis, the EU considered employing economic means coercively. First, Brussels entertained the idea of revoking the tax-free entry of goods produced in Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, agreement on which came with great difficulty.[36] The European Council also considered claiming compensation for the damage the Israeli military inflicted on the EU-financed projects in the Palestinian territories during the latest cycle of violence.[37] Later, the EU decided that such a course of action would be impractical, and dropped the idea.[38]

The European Parliament (EP) picked up these two issues after the Council gave up on them. It called on member states to impose political and trade sanctions on Israel, including the freezing of its Association

34 Carla Power, "Javier Solana," *The Economist*, 17 November 2001; "Europe's Mr. Fix-It," *Newsweek*, 17 June 2002.

35 Andrew Moravcsik, "The Quiet Superpower," *Newsweek*, 17 June 2002.

36 "EU to Revoke Tax-Free Status on Occupied Territories' Goods," *Wall Street Journal*, 23 November 2001.

37 "EU Counts Cost of Israeli-Hit Projects," BBC News, 21 February 2002, available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/middle_east/newsid_ 18340.

38 David Cronin, "Israel Set to Escape Claims Over Damage to EU Sites," *European Voice*, 21 March 2002.

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Agreement with the EU.[39] However, such sanctions are unlikely to stop the Israeli campaign against Palestinian targets – both EU officials and Israelis were aware of the inherent weakness of EU sanctions as policy instruments.[40] Even an arms embargo on Israel would be unlikely to serve its intended purpose, and the temporary suspension of arms sales to Israel from some EU member states was short-lived.[41] Britain was the first to quietly backtrack by allowing the release of parts for F-16 fighter aircraft.

There is thus little room for optimism regarding the prospects for a "politically united, conceptually coherent, and institutionally coordinated" EU policy in the Middle East, at least in the medium term.[42] Functionally, the coordination of foreign policy already proved to be a difficult venture with even six EC member states, and with its continuing enlargement the EU will include an even greater diversity of security interests, as well as foreign policy traditions, relationships, cultures, and attitudes towards the use of force and intervention. It may therefore take a long time to develop a common "strategic culture" within the EU. Under the existing decision-making arrangements, such divergences are likely to hinder common action in the Middle East and elsewhere.[43]

39   Thomas Fuller, "European Legislators Target Israel," *International Herald Tribune*, 11 April 2002.

40   "EU Sanctions Won't Work," *Haaretz Daily*, 11 April 2002, available at http://www.haaretzdaily.com/hasen.

41   "Germany Suspends Arms Sales to Israel," *Washington Post*, 10 April 2002.

42   Curt Gasteyger, "The CFSP and Europe's Direct Neighborhood," in *Europe's Emerging Foreign Policy and the Middle Eastern Challenge*, ed. Christian-Peter Hanelt, Felix Neugart, and Matthias Peitz (Munich: Bertelsman Foundation, 2002), 17.

43   Gordon, *Op. cit.*, 98; See also Josef Joffe, "Internationalism, Withdrawal, and Europe's Role in International Affairs," *International Journal* 44, No. 1 (Winter 1998–1999): 48–58.

Peer Competition

In contrast to that of the EU, US policy has witnessed a succession of doctrines outlining the parameters of American engagement in the Middle East, each named after a US president: from Truman to Bush. A consensus has not yet emerged on the scope of the post-11-September US doctrine in the region. Bruce Kuniholm suggests that this doctrine should not be confined to fighting terrorism, but should also address broader issues such as economic growth, safety nets for the hungry and the dispossessed, better educational systems, and a recourse to solutions other than violence.[44] Another view suggests that the Bush doctrine in the Middle East should remain principally focused on fighting terrorism, rather than changing the Middle East or launching an economic development program.[45] In either version of the Bush doctrine, there will be provisions for EU involvement – most likely in its nonmilitary, traditional "civilian power" or "peace consolidator" capacity. The EU and its resources will probably be called upon in the postconflict reconstruction stage of the Bush doctrine, either with or without the US.

Essentially, this reflects the differentiated and complementary international roles of the US and the EU. While the US is likely to engage in war fighting, Europe is likely to perform peacemaking and peacekeeping tasks in the form of conflict prevention and postconflict reconstruction. Is this a fair division of labor between the US and the EU in world affairs? The underlying assumption is that the US has a comparative advantage in hard military resources (which is undeniable), while the EU enjoys a comparative edge as a civilian power. From an American perspective it looks like a fair division,[46] under which the EU could devote its efforts and resources toward low-level military tasks rather

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44   See Bruce Kuniholm, "9/11, the Great Game, and the Vision Thing: The Need for (and Elements of) a More Comprehensive Bush Doctrine," *Journal of American History* (forthcoming in 2002).

45   Kenneth W. Stein, "The Bush Doctrine: Selective Engagement in the Middle East, *MERIA Journal* 6, No. 2 (June 2002), available at http://meria.biu.ac.il.

46   See, for example, Anthony H. Cordesman, "The Role of Europe in the Middle East: An American Perspective," 11 March 2002, available at http://www.eusec.org/cordesman.htm.

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than duplicating the US and NATO's role. However, even though the EU's military ambitions are welcome from a burden-sharing point of view, the EU is expected to shoulder a smaller share of the burden.[47] On the other hand, the Europeans resent such a division of labor that would relegate the EU to the status of a second-rate military actor on the world scene.[48]

The EU can resist US pressure in the Middle East. However, it has few, if any, instruments with which to influence US behavior in the region, at least over the short run. It appears that the US will exert more military and political influence in the Middle East than any other power. A greater role for the EU could only come from a major revision of the US grand strategy. With the Bush administration, the geographical focus of the US strategy has already shifted away from Europe. The 11 September attacks added momentum to the US withdrawal from the Balkans, and some have proposed a similar withdrawal from the Middle East. This move would place the burden of securing Middle East oil on Europe and Japan,[49] but such a drastic shift in US policy is a remote possibility at best. In the US post-Cold War selective-engagement strategy, the Middle East is definitely selected for engagement. It would be naïve to expect the US to withdraw from the Middle East as it will do in the Balkans and thereby grant Europe a greater role in the region. The control of oil reserves in the region is crucial for the continued geopolitical dominance of the US. Moreover, the annual price tag of providing security in the region comes to US$ 100 billion, a burden Washington has so far been willing to shoulder in order sustain its international primacy. Last but not the least, Washington's special relationship with Israel remains a critical aspect of its policy in the Middle East.

47 Kori Schake, *Constructive Duplication: Reducing EU Reliance on US Military Assets* (Centre for European Reform, 2002), available at http://www.cer.org.uk.

48 Judy Dempsey, "Europeans Chafe at 'Picking Up Pieces After US," *The Financial Times*, 21 February 2002. For a very critical view on this division of labor, see Julian Lindley-French, *Terms of Engagement: The Paradox of American Power and the Transatlantic Dilemma, Post-11-September*, Challiot Paper, No. 52 (Paris: Institute for Security Studies, 2002).

49 Benjamin Shwarz and Christopher Layne, "A New Grand Strategy," *The Atlantic Monthly*, January 2002: 36–42.

Recent developments have served only to affirm US ascendancy in the Middle East. Early in 2002, the EU reportedly intended to pursue an independent policy in the Middle East by launching a new initiative to revive the peace process. The EU indeed stepped in to fill the void resulting from the new US administration's neglect of the region. The EU plan called for the immediate establishment and international recognition of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, followed by elections in Palestine in order to legitimize the new state.[50] However, later in February, the EU decided to pick up the Saudi plan, which called for the Israeli withdrawal to pre-1967 borders in return for Arab states' recognition of Israel. The EU, this time speaking through Solana, pushed this plan vigorously.[51] However, the subsequent Israeli incursions into the Palestinian territories undermined the prospects for the Saudi plan, and a last-ditch attempt by the EU mediation team failed to save it. Overall, the Bush administration's neglect of the Middle East presented itself as an opportunity for the EU to assert its "equal" standing with the US on the world stage. However, the EU plan received a serious blow when the Israeli government refused to grant the EU delegation access to Yasser Arafat's besieged compound in the West Bank town of Ramallah.[52] Its subsequent decision to allow the US Middle East envoy, Anthony Zinni, to meet Arafat ended the EU's dreams of equality with the US in the Middle East peace process. The whole affair exposed the limits of the EU's initiatives in the Middle East in the absence of US leadership, and the extent to which the EU involvement hinged on Israel's approval.[53]

The breakdown in the peace process and the 11 September attacks heightened the significance of the Middle East. In the short term, two situations require urgent attention: the Israeli–Palestinian conflict and the unfinished business of Iraq. Washington has repeatedly signaled that

50 "EU Aims to Launch Radical Mideast Peace Plan," *The Financial Times*, 11 February 2002; "EU Weighs Middle East Plan," *Washington Post*, 25 February 2002.

51 "Solana to Push Peace Plan in Saudi Arabia," *Jerusalem Post*, 27 February 2002; "Could It Be a Turning Point?" *Economist*, 2 March 2002.

52 "EU Offers to Mediate Middle East Conflict," *Washington Post*, 4 April 2002.

53 Andrew Osborne, "At Least We Tried," *Guardian*, 5 April 2002.

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Iraq would be the next target of US military operations. In both issues, the US retains its key role and does not seem ready share the responsibility with others. Bush's first year in office was marked by multilateralism in foreign policy. The US and Europe now voice increasingly divergent views on a number of issues, such as the so-called axis of evil that includes Iran and Iraq.[54] The EU has grown wary and less responsive to US leadership in the region. Back in December 2001, during the Laeken European Council summit, Washington was able to pressure the EU leaders to change the wording of their statement on the Middle East at least three times.[55] In contrast, it now seems difficult for the Bush administration to persuade the Europeans to support military action against Iraq.

The Europeans justifiably see US policy in the Middle East as driven by domestic politics, and attribute this largely to the American Jewish lobby. Hence, the EU tries to justify its claim for a greater say in the Middle East by arguing that there is no similar lobbying activity or domestic-politics dimension in the EU's policy. As such the EU, as coequal partner with the US, is portrayed as offering the opportunity to enhance respect for the peace process.[56] In turn, the Americans now increasingly point to the recent resurgence of the xenophobic Right in Europe.

The current EU position on the Middle East is perceived by Israelis, in particular, and Jews, in general, as resulting from the resurrection of anti-Semitism in Europe.[57] The EU's decison to impose trade sanctions over Israel unleashed Israeli warnings that the EU was about to lose its

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54   Steven Erlanger, "Europe Seethes As the US Flies Solo in World Affairs," *The New York Times*, 23 February 2002.

55   Judy Dempsey, "US Pressure on EU Over Mideast Resolution," *Financial Times*, 17 December 2001.

56   Anderson, *Op. cit.*, 164–166.

57   See Bert Stephens, "Why Europe Hates Israel?" *The Wall Street Journal*, 29 November 2001; Clive Crook, "Why America and Israel Disagree About Israel?" *National Journal*, 27 April 2002. For a European reaction to the claims of renewed anti-Semitism in Europe, see Chris Patten, "Stop Blaming Europe," *Washington Post*, 7 May 2002.

"honest-broker" status in the peace process.[58] However, the EU is not only in danger of losing this status – Arab leaders began to question further the US role when Washington failed to intervene to call a halt to Ariel Sharon's highly provocative policies.[59]

Coalitions of the Willing and the Acceptable in the Middle East

There has been a growing recognition of and support for deploying an international monitoring force between Palestinians and Israelis. This idea has gained impetus with the new cycle of violence in the Middle East. American commentators are proposing a US-led force to which its European partners could contribute under a NATO rather than EU or ESDP umbrella. For example, Zbigniew Brzezinski suggested such deployment scheme.[60] In Barcelona, the European Council reaffirmed its conviction that a third-party monitoring mechanism is needed, and called on Israel and the Palestinian Authority to accept outside observers. The Council also declared the EU and its members' willlingness to participate in such a mechanism along with the UN, the US, and Russia.[61] The Sharm el-Sheikh Fact-finding Committee (commonly known as the Mitchell Committee) also recommended that an *international* force alone should be deployed, and only with the consent of both parties. The Committee insisted that otherwise such a force would not be able to fulfill its mandate. However, as pointed out in the report, Israelis and Palestinians have diametrically opposed views on such a force.

58   David Cronin, "EU Risks Losing 'Honest Broker' Status, Israel Warns," *European Voice,* 15 November 2001.

59   Howard LaFranchi, "US Rethinks Role as Middle East Referee," *Christian Science Monitor*, 6 February 2002.

60   Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Moral Duty; National Interests," *New York Times*, 7 April 2002.

61   Presidency Conclusions of the European Council Meeting in Barcelona, 15–16 March (Brussels: General Secretariat of the Council, 2002), Annex.

The most likely contigency for the ESDP in the Middle East is participating in or even leading such an international monitoring force. If this force is ever to be deployed, it will have to include American troops to secure Israeli agreement. Considering the large number of troops needed (bewteen 10'000 and 20'000) and the risks involved, it will be difficult to obtain the approval of the American public.[62] Moreover, some see such a role as certain to produce disastrous consequences for US policy in the Middle East.[63] American reluctance may provide greater scope for EU military involvement in such a force. Leaving UN and Russian involvement aside, the composition of the European component is likely to pose yet another challange. The Israeli attidude has already been lukewarm, at best, to plans to interpose international observers between the two parties. The German announcement in April that Berlin was ready to send troops to the Middle East for peace-keeping infuriated Israeli public opinion.[64] By July, the idea had been dropped, with German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer admitting that it was impractical.[65]

At least initially, the EU has to be very careful and selective about its member states contributing to an international monitoring force. Such an EU force should represent both a "coalition of the willing" and a "coalition of the acceptable" to the parties involved. It is difficult to determine which European countries would be most acceptable to parties involved in the conflict in the Middle East. However, there is a precedent from which guidelines can be determined for the functions and composition of such an international monitoring force. In 1994, Israel and the Palestinian Authority agreed upon the presence of international observers in Hebron after an Israeli settler massacred 29 Palestinians on 25 February of that year. The Temporary International

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62 For a critical view, see Robert Kagan, "Can NATO Patrol Palestine?" *Washington Post*, 18 April 2002.

63 William Rusher, "Should American Forces Be Used to Defend Israel?" *Human Events*, 15 April 2002.

64 "Jews Appalled by German Plan for Peacekeeping," *The Times*, 11 April 2002.

65 Jim Hoagland, "Europe's Mideast Mellowing," *Washington Post*, 14 July 2002.

Presence in Hebron (TIPH) was set up originally with the observers and support staff provided by Italy, Denmark, and Norway, with a mandate "to assist in promoting stability and restoring normal life in the city of Hebron."[66] The first mission lasted only three months, from May to August 1994. The TIPH was revived under the Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in 1995. The second TIPH mission was set up in 1997, in which Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey were invited – with Israeli and Palestinian consent – to contribute in addition to the original three contributors. Drawing on the TIPH experience, it can be said that these six countries offer "a coalition of the acceptable" to the Middle East. In fact, impressed with the success of the TIPH, the Mitchell Committee also advised – as an interim measure – that the TIPH functions could be extended to other points of friction in the Palestinian territories, contingent on the TIPH contributors' ability to accommodate such a request.[67] Therefore, the TIPH could serve as the core force around which a larger international monitoring force can be devised and deployed. The only problem with a TIPH-centered monitoring force is that the EU would have to find a way to integrate the three contributors who are not EU member states to its coalition of the willing. Finally, although regional sensitivities should initially be taken into consideration, based on the Balkan experience they should be expected to progressively lose their significance with time. It is worth remembering that during the early stages of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia there was strong aversion to Russian, Turkish, and German involvement in peace-support operations in the Balkans, but subsequently all three countries have assumed prominent military roles in the multinational forces assembled. This pattern might also be repeated in the Middle East.

66 "The History of the TIPH," available at http://www.tiph.org.
67 *Report of The Sharm el-Seikh Fact-Finding Committee* (30 April 2001): 24. The report is available at http://www.washingtonpost.com.

Britain: Asset or Liability for the ESDP in the Middle East?

In evaluating the potential for ESDP involvement, Britain as a key military actor in the EU merits particular attention. Britain has the potential to serve either as a catalyst for or a barrier to the EU's pursuit of a military role in the Middle East. It enjoys far better geographical access to the region than any other EU member state, and any ESDP operation in the Middle East would have to rely on British logistical and bases close to region. In this context, the two sovereign British bases in Cyprus would be crucial for any EU military engagement in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. Cyprus has already been identified as a perfect training ground for the European Rapid Reaction Force (RRF). To this end, an optimistic British member of the EP even suggested that London could be persuaded to donate one of its sovereign bases for that purpose.[68] Ironically, the sovereign British bases are not included in the accession negotiations of Cyprus with the EU; they will remain outside of EU jurisdiction even after Cyprus' accession to the EU, whether divided or united.

The British military and navy are also the most experienced European units in the Middle East. They are regularly deployed to the region for exercises and acclimatization. For instance, the British Permanent Joint Headquarters directed – without NATO assets – an exercise in Oman that involved around 24'000 troops in 2001.[69] "Because of its current military prestige and the quality of its defence doctrine" (combined warfare as opposed to technology-driven US military doctrine), Britain looks the best candidate for assembling so-called coalitions of the willing. The Kosovo and Afghanistan experiences showed that the US is not interested in "war by committee" or contraints of multilateral planning and command structures.[70] Therefore, Britain could provide the lead role in the absence of the US.

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68 Andrew Duff, "Speech to the Conference on the Accession of Cyprus to the European Union," Bogazici University, Istanbul, 4 May 2002.

69 Judy Dempsey and Alexander Nicoll, "When Push Comes to Shove," *Financial Times*, 30 April 2001.

70 Julian Lindley-French, "Fighting Europe's Wars the British Way: The European Politics of British Defence Doctrine," *RUSI Journal* 147, No. 4, (2002): 74–76.

However, regardless of its military capabilities, its military experience in the Middle East, or the quality of its military doctrine, the Atlanticist tendencies in British foreign policy are a potential problem for the CFSP and ESDP. There are striking differences in the military roles Britain asssumed in the Balkans and in Afghanistan. In the Balkans, Britian has acted more as an EU member state than as a "special ally" of the US. In contrast, it has gradually aligned itself more with US than with EU policy in the post-11-September environment, particularly in the Middle East. EU Commission President Romano Prodi criticized Britian for seeing "the special relationship with the US as giving it extra leverage in the World."[71] Therefore, it is safe to argue that a military role for Europe in the Middle East and even in the world may also depend on Britain's political and military orientation.

Turkey – Missing European Link in the Middle East?

By the late 1990s, the US had realized the critical strategic role that Turkey could play in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the Middle East, and the Caucasus. Turkey is seen as pivotal to US interests in both geostrategic terms and in terms of its "real-estate value." However, the Turks would like to be appreciated beyond the real-estate value of their country. They would especially like to be promoted as a case of – if not model for – successful democracy in a predominantly Muslim country or as a security provider in the volatile neighboring regions.[72] To this end, Ankara values its NATO membership and the EU candidacy very highly. However, the EU does not yet consider Turkey as the ideal potential "agent" of the EU on the fringes of the Middle East. As Turkey sits at the crossroads of many regions where the EU

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71 "Furore as Prodi Belittles Britain's Special US Links," *The Times*, 30 April 2002.

72 Alan Makovsky, "Turkey," in *The Pivotal States: A New Framework for US Policy in the Developing World*, ed. R.S. Chase, E. Hill, and P. Kennedy (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), 101–103.

seeks a greater role, this failure has been termed as "a strategic discontinuity" between Ankara and Brussels.[73]

The country's real-estate value will be greatly relevant to an ESDP role in the Middle East. However, Ankara still resents the second-rate role envisaged under the ESDP for NATO countries that are not members of the EU. With the deal with Turkey still awaiting EU approval, Turkey should not be expected to facilitate EU military access to the region.[74] Because of this, the EU will for some time be denied access to one of the best-trained, most-experienced, and combat-ready military organizations in NATO. Turkey pledged a full brigade and two F-16 squadrons to the European RRF, pending finalization of the deal as agreed in Ankara in December 2001. Moreover, the Turkish military no longer shies away from international responsibilities. The Turkish command of the ISAF is just one example of high-profile military missions abroad that Turkey has conducted.[75]

Turkey has also invested significant political capital in various international efforts in the Middle East. Consequently it has been involved in a number of important international missions in the Middle East. To start with, Turkey has been a contributor to the TIPH. Unfortunately, this mission sustained its first casualties on 26 March 2002: two observers – a Turkish and a Swiss member of the TIPH – were killed only a few days before the major Israeli incursion into the Palestinian territories, following the suicide bombings in Natanya on 28 March.[76] Additionally, former Turkish President Suleyman Demirel served on the Mitchell Committee alongside two Americans and the two European members: Solana and Norwegian Prime Minister Thorbjørn

73 Michael C. Evans, "Turkey and the European Union: A Strategic Discontinuity," *RUSI Journal* 144, No. 9 (1999): 11–15.

74 John O'Sullivan, "The Curse of Euro-Nationalism," *National Review*, 6 August 2001.

75 Owen Matthews, "Europe's Orphan," *Newsweek International*, 22 April 2002.

76 "Birbirlerini Sucluyorlar," *Hürriyet*, 27 March 2002; "Türkiye Sorusturma Istedi," (Turkey Demanded Investigation), available at http://www.ntvmsnbc.com.

Jagland.[77] In February 2002, the Turkish Foreign Ministry organized a joint meeting of the Organization of Islamic conferences (OIC) and the EU in Istanbul. This Turkish initiative struck a chord with the members of both organizations, with the idea being to promote dialogue between the two civilizations. While the forum achieved few concrete results, its significance lies in the fact that it was the first regional initiative of this kind. At best, it served as a useful forum for the exchange of ideas between the members of both organizations; it also highlighted Turkey's unique place and role in Europe and the Middle East. Turkey hosted the forum both as a member of the OIC and as an EU candidate state.[78] During the Israeli military operations in the Palestinian territories, Turkey embarked on a joint diplomatic initiative with Greece. This coincided with the Israeli siege on Arafat's compound in Ramallah. By the time the initiative was made public, the Israeli government had already turned down the EU delegation's requests to visit Arafat in his besieged compound.[79] The positive Israeli response to a similar Turkish–Greek request did not pass unnoticed, particularly after humiliating reception of the EU delegation, which included Solana.[80] The joint visit aimed to show "by example that reconciliation is possible among traditional foes."[81]

The positive Israeli attitude to the Turkish initiative can be interpreted as a consequence of the Turkish–Israeli military alignment in the Middle East. Tel Aviv has traditionally supported Turkey's bid for EU membership which, according to Israel, will promote political and economic stability in the region.[82] Until recently, Israel was the only country to have such a positive view of Turkey's EU candidacy. Most

77 *Report of The Sharm el-Seikh Fact-finding Committee*.

78 For instance, see Javier Solana's remarks, "OIC-EU Joint Forum," 12 February 2002, available at http://www.mfa.gov.tr/OIC-EU-Forum/solana.htm.

79 "Israel Blocks EU Meeting With Arafat," *The Guardian*, 4 April 2002.

80 Cengiz Candar, "Ortadogu'da Tarihi Rol Oynayamayan Turkiye" *Yeni Safak*, 11 April 2002.

81 "Greek–Turkish Effort to See Yasser Arafat," *Kathimerini* (English edition), available at http://www.ekathimerini.com.

82 Alfred Tovias, "Integrating Turkey into the European Community: A Stabilizing Factor in the Middle East," *Futures* 25, No. 9 (November 1993): 949–962.

Muslim countries in the region were more prone to view Turkey's bid for modernization and westernization as a defection to the "other side." In the post-11-September environment there has been significant signs of change in this perception of Turkey and its links with the EU. This change of heart can be linked to wariness and apprehension of US unilateralism towards the region. Many in the Middle East have began to appreciate the EU and its policies differently. Iranian President Muhammed Hatemi's unprecedented statement of support for Turkey's EU membership should be evaluated in this regard. Hatemi expects the Turkish EU membership to promote stability and security in the Middle East.[83] Although Turkey is hardly an ideal model of democratization and modernization to be promoted in the Middle East, its unique blend of European and Middle Eastern identity could act as a bridge between these two cultures. The Turks would be content to play such a role, since it would enhance their chances for the EU membership. Indeed, some observers regard Turkey's accession to the EU as essential to avoiding a clash of civilizations.[84]

Conclusion

There is no sign that Washington will disengage from the Middle East as it did in the Balkans. The control of oil reserves in the Middle East is vital to the US maintaining its geopolitical dominance, and hence the EU will not be granted greater latitude for military action in the region by NATO. An EU military role is therefore most likely to develop under American leadership and with NATO support.[85] Moreover, Europe's military engagement would not be possible without the consent of the parties to disputes in the Middle East. European officials have signaled that they are aware of the limits of EU action in the region: they know

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83 "AB Üyeliğinizi Onaylıyoruz," (We Are for Turkey's EU Membership) *Hürriyet*, 18 June 2002.

84 John Stilides and Paul Glisteris, "Cyprus and the Clash of Civilizations," *Washington Post*, 30 August 2002.

85 Croft, *Op. cit.*, 103.

that "the Israelis will not be moved by the Europeans," and they stand little, if any, chance "[of] construct[ing] a security policy independently of US policy."[86]

Despite the ESDP rhetoric, the EU is stilled marred by its lack of political will to engage in what is an extremely risky region. Having committed heavily to peace-support missions in the Balkans, the EU's residual military capabilities may not be sufficient for simultaneous missions in other parts of the world. Moreover, without reform, EU foreign policy will remain institutionally cumbersome, and this problem will surely magnify as newcomers join the Union. In conclusion, without proper capabilities and a streamlined decision-making process, the EU stands only a slim chance of assuming other international military roles other than postconflict peace-support and reconstruction in the foreseeable future. However, Europeans should expect to be called upon to contribute to an international monitoring force if and when one of the numerous proposals for peace in Middle East succeeds.

86 "EU Weighs Mideast Peace Plan."

Timothy N. Williams

EU–NATO Cooperation in the Fight Against Islamic Fundamentalist Terrorism

Introduction

Europeans have long been the innocent victims of terrorist attacks carried out by Islamic Fundamentalists, or Islamist groups, occurring both on European territory and outside the Continent. An Air France jet, with 283 passengers on board, was hijacked in December 1994 by Algerian Armed Islamic Group (GIA) terrorists who, it is thought, either planned to explode the plane when directly over Paris[1] or crash it into the city. Another incident, in August 1989, was the bombing of a French UTA passenger flight over Chad by Islamic Jihad that resulted in the deaths of 171 people.[2] Islamic militants in Egypt have frequently targeted European tourists, killing 18 Greeks in April 1996 and 9 Germans in September 1997. The political endgame of such Islamist groups is the extension of their fundamentalist interpretation of Islamic law, the Shari'a.[3] In pursuing this goal, European governments frequently do *not* constitute the primary (coercive) target of Islamic Fundamentalist terrorists, even when attacks occur on European soil or against European citizens. However, the Continent and its populations have repeatedly suffered at the hands of militant Islamists and consequently Islamism should be considered as representing a long-established threat to both the region's security and that of its peoples.

A threat of this nature demands that European states cooperate with one another to guard against it. As well as direct collaboration between states, cooperation must also occur between European security struc-

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1 Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 93.

2 *Ibid.,* 190.

3 *Ibid.,* 95.

tures – foremost amongst which are NATO and the European Union (EU). Although it is NATO that has chiefly provided for European security since 1949, the issue of cooperation between the Alliance and the EU in combating Islamic Fundamentalist terrorism has become increasingly relevant since the EU moved into the realm of security policy in 1992, with the birth of its Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).

Though the question of cooperation between the two is no doubt more pertinent following the Al-Qaeda attacks on the US, the matter should *not* be viewed solely in relation to any European contribution, or potential contribution, to the American "War on Terrorism." To do so would be to greatly undervalue the critical need for the two principal international bodies that deal with European security to work together to ensure that European populations, territory and forces are effectively protected from the threat posed to them by Islamic Fundamentalist terrorism. The US-led campaign may well offer Europe an ideal opportunity to fight Islamist terrorism, but it should not be relied upon as the sole opportunity to do so. Irrespective of American actions, NATO and the EU must be willing and able to cooperate in fighting Islamic Fundamentalist terrorism.

This chapter examines the threat posed to Europe by Islamic Fundamentalist terrorism and assesses both the EU and NATO reactions to it. Within the confines of this analysis it is not possible to evaluate the extent to which the overall European response to this threat should occur within these institutions and the extent to which it should occur outside them, in unilateral, bilateral, and multilateral forms, but merely to review the reactions of the Alliance and the Union. Following this, an assessment will be made of the areas in which cooperation between the two organizations would appear to be mutually beneficial, whether such collaboration is actually occurring and, if not, what factors are precluding synergy between NATO and the EU.

Islamic Fundamentalism and the Threat to Europe

There is no definition of Islamic Fundamentalism, or Islamism, that commands universal respect. One definition to which there is widespread adherence, both in the West and among Islamic scholars, is that Islamism is a response to modern Western ideologies, such as those of capitalism and socialism. It represents a radical reinterpretation of the Muslim faith, and one that seeks to draw meaning from its applicability to contemporary problems of governance, politics and society.[4] Consequently it is the political element of Islamist ideology that differentiates it most clearly from traditional Islamic religion. As Khalid Duran notes, "Few Muslims would deny that political commitment is part of Islamic ethics, but most disagree that there exists a clearly-defined "Islamic system," different from all other political systems."[5] While some regard the former Taliban regime in Afghanistan as an Islamist government, others do not categorize it as such, claiming that it lacks modern ideological influence. There is however widespread consensus that the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Turabi regime in Sudan represent Islamist systems.[6]

Though observers disagree on the extent to which the rise of Islamic Fundamentalism can be attributed to the spread of Wahhabi ideas, upon which the Saudi state is founded, the significance of the Islamic Revolution in Iran is generally accepted.[7] The fall of the Shah and the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979 have since been held up as an example to Islamists elsewhere to reassert their fundamentalist beliefs. Iran is consequently regarded as a principal incubator of Islamic Fundamentalism.[8] According to Bruce Hoffman, a funda-

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4 John Esposito, Graham Fuller, Martin Kramer and Daniel Pipes, "Is Islamism a Threat? A Debate," *Middle East Quarterly* 6, No. 4 (December 1999): 29.

5 Khalid Duran cited in Abdul Hadi Palazzi, "The Islamists Have It Wrong" *Middle East Quarterly* 8, No. 3 (Summer 2001): 4.

6 Raphael Israeli, "Western Democracies and Islamic Fundamentalist Violence," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 12, Nos. 3 and 4 (Autumn and Winter 2000): 163; Esposito, Fuller, Kramer, Pipes, *Op. cit.*, 29–33.

7 Esposito, Fuller, Kramer, Pipes, *Op. cit.*, 29–30; Palazzi, *Op. cit.*, 7–9.

8 Hoffman, *Op. cit.*, 95–96; Esposito, Fuller, Kramer, Pipes, *Op. cit.*, 35–36.

mental belief of the Iranian regime is that violence and coercion are not only permissible to achieve the worldwide spread of Islamic law, but a necessary means to this divinely sanctioned end."[9] This represented a corruption of the Islamic concept of jihad – an Islamist definition "includes and legitimizes terrorism against civilian targets such as churches, synagogues, cemeteries, and even against elderly people, women, and babies. Notwithstanding the clear Islamic prohibition on suicide, it also includes suicide operations."[10] It is this perversion of the principle of jihad that accounts for the adoption of terrorism as the primary tool of Islamists.

As the power to murder, maim and menace descends to smaller and smaller groups,[11] there remain certain factors present in *Islamic Fundamentalist* terrorism that distinguish it, in terms of the magnitude of the threat that it poses, from other forms of terrorism. Militant Islam eclipses other terrorist movements in terms of "its ideological fervency, its reach, its ambitiousness, and its staying power."[12] Although its constituency is restricted to Muslims, the Islamic population currently makes up one-sixth of the world's total, and is one that is both growing rapidly and present in almost every corner of the globe.[13] Islamism displays an acute level of violence not only towards Westerners, as was so graphically portrayed on 11 September last year, but towards anyone who opposes it. Since 1992, Algeria's Islamic Fundamentalist terrorists have accounted for the deaths of between 75'000 and 100'000 Algerians with comparable, though smaller-scale, levels of killing in Egypt, Lebanon and Turkey.[14] As Daniel Pipes suggests, following the decline of Communism and Fascism "militant Islam has proved itself to be the only truly vital totalitarian movement in the world today."[15]

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9 Hoffman, *Op. cit.*, 96.

10 Palazzi, *Op. cit.*, 6.

11 Brian Michael Jenkins, *Terrorism: Current and Long-term Threats* (Washington, D.C.: RAND, 2001), 9.

12 Daniel Pipes, "Who Is the Enemy?" *Commentary* 113, No. 1 (January 2002): 23.

13 *Ibid.*

14 Hoffman, *Op. cit.,* 93; *Ibid.*, 24.

15 Pipes, *Op. cit.*, 23.

Islamic Fundamentalist terrorism has been directed against Europe and Europeans in the past, and almost certainly will be in the future, and it is the combination of its various and often unique characteristics that differentiate it from other forms of terrorism that threaten the region.

Background to the European Response

Despite the overt and long-standing nature of the Islamic Fundamentalist threat, Europe can hardly be considered to be, or have been, fighting Islamism. Across the Continent Islamist radicals, live legally and openly in European states, establishing organizations that advocate the violent overthrow of non-Islamist regimes throughout the world, and to which new members are actively recruited. One of many examples is Sheikh Omar Bakri Mohammed, who has lived in Britain since 1986 and is head of the Al-Muhajiroun organization – a group that is widely reported to regularly distribute leaflets exhorting British Muslims to "Kill the Jews." Al-Muhajiroun publicly applauded the 11 September attacks, as well as the 1998 bombings of US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, and recently urged Muslims in Britain to commit treason by encouraging them to travel to Afghanistan to fight alongside the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, against British armed forces.[16]

In addition to allowing radicals to openly organize and recruit within their borders, many European states are guilty of providing sanctuary to Islamic Fundamentlist terrorists accused or convicted of crimes in other countries. One case in point is that of Yasser al-Serri, an Islamist militant who has lived in the Britain since 1994, and who faces the death sentence in Egypt for the 1993 attempted murder of Prime Minister Atef Sidki.[17] In Western democracies, where civil liberties are guarded by legislatures and where international conventions protect-

16   Peter Foster, "Militants of Al-Muhajiroun Seek World Islamic State," *The Daily Telegraph*, 31 October 2001; Sandra Laville and Gabriel Rozenberg, "British Extremists Urge Young Muslims to Fight Against US," *The Daily Telegraph*, 17 September 2001.

17   Israeli, *Op. cit.*, 160.

ing human rights are habitually upheld, it can be difficult to prevent such occurrences, without infringing the rights of entire populations. Difficulty does not however excuse failure, and the West's consistent harboring of Islamist militants can both directly impinge upon national security and also preclude the possibility of cooperation between European and non-Islamist Muslim governments in combating Islamic Fundamentalist terrorism.[18] Following the 11 September attacks on the US, new legislation has been passed in several European states both in an attempt to rectify these failings and to improve governments' ability to defend against Islamic Fundamentalist terrorism, much of which has derived from decisions taken at the EU-level. It remains to be seen however how effective the changes made will be.

The European Response: NATO

NATO Secretary-General Willy Claes stated in 1995 that, "Islamic militancy has emerged as perhaps the single gravest threat to the NATO alliance and to Western security."[19] In Claes' mind the degree of danger eclipsed even that of the Cold War Soviet threat, due to the fact that it encompassed elements of "terrorism, religious fanaticism, and the exploitation of social and economic injustice."[20] This would appear to suggest that NATO has long-recognized the gravity of the threat that Islamic Fundamentalism poses to European security. This is not however the case. Claes' comments caused widespread outrage across the Muslim world, and he quickly retracted them.[21] This fact portrays an acute difficulty that European governments face in tackling Islamism. As Daniel Pipes argues, in the US "Muslim Americans (…) have won wide public acceptance of their faith, and have managed to make it

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18   *Ibid.,* 170.

19   Willy Claes cited in Pipes, *Op. cit.*, 22.

20   Willy Claes cited in ibid.

21   *Ibid.*

particularly difficult for anyone to criticize their religion or customs."[22] A similar situation exists in Europe. Freedom to criticize the Muslim faith is not of course required to tackle Islamic Fundamentalism, since Islamism constitutes a corruption of some of the principal elements of the religion. Islamic Fundamentalism nonetheless derives from the Islamic world and the atmosphere that currently surrounds Islam in Western political arenas, where it appears to be almost unacceptable to challenge any element of Muslim culture, making it extremely difficult for European leaders both to openly identify the threat of Islamism and to denounce its basic principles. Yet, in order for this ideology and its proponents to be fought, its premises are ones that must be challenged.

Claes' abortive attempt to bring Islamic Fundamentalist terrorism to NATO's attention in 1995 is reflective of the fact that prior to 11 September the Alliance was taking no discernable action against Islamism. Although terrorism was recognized as a potential threat to the Alliance's security in the 1999 Strategic Concept,[23] it was not until December 2001 that Alliance foreign ministers agreed upon NATO's "Response to Terrorism." This document declared that, "The terrorist attacks of 11 September were an outrage against the entire world."[24] This assertion, that would appear to suggest that the attacks were not only an outrage against those to whom they brought great suffering, but also against those terrorists involved in the infliction of that suffering, is somewhat meaningless and reflective of the general unwillingness of Western governments to acknowledge the Islamist threat. Though the Response highlights the fact that NATO's "fight is not against Islam,"[25] it does not identify with exactly whom, or what, its "fight" is, but merely expresses the Alliance's "determination to combat the threat of

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22 Daniel Pipes, "The Danger Within: Militant Islam in America," *Commentary* 112, No. 4 (November 2001): 24.

23 NATO, *The Alliance's Strategic Concept* (Brussels: NATO Office of Information & Press, 1999), paragraph 24.

24 "NATO's Response to Terrorism," statement issued at the Foreign Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council held at NATO Headquarters, Brussels, 6 December 2001, paragraph 1.

25 *Ibid.,* paragraph 4.

terrorism for as long as necessary."[26] Nevertheless, the statement does clearly outline the action that NATO plans to take against "terrorism": to support the US in the US-led operation against those, and only those, who perpetrated the 11 September attacks or provided the conspirators sanctuary and to continue to strengthen national and collective capacities to defend against terrorist attacks directed from abroad.[27]

So limited is the scale and scope of this intended action that it would be misleading to suggest that NATO is either engaged in, or intending to initiate, a fight against Islamic Fundamentalism. The Alliance appears prepared to support only American operations against those involved in 11 September, and to improve its defense posture against future terrorist attacks. In pursuing these limited goals the Alliance has already taken several steps. NATO AWACS[28] have been deployed to the US, a naval force has been sent to the Eastern Mediterranean, Alliance airspace has been opened to aircraft involved in the US-led operations, intelligence sharing within NATO has been increased, and measures have been adopted to strengthen the protection of sensitive facilities.[29] In addition to these measures, other efforts are ongoing at present: the NATO Military Authorities are preparing a military concept for defense against terrorism, following the development of a new threat assessment; ways to improve the Alliance's air defense posture are being examined; capability areas relevant to the enhancement of defense against terrorism are being identified both within the Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI) and outside it; attempts are being made to improve NATO's capacity to cope with the possible terrorist use of chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear (CBRN) materials; possibilities for further information sharing in all areas relevant to terrorism are being explored; and the effectiveness of the Alliance's defense and military policies, structures, and capabilities for the full

26 *Ibid.,* paragraph 5.

27 *Ibid.,* paragraphs 3 and 5.

28 Airborne warning and control aircraft.

29 "Statement on Combating Terrorism: Adapting the Alliance's Defence Capabilities," statement issued at the Defence Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council held at NATO Headquarters, Brussels, 18 December 2001, paragraph 3.

range of its missions against the background of the threat posed by terrorism is being reviewed.[30] If such efforts come to fruition, it would appear to be quite reasonable to expect NATO to be in a position to be able to fulfill its stated goals in its initiative "to combat the threat of terrorism." However, in relation to the question of tackling the threat posed by Islamist terrorism, it is the aims of NATO's campaign that are wanting.

The European Response: The European Union

Prior to the 11 September attacks, the EU also cannot be considered to have been fighting Islamic Fundamentalist terrorism. Certain policies that have since been redirected towards the terrorist threat, such as civil protection and disaster response, previously addressed other matters. However, in the aftermath of 11 September the EU declared that, "The European Council has decided that the fight against terrorism will, more than ever, be a priority objective of the European Union."[31] Displaying even greater reluctance than that shown by NATO to openly identify the Islamist terrorist threat, the Union declared that it "categorically rejects any equation of groups of fanatical terrorists with the Arab and Muslim world."[32] Unless the EU did not intend its categorization, "fanatical terrorists," to include the Islamic Fundamentalists who carried out the 11 September attacks, this statement simply represents a refusal to recognize a principal characteristic of Islamist terrorism, namely that it is an Islamic phenomenon. As previously expressed, Islamism constitutes a radical reinterpretation of Islam, and one that corrupts some of the central tenets of the religion, but nonetheless derives from the

30 *Ibid.*, paragraph 7. Philip Gordon suggests that NATO should also be examining ways in which it can better coordinate member states' special forces "whose role in the anti-terrorism campaign will be critical." Philip H. Gordon, "NATO After 11 September," *Survival* 43, No. 4 (Winter 2001): 101.

31 "Conclusions and Plan of Action of the Extraordinary European Council Meeting on 21 September 2001" (Ref. SN 140/01), 1.

32 *Ibid.*

Muslim world, and if the threat that it poses is to be confronted it must be clearly identified as such.[33] Traditional Islam constitutes a powerful and willing weapon that Europe should employ against Islamic Fundamentalism. To do so however requires that the EU not deny the connection between the ideology and the societies (and minorities) within which it organizes and recruits, but rather to engage mainstream Muslim leaderships and movements so that a threat to both Europe and traditional Islam can be confronted in a cooperative manner.

Although the European Council chose not to address the specter of Islamic Fundamentalist terrorism, it did conclude a five-point plan of action to tackle "terrorism." These five measures were: to enhance police and judicial cooperation (including the introduction of a European arrest warrant and the adoption of a common definition of terrorism); to develop international legal instruments; to put an end to the funding of terrorism; to strengthen air security; and to coordinate the EU's global action.[34] The European Council agreed further steps to "combat terrorism in every shape and form," including the introduction of closer cooperation between Europol, Eurojust, the intelligence services, police forces, and judicial authorities on 19 October 2001.[35] Efforts to implement these wide-ranging and detailed measures are currently ongoing. Within the confines of this paper it is not possible to evaluate the likely level of success of the EU's campaign against "terrorism in every shape and form," save to say that its parameters appear exceedingly broad and military instruments are but one of its

33 The specific refusal of the EU to make any connection between fanatical terrorism and the Arab world is particularly surprising due to the widely accepted state-sponsorship of terrorism by certain Arab regimes.

34 "Conclusions and Plan of Action," 3. This latter measure involves the EU's General Affairs Council (GAC) assuming a role of ensuring greater consistency and coordination of Union policies with respect to the fight against terrorism, and also overseeing greater integration of the CFSP into this initiative.

35 "Fight Against Terrorism – Acts Adopted by the Council," 27 December 2000, 3, available at http://www.eurunion.org/partner/EUUSTerror/CounActsDec27.htm.

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elements.[36] Indeed, the EU itself recognizes that, "It is by developing the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and by making the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) operational at the earliest opportunity that the Union will be most effective" in its fight against terrorism.[37] However, in the immediate future it is only by cooperating with the Alliance that the Union can introduce a military element to its campaign and consequently, as NATO recognized in its "Response to Terrorism" statement, such cooperation would appear to be essential.

The Current State of EU–NATO Cooperation

Any cooperation between the EU and NATO in their respective offensives against terrorism can, at best, only have limited effect in combating Islamic Fundamentalist terrorism, for the simple reason that neither organization has identified Islamist terrorism as a threat, and neither campaign is specifically directed against it. In addition, it is apparent from the various initiatives that both organizations have begun to pursue in the aftermath of 11 September that there is an effective division of labor between them: the EU is predominantly developing nonmilitary means to tackle terrorism, while NATO is advancing military capabilities to defend against terrorism. If a joint, multi-faceted anti-terrorism campaign were launched by the two organizations then this would clearly demand effective cooperation between the two with regard to all its aspects and instruments.

In the absence of such a campaign, it would seem to be advantageous for the EU and NATO to cooperate only on those issues with which they are both involved. These areas include civil protection and disaster response, intelligence, or, at the very least, information sharing, and also the overall approach that each body is taking to counter the terrorist threat. The improvement of military capabilities, which

36 It is worth noting however that Hoffman argues that any counter-terrorist strategy must have realistic goals if it is to be effective. Bruce Hoffman, *Preparing for the War on Terrorism* (Washington, D.C.: RAND, 2001), 2.

37 "Conclusions and Plan of Action," 3.

is central to the EU's ESDP, and has already been the subject of collaboration between the two, might also benefit from further cooperation in the light of revised capability requirements for both institutions' campaigns against terrorism.[38] That they do cooperate on such matters is mandatory. The fact that European states rely to such a great degree on an intergovernmental body (NATO) for their defense is not a sign of strength. That another international organization (the EU) is now becoming embroiled in the region's overarching security and defense policy is potentially a further weakness, unless there is effective cooperation between the two organizations.

In seeking to fulfill the restricted goals in fighting terrorism that the Alliance set forth in December, the NATO foreign ministers declared that, "It will be essential to continue to develop cooperation between international organizations in this multi-faceted campaign (....) In this context, NATO and the European Union are exploring ways to enhance cooperation to combat terrorism."[39] However, the developments to date suggest that cooperation with the EU, which NATO deems essential in the fight against terrorism, is not appear likely to occur to any truly effective degree. NATO Allies agreed in July 2000 to an EU proposal to set up EU–NATO *ad hoc* working groups to advance relations between the two organizations in four specific areas: security arrangements; developing permanent arrangements for consultation and cooperation between the two bodies; defining modalities for EU access to NATO assets; and EU capability goals.[40]

Following the 11 September attacks on the US, a proposal was made within the Alliance that such a group be established to promote cooperation between NATO and the EU in their respective endeavors to combat terrorism. The proposal did not however come to fruition. Similarly, attempts were made to initiate collaboration between the two bodies in the area of disaster response and civil protection but these have so far met with failure. More recently the Alliance submitted a proposition to the EU that NATO's Policy Coordination Group (PCG) and the Union's

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38   Gordon, *Op. cit.*, 101.

39   "NATO's Response to Terrorism," paragraph 9.

40   NATO, *NATO Factsheet: Strengthening European Security and Defence Capabilities* (Brussels: NATO Office of Information and Press, 2000).

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Politico-Military Group (PMG) meet to coordinate policy on several issues, one being terrorism. Although it appears that the EU is likely to accept the invitation, it is not yet clear whether effective cooperation between the two will occur as a result, or whether the forum's potential will be left unrealized.

Prior to 11 September, the Alliance's supreme decision-making body, the North Atlantic Council (NAC), met periodically with the EU's Political and Security Committee (PSC) to coordinate security cooperation between the two, and following the 11 September attacks terrorism now features on the meetings' agendas. Such high-level cooperation can however only become truly meaningful if it is supported by cooperation between the two organizations on specific, technical and expert-level matters. At the time of writing, of the four previously suggested areas for increased cooperation, intelligence and information sharing does not appear to have been raised as a possible issue for collaboration, further cooperation in the improvement of military capabilities does not seem to be on the agenda, civil protection and disaster response collaboration has not yet come to fruition, and the establishment of an *ad hoc* working group on terrorism, that might well have provided a forum within which details of counter-terrorist strategy could have been exchanged, was not pursued.

Factors Preventing Effective EU–NATO Cooperation

What explains the lack of cooperation between the EU and NATO? Several factors appear to be hindering synergy between the Alliance and the Union. At the most obvious level, competition, rather than collaboration, typifies relations between the respective bureaucracies of NATO and the EU. In the case of the EU, the organization's three-pillar structure and its preoccupation with its own autonomy intensify this propensity; both have tended to restrain collaboration between it and other organizations.

However, such is the extent of the failure of the two organizations to work together in their actions against terrorism, when cooperation appears to be the mutually beneficial course of action, that more serious, underlying issues must also be involved. What is significant it that the US is a member of NATO, but is not of course a member of the EU. Although there are differences within Europe as to how a campaign against terrorism should proceed, the most serious difference exists between Europe and the US – a fact that goes a long way to explain the NATO's limited aims in its fight against terrorism. The European Council meeting of 21 September 2001 called for the "broadest possible global coalition against terrorism, under United Nations aegis."[41] That the US would have even considered supporting such a proposition in the aftermath of 11 September is bordering upon the unthinkable, and this fact is reflective of a significant (and perhaps widening) gulf between the general European approach to security and that of the US. A tendency undoubtedly exists within European leaderships (that is less apparent in the US) to involve international organizations fully in the resolution of security issues and to place increasing importance upon the nonmilitary, or perhaps more accurately, the non-war-fighting elements of security. It is worth noting however that this difference is one that can be easily exaggerated, and often is, for European states remain far from united in their opinions over the relative emphases that should be placed on the different instruments of security, and the US remains considerably less unilateral in its behavior than it is frequently portrayed.

However, some suggest that the fractures run even deeper than mere variances in approaches to security provision. Irwin Stelzer states that, "It is no secret that the EU, as it has strengthened itself economically and politically, has come to define itself as a rival to America's "hegemony" in the post-Cold War world, or that deep and long-festering resentments of the US have come to the surface among Europeans, especially European elites."[42] Stelzer claims that at the heart of such anti-Americanism is the French position which, he argues, seeks to dismantle, or at least neuter NATO and thereby reduce American influence

41   Cited in Gordon, *Op. cit.*, 95.
42   Irwin M. Stelzer, "Is Europe a Threat?" *Commentary* 112, No. 3 (October 2001): 35.

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in Europe.[43] Though some might take issue with such an assertion, there is no question that France has fought hardest to develop EU security instruments that are independent of the Alliance, that it is France that has been most committed to maintaining EU autonomy in such areas, and that it is French foreign policy that, over the course of decades, has consistently been the *least* transatlantic in its orientation of the major European powers. Indeed, French leaders have sometimes openly acknowledged the distance between the two states – former President François Mitterand declared once that, "We are at war with America (…) a permanent war, an economic war, a war without death."[44]

Conclusion

Neither NATO nor the EU can thus be considered to be fighting Islamic Fundamentalist terrorism, let alone cooperating in any such struggle. Both organizations have pointedly refused to acknowledge and to identify the Islamist terrorist threat. NATO's campaign against terrorism has, in fact, strictly limited goals, while the EU has vowed to tackle terrorism everywhere, but does not yet possess the military means to support such an effort. Cooperation between the two organizations on this issue is woefully inadequate and there appears to be no reason to suspect that this situation will improve.

The EU and the US somewhat ironically agreed on 20 September 2001 to cooperate in combating terrorism on a wide variety of fronts, ranging from police and judicial issues to export controls and nonproliferation.[45] Whether such collaborations will materialize is still unclear. What is unfortunate is that while the EU appears willing to cooperate directly with the US on certain issues relating to terrorism for the sake

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43 *Ibid.*

44 François Mitterand cited in Robert J. Lieber, "No Transatlantic Divorce in the Offing," *Orbis* 44, No. 4 (Fall 2000): 573.

45 "Joint EU–US Ministerial Statement on Combating Terrorism," 20 September 200, available at http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/us/news/minist_20_09_01.htm.

of transatlantic security, cooperation between it and NATO cannot be effected for the sake of the autonomy of the EU's ESDP.

The existence of two principal security organizations within Europe does not constitute an ideal basis upon which the region's security is to be provided for effectively. The lack of collaboration in deterring and defending against a veritable threat to European security may hold disastrous ramifications for the peoples that they are charged with protecting.

**Part IV
The ESDP and the Future
of Transatlantic Relations**

Samantha Paige Davis

The Long-term Outlook for NATO and ESDP: Moving Toward Tighter Cooperation or the Breakup of the Western Alliance?*

Introduction

The debate over the ideal level of interaction and cooperation between Europe and the US on security issues is certainly not a new one. The events of 11 September brought the debate once again to the forefront of political and analytical discussions. Transatlantic relations since the terrorist attacks on the US have highlighted not only the two powers' diverse conception of threats, risks, and favored methods of response, but also the strong bond and resilience of these relations. Immediately following 11 September, there was no question that the Europeans supported the US in its efforts to track down the perpetrators of the horrific crimes committed. However, as the US war on terrorism has evolved, so has the degree of disagreement between Europe and the US over the means of accomplishing the anti-terrorist mission. This difference in opinion will eventually influence decision making in NATO, leading to discussions and disputes about the relevance of NATO and the overall security concerns of its two main players, the US and Europe.

Since the end of the Cold War and the simultaneous termination of the perceived monolithic Soviet security threat, Europe and the US have been grappling with the new, more plural security threats and the institutional means to prepare for them, both individually and within the NATO forum. Despite anticipation of a more peaceful era after German reunification and the fall of the Soviet Union, the world has witnessed multiple wars, ethnic conflicts, border disputes, and significant acts of

terrorism. These developments led to a reorientation within the world's powers, including the US and Europe, and a reinvention of NATO, in order to appropriately transform policy and action to meet the evolving security requirements. Furthermore, the transatlantic security dynamic has begun to change in the post-Cold War era as a result of Europe's continuous efforts towards further integration, which include the political European Union (EU), the economic European Monetary Union (EMU), and the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). At the 1999 EU Cologne summit meeting, the EU incorporated the West European Union (WEU), the European military entity, directly into the EU structure, and, in addition, introduced the position of general-secretary/high representative for CFSP to provide a common voice for foreign policy and a means with which to develop a European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP).[1]

Discussions today are focused primarily on the increasingly divergent US and European military capabilities and how such gaps in defense spending and technology affect NATO's ability to function. However, focusing on hardware as the sole symbol of successful progress is inadequate and misleading. Undoubtedly, the fact that European military spending collectively still only amounts to half the US defense budget is problematic and a practical disadvantage in joint combat missions.[2] Yet, beyond these statistics the discrepancy between defense spending levels is indicative of the divergent views of Europe and the US on contemporary security risks and the necessary means with which to address such threats. While the foundation of the broader transatlantic relationship is solid, the differences between the US and Europe on security and defense policy will inevitably influence the future relationship of NATO and the ESDP.

This chapter discusses the key issues that are likely to shape the long-term development of NATO and the ESDP in the 21st century. It first

1 For further details, see Anand Menon, Anthony Forster and William Wallace, "A Common European Defence?" *Survival* 34, No. 3 (Autumn 1992): 98–118; Nicole Gnesotto, "Common European Defence and Transatlantic Relations," *Survival* 38, No. 1 (Spring 1996): 19–31; Gilles Andréani, "Why Institutions Matter," *Survival* 42, No. 2 (Summer 2000): 81–95; and Francois Heisbourg, "Europe's Strategic Ambitions," *Survival* 42, No. 2 (Summer 2000): 5–15.

outlines the simultaneous evolution of NATO and the ESDP after the end of the Cold War, as the debate over the US military role in preserving Europe's security evolved and European integration proceeded. The historical framework adds perspective to the present dilemmas that face EU and NATO members, as they search for ideal relations. The second section highlights the difficulties that currently plague the EU–NATO security relationship, including problems regarding the discrepancy between EU and NATO memberships, subsequent decision-making obstacles, such as those related to Turkey, the issues of burden sharing and assets lending, and the growing difficulty of accommodating divergent attitudes towards security threats within NATO, as were vividly shown by the events following 11 September. European national traditions related to foreign policy, which run counter to the tendency toward a ESDP, and the state of the transatlantic security relationship after reactions to 11 September, which have accentuated new problems that could potentially stunt the development of NATO and a stronger ESDP, will also be addressed. The third section sketches a broad spectrum of possible scenarios for the future the NATO–ESDP relationship. In the conclusion, the manner in which NATO and the ESDP can best work together to enhance both organizations' effectiveness and provide security to their collective members is analyzed. In particular, it focuses on how Europe and the US should act to ensure the most favorable outcome.

2   Ian Black, "NATO: The Spent Force," *The Guardian*, 11 February 2002, Inside Europe Section. Additionally, on 13 February 2002, in "Top Gun and the Rest: The Gap Between US Military Capability and That of the Rest of the World Is Now So Big That It Raises Serious Questions About the Transatlantic Alliance" in *The Guardian*, Richard Norton-Taylor wrote: "The US spends about US\$ 28'000 on research and development for each member of its armed forces. The European average is about US\$ 7'000. Even two years ago the US military budget amounted to more than that of all 17 NATO European allies, and Russia and China, combined, according to the latest figures from the International Institute for Strategic Studies."

The Evolution of NATO and the Birth of the ESDP

NATO was conceived in 1949 as "a purely defensive alliance of independent sovereign states and served its members in this role throughout the Cold War."[3] While NATO's central mission was to protect Western Europe against both internal and external threats, mainly Communist subversion and Soviet military invasion, it also provided a forum through which Britain, France, and other Western European countries felt comfortable grounding West German political and economic reconstruction, thereby allowing the Western Europeans to focus on their own economic reconstruction after the World War II. Scholar David Calleo notes that Britain and France placed fundamental importance on the US presence in Europe, "institutionalizing an external hegemon" to guard against Stalin's military threat, contain the Germans and impose stability upon the European continent.[4] The US presence in European security endured throughout the Cold War and, despite the reduced number of US troops in Europe since the fall of the Soviet Union, the US continues to influence European security decisions through NATO and its relationship with the EU member states.

After German reunification and the fall of the Soviet Union, NATO's clearly-defined Cold War mission was no longer relevant. NATO was forced to recognize the plurality of the new security threats and, as a result, its long-term significance in the post-Cold War environment was hotly debated.[5] However, at the 1990 NATO London summit, leaders

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3 Douglas Eden, "Europe and the Atlantic Relationship" in *Europe and the Atlantic Relationship: Issues of Identity, Security and Power*, ed. Douglas Eden (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000), 1.

4 David Calleo, *Rethinking Europe's Future* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), 26.

5 In addition to questioning NATO's relevance in the post-Cold War era, the debate extended additionally to discussions about the degree to which NATO should be enlarged in the post-Cold War security environment. Some scholars argue for NATO expansion to Central and Eastern Europe, and even Russia, in order to secure and stabilize Western Europe's borders. Conversely, others support a minimalist strategy that would keep costs low and therefore be more likely to keep the US engaged in Europe's security through NATO. Michael E. Brown, "Minimalist NATO," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 1999): 211.

reiterated NATO's fundamental importance. In November 1991, just a month before the European governments were due to complete the Maastricht Treaty negotiations for the European Union (EU), NATO officially adopted the New Strategic Concept, a NATO Ministerial Communiqué that outlined NATO's general strategy. The 1991 New Strategic Concept sought to maintain the core principles upon which NATO was founded while simultaneously creating more flexibility to facilitate action against new threats to security.[6] As soon as NATO acknowledged these new threats and risks, war erupted in Bosnia in 1992, after quick deterioration of ethnic relations following the collapse of Communism in Yugoslavia in 1990. NATO members, especially the Europeans who were not yet prepared to protect their borders and maintain peace independently, were reminded that NATO, with US assets and coordination, was still necessary to ensure security on Europe's borders.

As NATO evolved in the early 1990's, European Community (EC) members met in December 1991 and established the political European Union (EU) with the Maastricht Treaty. This treaty transformed the European Political Cooperation (EPC) into the CFSP, the second pillar of the European Union.[7] It was stated that CFSP "shall include all questions related to the security of the Union, including the eventual framing of a common defense policy, which might in time lead to a common defense."[8] The commitment was expressed, but the applied voting structure, which required a unanimous vote to approve the use of quality majority voting (QMV) on individual foreign policy issues, gave sizable power to the member states. Therefore, CFSP action could be thwarted by one dissenting member state in a vote.[9] In addition to

6 "The Alliance's New Strategic Concept," NATO Ministerial Communiqué, 8 November 2001, available at http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/49-95/c911107a.htm.

7 Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999), 342. The EPC had been established at the 1969 Hague summit during which EC member states decided to add a political dimension to the process of economic integration.

8 Calleo, *Op. cit.*, 302.

9 Hix, *Op. cit.*, 344.

setting out general goals for CFSP, Maastricht recognized the Western European Union (WEU), in existence since 1954, as an integral part of the development of the EU. Member states officially established a forum for WEU members' foreign and defense ministers to discuss foreign policy issues within the EU framework. Furthermore, with Maastricht, the EU advanced the long-term goals of strengthening the European pillar within NATO and boosting European capabilities in defense matters.

However, unified European ambitions in the defense sphere were and continue to be met with ambiguous reactions from the US. Influenced by the role of US military control in Europe through NATO since WWII, US President George W. Bush was ambivalent about the strengthening of European forces within NATO throughout the early 1990s. In 1993, US President Bill Clinton, with some hesitation, embraced the general idea of the European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI), the effort behind developing a stronger, more active European pillar within NATO to handle new and diverse tasks. While Clinton recognized the potential benefits of a stronger European partner for the US, the Clinton administration's secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, expressed concern over three issues related to European capabilities enhancement within NATO, often referred to as the "three D's": "No duplication of NATO assets; no discrimination against non-EU NATO members (Turkey, in particular); and no actions that would decouple the US from Europe."[10]

While these "three D's" still capture a central part of the debate between the EU and the US over the NATO–ESDP security relationship, Clinton and other politicians' support for the ESDI was transformed into institutional reality at the 1994 NATO summit in Brussels. At the Brussels summit, NATO heads of government approved European efforts to develop "separable but not separate"[11] defense capabilities through the

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10 Kori Schake, "Constructive Duplication: Reducing EU Reliance on US Military Assets," *CER Working Paper* (January 2002), 5.

11 "ESDI in the Atlantic Alliance," Remarks by Ambassador Alexander Vershbow, US Permanent Representative on the North Atlantic Council, Colloquy on "The European Security and Defense Identity," Madrid, Spain, 4 May 1998.

WEU and accepted US suggestions for the development of Combined Joint Task Forces (CJTF). The CJTF concept was established to "enhance NATO's flexibility for crisis-management operations and at the same time serve as the mechanism for WEU-led missions."[12] More specifically, the CJTF were created to be multi-national, multi-service forces prepared to act in peacekeeping, humanitarian or combat missions. The newly-defined tasks reflected "the changing security situation in Europe and the emergence of smaller but diverse and unpredictable risks to peace and stability."[13] NATO made significant structural changes to reorient itself to provide the command and organizational means necessary to handle multiple, wide-ranging missions, such as peacekeeping, that would not always include the entire NATO membership.[14] Furthermore, efforts to strengthen European capabilities were agreed upon within a NATO framework and therefore under implicit US control.[15] Since Europe lacked the necessary military equipment and command capabilities within the EU or the WEU, grounding European military efforts within NATO was the realistic alternative at the time. However, throughout the 1990s, the idea of developing the ESDI within NATO did not provide sufficient incentive for independent European military capabilities development.

Seeking to forge a more prominent role for Europe in managing its own security, the Amsterdam Treaty, signed by the EU member states in 1997, further solidified the processes with which to deal with foreign

12 *Ibid.*

13 See http://www.nato.int/docu/handbook/2001/hb1204.htm.

14 Anthony Forster and William Wallace, "What Is NATO for?" *Survival* 43, No. 4 (Winter 2001/2): 115. According to Forster and Wallace, "It [CJTF] permitted 'coalitions of the willing' using national forces assigned to NATO supplemented by the right to request the use of NATO Headquarters, command-and-communications facilities and logistical support for non-NATO WEU missions. For the US, the CJTF concept anchored ESDI to NATO, it enabled West European governments to take on greater responsibility for crises around Europe's periphery, yet permitted the US to play an active indirect role where it did not want to shoulder direct responsibility."

15 Schake, *Op. cit.*, 15.

policy within the EU framework.[16] Furthermore, with the Amsterdam Treaty, EU member states officially adopted the so-called Petersberg Tasks. These specific tasks, which were previously only officially acknowledged by the original ten WEU members, include humanitarian and rescue tasks, peacekeeping tasks, and tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking.[17] Yet, these changes marked official progress within the Treaty, but still did not propel the CFSP forward with tangible development of common EU policies or military capabilities.

After the sub-optimal joint military missions between European and US forces in the Balkans throughout the 1990s, European leaders began to consider more seriously the need to enhance collective European military capabilities. Unpleasantly surprised by the amount of control that the US exerted in executing NATO missions in Bosnia and Kosovo, British Prime Minister Tony Blair recognized that European defense capabilities must improve within the framework of the EU. Accordingly, on 3–4 December 1998, Blair met with French President Jacques Chirac at St Malo to discuss the future of a collective European defense effort. While Blair and Chirac each represented countries with advanced militaries, the issue of interoperability between national armies during a mission was still a pertinent problem for both leaders. The St Malo summit resulted in the two leaders' joint support for European defense capabilities development, but with a continued commitment to NATO.[18]

16 Hix, *Op. cit.*, 344–346. Such measures included common strategies for CFSP cooperation, a declaration that all CFSP decisions were to be taken by unanimity, formalization of QMV on issues related to policy implementation, enhanced capacity of the EU to project a single voice on foreign policy issues and further integrated defense policy coordination into the EU.

17 Francois Heisbourg, "Europe's Strategic Ambitions: The Limits of Ambiguity," *Survival* 42, No. 2 (Summer 2000): 6–7. The ten WEU members referred to by Heisbourg are Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and the UK. NATO's handbook contains additional information on the evolution of the WEU. See NATO Publications, 4 October 2001, available at http://www.nato.int/docu/handbook/2001/hb1504.htm.

18 Declaration on European Defense, Franco-British summit, St Malo, 3–4 December 1998.

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A year later, at the June 1999 EU Cologne summit, the EU decided to develop the capabilities necessary for a common European security and defense policy. In accordance with these decisions, the role undertaken by the WEU with respect to the development of the ESDI was officially assumed by the EU. In July 1999, a bilateral Anglo-Italian summit announced a joint declaration for the launch of the European Defense Capabilities Initiative.[19] And, shortly thereafter, at the Helsinki European Council meeting in December 1999, the EU set a "headline goal" for the creation of a rapid reaction force of 60'000 troops, deployable within 60 days and sustainable in the field for up to a year.[20] In addition, at Helsinki, the EU created permanent political and military structures, including a Political and Security Committee (PSC), an EU Military Committee (EUMC), and an EU Military Staff (EUMS), to ensure the required political guidance and strategic direction needed for future operations.

At present, it is not yet evident that the official statements in treaties and Council minutes, and the establishment of political processes for future action, have created a united European front with the necessary military and technological capabilities and with whom the US and NATO can work. The first test will be whether or not the European Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) becomes operable, as planned, in 2003.[21] Compared to the swift progress with the European Monetary Union (EMU) since Maastricht, culminating in the birth of the tangible euro in January 2002, the ESDP thus far pales in comparison. As Elizabeth Pond aptly highlights, "Despite flowery words, European foreign policy continues to be stubbornly "intergovernmental," with heads of government negotiating compromises anew at each summit; foreign policy has never developed its own dynamic within the day-to-day machinery of EU operations and considerations."[22] Moreover, Javier Solana, the

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19 Declaration on European Defense Capabilities Initiative, Anglo-Italian summit, London, 19 to 20 July 1999.

20 Philip Gordon, "NATO After 11 September," *Survival* 43, No. 4 (Winter 2001/02): 98.

21 Gilles Andréani, "Why Institutions Matter," *Survival* 42, No. 2 (Summer 2000): 81.

22 Elizabeth Pond, *The Rebirth of Europe* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1999), 192.

European Council's high representative for foreign policy, and Chris Patten, the EU commissioner for external affairs, still do not speak with a single voice, and national foreign ministers maintain the power to intervene on behalf of their countries' interests at will.

Countries, such as the US, maintain unique diplomatic relationships with various member states and act with individual EU member states on specific foreign policy issues. This type of relationship was exemplified by the joint action taken after 11 September with those EU member states – Britain and France – with more developed military capabilities participating with the US in Afghanistan. The persistent national voices in foreign policy slow the ESDP's development and make it difficult to envision a future commitment to action as a single EU unit, diplomatically or militarily. The EU progressively exerts itself more independently and prominently in nonmilitary international arenas, as demonstrated in the areas of trade, human rights, and the environment. However, due to concerns about the loss of sovereignty and different national opinions regarding defense and security policies, this same motivation for unified action is not rapidly materializing in European common defense, despite various official statements and efforts to enhance this dimension of the EU.

Current Problems in the EU–NATO Security Relationship

The transformation of NATO and the evolution of ESDP throughout the 1990s have resulted in procedures, agreements, and command structures that could threaten these organizations' long-term relationship. As previously mentioned, the practical problems that persist cannot be categorized solely by divergent technological and military capabilities. While the capabilities gap is unquestionably a sizable hurdle, other problems, which are both institutional and political, pose major challenges to the improvement of the NATO–ESDP relationship. Furthermore, if not addressed in the near future, these issues only stand to be aggravated by the enlargement of both the EU and NATO.

Currently, the EU and NATO, with the US' specific involvement, have been attempting to finalize agreements that would allow the EU guaranteed access to NATO planning facilities at Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) and presumed access to other NATO facilities. These negotiations have proceeded with little success due to Turkey's rejection of the idea.[23] Turkey has continually blocked the issue of an accord on EU–NATO relations, calling for inclusion in the ESDP's decision making, because of the EU's potential use of NATO assets. In response, the EU has only been willing to grant such privileges if and when Turkey takes part in a military operation. In December 2001, Britain and the US facilitated the EU–NATO "Ankara Document," which sought to permit the EU access to NATO assets and military planning capabilities, and was finally accepted by Turkey. The deal was based on assurances that the EU would not undertake military operations against a NATO member, such as Turkey, and would grant only Turkey a veto on specific EU missions that depended on NATO assets. Additionally, the Ankara Document was to be the precursor to the EU–NATO signing of the "Berlin Plus" agreements that clarified the logistical and practical aspects of NATO military assistance for the EU.[24] However, Greece rejected the Ankara Document compromise, viewing it as too favorable to Turkey.[25] Furthermore, within the framework of the ongoing deliberations over Cyprus' EU candidacy, Greece has rejected the compromise deals that have previously been brokered on the issue. If Turkey, Greece, and others continue to block such EU–NATO agreements, major problems will ensue, preventing the smooth development of the aforementioned projects and structures within NATO. Until the EU is capable of acting independently of NATO command and assets, it is at a severe disadvantage within the Alliance, based on the current stalling of progress on assets sharing agreements. These non-membership problems will only worsen with enlargement,

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23 Charles Grant, "A European View of ESDP," Speech at IISS/CEPS European Security Forum, Brussels, Belgium, 10 September 2001.

24 Judy Dempsey, "Greece Puts EU Defence Force Plans at Risk," *Financial Times*, 11 to 12 May 2002, 2.

25 Schake, *Op. cit.*, 9.

which will not work on the same timeline or with the same countries in NATO and the EU.

Non-EU NATO members, principally Turkey, pose a very real problem in the advancement of the NATO–ESDP relationship, especially as both organizations seek to enlarge their membership. As noted earlier, throughout the 1990s, the EU and NATO concluded various agreements to ensure sharing of skills, knowledge, and, in the case of a CJTF mission without the US and others, assets, upon the agreement of all members. While in theory the sharing of high technology, high-cost military assets seems to present a viable alternative to unnecessary duplication of assets between NATO and the ESDP, the reality of this proposal is less clear-cut. Aside from the unrealistic notion that advanced equipment could be transferred from nation to nation, without extensive operative training or shared personnel, situations could easily arise in which a member of either organization vetoes the use of equipment or manpower by the other. It would only take one veto to jeopardize the achievement of a collective military goal.

The increasing divergence between the European and US military capabilities has become a focal point in the debate over the evolution of NATO and the ESDP. According to Kori Schake, "European military forces are losing the ability to work in coalitions with US forces." [26] This was evident in both the Bosnia and Kosovo efforts, during which it was increasingly difficult to coordinate European and US forces within NATO missions, not least to synchronize European forces with each other. Charles Grant points out that, "The biggest shortages are on the logistical side: EU members lack sufficient air-lift and sea-lift; transportable docks, communications equipment and headquarters; and intelligence-gathering satellites, aircraft and UAV's."[27] Neither Europe nor the US will tolerate such dependence on US capabilities indefinitely. The root of the problem is the sizable gap between the percentage of GDP spent on defense budgets by the US and the major-

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26   *Ibid.*, 9.

27   Grant, *Op. cit.*, 4.

ity of EU member states, which will become even more prominent following US budgetary increases in the field of defense following 11 September.[28] The US$ 48 billion augmentation in the Pentagon's 2003 military budget approaches one-and-a-half times as much as the total annual defense spending of Britain or France, which possess the two most capable European military forces. However, these figures are most significant when the reasons they have come to differ so drastically are considered.

In part, a certain level of dependence can be attributed to the Cold War security structure, during which the US protected Europe at a time when all parties were wary of rearming Europe. NATO provided, and still provides, the forum in which national armies can be developed in the name of collective defense. Reliant on US military assistance for decades, Europe never felt compelled to develop extensive military capabilities outside of the NATO framework.[29] In reality, no nation or organization, including the US, wanted the EU to duplicate the assets that the US alone has:

> Occasional ambivalence by NATO's European members toward their relationship with the US is matched by American ambivalence. On the one hand, the US wants its European allies to spend more on defense, bear a greater share of the collective defense burden (usually referred to by American legislators as a "fair" share) and take greater responsibility for maintaining stability in Europe. On the other hand, the US reacts against the vision of a strong "European pillar" that acts

28 For further details, see Charles Wolf, Jr. and Benjamin Zycher, "Economic and Military Analysis, 1985–1999, and Forecasts for 2001–2010," *European Military Prospects, Economic Constraints, and the Rapid Reaction Force*, 2001, RAND, 2001, available at http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1416/MR1416.ch3.pdf, and Heisbourg, *Op. cit.*, 10–15.

29 Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Living With a New Europe" *National Interest 60* (Summer 2000): 17–18. In this article, Brzezinski called Europe "a de facto military protectorate of the US." In a response to the article, Timothy Garton Ash disagreed with this characterization, stating that, "Even in the weaker sense of 'being dependent for military protection' this statement is scarcely true since, chaotic though Europe's defense arrangements are, there are no major threats to our security against which the major European powers could not defend themselves and their EU partners." Timothy Garton Ash, "Comments on Brzezinski," *National Interest* 60 (Summer 2000): 29.

independently and separately from NATO and the American partnership. [30]

In addition to the goal of creating a RRF and the A400M Airbus aircraft project, some further enhancement of the EU's military capabilities will be necessary in order to strengthen the EU–US security relationship and to ensure some independent resources given the current problems with assets sharing in NATO. The current EU–NATO arrangements, if approved by all members of both institutions, would allow the EU access to NATO assets. However, given the necessary approval for assets sharing between NATO and the EU, politics could easily complicate the viability of current arrangements as a long-term solution for a European defense effort. With the present deficiencies in European capabilities, the Europeans are limited both in their ability to coordinate national forces and in their ability to act as a united European force.

Europe is further relegated to a second-tier status when working with the US within NATO. Fundamentally, when military action is necessary, this deal keeps the EU dependent on US and NATO approval of missions they may wish to pursue, but do not possess the technology, equipment or planning facilities to undertake independently. Realistically, Europe cannot rely on automatic access to US national assets. As scholar Philip Gordon argues, Europe "must accept the dilemma that the French have (intentionally or not) underlined: it must either put the resources behind developing independent capabilities or accept dependence on the US."[31] The EU–US gap in military capabilities not only represents a technological discrepancy, but also highlights the willingness of Europe to perpetually rely on the US for a certain portion of its security. However, the divergence in spending is not only problematic given the increased difficulty of maintaining interoperability. The long-term ramifications of EU dependence on US assets, and the effects that such dependence could have on perceptions of power in the world system, could be equally significant.

Yet, another potential area of contention related to the ESDP's and NATO's future relations is the problem of how to accommodate the

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30 Eden, *Op. cit.*, 6.

changing perceptions of threats currently held by Europe and the US. The evolution of NATO and the ESDP will depend on the nature of the perceived threats and how members of the two organizations react to them. In the early 1990s, with the emergence of new threats to security, NATO made an effort to reinvent itself with the 1991 Strategic Concept and the Common Joint Task Force principle. Since then, NATO has encouraged members, with varying success, to adapt to its transformed structure with new agreements, capabilities, and tasks. However, it is impossible to ignore the deviation in security priorities between Europe and the US, and the subsequent effects that this variation has on NATO's missions.

Europe is today most concerned with creating a peaceful, democratic Europe with secure borders, concentrating on internal security issues, immigration, EU enlargement, and increased stability in the Balkans, while simultaneously proceeding with overall European integration. By contrast, the US focuses primarily on global security issues, especially on the threat of terrorism, nuclear proliferation, and rogue states with weapons of mass destruction (WMD) capabilities. Having lived with terrorism for decades and maintained different relations with the so-called rogue states that the US fears, Europeans have their own distinct interpretation of current security hazards. While Europe possesses great sympathy for Americans in relation to the 11 September attacks, it would be naïve to imagine that the US and Europe view the terrorist threats in the same way. More generally, even before 11 September, the US/European dichotomy over threat perceptions was reflected in their approach to security. European politicians, for example, would have a very difficult time convincing their constituencies that there is a need to a build national missile defense (NMD). These differences certainly affect the perceived utility of various institutions, weapons capabilities, and technology. Moreover, a fundamental aspect of the long-term development of the NATO–ESDP relationship is how the EU and the US determine how to defend themselves against diversely perceived threats within the same security and political institution. It would be impossible to ignore these fundamental, ideological differences between Europe and the US, which inevitably affect the outcome of joint planning and missions.

While the Cold War masked some of the differences in European and American interpretations of threats to security there were and continue to be areas of disagreement within the transatlantic alliance and amongst various EU member states. Prior to Maastricht, with the exception of the attempt to create the European Defense Community in 1952, Europeans never made any official attempts to formulate an established common foreign policy. While they have had a common interest in defending the European continent and in preserving overall peace after WWII, individual countries have pursued separate foreign policies, characterized by bilateral relations that are not always agreed upon by the other members. For example, reflecting on Britain and France's relationship with the US after the 1956 Suez crisis, each country arguably learned a different lesson about foreign policy interaction with the US from the crisis and reacted accordingly thereafter. After Suez, Britain's foreign policy aimed to foster a better relationship with the US, trying to strengthen the "special relationship" and to remain allied with the strongest power in the world. France, in contrast, under General Charles de Gaulle, came away from Suez with the goal of establishing independence from the US and moved full speed ahead with the *force de frappe*, France's nuclear capability.

These differences in desired bilateral relations with the US are still relevant to the discussion of the future of NATO, and, more importantly, the development of a cohesive ESDP. After political and military inferiority with the US became evident during the 1990s, a sea change took place in Britain with regard to its view of a common European defense and security policy, and its apparent reorientation toward Europe in the security realm, signified by the 1998 St Malo declaration. However, while the ESDP gained the political backing of EU member states, the rhetoric on the CFSP and ESDP tends to vary throughout the EU. Individual member states still voice individual opinions on foreign policy.

The former French foreign minister, Hubert Védrine, underscores this dichotomy in *France in an Age of Globalization*, based on an extensive interview with scholar Dominique Moisi on France's foreign policy. At one point in the book, describing European efforts in the area of the CFSP, Védrine states, "Speaking with a single voice is a general objec-

tive."[32] Yet only a chapter later, Védrine again discusses CFSP, with a notably different tone:

> You can't just decide that on a given date, French, British, or other views about relations with the US or Africa will no longer be valid and will be replaced by a common view fixed in Brussels! Especially in a Europe of twenty or thirty. That won't work. We've got to take a whole range of things into account: national mentalities, history, zones of influence, established relations, the languages people speak, their habits, where they send their children to be educated, signed agreements, the obligations that derive from them, military links, etc.[33]

Védrine's statements highlight the problem that the CFSP and, hence, the ESDP face in accommodating national viewpoints on foreign policy that inevitably deter efforts for increased European integration in defense and security policy.

Hypothetically, such a breach amongst EU member states could ensue if US policy in the Middle East, including its approach to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict or to Iraq, became more radical. Signals of some divergence have already emerged in response to US President George W. Bush's State of the Union address and his "axis of evil" rhetoric. Britain has expressed caution, yet strong solidarity, with the US in the campaign against terrorism. While the possibility of Britain becoming disillusioned with the US should not be discounted, historical precedent indicates otherwise. Furthermore, British Foreign Minister Jack Straw highlighted Britain's commitment to both the US and the EU, emphasizing that there will not always be agreement in either relationship, but that it is more important to focus on the similarities than to worry about the possibility that disagreements could dilute the relationship.[34] France however, has voiced increasing concern about the US'

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31 Gordon, "Recasting the Atlantic Alliance," *Survival* 38, No. 1 (Spring 1996): 51.

32 Hubert Védrine with Dominique Moisi, *France in the Age of Globalization* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2001), 57.

33 *Ibid.*, 79.

34 British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw, Speech at the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 8 May 2002, available at http://www.brookings.edu/dybdocroot/comm/transcripts/20020508.htm.

"*simplisme*" and unilateralist foreign policy. With its difficult WWII history and resulting reluctance to become a military power, Germany behaves inconsistently in the defense and security arena. Despite its recent contribution in Macedonia and Afghanistan, Germany has been in no position to act as the driving force for European defense and security integration, as it has been on other issues. Permanent division amongst EU member states is not very plausible, but increased disagreement over support for US policy could hinder the ESDP's progress, or negatively affect the EU's willingness to contribute to NATO missions.

As Védrine emphasized, national inclinations on defense and foreign policy will not be easily overcome. Since the 11 September attacks, individual European countries spoke and acted on behalf of national, not European, opinion. Future crises will indicate what effect these differences could have on the development of NATO and the ESDP. A US invasion of Iraq, for example, if carried out without prior consultation with NATO or European allies, could create a major rift within the Alliance. As in the past, Britain would probably ally itself with the US immediately, whereas France would be unlikely to do so. Therefore, national interests and traditions make the development of a cohesive ESDP that is able to act without US capabilities or NATO's command structure a slow and difficult process. The lack of momentum in the ESDP and for a collective EU foreign policy inevitably spills over into the realm of NATO, making it challenging to exert a strong European presence in the military orbit.

Possible Future Developments in the NATO and ESDP Relationship

The events of 11 September brought to the forefront many of the problems within NATO and with the development of ESDP for which resolutions were less urgent in peacetime. Even though military and peacekeeping action in the Balkans throughout the 1990s highlighted European military deficiencies, EU member states' forces still played

a significant role, albeit subservient to US forces and command. Accordingly, discontent with NATO's evolution and the ESDP's slow progress seemingly served to inspire change, rather than to jeopardize the Alliance. However, events since 11 September, principally the US' decision to conduct its war in Afghanistan outside of NATO auspices, have intensified dialogue over the transatlantic gap and the potential harm it could do to NATO's future. Public opinion, including that of NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson, has voiced a desperate call for change on both sides of the Atlantic. At a London European–US defense relations conference, Robertson stated that the choice for Europeans and Canada in the NATO alliance was "modernization or marginalization" and added that these two groups should "focus on a small number of "absolutely critical capabilities."[35] In addition to appeals for better European capabilities, many have criticized the US for not consulting with its allies sufficiently before acting militarily.

Moreover, the above-mentioned problems of assets burden sharing and decision making between NATO and the EU, disunity within the EU on foreign policy matters, and the US' reluctance to consult with its allies on military matters pose substantial hurdles for the completion of the various goals, established throughout the 1990s, for transformation of NATO and the ESDP. At the same time, while aggravating the differences on each side of the Atlantic, disagreements in policy and military decisions following 11 September will not be sufficient to initiate a major breach in the US and European relationship, within or outside of NATO. However, the current imbalance in the US and European security relationship and the more practical problems preventing interoperability between NATO and the EU will continue to test the resilience of the NATO–ESDP relationship. Unfortunately an in-depth analysis of the potential scenarios that could alter the current status quo in the NATO–ESDP and EU–US security relationship is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, I will detail five possible future political structures that could result from ongoing changes in the transatlantic security realm.

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35 Quentin Peel, "US Urged to Bridge Defense Technology Gap With Allies," *Financial Times*, 19 February 2002, 1.

First, the current NATO structure could be maintained as it exists today, with mainly US control and major discrepancies in military capabilities amongst its members. This configuration would require that the US and the EU recognize a sustained interest in maintaining NATO, as the transatlantic security forum, despite the capabilities gap and other structural deficiencies that make interaction extremely complex. However, continuing on this course with the US as the chief military power within NATO and Europe's slow progress in the enhancement of the ESDP could lead to inevitable marginalization of NATO, especially if the US were to increasingly act outside of NATO's institutional framework. The US and Europe could officially establish the much discussed "division of labor" to resolve the capabilities gap in the long term. As often proposed, the EU's RRF could handle peacekeeping efforts, such as those that have been essential after military action in the Balkans and now Afghanistan, and the US could act globally and in instances where substantial military force is required.

Perhaps if an official "division of labor" were to be established within NATO, Europe would eventually earn more authority within NATO and be able to develop credibility based on its ability to fulfill peacekeeping missions on its own. However, an official division of labor could also have the opposite effect, permanently relegating Europe to low-end security tasks, while the US sets the terms for NATO's high-end military action. As has been exemplified by the NATO mission in Macedonia even though the forces are essentially all European, NATO has established a "US-face" for the mission to instill confidence and credibility. The continuation of the present NATO–ESDP structure would allow Europeans to slowly progress with the ESDP at will, but with European military security essentially rooted within NATO. The US could continue to manage its global interests, backed up by its military strength, while Europe focuses on diplomacy and peacekeeping missions, utilizing nonmilitary tools. While certainly not ideal given the interoperability problems discussed earlier, this scenario could emerge given the strong commitment that the US and the EU have to the transatlantic alliance, but would require continuous dialogue in order to function efficiently for both powers.

Second, Europe as a strong, global partner for the US, based on significant progress with ESDP, but still within the NATO structure, could be envisioned. The EU would have to cultivate the political impetus to change the current confederal structure of ESDP and seek to exert a more powerful presence in the transatlantic security relationship. In this NATO–ESDP arrangement, the EU, with a revived interest in equalizing the military gap between itself and the US, would have to deepen its commitment to building an operable, well-equipped ESDP that could dedicate military resources to a strengthened ESDI within NATO. This change, while difficult to envision at present, could transpire as EU member states elect to sacrifice elements of their sovereignty with the goal of greater global influence via the Union. Increasing concern about US hegemony could gradually induce the EU to dedicate the necessary funds and resources to enhance the ESDP and, consequently, its presence within NATO. If the ESDP were to become a supranational undertaking, there would be more at stake and more stimulus for member states to contribute to a common European defense effort. National sentiment regarding military action within the EU would have to evolve substantially for this to transpire. Additionally, if this change were to occur, ESDP resources could be employed within the ESDI framework, earning Europe greater flexibility and balance in its military and security relationship with the US.

Third, the potential structure for the future of the NATO–ESDP relationship could be a completely "Europeanized" NATO. This arrangement would constitute a complete transformation from US to European leadership within NATO and allow for European-use of all NATO capabilities. Within this framework, Europe and the US would preserve transatlantic ties on security matters, but adjust the NATO command and assets structure to endow Europe with greater representation within the organization. This option would allot the US less responsibility in the day-to-day operations of NATO and thereby more freedom to act outside of the NATO framework. However, a more "Europeanized" NATO would preserve the US presence in Europe's security, which is still favored by both powers, and would require that European-led forces have access to NATO assets, to be used under European control. While a "Europeanized" NATO sounds very attractive in theory, it could only function if the US were willing to give up command posts

in Europe, which has been a contentious issue in the past, and share fundamental assets when European forces within NATO were inclined to act independently. Furthermore, a "Europeanized" NATO implies that both the US and Europe have an interest in reworking the power structure within NATO, which neither clear nor probable.

Fourth, NATO could be judged to be no longer viable as a forum for transatlantic security and, subsequently, Europe could develop its own military forces, separate from, and as a counterbalance to, US forces. A complete break within the transatlantic relationship could cause permanent damage to the NATO–ESDP relationship, which seems highly unlikely given the US and Europe's history as allies and numerous ties in other areas, such as trade. Nevertheless, if the US were to continue on its current unilateral road, it is possible that the EU could strengthen its influence through multilateral arenas, as it has already done with its initiative with the Kyoto Protocol and the International Criminal Court. Over time, while still preserving the transatlantic relationship, the EU could gradually become more inclined to devise the means to act on its own, without continual reliance on the US for military assistance to handle security issues through a strengthened ESDP. This option would be realistic if the EU began to develop capabilities to make the ESDP independent operationally and is also quite unlikely given the current problems that persist today in the development of European defense capabilities. Furthermore, such a situation remains difficult to imagine, since it is evident that the European powers have no intention of becoming military powers on an equal footing with the US. Even if Europe did possess such ambitions, EU member states would have the task of transforming public opinion to support such efforts.

Fifth and finally, the NATO–ESDP relationship could no longer function in the new geopolitical arena and, as a result, become obsolete. The disbanding of NATO would only occur if Europe and the US were to no longer utilize NATO as the fundamental military platform or were to repudiate Article 5 and the concept of collective defense. The end of the ESDP project would ensue only if Europe was not able to facilitate the growth of independent forces and were to return to an emphasis on the principal importance of national security. Such a scenario would mark the re-nationalization of all parties' armies with just one forum

for security consultation, but mainly independent efforts in defense and security. Moreover, while this option would be attractive to other world powers, such as Russia and China, it could be highly dangerous for the World's security, increasing the possibility for interstate conflict and military unpreparedness. Because of the potential risk in an international security configuration based on national militaries with no collective defense framework, this development in the NATO–ESDP relationship is very unlikely to take shape in the future.

The relationship between the ESDP and NATO will depend on each institution's honest assessment of what is desirable for the future. Especially after the US response to the 11 September attacks, which did not include any military role for NATO, it is not clear what role the US envisions for NATO in future US military missions. NATO's invocation of Article 5 on 12 September can clearly been interpreted as a sign of solidarity, but the US military response has been handled outside of the NATO framework. The rhetoric from both sides of the Atlantic still continues to reinforce NATO's fundamental importance for protecting its members and serving as the broader transatlantic security organization. However, the underlying opinion and actions are not so straightforward:

> Beneath the surface, Americans and Europeans are both reassessing the utility of NATO for dealing with the problems that each of them considers important. If NATO does become a less important part of the transatlantic relationship, at some point in the future more considerations on security and foreign policy may have to pass through the US–EU link.[36]

On the one hand, the US does not want to be overly constrained by multilateral institutions in its decision making, especially in the military sphere. On the other hand, the EU places greater emphasis on the nonmilitary aspects of conflict management that do not necessarily rely on NATO coordination. Furthermore, while the US has articulated support for NATO enlargement, which is scheduled to occur at the November 2002 Prague NATO summit, its decision not to employ

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36 Steven Everts, "A New Phase in US-European Relations," in *Europe After September 11th*, ed. Edward Bannerman, Steven Everts, Heather Grabbe, Charles Grant and Alasdair Murray (London: Centre for European Reform (CER), December 2001), 20.

NATO as the instrument with which to coordinate its military operations in the war on terrorism sent a message that does not inspire confidence in its allegiance to the institution. If Europe senses that the US is not committed, there may be less of an incentive to meet necessary requirements to create a stronger European presence through the ESDI within NATO. However, at the same time, an increasingly unilateralist US could prompt action within the EU towards swifter development of an independent ESDP that is not constrained by dependence on the US, even though it may elect to act with the US. A renewed commitment to NATO by the US and the EU may be the only way by which a healthy relationship can be established that will foster parallel growth of both NATO and the ESDP. Alternatively, a more appropriate forum will have to be created that will allow the US and the EU to adapt the transatlantic alliance to their evolving security needs in the 21st century.

How Can We Expect the NATO–ESDP Relationship to Evolve?

As discussed in the previous section, it is possible to envision a broad spectrum of potential outcomes *vis-à-vis* the development of the NATO–ESDP security relationship, ranging from the destruction of both institutions to the dissolution of NATO and the strengthening of the ESDP as a counter military pole to the US, both rather difficult to imagine at this point in time. Therefore, leaving the implausible developments aside, what type of relationship should we realistically expect to evolve between NATO and the ESDP? And what type of interaction between the two institutions would be ideal as they advance into the 21st century?

In terms of what is to be expected, I contend that NATO will continue to be an important, though diluted, platform for political and military coordination for transatlantic security cooperation and that ESDP will continue to evolve at its own pace. Extending NATO membership to the East will broaden its scope and potentially aggravate current problems with decision making and assets burden sharing. However, while

the US war on terrorism has seemingly placed NATO's importance in a precarious position, I do not support Thomas Friedman's belief that we are "increasingly heading for a military apartheid within NATO."[37] Until the Europeans are able to manage their own security without US involvement, the US will indisputably remain the chief military power and exert more influence within NATO as a result. However, if this dynamic is problematic for the EU, this interaction should serve as an incentive for Europeans to use their current military spending more efficiently and to apply greater diplomatic pressure on the US to consult with them in a more respectful manner, even if the US ultimately intends to act alone.

Ideally, the *de facto* division of labor that has begun to develop within the NATO–ESDP relationship, with NATO and the US providing the "hard" military power and the EU framing its goals in "soft" power terms, should not be allowed by the US or the EU to become institutionalized in the transatlantic relationship. As Straw concluded, "The 'division of labor' between the US and the EU is not absolute nor should it be."[38] An official division of labor would compromise the transatlantic relationship over time, given the power hierarchy that it would construct through each military and collective defense alliances. The power struggle would relegate Europe to a permanent second-tier position within the military arena of the transatlantic relationship and would be detrimental to the broader US–EU relationship. Furthermore, an official division of labor that institutionalizes the EU's role as a civilian power would mask diverse national military preferences, most notably France and Britain's well-developed, strong military forces, within the EU.

Accordingly, in order to solidify the authority that it has gained in the realms of trade, competition policy, and human rights advocacy, the EU should take more responsibility for its own security. A heightened commitment to its own defense and security would entail more efficient collective military spending towards the ESDP and an increasingly

37 Thomas Friedman, "America Will Be the Chef and Its NATO Allies the Bus Boys Who Stay to Clean Up the Mess," *The Guardian*, 6 February 2002.

38 British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw, speech at the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 8 May 2002, available at http://www.brookings.edu/dybdocroot/comm/transcripts/20020508.htm.

concerted effort to act as a European unit on foreign policy issues, if the stated goal accurately reflects EU member states' aims. Moreover, enhancement of military capabilities on the European level only stands to be effective if the EU resolves the ambiguity caused by the intergovernmental nature of the ESDP and CFSP. The current ambiguity amplifies the weight of national preferences on defense and security issues, which are long-term obstacles to collective EU action.

An increased role for Europe within NATO will be fundamental, both militarily and politically, in order to attain the appropriate power equilibrium between the US and the EU that now exists in other areas. Additionally, the US should no longer be ambivalent about European defense, but should support development of the ESDP and an improved European presence within NATO. Furthermore, the US should not alienate its European allies and NATO, even if it elects to act militarily outside of NATO. Moreover, both the US and Europe should continue to advocate the resolution of decision-making issues on assets sharing prior to further enlargement of NATO and the EU. Europe and the US should also actively contribute to the future development of NATO and the ESDP. The US should show a greater willingness to act multilaterally and Europe, on its side, should dedicate itself to enhancing its capabilities.

Additionally, two themes related to US foreign policy, which have been recurrent in the present debate about the evolution of NATO and the ESDP, should be noted. First, unilateralism is not a new tendency in US foreign policy. The term has been invoked consistently in the aftermath of the events of 11 September, based on the US decision to respond to the terrorist attacks with military action outside of NATO's framework. However, its novelty in US foreign policy should not be exaggerated, as the current state of transatlantic and NATO–ESDP relations are analyzed. "Be it in mediation in Cyprus or Israel or in a decision on the number of candidates for membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a unilateralist pattern lies at the root of US policymaking."[39] Therefore, while certainly a factor in terms of US

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39 Volker Stanzel, "Dealing With the Backwoods: New Challenges for the Transatlantic Relationship," *Washington Quarterly* 22, Issue 2 (Spring 1999): 17.

action within NATO and towards the EU and the ESDP, unilateralism must be placed in context, as one of many factors driving US foreign policy.

Second, opinion within the US foreign policy community is not homogeneous. "Europeans have to grapple with the confusion of competing power centers in Washington. Europeans see American foreign-policy making crippled by the wide gap between the professional elite and Congress and by another comparable gap between Congress and public opinion."[40] Additionally, the Congress and the executive branch do not always agree on military affairs and foreign policy. These differences were evident during the Clinton administration's dealings with Europe and have been expressed in the current Bush administration's attitude towards a collective European defense effort:

> Each step toward European defense and foreign-policy autonomy has met an American warning: recall Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's 1998 warning against the Franco-British defense initiative and Secretary of Defense William Cohen's speech to the NATO defense ministers' meeting in October 2000, admonishing that the alliance was not to become a "relic." First signals from the Bush administration have been contradictory, with Secretary of State Colin Powell relaxed about a greater degree of European autonomy and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld concerned that this may weaken American leadership within NATO.[41]

The difference of opinion within US foreign policy circles between the unilateralists and internationalists further complicates both the evolution of a stronger European presence within NATO and the development of an independent ESDP, as clear support for either has not been forthcoming from the US.

40   William Wallace and Jan Zielonka, "Misunderstanding Europe," *Foreign Affairs* 77, Issue 6 (November/December. 1998): 75.
41   William Wallace, "Europe, the Necessary Partner," *Foreign Affairs* 80, Issue 3 (May/June 2001): 18.

Conclusion

As outlined above, a major aspect of how these two institutions will exist alongside each other in the future will be the resolution of the functional problems, such as decision-making obstacles and assets burden sharing, that prohibit the ESDP's evolution independently of NATO's command and military structures. Additionally, future progress in defining the respective roles of NATO and the ESDP in the security arena will be contingent upon the US and Europe's ability to acknowledge their differences in military capabilities, perceived security threats, and preferred methods of conflict resolution, and to constructively incorporate their interests into the NATO framework. With both EU and NATO enlargement on the horizon, the US and the EU must work together to adapt to the changing geopolitical environment. As the geopolitical stage transforms over time, the scope of relations and discussions on security issues will be broadened tremendously. While NATO has begun to address such issues, including the NATO–Russia Council (NRC) arrangement to facilitate closer cooperation between Russia and NATO in specific areas,[42] the future success of both institutions will depend on open dialogue and a resolute effort to evolve with the security environment in which they operate.

Despite certain periods during which the US and Europe appear to be traveling down increasingly divergent roads, there is an underlying similarity in values and mutual respect that will provide a strong foundation for security cooperation between NATO and the ESDP. Yet, just as diversity amongst the EU member states must be managed, so too must the differences in the security relationship between the US and Europe. It would be unrealistic to assume that allies will consistently agree on how to approach internal or external conflicts. While differences between the US and the EU tend to be exaggerated, the two powers do not have identical security, defense or foreign policy aims, as is illustrated by disparities in military spending, distinct perceptions of security threats and willingness to act alone or through multilateral

42 Judy Dempsey, "'Historic' Accord Gives Russia Bigger Say in NATO," *Financial Times*, 14 May 2002, 14 May 2002, available at http://news.ft.com/ft/gx.cgi/ftc?pagename=View&c=Article&cid=FT3OGYB881D&vsc_appId=totalSearch&state=Form.

institutions. The US tends to focus on "hard power" solutions, with higher military spending, a broader "out-of-area" sphere of influence, and a tendency to act unilaterally based on domestic foreign policy goals. The EU, as a whole, with obvious internal national differences, has established more "soft power" goals with an interest in developing military capabilities that will permit the EU to complete peacekeeping and crisis-management missions principally around its own borders.

However, focusing on the potential harm these differences could cause to the transatlantic relationship, and thereby to NATO–ESDP relations, undermines the common ground shared by the US and Europe.

> The end of the Cold War buried America and Europe's existential interdependence. Into the vacuum surged two largely complementary but sometimes conflicting phenomena: American "hyperpower" and a new European identity forged by economic, political, and security integration. As a result, American and European elites focus less on common values and interests and more on their differences (….) But this much is true: in the sharing of ideals and the search for partners in a more complex world, Europeans and Americans still look to each other before they look to anyone else.[43]

There is thus substantial incentive for the US and the EU to preserve already established security frameworks, make the necessary structural adjustments, and to continue to work together to enhance their collective viability in the 21st century.

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43 Antony J. Blinken, "The False Crisis Over the Atlantic," *Foreign Affairs* 80, No. 3 (May/June 2001): 48.

About the Authors

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ciple research interests include French foreign and defence policy and European integration issues, particularly European security and defence.

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Agenda of the New Faces Conference 2002

The conference was organized by the Institute of Security Studies at the Christian-Albrechts-University of Kiel and the Center for Security Studies and Conflict Research at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich, with the support of the Society for Security Studies and Arms Control.

New Faces Conference 2002:
"European Security and Defense Policy – Concepts, Prospects, and Pitfalls,"
14–17 March 2002, Haus Rissen, Hamburg, Germany

14 March 2002: Arrival of Participants

19:00   Welcome by Prof. Dr. Joachim Krause (Christian-Albrechts-University of Kiel, Kiel) and Prof. Dr. Andreas Wenger (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich)

20:00   Dinner

15 March 2002

MORNING SESSION:

Implementation of the Headline Goals: Time Schedules, Prospects, Strategies, Political and Budgetary Problems

9:00   Paper on *The State of European Security and Defense After the Laeken Summit* by Christina V. Balis; commented by Andreas Beckmann

10:15 Coffee Break

10:30 Paper on *Implementing the Headline Goals: The Military Side* by Tania M. Chacho; commented by Étienne de Durand

11:30 Paper on *Implementing the Headline Goals: Institutional Aspects and Consequences* by Giovanna Bono; commented by Pal Jonson

12:30 Lunch

Afternoon Session:

Cooperation With NATO and Others in Cases of Crises: Concepts, Prospects, and Pitfalls

14:00 Paper on *Cooperation Between the EU and NATO* by Jennifer Medcalf

15:00 Paper on *Cooperation With Other European States* by Vladimir Bilcik; commented by Daniel Maurer

16:00 Coffee Break

16:15 Paper on *EU Military Cooperation With Russia* by Timofei Bordachev; commented by Anna Vassileva

18:00 End of Session

20:00 Dinner

21:00 Speech by General Dr. Klaus Wittmann on *NATO–EU Cooperation – The Brussels Experience*

16 March 2002

Morning Session:

Future Areas for European and Defense Policy

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09:00 Paper on *NATO–EU Cooperation in Fighting Islamic-Fundamentalist Terrorism* by Timothy N. Williams; commented by Scott Vesel

10:15 Coffee Break

10:30 Paper on *The EU and the Middle East – Will There Be a Role for Europe?* By Serhat Güvenç; commented by Christian Rapp

11:30 Paper on *A Stronger Military Role for the EU in the Balkan Region?* By Hajnalka Vincze; commented by Oleg Barabanov

12:30 Lunch

AFTERNOON SESSION:

Panel Discussion on the Long-term Implications for European Integration and the Western Alliance

14:00 Paper on *The Long-term Outlook for NATO and ESDP: Moving Towards Tighter Cooperation or the Breakup of the Western Alliance* by Samantha Paige Davis; commented by Lisa Watanabe

16:00 End of Session

16:30 Walk by the Elbe

18:00 Farewell Dinner

17 March 2002: Departure of Participants

List of Participants at the New Faces Conference 2002

Chairmen

Prof. Dr. Joachim Krause; Director of the Institute for Security Studies, Christian-Albrechts-University of Kiel, Kiel (Germany)

Prof. Dr. Andreas Wenger; Deputy Director of the Center for Security Studies, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich (Switzerland)

Participants

1. Balis, Christina V.; The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), John Hopkins University, Washington, D.C. (USA)

2. Barabanov, Oleg; Russian Institute for Strategic Studies (RIIS), Moscow (Russia)

3. Beckmann, Andreas; Institute for Political Science, University of Kiel, Kiel (Germany)

4. Bilcik, Vladimir; Research Center of the Slovakian Foreign Policy Association (RC SFPA), Bratislava (Slovakia)

5. Bordachev, Timofei; Carnegie Moscow Center, Moscow (Russia)

6. Bono, Giovanna; Bradford University, Bradford (UK)

7. Chacho, Tania M.; West Point Military Academy, New York (USA)

8. Davis, Samantha Paige; The John H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Washington, D.C. (USA)

9. De Durand, Étienne; institut français des relations internationales (IFRI), Paris (France)

10. Güvenç, Serhat; Istanbul Bilgi University, Istanbul (Turkey)

11. Jonson, Pal; King's College, London (UK)

12. Maurer, Daniel; Generalstab, Bern (Switzerland)

13. Medcalf, Jennifer; University of Bath, Bath (UK)

14. Rapp, Christian; University of Tübingen, Tübingen (Germany)

15. Vassileva, Anna; Oxford University, Oxford (UK)

16. Vesel, Scott; EastWest Institute, Prague (Czech Republic)

17. Vincze, Hajnalka; Office of Strategic and Defense Studies, Budapest (Hungary)

18. Watanabe, Lisa; Center for Security Studies, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich (Switzerland)

19. Williams, Timothy N.; Southwest Missouri State University, Missouri (USA)

Special guest:

General Dr. Klaus Wittmann, Führungsakademie der Bundswehr, Hamburg (Germany)