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**No. 11/2009**

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**PART I : BOOKS**  
**PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES\***

**2009**

448 /00011

EU Security and Defence : Core Documents 2008. Volume IX - Paris :

European Union Institute for Security Studies.

498 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 117)

ISBN: 9789291981410

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

2. Gliere, Catherine, ed.

Notes:

'This volume contains as comprehensive a compendium as possible of the initiatives undertaken by the European Union in the field of security and defence in 2008.'

ID number: 80022702

Year: 2009

Type: M

448 /00077

European Defence : Making It Work - Paris : Harmattan.

78 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 9782296099838

Author(s):

1. Morel, Jean-Francois

2. Cameron, Alastair

Notes:

'Since 1999, Europeans have successfully launched and developed a European Security and Defence Policy. Concurrently to this strategic breakthrough of the European Union, they have contributed to their own collective defence for decades within the NATO framework and conducted a significant number of multilateral defence co-operatives. What is the core of the European defence project and is there a roadmap according to which it is developing in order to tackle current security challenges ? What are the main drivers that lead the Europeans to act together and how effective are they in the field of international security ?'

ID number: 80022864

Year: 2009

Type: M

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\* This list contains material received as of November 30<sup>th</sup>, 2009 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 30 novembre 2009.

448 /00077

L'Europe de la defense : le choeur du debat - Paris : Harmattan.

81 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

(Defense, Strategie & Relations Internationales)

ISBN: 9782296100343

Author(s):

1. Morel, Jean-Francois

2. Cameron, Alastair

Notes:

'Depuis 1999, les Europeens ont lance et developpe une politique europeenne de securite et de defense. Simultanement a cette percee strategique de l'Union europeenne, ils participent a leur propre defense collective, depuis des decennies, dans le cadre de l'OTAN, et poursuivent entre eux des cooperations de defense de maniere multilaterale. Ou est situe le coeur de l'Europe de la defense et suivant quel plan se deroule-t-il ? Quels sont les ressorts profonds qui poussent les Europeens a agir ensemble ? Comment se manifeste la demande croissante d'Europe en matiere de securite internationale ?'

ID number: 80022914

Year: 2009

Type: M

448 /00078

The Path to European Defence : New Roads, New Horizons - London : John Harper Publishing.

xxiv, 269 p. : ill.; 24 cm.;

ISBN: 9780955620287

Added entry(s):

1. Wogau, Karl von, ed.

Notes:

'After the creation of the internal market and the introduction of the euro, the European Union is currently on the way to its next big project - a common security and defence policy. Leading personalities from all over Europe have contributed to this book. Their contributions show that there is the political will to strengthen Europe's role in the world. In 1998, France and Great Britain started the project of creating a European security and defence identity. The Member States of the European Union have since made big efforts to create the necessary structures to conduct international peace and stabilisation missions and to make better use of taxpayers' money in security and defence matters. In 2003, the European Union gave itself a common security strategy. Since then, the EU has helped to prevent or manage crises in many regions around the world such as the Balkans, the Congo, Chad and Georgia.'

ID number: 80022918

Year: 2009

Type: M

448 /00074

Quelle politique de securite et de defense pour l'Europe ? - Paris :

Harmattan.

465 p.; 22 cm.

(Defense)

ISBN: 9782296079908

Added entry(s):

1. Pascallon, Pierre, ed.

2. Dumoulin, Andre, ed.

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 453-459.

'Il a ete organise a Bruxelles le 20 octobre 2008, a l'Ecole Royale Militaire - a l'heure de la Presidence francaise de l'Union europeenne - un colloque sur les themes de la 'reiance'

de 'l'Europe de la Defense' et de 'l'Europe de l'Armement', themes majeurs souhaites par Nicolas Sarkozy. Cet ouvrage reprend pour l'essentiel les interventions de cette journee de reflexion.'

ID number: 80022666

Year: 2009

Type: M

448 /00075

What Ambitions for European Defence in 2020 ? - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

170 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 9789291981458

Added entry(s):

1. Vasconcelos, Alvaro de, ed.
2. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'Looking ahead to the horizon of 2020, this book seeks to define Europe's long-term security and defence ambitions, and to examine how these ambitions might translate into politics and policies. The topics include the nature of ESDP missions and their geographical scope; intra-European solidarity and relations with NATO; ESDP goals and capacities; the creation of a European defence market; the legitimacy of ESDP in relation to the European Parliament and inter-parliamentary organisations; the principles and values that drive ESDP, including the concept of human security; and the issues of coherence and flexibility.'

ID number: 80022690

Year: 2009

Type: M

2008

448 /00066

Crafting EU Security Policy : In Pursuit of a European Identity - Boulder, CO : Lynne Rienner.

x, 235 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 9781588265821

Author(s):

1. Anderson, Stephanie B., 1967-

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 199-219. Includes index.

'In the absence of external security threats - and especially given that most of the EU member states are also members of NATO - what explains the European Union's commitment to a distinct, collective security policy? What justifies channeling funds from cash-strapped European governments to finance that policy? Ranging from the early post-Cold War years to the present, the author explores the arguably surprising motivation behind the EU's security and defense policy, how the ESDP has developed, how it has transformed the EU, and how it might further the European integration project.'

ID number: 80022304

Year: 2008

Type: M

448 /00064

European Security and Defence Policy : An Implementation Perspective -  
Abingdon, UK : Routledge.  
xviii, 226 p.; 24 cm.  
(Routledge Advances in European Politics)  
ISBN: 9780415431736

Added entry(s):

1. Merlingen, Michael, ed.
2. Ostrauskaite, Rasa, ed.

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 206-218. Includes index.

'Security and defence is an area in which the EU has advanced considerably in recent years. A principal element of this process, which stands out in the general malaise that has befallen European integration, is the proliferating number of military and civilian crisis management missions around the world. Clearly Europe has come a long way since the disappointments and frustrations of the 1990s and it is since then that the newly developed European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) has become the necessary framework for the formulation and implementation of effective European security policy. This book provides an in-depth, critical enquiry of the ESDP in action. It analyzes the implementation of military and civilian missions in the Balkans, Southern Caucasus, Africa and Asia and asks what impact they have on the ground.'

ID number: 80021668

Year: 2008

Type: M

448 /00073

European Defence Policy : Beyond the Nation State - Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press.  
xvi, 181 p. : ill.; 24 m. ISBN: 9780199533244

Author(s):

1. Merand, Frederic

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 160-175. Includes index.

'This book explains the creation of the European Union's Security and Defence Policy - to this day the most ambitious project of peacetime military integration. Whether hailed as a vital step in the integration of Europe or berated as a wasteful threat to US power, European citizens are increasingly interested in the common defence policy. Today, 'European Defence' is more popular than the European Union itself, even in Great Britain. The author addresses here the fundamental challenge posed by military integration to the way we think about the state in the 21st century. Looking back over the past 50 years, he shows how statesmen, diplomats and soldiers have converged towards Brussels as a 'natural' solution to their concerns but also as something worth fighting over. The actors most closely associated to the formation of nation-states are now shaping a transgovernmental security and defence arena. As a result, defence policy is being denationalized. Exploring the complex relations between the state, the military and citizenship in today's Europe, the author argues that European Defence is a symptom, but not a cause, of the transformation of the state.'

ID number: 80022576

Year: 2008

Type: M

448 /00067

The EU, NATO and European Defence : A Slow Train Coming - Paris :

European Union Institute for Security Studies.

35 p.; 24 cm.

(Occasional Paper ; 74)

ISBN: 9789291981342

Author(s):

1. Toje, Asle

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'This paper is devoted to the proposals on European defence under discussion during the 2008 French EU Presidency. While Americans and Europeans alike support stronger EU-NATO cooperation, the output has so far been unsatisfactory. This paper examines specific initiatives for a stronger, more unitary European security structure. To this end the paper pursues two distinct - but related - lines of inquiry. The first section examines three broad trends that point to a revised transatlantic bargain and that are providing a favourable environment for the current initiatives : (i) demands for more, not less, EU defence policy; (ii) the altered role of Europe in American foreign policy, and (iii) NATO's transformation challenge. The second section traces three sets of specific policy initiatives to strengthen European security on institutional and capability levels : (i) improving ESDP-NATO cooperation; (ii) strengthening European Security and Defence Policy and (iii) military capability initiatives. The paper also offers thoughts on the prospects and pitfalls of the current process.'

ID number: 80022356

Year: 2008

Type: M

## 2007

448 /00062

European Security Law - Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press.

xviii, 381 p.; 25 cm.

ISBN: 9780199218622

Added entry(s):

1. Trybus, Martin, ed.

2. White, N. D., 1961-, ed.

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 359-365. Includes index.

'There have been a number of EU military operations in the last few years, evidence of a growing European military confidence, which in turn is a reflection of a developing competence in security matters. The creation of the European Union and its Common Foreign and Security Policy by the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 heralded this development, though the idea of a common defence can be traced to the beginnings of European integration. This book provides an analysis of the EU's evolving legal framework and powers on such matters, but it also recognizes that such a framework sits, sometimes uneasily, within the wider body of EU and international law. The EU's security and defence policy also overlaps with those of other organizations such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, but more especially the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. EU relations with NATO have, in particular, caused some concern and are still evolving as both organizations seek to play a wider security role in the post-Cold War, and now post-9/11, era. With security now dominating political agendas at the domestic, regional, and international levels, it is no surprise that the EU's concern for security has grown apace, and, following the Union's respect for the rule of law, has been shaped legally as well as

politically. This book evaluates the progress of the Union in this regard in its international context and in the wider context of European integration. The analysis is in the main a legal one, but is placed squarely within historical and political perspectives.'

ID number: 80021499

Year: 2007

Type: M

448 /00060

Security and Defence Policy in the European Union - Hounds Mills, UK :

Palgrave MacMillan.

xix, 315 p. : ill.; 22 cm.

(European Union Series)

ISBN: 9780333639122

Author(s):

1. Howorth, Jolyon

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 268-301. Includes index.

'The emergence of a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) signalled the arrival of the European Union as a military player after fifty years as a purely civilian entity. For the first time in modern history, a number of sovereign states had elected, of their own volition and under no external threat, to coordinate their activities in the field of security and - perhaps one day - defence. It was in many ways a shocking and surprising development, posing a particular challenge to theories that see security and defence policy as the exclusive domain of sovereign nation-states.'

ID number: 80021342

Year: 2007

Type: M

## 2006

448 /00056

European Union Peacebuilding and Policing : Governance and the European Security and Defence Policy - Abingdon, UK : Routledge.

x, 184 p.; 24 cm.

(Routledge Advances in European Politics ; 40)

ISBN: 0415397901

Author(s):

1. Merlingen, Michael

2. Ostrauskaite, Rasa, 1974-

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 160-176. Includes index.

'This book provides an in-depth analysis of the projects of improvement carried out by the civilian peacebuilding missions in Bosnia and Macedonia. This is the first book-length examination of the role and governance of international policing in the EU in relation to the European Security and Defence Policy. The authors explore the double-sided nature of peacebuilding missions, on the one hand, as a way to pacify, democratize, humanize and improve life in societies emerging from crisis or violence and, on the other hand, as a kind of political pastorate that limits the range of acceptable heterogeneity by refashioning, repositioning and reorganizing subjects in line with transcendentalized notions of good governance. The authors develop a limited reform agenda for how EU police missions can fold an agonistic generosity more deeply into their civilizing ethos in order to ensure they have a light expatriate footprint in their host countries. The prescriptive part of the book also discusses generic problems in the implementation of EU police reforms and suggests ways to overcome these challenges.'

ID number: 80020923

Year: 2006  
Type: M

448 /00054

Securite de l'Europe : quelle integration des politiques de defense ? -  
Paris : Altedia M&M Conseil.  
144 p. : ill. ; 21 cm.  
ISBN: 2845411030

Notes:

Actes du colloque, janvier 2006.

'Pour cette 13eme edition, les Rencontres parlementaires 'Paix et Defense' ont propose un temps d'echange et de reflexion sur les defis de l'integration des politiques de defense en Europe. La strategie europeenne de securite adoptee par les pays de l'Union europeenne en 2003, aura demonstre que plus aucun Etat n'etait veritablement a meme de repondre seul aux defis de securite. La mondialisation est aussi celle des menaces. Pour autant la strategie europeenne de securite apporte des reponses aux defis de securite qui se distinguent de la strategie americaine. Sur un plan politique, l'autonomie de la politique de defense europeenne associee a la perennite du lien transatlantique, necessite aujourd'hui une plus grande integration des politiques de defense en Europe. Face a ces defis, il est donc necessaire de mettre en oeuvre une integration des politiques europeennes de securite. Quels sont les sauts qualitatifs et quantitatifs que nous pouvons faire dans ce domaine et quelles sont les limites politiques a cet exercice ? Quelle coordination peut-il exister tant au plan politique que militaire entre la PESD et l'OTAN ? Enfin sera-t-il possible de voir les pays de l'Union europeenne se doter d'un budget de defense commun, d'equipements militaires communs, d'un marche de l'armement commun et d'un outil industriel homogene ?'

ID number: 80020792

Year: 2006

Type: M

## 2005

448 /00045

Die Beziehungen zwischen NATO und EU : Partnerschaft, Konkurrenz, Rivalitat ? - Opladen : Verlag Barbara Budrich.  
320 p. ; 21 cm.

ISBN: 3938094109

Added entry(s):

1. Varwick, Johannes, ed.

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 305-318.

'Die Beziehungen zwischen der EU und den USA befinden sich in einer Phase der grundlegenden Neuorientierung. Insbesondere die Krise über den Irak hat zu schweren Unstimmigkeiten geführt und sich zu einer grundlegenden Krise der atlantischen Allianz ausgewachsen. Wissenschaftler und Praktiker analysieren diese unter Druck geratenen Beziehungen. Damit nimmt dieses Buch eine Bestandsaufnahme der Beziehungen beider Organisationen vor, arbeitet Konfliktlinien heraus, bewertet anhand von Fallstudien Erfahrungen in der praktischen Zusammenarbeit und leistet somit eine konzeptionellen Beitrag zur Gestaltung der transatlantischen Sicherheitsbeziehungen.'

ID number: 80019939

Year: 2005

Type: M

441 /00139

De toetredende EU-lidstaten en het EVDB, elementen van convergentie en divergentie - Bruxelles : Institut Royal Superieur de Defense.  
126 p. : ill.; 30 cm.  
(Securite et Strategie ; 86)

Author(s):

1. Camp, Serge van
2. Berth, Evy

ID number: 80020155

Year: 2005

Type: M

355.4 /01311

La defense en Europe : avances et limites - Paris : Documentation Francaise.

245 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

Added entry(s):

1. Buffotot, Patrice, ed.

Notes:

'Cet ouvrage constitue la 4e edition de 'La defense en Europe'. La periode etudiee (fin 2001-debut 2005) confirme les grandes tendances anterieures, a savoir la poursuite de la professionnalisation et de la reorganisation des armees europeennes, y compris dans les nouveaux Etats membres qui ont maintenu le service militaire. Le desinvestissement en matiere de defense touche la majorite des Etats europeens, a l'exception notable de la France et du Royaume-Uni, qui tiennent a disposer d'une plus grande capacite de projection. Le processus de mise en place de la Politique europeenne de securite et de defense (PESD) s'est accelere, malgre la division des Europeens sur le soutien et la participation a l'intervention americaine en Irak, a la suite des attentats du 11 septembre 2001. Cette nouvelle edition, outre les chroniques par pays, porte notamment sur les lecons de l'operation Iraqi Freedom, les transformations de l'OTAN et l'evolution des relations transatlantiques.'

ID number: 80020616

Edition: 4eme ed.

Year: 2005

Type: M

448 /00046

The Democratic Legitimacy of European Security and Defence Policy - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

35 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Paper : 57)

Author(s):

1. Wagner, Wolfgang

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'This paper seeks to contribute to the discussion of ESDP's democratic legitimacy. The major challenge in doing so is, of course, to define what 'democratic legitimacy' means in the context of ESDP. 'Legitimacy' refers to subjective, normative convictions that usually differ between cultures, and there has been a plurality of democratic traditions and hence understandings of democratic legitimacy within the European Union. This challenge is well known from the debate about the EU's democratic deficit in general, which may therefore serve as a starting point. Indeed, congruence with the preferences and expectations of the public and the participation of parliaments on a national as well as a European level are three important pillars of democratic legitimacy in ESDP as well. In addition, respect for international law will be added as a

fourth pillar. The discussion of the four pillars makes clear that two of these pillars (public support and participation of national parliaments) are weakened as ESDP progresses from a political project to a defence policy in action. This underlines the necessity to compensate an emerging 'democratic deficit' by a strengthening of parliamentary oversight at the European level and by strict adherence to international law.'

ID number: 80020002

Year: 2005

Type: M

## 2004

448 /00038

Able and Willing ? : Does Europe Have the Means to Stage a Military Operation if It Wants To ? - Bruxelles : Institut Royal des Relations Internationales.

i, 66 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

Added entry(s):

1. Institut Royal des Relations Internationales (BE)
2. Koninklijk Instituut voor Internationale Betrekkingen (BE)

ID number: 80019401

Year: 2004

Type: M

448 /00040

EU Security and Defence Policy : The First Five Years (1999-2004) - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

294 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 9291982579

Added entry(s):

1. Gnesotto, Nicole, ed.
2. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 281-284.

'Since the Cologne European Council of June 1999, the Union has been implementing a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) under the aegis of Javier Solana, High Representative for CFSP and future EU Minister for Foreign Affairs. Just what is ESDP ? What are the ambitions of the Union in security and defence matters ? What has been accomplished in the last five years ? What are the different sensitivities of the 25 member states regarding the future of European defence ? How should relations be developed with NATO and the United States ? What effect will the constitutional Treaty have on the evolution of the Union's international role ? These questions form the basis of this collective work. The book is comprised of two parts : the first, written by the Institute's research fellows, analyses the different aspects of ESDP since its creation and highlights possible prospects. The second part consists of the views of various personalities who were the actors and privileged witnesses to ESDP over the last five years - journalists, industrialists, parliamentarians, experts, senior officials of the Union.'

ID number: 80019430

Year: 2004

Type: M

448 /00037

European Defence : A Proposal for a White Paper - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

136 p.; 24 cm.

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'Report of an independent Task Force'.

'Europe is at peace but the world is not. Following the shock of the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, the Institute decided, two years ago, to convene an independent task force in order to address the issue of future European capabilities.

Made up of some of the best-known academic experts on ESDP, this independent task force shared a basic assumption : even though the use of force is not the first nor the only way to deal with regional or international crises, the EU will need to have at its disposal a certain level of forces, at a certain level of readiness and operational efficiency, if only to widen the range of its options when faced with a crisis and facilitate the ultimate decision at the highest political level. The main task of the group was to determine the most likely generic crisis scenarios that the EU could face in the decades to come, to assess the capabilities needed to meet each of these contingencies, to identify the main shortfalls within current European forces, and to propose remedies and options for adapting European capabilities, if military intervention were to be decided on at the EU level.'

ID number: 80019352

Year: 2004

Type: M

448 /00042

A European Way of War - London : Centre for European Reform.

74 p.; 21 cm.

ISBN: 1901229548

Added entry(s):

1. Centre for European Reform (GB)

Notes:

'The Europeans should develop their own distinctive approach to warfare, argue the authors of this pamphlet. Although the Europeans can learn from the Americans on how to prepare for the most demanding sorts of military mission, they should build on their core strengths of peacekeeping, nation-building and counter-insurgency. Britain and France, having the most battle-honed armed forces, should take a lead in defining the European way. And the Americans have plenty to learn from the Europeans when it comes to stabilising countries after a conflict.'

ID number: 80019573

Year: 2004

Type: M

448 /00044

European Security : Pitfalls and Challenges - Bruxelles : Institut Royal Superieur de Defense.

ii, 160 p.; 29 cm.

Added entry(s):

1. Institut Royal Superieur de Defense (BE)

ID number: 80019912

Year: 2004

Type: M

448 /00039

A European Defence Strategy - Gutersloh : Bertelsmann Foundation.

100 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

Author(s):

1. Lindley-French, Julian

2. Algieri, Franco

Added entry(s):

1. Bertelsmann Foundation (DE)

Notes:

'At a time of considerable uncertainty over European security and defence integration, the authors are concerned that the loss of political momentum will adversely affect the strategic European project and thus the security of Europeans in the twenty-first century.'

ID number: 80019402

Year: 2004

Type: M

448 /00040

La politique de securite et de defense de l'UE : les cinq premieres années (1999-2004) - Paris : Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union Europeenne.

322 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 9291980587

Added entry(s):

1. Gnesotto, Nicole, ed.

2. Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union Europeenne (FR)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 308-312.

'Depuis le Conseil europeen de Cologne en juin 1999, l'Union met en oeuvre une Politique europeenne de Securite et de Defense (PESD) sous l'egide de Javier Solana, Haut Representant pour la PESC et futur Ministre des Affaires etrangeres de l'Union. De quoi s'agit-il ? Quelles sont les ambitions de l'Union en matiere de defense et de securite ? Qu'a-t-elle accompli en cinq ans ? Quelles sont les differences de sensibilite entre les 25 Etats membres sur l'avenir de la defense europeenne ? Quelles relations entretenir avec l'OTAN et les Etats-Unis ? Qu'apporte le Traite constitutionnel pour l'evolution du role international de l'Union ? Ces questions forment la trame de cet ouvrage collectif, qui se compose de deux parties : la premiere, redigee par les chercheurs de l'Institut, analyse les differents aspects de la PESD depuis sa creation et souligne les perspectives possibles. La seconde partie donne la parole a differentes personnalites qui furent les acteurs ou les temoins privilegies de la PESD depuis cinq ans - journalistes, industriels, parlementaires, experts, hauts responsables de l'Union.'

ID number: 80019431

Year: 2004

Type: M

448 /00043

La coherence par la defense : une autre lecture de la PESD - Paris :

Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union Europeenne.

81 p.; 24 cm.

(Cahiers de Chaillot ; 71)

ISBN: 9291980633

Author(s):

1. Schoutheete, Philippe de

Added entry(s):

1. Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union Europeenne (FR)

Notes:

'On peut lire le developpement, au cours de plusieurs decennies, de la dimension de politique exterieure de la construction europeenne, y compris dans le domaine de la securite et de la defense, comme une suite de compromis entre deux logiques contradictoires : celle de la souverainete nationale et celle de la coherence. La logique de souverainete incite les Etats a conserver le controle de leurs moyens d'action. La logique de coherence impose aux acteurs qui veulent exercer de l'influence sur la scene internationale, comme c'est le cas de l'Union europeenne, de coordonner les divers instruments dont ils peuvent disposer. L'impulsion donnee par la France et la Grande-Bretagne a Saint-Malo en decembre 1998 a abouti, en peu d'annees, a la mise en place d'un systeme juridique et institutionnel pour les questions de securite et de defense, a l'amorce d'une strategie commune, et a la prise de decisions operationnelles, aboutissant en 2003 a des operations effectivement conduites, pour la premiere fois, dans un cadre europeen. L'analyse de ces resultats a la lumiere des deux logiques contradictoires met en evidence l'emergence, entre le purisme communautaire et le purisme intergouvernemental, d'une troisieme voie qui, malgre ses ambiguitez, n'est plus vraiment contestee. Le personnage ambivalent du ministre des affaires etrangeres dans le projet de Constitution en est une illustration.'

ID number: 80019715

Year: 2004

Type: M

## 2003

448 /00033

Les Etats membres de l'UE et la PESD, elements de convergence et de divergence = De EU-lidstaten en het EVDB, elementen van convergentie en divergentie - Bruxelles : Institut Royal Superieur de Defense.

135 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

(Securite et Strategie ; 78)

Author(s):

1. Camp, Serge van

2. Collins, Dominique

Added entry(s):

1. Institut Royal Superieur de Defense. Centre d'Etudes de Defense (BE)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 131-134.

'Qu'entend-on lorsque l'on parle de securite et de defense ?

L'entendement de ces deux concepts est-il unique ou pluriel ?

Dans le cadre de l'Union europeenne, existe-t-il une vision commune en matière de securite et de defense ? Si pas, faut-il un concept strategique et pour quoi faire ? Si l'Union europeenne s'est dotée d'une politique étrangère et de securité commune et qu'elle souhaite développer le volet securité et defense, quels défis devra-t-elle affronter ? Pour tenter de répondre à ces questions, les auteurs proposent une approche théorique des concepts de securité et de defense et présentent les caractéristiques et le contenu que les quinze Etats membres donnent à ces concepts. Ils dissident ensuite sur la nécessité

d'une vision commune en matière de sécurité et de défense pour l'Union européenne. Les valeurs à défendre, les objectifs à poursuivre, le contenu à donner à un concept commun, de même que les interrogations et les défis en matière de défense sont évoqués. Pour conclure, les auteurs citent les éléments majeurs qui conditionneront l'évolution de la PESC et de la PESD.'

ID number: 80018908

Year: 2003

Type: M

448 /00031

La défense européenne - Bruxelles : Bruylant.

vi, 274 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 2802716379

Notes:

'Colloque du vendredi 1er février 2002 (Lyon) organisé avec le concours de l'Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3, du Conseil Général du Rhône et de la Ville de Lyon.

'Malgré des événements comme la guerre contre l'Irak, qui ont suscité des difficultés entre les quinze, bientôt vingt-cinq, l'Europe de la défense a fait des progrès considérables. Le sommet franco-britannique de Saint-Malo le 4 décembre 1998, les sommets européens de Cologne et Helsinki en 1999, de Feira et Nice en 2000, de Stockholm et Laeken en 2001, de Séville et Copenhague en 2002, et enfin Athènes au printemps 2003, tous ont évoqué à des degrés divers la défense de l'Europe. La situation actuelle signifie que des questions aussi variées que les relations transatlantiques, l'OTAN, ou la situation des petits Etats membres, et donc la problématique politico-stratégique de l'Europe, doivent être repensées; que le cadre industriel, la coopération en matière d'armement, y compris le secteur spatial, et donc les financements nécessaires, sont à revoir. À ces réflexions, il convient d'ajouter le rôle dont s'est dotée l'Union européenne au regard des crises, avec la définition des missions de Petersberg et lors des conflits intervenus sur le Vieux Continent. Ou encore s'interroger désormais pour savoir, sur la scène internationale, quelle est la place de l'Europe, alliée des États-Unis et partenaire de la Russie ? Pourrait-on parler d'un axe Paris-Berlin-Londres ? Tels sont quelques-uns des thèmes abordés lors de ce colloque.'

ID number: 80018725

Year: 2003

Type: M

448 /00034

Defending Europe : The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy - Hounds Mills, UK : Palgrave MacMillan.

xii, 247 p. : ill.; 22 cm.

(Europe in Transition)

ISBN: 140396114X

Added entry(s):

1. Howorth, Jolyon, ed.
2. Keeler, John T. S., ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'This book seeks to clarify the competing ambitions, the contrasting visions and the trans-Atlantic tensions related to the recent quest by Europe for autonomy in the sphere of security and defense. Scholars from both sides of the Atlantic explore the development of ESDI within NATO, the revival of the WEU and the launch of the EU's Common European Security and Defense Policy. Among the issues discussed are the Euro-American capabilities gap, concerns regarding decoupling, discrimination, and duplication, and the complications posed by

NATO/EU enlargement. Two contrary conclusions debate whether ESDP is more likely to strengthen or undermine the Atlantic Alliance. This informative foray into trans-Atlantic security and defense issues is a crucial addition to the ongoing dialogue concerning this shifting and evolving relationship.'

ID number: 80018968

Year: 2003

Type: M

448 /00030

La politique europeenne de securite et de defense (PESD) de l'operatoire a l'identitaire : genese, structuration, ambitions, limites -

Bruxelles : Bruylant.

xxiii, 938 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 2802716891

Author(s):

1. Dumoulin, Andre
2. Mathieu, Raphael
3. Sarlet, Gordon

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 843-882. Includes index.

'Une fenetre d'opportunité s'est ouverte à la fin des années 90 permettant le lancement d'une nouvelle politique sectorielle au sein de l'Union européenne : la politique européenne de sécurité et de défense (PESD). Au service de la politique étrangère de l'Europe, la PESD se caractérise par la mise en place d'outils et de procédures politico-militaires permettant, hors de l'espace territorial de l'Union, la projection de stabilité pluridimensionnelles, grâce aux outils d'ordre diplomatique, humanitaire, policier ou militaire dans le cadre des missions dites de Petersberg. Toujours en cours, le processus de maturation de cette PESD aux orientations pragmatiques et modestes, recèlent autant d'ambitions que de chausse-trappes. Entre le poids prédominant des capitales, l'hétérogénéité des cultures sécuritaires nationales, le différentiel des Etats en matière de perception de l'environnement stratégique, les ambiguïtés du relationnel transatlantique, les limites budgétaires et les lacunes opératoires sectorielles, cette politique européenne commune de sécurité et de défense devra relever en ce début de 3ème millénaire bon nombre de défis et dépasser maints obstacles se dressant sur sa route. A partir d'une démarche à la fois chronologique et thématique, les auteurs présentent ici le premier ouvrage universitaire en langue française réunissant les différents paramètres de cette PESD très complexe et encore peu connue, qu'il s'agisse d'aspects historiques, politiques, diplomatiques, institutionnels, procéduriers, socio-philosophiques, économiques, technologiques, doctrinaux et militaires interagissant à la carte dans les champs nationaux, inter-étatiques et européens.'

ID number: 80018677

Year: 2003

Type: M

448 /00035

Les criteres de convergence en matiere de defense : les aspects budgetaires : introduction, etat des lieux, limites et perspectives - Bruxelles : Institut Royal Superieur de Defense.  
126 p. : ill.; 30 cm.  
(Securite et Strategie ; 80)

Author(s):

1. Mathieu, Raphael

Added entry(s):

1. Institut Royal Superieur de Defense. Centre d'Etudes de Defense (BE)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 125-126.

'Parmi les lacunes qui entravent la realisation pleine et entiere du processus d'establissemement de la PESD, le manque de moyens financiers ou, plus precisement, le manque de rendement de l'effort financier europeen est souvent evoque. Il est evident que la cause fondamentale la plus souvent citee reste, sans conteste, le manque de 'volonte politique' de s'engager plus avant dans des reformes ambitieuses et contraignantes. Toutefois, une fois le constat effectue de la reticence, encore forte, des gouvernements europeens a abandonner a nouveau une part de leur souverainete a l'Union dans cette matiere, il convient de pousser la reflexion plus avant.'

ID number: 80019003

Year: 2003

Type: M

355.2 /00262

Military Cooperation in Europe : Possibilities and Limitations - The Hague : Advisory Council on International Affairs.  
33 p.; 30 cm.

Added entry(s):

1. Advisory Council on International Affairs (NL)

ID number: 80018714

Year: 2003

Type: M

432 /00014

Euros for ESDP : Financing EU Operations - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.  
53 p. : ill.; 30 cm.  
(Occasional Papers ; 45)

Author(s):

1. Missiroli, Antonio

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'The financing of EU-led crisis management operations is a somewhat neglected yet nevertheless crucial factor affecting the external effectiveness and internal consistency of the Union's foreign and security policy. The main issues to be addressed regard : a) the speed and readiness of budgetary allocations, on the one hand, and their long-term sustainability, on the other; b) the coherence of the relevant provisions, in both institutional and functional terms, and their consistency with the peculiarities of the EU as an international actor; and c) the degree of transparency, accountability and internal fairness compatible with the imperatives of crisis management. The experience of other international organisations operating in this field (NATO, OSCE, UN) can also be taken into consideration with a view to selecting rules and modalities that may be helpful in tackling the problems highlighted here.'

ID number: 80018713

Year: 2003  
Type: M

448 /00041

Toward a European Army : A Military Power in the Making ? - Boulder, CO :  
Lynne Rienner.

x, 239 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 1588262367

Author(s):

1. Salmon, Trevor C.
2. Shepherd, Alistair J. K.

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 221-229. Includes index.

'The European Union's ineffectual actions during the Balkan wars of the 1990s have led to increasingly loud calls for this political and economic giant to develop an effective military arm - an integrated force capable of dealing with conflict in Europe's backyard and projecting military power globally. This book offers a comprehensive analysis of this European defense project : its origins, purpose, and goals. The authors ask whether a powerful European army should replace US military involvement in Europe and discuss how the respective roles of the various EU countries - especially France, Germany, and Britain - should be defined. They also explore the institutional, military, industrial, and especially political practicalities of defense integration. Throughout, the issue of relations between the EU and NATO looms large. Should a new European security system linked to the EU replace the status quo ? This book equips the reader to thoroughly engage this question.'

ID number: 80019496

Year: 2003

Type: M

441 /00118

De uitbreiding van de EU : impact op de ontwikkeling van het EVDB =  
L'élargissement de l'UE : impact sur le développement de la PESD -  
Brussel : [s.n.].

42 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

Notes:

Proceedings, 19/11/2003.

ID number: 80019138

Year: 2003

Type: M

## 2002

327.5 /00400

Widening Participation in EU Crisis Management - Brussels : ISIS Europe.  
12 p.; 30 cm.

(ISIS Europe Briefing Paper ; 26)

Author(s):

1. Baumgartner, Kelly

Added entry(s):

1. ISIS Europe

Notes:

'This paper assesses the mechanisms for third country participation in EU operations within the framework of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). It shows how these mechanisms are less inclusive than those of the WEU and NATO and argues that if the EU is to encourage the participation of non-EU countries in its operations, it should deepen routine dialogue and allow for third-country participation in the decision-shaping process.'

ID number: 80017974

Year: 2002  
Type: M

- 441 /00096  
Bigger EU, Wider CFSP, Stronger ESDP ? The View from Central Europe -  
Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.  
68 p.; 30 cm.  
(Occasional Papers ; 34)  
Added entry(s):  
1. Missiroli, Antonio, ed.  
2. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)  
Notes:  
'In spring 2001, the research team of the then WEU Institute for Security Studies came up with the idea of carrying out a targeted screening of the prevailing (and evolving) views on CFSP and ESDP in the candidate countries. In order to preserve some homogeneity and comparability, the screening would be limited to the ten Central European applicants. In a way, however, the project was also intended to try and assess what such a 'return' might mean for CFSP/ESDP, and how the two processes would interact and dovetail. Accordingly, a grid with five main clusters of questions was handed out to the potential authors in order to structure their contributions, answer a series of topical questions and allow an overall as well as a comparative assessment.'
- ID number: 80017946  
Year: 2002  
Type: M

- 448 /00023  
Europe's New Security Vocation - Washington : National Defense University.  
vii, 89 p.; 30 cm.  
(MacNair Paper ; 66)  
Author(s):  
1. Brenner, Michael  
Added entry(s):  
1. National Defense University. Institute for National Strategic Studies (US)  
Notes:  
'The quest of the European Union to develop capabilities in security and defense affairs has been a surprisingly contentious issue in transatlantic relations over the past decade. Officials in EU governments have been perplexed that European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), which they see as integral to building the EU in all of its dimensions, is viewed in some American political circles with trepidation, or even as a grave threat to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Michael Brenner's analysis chronicles the development of ESDP and assesses its durability and driving political motivations. In the process, he helps to demystify the functioning of ESDP, which is of particular value to American readers unfamiliar with this initiative. Professor Brenner also advances a number of sound recommendations for US policymakers about handling ESDP. As he argues, if Washington consults with European allies in ways that diminish concerns about American unilateralism, reduces restrictions on technology transfers critical to European defense modernization, and develops reliable modalities for NATO-EU military cooperation, then the prospects that ESDP will evolve in a manner consistent with long-term US interests will greatly increase. This paper sheds much light on a European project whose outcome is critical to American security.'
- ID number: 80018184  
Year: 2002

Type: M

327.5 /00405

The EU and Crisis Management : Development and Prospects - Maastricht :

European Institute of Public Administration.

xx, 230 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 9067791636

Author(s):

1. Duke, Simon, 1959-

Added entry(s):

1. European Institute of Public Administration (NL)

Notes:

Includes index.

'This book attempts to accomplish three basic tasks. The first is to give the interested reader an insight into the evolution of EU crisis management mechanisms, both civilian and military. Second, the development of the crisis management and conflict prevention aspects of the EU's external relations have been astonishingly rapid. For this reason there is a need for a tour d'horizon which attempts to explain what progress has been made up to the present, especially the institutional adaptations that have been necessary to accommodate the EU's growing responsibilities. Finally, EU crisis management is very much an ongoing project, most notably the Common European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). The last section assesses how much progress has been made and, more importantly, what remains to be done. The book is designed to be accessible to practitioners and academic audiences alike. The book relies heavily upon official documentation, especially from the EU Presidencies, and is designed to offer the reader a clear and accessible overview of an often complex and rapidly changing area of EU activity. Finally, this book is written in the belief that over the next few years one of the fastest developing areas of EU activity will be external relations generally and crisis management in particular. It is hoped that this book will serve as an essential primer for anyone interested in the EU's revolution in external relations.'

ID number: 80018515

Year: 2002

Type: M

441 /00102

What Model for CFSP ? - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

77 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 55)

Author(s):

1. Ehrhart, Hans-Georg

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 74-77.

'The principal question of this paper is what guiding model the EU should adopt with regard to CFSP. Facing the challenges of the post-post Cold War era, the traditional models - the EU as a civilian, a military or a normative power - no longer seem appropriated. This paper suggests that the EU's external activities should be based on a 'cooperative security provider' model, embracing civilian, military and normative elements in a comprehensive approach to peace and security. With the development of ESDP as part of CFSP and its comprehensive approach to security, the EU has defined its own specific framework for external action that is now in the process of refinement. The prevailing rationale of CFSP is without doubt cooperative and prevention-oriented but many shortfalls

persist. Harmonisation of perceptions and common assessments in particular are indispensable, but will only be achieved step by step through ongoing cooperation within the new structures. As to the effectiveness of operations, lack of coherence is still the most important weakness of CFSP. Divergences between member states and the complexity of decision-making structures both remain major obstacles to be overcome if the EU is to become a serious international actor. To contribute effectively to international stability and security in the age of globalisation, the EU needs to develop its various policies on the basis of a commonly agreed global vision. The Union and its member states should therefore enhance their efforts to follow a comprehensive security approach that combines civilian and military instruments, and focuses on cooperation and prevention. Only if the EU manages to integrate its policies and its means into a common project based on internationally accepted norms and values will the cooperative security provider model be able to create a distinctive European security identity.'

ID number: 80018292

Year: 2002

Type: M

441 /00102

Quel modele pour la PESC ? - Paris : Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union Europeenne.  
79 p.; 24 cm.  
(Cahiers de Chaillot ; 55)

Author(s):

1. Ehrhart, Hans-Georg

Added entry(s):

1. Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union Europeenne (FR)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 76-79.

'C'est a l'interrogation sur ce que pourrait etre un modele de PESC que se consacre l'auteur. La notion de securite cooperative constitue l'epine dorsale de cette reflexion. En confrontant systematiquement les principes de l'action exteriere de l'Union et les acquis recents de la PESC et de la PESD, l'auteur propose un concept de politique etrangere fonde sur une conception globale - civile et militaire - et une approche multidimensionnelle de la securite de l'Union. A l'heure ou les nuages s'accumulent sur la securite de l'ensemble de la planete, ou les principes memes du systeme international - la regulation multilaterale, le respect du droit, la codification minimale de l'usage de la force - sont susceptibles d'etre remis en question, ce Cahier maintient le cap de l'exigence democratique en matiere de politique etrangere et revendique un modele d'Union europeenne capable de reconcilier le realisme de la puissance et la fidelite aux valeurs constitutives du projet europeen lui-meme.'

ID number: 80018447

Year: 2002

Type: M

448 /00029

The EU's Search for a Strategic Role : ESDP and Its Implications for Transatlantic Relations - Washington : Center for Transatlantic Relations.

xiii, 187 p.; 23 cm.

Added entry(s):

1. Brimmer, Esther, ed.

2. Johns Hopkins University. The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies. Center for Transatlantic Relations (US)

Notes:

'The book considers both progress on ESDP and prospects for its future. Authors explore the strategic trends behind ESDP and the relationship between EU and NATO; identify possible implications of ESDP for global security architecture, especially in the area of peace operations; discuss European and American viewpoints with regard to the future of the transatlantic partnership; and offer recommendations for addressing some of the challenges facing ESDP and the EU in its search for an expanded security role.'

ID number: 80018581

Year: 2002

Type: M

355.3 /00105

Future Military Coalitions : The Transatlantic Challenge - Arlington, VA : U.S.-CREST.

xxxii, 114 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0962993093

Added entry(s):

1. Center for Research and Education on Strategy and Technology (US)

Notes:

Report of a French-German-UK-U.S. Working Group.

'Transatlantic coalition operations, despite their difficulties, have become increasingly vital to meeting the challenges of the evolving global security environment. This project examined how the Common European Security and Defense Policy (CESDP) could affect the ability of NATO and European Union nations to form and conduct effective coalition military operations. It did so by exploring through the use of illustrative crisis scenarios the ways in which CESDP could affect the operational concepts, force composition, and military capabilities of future transatlantic coalitions in 2005 and 2015. This exercise was performed by a multinational working group consisting of research institute experts as well as defense officials and military officers from France, Germany, the UK, and the US. The report concludes that CESDP could help reduce operational gaps between US and European forces, as key European nations aspire to maintain high intensity combat capability, and to a certain extent follow the US in a shift to network-centric concepts if they are proved to work.'

ID number: 80018256

Year: 2002

Type: M

448 /00021

Het Europees Veiligheids- en Defensiebeleid = La politique europeenne de securite et de defense - Brussel : [s.n.].  
75 p. : ill.; 30 cm.  
Notes:  
Proceedings, 8-III-2002.  
ID number: 80018008  
Year: 2002  
Type: M

448 /00019

The European Security and Defense Policy : NATO's Companion - or Competitor ? Part II - Santa Monica, CA : Rand Corporation.  
80 p.; 30 cm.  
(Rand Publications ; MR-1463)  
ISBN: 0833031171

Author(s):

1. Hunter, Robert Edwards, 1940-

Added entry(s):

1. Rand Corporation (US)

Notes:

'This book tells the story of the European Union's new European Security and Defense Policy's relationship to NATO - and what must be done to ensure that the storehouse of European security is increased and transatlantic cohesion is preserved.'

ID number: 80017865

Year: 2002

Type: M

448 /00019

The European Security and Defense Policy : NATO's Companion - or Competitor ? Part I - Santa Monica, CA : Rand Corporation.  
xxvi, 98 p.; 30 cm.  
(Rand Publications ; MR-1463)  
ISBN: 0833031171

Author(s):

1. Hunter, Robert Edwards, 1940-

Added entry(s):

1. Rand Corporation (US)

Notes:

'This book tells the story of the European Union's new European Security and Defense Policy's relationship to NATO - and what must be done to ensure that the storehouse of European security is increased and transatlantic cohesion is preserved.'

ID number: 80017864

Year: 2002

Type: M

448 /00026

Enhancing the Effectiveness of the EU's Foreign Defence Policies - Brussels : Centre for European Policy Studies.  
9 p.; 30 cm.  
(CEPS Policy Brief ; 29)

Author(s):

1. Menon, Anand, 1965-

Added entry(s):

1. Centre for European Policy Studies (BE)

Notes:

'This report discusses ways of enhancing the EU's effectiveness and impact as an international actor in the light of debates currently taking place within the Convention. Its central recommendations are : (1) clarify and discard the more extreme variants of arguments pressing for a significant EU military capability; (2) create a Commissioner for External Affairs to

whom other Commissioners responsible for discrete aspects of this portfolio would report; (3) recreate the Political Committee, composed of Political Directors; (4) create a Council of Defence Ministers; (5) reinforce the role of the High Representative in several ways : increase the financial resources at his/her disposal; allow him/her to chair the COPS; (6) create an EU Security Council comprising the HR, the Secretary General of the Council, the Commissioner for External Relations, the Presidency (in order to ensure coherence with EU internal action), the chief of the EU military staff and senior representatives from the troika.'

ID number: 80018431

Year: 2002

Type: M

623 /00940

Getting There : Building Strategic Mobility into ESDP - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

45 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 38)

Author(s):

1. Vlachos-Dengler, Katia

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'The commitment to create a credible military capability for Europe lies at the heart of European Security and Defence Policy. Given that the most likely future military engagements for European nations will be outside Europe's borders - due to the absence of a credible strategic threat within Europe - European nations need a broad range of air- and sealift capabilities in order to reach areas of crisis. In order to ensure the ability of the EU to conduct the full range of missions to which it has committed itself, EU nations must take action to bridge the gaps in critical lift capabilities.

Several options are available to EU nations. In the short term, in addition to existing programmes, they can cover the shortfalls in their lift capabilities by continuing to use a combination of conventional options. These include leasing and off-the-shelf procurement of foreign military lift assets, as well as short-term leasing, chartering and requisitioning of (mostly) commercial lift assets. In the long term, however, European nations need to significantly improve their own airlift and sealift capabilities and build additional ones. The most affordable long-term solution to European lift deficiencies is one that involves the pooling and integration of national resources. This would allow for more efficient use of limited funds and more effective use of limited capability. A multinational mobility centre, such as a proposed European Transport Command, could manage this European pool of lift assets and coordinate all European transport needs as well as the acquisition of additional lift capability.'

ID number: 80018364

Year: 2002

Type: M

## 2001

355.4 /01355

The Third Option : The Emancipation of European Defense, 1989-2000 -

Westport, CT : Praeger.

xvi, 179 p.; 25 cm.

(Humanistic Perspectives on International Relations)

ISBN: 0275969487

Author(s):

1. Cogan, Charles G.

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 161-166. Includes index.

'It was logical to expect that the European Economic and Monetary Union would lead ineluctably to an autonomous European defense; the very size of the European Union seems to demand it. The EU eventually will reach the point where its economic and demographic weight will far exceed that of the United States. Can it not be expected too that the EU will seek to make this weight felt internationally ? Cogan tracks the halting creation of an independent military structure, a third option beyond NATO-run and NATO-supported operations, since the fall of the Iron Curtain. With the Cold War's end and subsequent western engagement in Central and Eastern Europe, it is no longer a question of whether NATO and the EU compare; they now must communicate. They have to coordinate their planning and force postures so as to avoid duplication of resources and efforts. Although NATO's integrated command structure theoretically was an anomaly with the end of the Cold War, it nevertheless turned out to be the case in Bosnia, and later Kosovo, that nothing was possible until the Americans intervened. The virtue of integrated command - American participation and know-how - was once again seen as crucially important, despite the increasingly anachronistic deficit of sovereignty for Western Europe in defense matters. In the long run, Europe's economic power must be balanced by economic and military might.'

ID number: 80018439

Year: 2001

Type: M

327.5 /00388

Coherence for European Security Policy : Debates, Cases, Assessments -

Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union.

v, 90 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 27)

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)

2. Missiroli, Antonio, ed.

Notes:

'This paper stems from a series of meetings of an ISS Task Force on 'The Coherence of CFSP' held in Paris between October 2000 and April 2001.'

ID number: 80017195

Year: 2001

Type: M

355.4 /01311

La defense en Europe : nouvelles realites, nouvelles ambitions - Paris :

Documentation Francaise.

352 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

(Les etudes de la Documentation Francaise, 1152-4790)

ISBN: 2110048776

Added entry(s):

1. Buffotot, Patrice, ed.

Notes:

'C'est au regard des evolutions des dernieres années du XXe siecle que cette troisième édition de 'La défense en Europe' effectue pour chacun des dix-huit pays de l'Europe occidentale une synthèse de leurs politiques de défense et de sécurité et dresse un bilan de l'évolution des organisations internationales entre 1997 et 2001. Elle esquisse des pistes de réflexion sur les évolutions à venir, dont l'émergence d'une véritable capacité autonome d'action européenne ne constitue pas la moindre.'

ID number: 80017676

Year: 2001

Type: M

448 /00012

Nuevas capacidades de defensa de la Union europea - Madrid : Editorial Noesis.

268 p.; 21 cm.

ISBN: 8487462618

Added entry(s):

1. Asociacion de Periodistas Europeos (SP)

Notes:

XII seminario internacional de seguridad y defensa, Parador Conde Orgaz de Toledo, 28 y 29 de junio de 2000.

ID number: 80017359

Year: 2001

Type: M

448 /00018

Aspects juridiques de la politique européenne de sécurité et de défense - Paris : Institut d'Etudes de Sécurité de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale.

vi, 24 p., 30 cm.

(Publications Occasionnelles ; 31)

Author(s): 1. Pnevmaticou, Lydia N.

Added entry(s):

1. Institut d'Etudes de Sécurité de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale (FR)

Notes:

'La PESD (Politique européenne de Sécurité et de Défense) est régie par des dispositions dispersées dans des textes à caractère essentiellement politique, tels que les Conclusions des Conseils européens. La finalité de cette étude, outre de dresser l'image de la PESD et de présenter certains aspects juridiques, est de plaider pour la nécessité d'incorporer ses dispositions dans les textes conventionnels appropriés, afin de leur garantir une unicité, une meilleure qualité technique et une valeur juridique incontestable.'

ID number: 80017700

Year: 2001

Type: M

448 /00022

European Defense Cooperation : Asset or Threat to NATO ? - Washington :

Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

x, 90 p.; 19 cm.

(Wilson Forum)

ISBN: 1930365047

Author(s):

1. Quinlan, Michael

Added entry(s):

1. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (US)

Notes:

Includes index.

'This study surveys post-World War II efforts to enhance practical cooperation among European countries in the provision and use of military forces. The author begins with the earliest proposals for cooperation in 1947 and provides a succinct summary of collective security efforts since then. The main focus of the study is the European Defense and Security Policy (ESDP) project launched by European Union heads of government at their Cologne meeting in June 1999. The author reviews the major issues and future prospects regarding this important initiative and argues that it can provide a collective European defense contribution that will complement but not supersede the role of NATO.'

ID number: 80018073

Year: 2001

Type: M

448 /00017

European Military Prospects, Economic Constraints, and the Rapid Reaction Force - Santa Monica, CA : Rand Corporation.

xviii, 49 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

(RAND Publications ; MR-1416-OSD/SRF)

ISBN: 0833030701

Author(s):

1. Wolf, Charles, 1924-

2. Zycher, Benjamin

Added entry(s):

1. Rand Corporation (US)

Notes:

'This report analyzes the recent record of economic growth, military spending, and military investments in Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and Italy. The analysis provides a basis for estimating the countries' capacity to generate sufficient resources to enhance the military capabilities sought for the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) and its instrument, the Rapid Reaction Force (RRF).'

ID number: 80017658

Year: 2001

Type: M

2000

448 /00010

La Belgique et la politique europeenne de securite et de defense (PESD) -  
Bruxelles : CRISP.

51 p.; 27 cm.

(Courrier hebdomadaire du CRISP ; 1700)

Author(s):

1. Dumoulin, Andre

Added entry(s):

1. Centre de Recherche et d'Information Socio-Politiques (BE)

Notes:

'La politique de defense des Etats membres de l'Union europeenne est en pleine evolution. La crise du Kosovo a montre sa faiblesse. Les Britanniques ont deverrouille leur position a propos de l'avenir de l'Union de l'Europe occidentale (UEO) dans le giron de l'Union europeenne. Les Allemands font preuve d'une audace nouvelle pour les missions hors frontieres. Les Etats dits neutres ont accepte de faire inscrire les missions de gestion des crises dans le Traite d'Amsterdam. La France a pris conscience que l'Hexagone n'a plus les moyens d'intervenir seul sur le continent elargi. L'ambition strategique de l'Europe et l'avenir de la construction europeenne dans sa credibilite dissuasive et coercitive posent clairement la question des moyens militaires europeens, de meme que celle du reequilibrage entre l'Union et l'OTAN. La Belgique, Etat membre historique de l'OTAN, de l'UE et de l'UEO, se positionne sur ces questions au moment ou elle va prendre pour six mois la presidence de l'UE et de l'UEO. L'auteur presente d'abord le contexte international dans lequel se profile la volonte europeenne de concretisation operationnelle commune, certes encore modeste. La notion d'armee europeenne est encore taboue et la decision prise a Helsinki fin 1999 a propos de la creation d'une force de reaction rapide apparait comme le passage oblige de l'identite europeenne de defense (IESD) au sein de l'OTAN vers une politique europeenne de securite et de defense (PESD). L'objectif final est d'aboutir, en soutien a la politique etrangere et de securite commune (PESC), a l'edification d'une Union europeenne davantage maître de son destin. L'auteur precise ensuite les positionnements diplomatiques et militaires des departements belges de la Defense et des Affaires etrangeres. Il examine enfin les dilemmes et contraintes propres a la Belgique en matiere de PESD, ainsi que l'adéquation du plan strategique de modernisation des Forces armées belges pour la periode 2000-2015 a cette même PESD.'

ID number: 80017146

Year: 2000

Type: M

448 /00008

L'Europe et la securite collective : depasser les mythes - Paris :  
Publisud.

136 p.; 23 cm.

(Prospective strategique)

ISBN: 2866003950

Added entry(s):

1. Burgelin, Henri, ed.

2. Centre d'Etude et de Prospective Strategique (FR)

Notes:

'Le present ouvrage reunite les contributions de personnalites appartenant a des pays ou a des organisations internationales concernes, a des titres et a des degres differents, par la securite de l'Europe en vue d'examiner les principaux problemes que pose aujourd'hui l'organisation d'une defense de l'Europe

par les europeens. Il en ressort que les obstacles rencontrés relèvent des conceptions divergentes que les Etats européens nourrissent de leur propre politique de défense et que le perfectionnement des institutions de l'Union n'est sans doute pas le meilleur moyen de les surmonter, ni de répondre au légitime souci de sécurité de tous les européens. Si la situation ne paraît pas mûre pour l'établissement d'un système de défense commun, en dehors de l'OTAN, il reste possible aux gouvernements qui le veulent d'agir ensemble pour renforcer la paix sur notre continent, à condition de respecter les options de chacun en matière de sécurité et de donner priorité aux exigences d'une action efficace plutôt qu'à celles de structures politico-administratives qui risquent de s'avérer paralysantes.'

ID number: 80017052

Year: 2000

Type: M

#### 355.4 /01265

Europe's New Defense Ambitions : Implications for NATO, the US, and Russia - Garmisch-Partenkirchen : George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies.

vii, 40 p.; 23 cm.

(Marshall Center Papers ; 1) ISBN: 1930831005

Author(s):

1. Ham, Peter van

Added entry(s):

1. George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies (DE)

Notes:

'At the European Union's Helsinki summit of December 1999, European leaders took a decisive step toward the development of a new Common European Security and Defense Policy aimed at giving the EU a stronger role in international affairs backed by a credible military force. This paper analyzes the processes leading to Helsinki by examining why and how this new European consensus on defense issues came about. It takes the pulse of the EU's emerging defense policy and touches upon the main controversies and challenges that still lie ahead. What are the national interests and driving forces behind it, and what steps still need to be taken to realize Europe's ambitions to achieve a workable European crisis management capability? Particular attention is paid to the implications of an emerging European defense capability for the future of NATO, the transatlantic relationship, and the role of Russia in Europe.'

ID number: 80016630

Year: 2000

Type: M

#### 355.4 /01273

European Defence : Making It Work - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union.

viii, 123 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 42)

Author(s):

1. Heisbourg, Francois

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)

Notes:

'This paper explains why the European Union will gradually have to dispel the ambiguity surrounding the strategic objectives of its initiatives in the field of defence : the Union will have to get down to a study of the 'White Paper' type. It suggests a methodology for organising the relationship between European defence policy and NATO in general, and the United States in particular. Analysis of the force objectives defined at the

European Council in Helsinki underlines the scale of the effort that will have to be made to attain those objectives, whether it is question of setting up the necessary military means (including the pooling of certain assets) or the reordering of military expenditure. As regards military means, this paper points out that the Headline Goal will be much more difficult to attain than appears at first sight, since the forces concerned will be called upon to carry out the most demanding of Petersberg tasks. In the budgetary domain, transparency measures are suggested together with a number of collective disciplines contributing to the coherence of defence budgets and the aims of the European defence policy. To that will have to be added substantial progress on both the demand and supply sides of defence industry. The institutional implications - which should include the creation of a European Union Council of Defence Ministers - are examined with a view to reducing as far as possible any resort to enhanced cooperation, pursuit of the European defence policy at Fifteen (or more, in due course) being desirable and in essence possible, with the exception of defence industrial issues.'

ID number: 80016770

Year: 2000

Type: M

448 /00005

European Integration and Defence : The Ultimate Challenge ? - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union.

vi, 114 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 43)

Author(s):

1. Howorth, Jolyon

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)

Notes:

'This paper assesses the past, present and future of the Common European Security and Defence Policy (CESDP). It outlines recent attempts to forge a distinct European Pillar within the Alliance and analyses the significant breakthroughs of 1998-2000, from St-Malo to Nice. It highlights the different approaches of the main national actors involved : an EU-focused approach (France) and an Alliance-focused approach (UK), as well as assessing the complex historical processes which have produced the current convergence between them.'

ID number: 80016884

Year: 2000

Type: M

355.4 /01278

The Nordic Dimension in the Evolving European Security Structure and the Role of Norway - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union.

v, 35 p. ; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 22)

Author(s):

1. Knutsen, Bjorn Olav

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)

Notes:

'The main focus of this paper is to examine the way in which the European integration process influences the Nordic subregion, with special emphasis on the new security and defence dimension of the EU. One of the most important questions this paper tries to address is how the concept of Common European Security and Defence Policy (CESDP) of the EU could be used as an analytical tool to describe and explain foreign policy change in the

Nordic countries, with emphasis on how the Nordic countries have responded to the CESDP development.'

ID number: 80016887

Year: 2000

Type: M

448 /00006

The Implementation of the Common European Security and Defence Policy and WEU's Future Role - Reply to the Annual Report of the Council - Paris : Assembly of Western European Union.

33 p.; 30 cm.

Author(s):

1. Marshall

Added entry(s):

1. Western European Union. Assembly

Notes:

Report submitted on behalf of the Political Committee by Mr. Marshall, Chairman and Rapporteur.

ID number: 80016997

Year: 2000

Type: M

448 /00016

Paris Transatlantic Forum : European Defence - European and American Perceptions = Forum transatlantique de Paris : la defense europeenne : perceptions croisees europeennes et americaines - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union.

xi, 37 p.; 30cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 17)

Added entry(s):

1. Lindley-French, Julian, ed.

2. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)

Notes:

'According to the author, what was of particular interest in the Paris Transatlantic Forum was that it combined both a discussion of the technical, immediate aspects of European defence and a more general reflection on developments in American policy and the direction being taken by European construction. The author makes three observations on the discussions: (1) the further forward one goes on the question of EU-NATO institutional relations, the greater the incomprehension on the part of the Americans on the very nature of the European Union and on the overall political significance of the EU's defence dimension, (2) on the American side, the basic contradiction lies in the dilemma between the need for the effective sharing of burdens with the Allies and the almost structural propensity for US leadership and, (3) the recurring theme among European participants to maintain or even strengthen public willingness to pay the price of defence.'

ID number: 80017618

Year: 2000

Type: M

355.4 /01261

The United States and European Defence - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union.

viii, 54 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 39)

Author(s):

1. Sloan, Stanley R.

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)

Notes:

'The more headway the Europeans make in the setting up of a true European Union defence capability, the more voices are heard in the United States that analyse, question, challenge or fear this new European ambition. Nothing, moreover, could be more natural, given that, in their serious intent, their scope and their unanimity, the decisions taken at Cologne and Helsinki signal a clear departure from the EU's long tradition of politico-strategic non-existence. In order to allow an understanding of the full gamut of the detail and logic, but also the contradictions, of these American perceptions, an American author is here examining and dissecting all the current arguments, expectations and anxieties surrounding European defence.'

ID number: 80016501

Year: 2000

Type: M

355.4 /01261

Les Etats-Unis et la defense europeenne - Paris : Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale.

ix, 57 p.; 24 cm.

(Cahiers de Chaillot ; 39)

Author(s):

1. Sloan, Stanley R.

Added entry(s):

1. Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale (FR)

Notes:

'Plus les Europeens progressent vers la constitution d'une veritable capacite de defense de l'Union europeenne, plus les voix se multiplient aux Etats-Unis pour analyser, interroger, contester ou redouter cette nouvelle ambition europeenne. Rien de plus normal d'ailleurs, dans la mesure ou les decisions de Cologne et d'Helsinki, par leur serieux, leur ampleur et leur unanimité, constituent une rupture certaine dans la longue tradition d'inexistence politique et strategique de l'UE. Pour comprendre dans leurs details, leur logique, mais aussi leurs contradictions, l'ensemble de ces perceptions americaines, l'auteur examine et decortique l'ensemble des arguments, des attentes et des inquietudes qui coexistent aujourd'hui a l'egard de la defense europeenne.'

ID number: 80017578

Year: 2000

Type: M

**1999**

355.4 /01282

Europeanizing Security ? : NATO and an Integrating Europe - Washington :  
American Institute for Contemporary German Studies.

xi, 146 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

(AICGS Research Report ; 9)

ISBN: 0941441415

Added entry(s):

1. Lankowski, Carl, ed.

2. Serfaty, Simon, ed.

3. Johns Hopkins University. American Institute for Contemporary  
German Studies (US)

Notes:

'This report is about the implications of European integration for European security arrangements. It is animated by a simple premise : the process of remaking Europe after the tragedy of two major wars and the long, armed truce that was the Cold War, was well underway by the time the Soviet Union flew apart in 1991. If that is the case, then Europe's radically altered security environment cannot be the only important factor prompting efforts to define a European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI) in the post-Cold War period. The other important factor is the process of European integration. In reconstructing the perceptions and motivations that preceded the recent discourse on ESDI and governs the strategies that have flowed from them in the 1990s, the authors' contributions reveal much about whether, in what sense, and how much 'identity' has been achieved in European security and defense matters. Since national policy communities continue to be the primary sites for formulating and articulating perceptions and attitudes relevant to security and defense issues, the accounts here presented are country-based and highlight country-specific connotations and associations.'

ID number: 80022747

Year: 1999

Type: M

## **PART II : JOURNAL ARTICLES**

## **DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES\*\***

**2009**

The Future of European Defence Policy.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 51, no. 5, October - November 2009, p. 143-154.)

Author(s):

1. Argenson, Pierre-Henri d'

Notes:

The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) will soon confront a threshold of progress beyond which controversial choices on future developments and final aims will have to be made.

ID Number: JA026211

Year: 2009

Type: ART

Die Europäische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik ist besser als ihr Ruf, aber schlechter als ihre Möglichkeiten.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 58. Jg., Nr. 10, Oktober 2009, S. 21-22.)

Author(s):

1. Clement, Rolf

ID Number: JA026215

Year: 2009

Type: ART

Empowering Paradise ? The ESDP at Ten.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 85, no. 2, March 2009, p. 227-246.)

Author(s):

1. Menon, Anand

Notes:

Since its formal launch in June 1999, the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) has developed at a remarkable rate. In the subsequent decade, the EU has carried out 22 ESDP military and civilian operations and become an important element of Europe's ability to respond to international crises. For all this, however, there remain grounds for concern. These relate in part to the fact that, for all the early activism of ESDP, those military missions undertaken to date have been relatively limited in size and scope. The EU has also strikingly failed to intervene in certain crises that once seemed ideally suited to an ESDP deployment. The ESDP has also to a degree failed to bring about the enhancement to European military capabilities that some had hoped would be its major achievement. More generally, there is a danger that an exclusive focus on EU security policies will serve merely to distract member states from a broader international strategic environment, with ESDP serving as an alibi for their continued failure to live up to their international security responsibilities.

ID Number: JA025714

Year: 2009

Type: ART

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\*\* This list contains material received as of November 30<sup>th</sup>, 2009 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 30 novembre 2009.

La PESD dix ans apres : vers une politique europeenne comme les autres ?.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE ET SECURITE COLLECTIVE, 65e annee, no. 722, aout - septembre 2009, p. 47-55.)

Author(s):

1. Nivet, Bastien

Notes:

La Politique europeenne de securite et de defense (PESD) n'est plus un grand chantier européen intergouvernemental strictement promu et controle par les gouvernements, mais une politique européenne qui se pratique au quotidien, essentiellement à Bruxelles. Au fil de ce processus, la Commission européenne et le Parlement européen ont commence a s'immiscer dans la mise en oeuvre de cette politique, tandis que les institutions bruxelloises plus directement en charge de la PESD operent a leur pleine mesure. Ces evolutions ne sont pas sans consequence sur la facon dont peut ou doit s'exprimer l'influence d'un Etat comme la France sur cette politique.

ID Number: JA026037

Year: 2009

Type: ART

Zehn Jahre Europäische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 58. Jg., Nr. 10, Oktober 2009, S. 14-16.)

Author(s):

1. Solana, Javier

ID Number: JA026213

Year: 2009

Type: ART

## 2008

Bilan et perspectives de la PESD (1998-2008).

(DEFENSE NATIONALE ET SECURITE COLLECTIVE, 64e annee, no. 8 - 9, aout - septembre 2008, p. 14-22.)

Author(s):

1. Claude, Gerard

Notes:

Apres avoir rappelle l'histoire de la Politique européenne de securite et de defense (PESD), tres marquee par la strategie americaine et celle de l'Alliance atlantique, l'auteur en dresse le bilan a la veille du 10e anniversaire du Sommet de Saint-Malo. A l'heure des choix, quatre options restent ouvertes a l'UE : une armee europeenne, une defense commune, un Schengen de la defense, ou un partage des taches avec l'OTAN et les Etats-Unis.

ID Number: JA025078

Year: 2008

Type: ART

Le plan de developpement des capacites : un outil revolutionnaire.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE ET SECURITE COLLECTIVE, 64e annee, no. 7, juillet 2008, p. 40-45.)

Author(s):

1. Goff, Jean-Rene Le

Notes:

Le plan de developpement des capacites, etabli conjointement par l'Agence europeenne de defense et les instances militaires de l'Union europeenne avec une forte implication des Etats membres, va etre presente dans sa premiere version complete en juillet 2008. C'est un outil revolutionnaire qui va non seulement favoriser le lancement de projets en cooperation destines a combler les lacunes capacitairees europeennes, mais aussi, a terme, structurer de maniere plus efficace la programmation des investissements de defense des pays membres. A condition que ces derniers saisissent la chance qui leur est

offerte de se l'approprier.

ID Number: JA025005

Year: 2008

Type: ART

Les nouveaux defis de la Politique europeenne de securite et de defense.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE ET SECURITE COLLECTIVE, 64e annee, no. 2, fevrier 2008, p. 11-18.)

Author(s):

1. Jouyet, Jean-Pierre

Notes:

L'auteur souligne l'enjeu que represente l'Europe de la defense pour la presidence francaise de l'Union europeenne. Le developpement de la PESD s'appuiera avant tout sur les potentialites offertes par le Traite de Lisbonne, dont la presidence francaise devra preparer la mise en oeuvre. Au-delà, le developpement de l'Europe de la defense doit pleinement contribuer au developpement plus large des capacites d'influence et d'action de l'Union europeenne dans le monde.

ID Number: JA024559

Year: 2008

Type: ART

2008 : une annee vitale pour la defense de l'UE.

(REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 69, printemps 2008, p. 127-135.)

Author(s):

1. Keohane, Daniel

Notes:

L'Europe de la Defense est confrontee a de nombreux defis en 2008. L'implication militaire et diplomatique europeenne a l'international devrait croitre, en raison du desengagement americain de certaines zones et de la necessite pour l'UE de pacifier ses pays frontaliers. Or, la defense europeenne manque de moyens. Le traite de Lisbonne prevoit, par ailleurs, un developpement et une reforme de la defense europeenne, avec la creation de cooperations structurees permanente. L'UE va eggalement probablement engager une reflexion sur les defis futurs de securite et de defense. Un autre enjeu est de tenter d'améliorer la relation OTAN-UE. La France doit ainsi convaincre la Grande-Bretagne et les nouveaux Etats membres, traditionnellement atlantistes, que le renforcement de la politique de defense de l'UE ne va pas nuire a l'OTAN.

ID Number: JA024759

Year: 2008

Type: ART

Much Ado About Little : The EU and Human Security.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 84, no. 1, January 2008, p. 131-143.)

Author(s):

1. Matlary, Janne Haaland

Notes:

The article examines the concept of human security as a legitimizing tool and as a doctrinal basis for the EU security policy.

ID Number: JA024602

Year: 2008

Type: ART

European Security and Defence Policy Deceleration : An Assessment of the ESDP Strategy.

(EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 17, no. 4, 2008, p. 421-433.)

Author(s):

1. Moustakis, Fotios
2. Violakis, Petros

Notes:

This article assesses the political and structural obstacles that have affected the development of a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). Furthermore, the article aims to identify and examine the measures that need to be introduced by the EU in order to accelerate the smoothness of ESDP's operability.

ID Number: JA025520

Year: 2008

Type: ART

Traite de Lisbonne et defense europeenne.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE ET SECURITE COLLECTIVE, 64e annee, no. 2, fevrier 2008, p. 55-62.)

Author(s):

1. Roger-Lacan, Veronique

Notes:

Le Traite de Lisbonne reitere les objectifs fondamentaux des Europeens dans le domaine de la defense : definition progressive d'une politique de defense commune, capacite autonome de decision et d'action et solidarite et securite communes pour identifier les risques de toute nature, y compris terroristes, et les moyens d'y faire face. Il propose trois types d'innovations pour la defense europeenne : nouvelles missions, nouveaux formats de cooperation, nouveau controle politique. Ces elements permettront aux Europeens qui expriment un besoin d'Europe pour leur securite, et aux Etats membres dont l'ancrage europeen se confirme, de definir ensemble des projets determinants pour la construction europeenne.

ID Number: JA024599

Year: 2008

Type: ART

The European Union Status of Forces Agreement (EU SOFA).

(JOURNAL OF CONFLICT AND SECURITY LAW, vol. 13, no. 3, Winter 2008, p. 353-391.)

Author(s):

1. Sari, Aurel

Notes:

This article offers an overview of the main jurisdictional provisions of the EU Status of Forces Agreement (EU SOFA) of 2003. The EU SOFA was signed by the representatives of the governments of the member states of the EU on 17 November 2003 and its purpose is to define the legal position of the military and civilian personnel, as well as the forces and headquarters, deployed by one EU member state in the territory of another member state in the context of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). The EU SOFA makes an important contribution to the development of the EU's crisis management capabilities. By addressing some of the key legal and practical questions raised by the presence of European military and civilian personnel in the territory of other EU member states, the Agreement facilitates their transit and temporary deployment throughout the territory of the EU for the purposes of the ESDP. The EU SOFA is based on the NATO Status of Forces Agreement (NATO) of 1951. As such, it confirms the pre-eminent position of the NATO SOFA as a model for multilateral status of forces agreements governing the legal position of visiting forces deployed among politically equal partners.

ID Number: JA025872

Year: 2008

Type: ART

Europaische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik von 2003 bis 2008.  
(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 57. Jg., Nr. 11, November 2008, S. 10-13.)

Author(s):

1. Solana, Javier

Notes:

A downright positive conclusion can be drawn five years after the beginning of the first ESDP mission. Who had deemed it possible five years ago that Europeans would provide for the security in eastern Chad, preserve peace in Aceh, train policemen in the Palestinian autonomy territories or contribute to the stabilization of the situation in Georgia ? We have achieved a lot within a very short period of time and turned Europe into a global actor who can be judged by its actions. And the demand for the security actor 'European Union' is not declining - quite the reverse ! We have to continue to see to it that the expectations and hopes placed in us will not be dashed. With each of the aforementioned operations the EU has learned something new, has advanced its capabilities. But there is still plenty of work ahead of us.

ID Number: JA025207

Year: 2008

Type: ART

Le merveilleux destin de la Politique de securite et de defense commune.  
(DEFENSE NATIONALE ET SECURITE COLLECTIVE, 64e annee, no. 7, juillet 2008, p. 31-39.)

Author(s):

1. Tiffou, Jean-Pierre

Notes:

Les photographies instantanees de la PESD sont regulierement critiquees par les eurosceptiques. Ils oublient de considerer l'ensemble du film qui montre un developpement rapide et continu. Certes des difficultes, institutionnelles, fonctionnelles et materielles existent; mais malgre cela les engagements sont toujours plus importants. Nous arrivons a la fin du premier episode. Le suivant est en passe de debuter avec la mise en oeuvre du Traite de Lisbonne. Grace a d'excellents fondamentaux et a la demande des citoyens europeens elle est porteuse d'un tres grand avenir.

ID Number: JA025004

Year: 2008

Type: ART

## 2007

Europa no esta segura.

(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 21, no. 115, enero - febrero 2007, p. 15-25.)

Author(s):

1. Ayala, Jose Enrique de

Notes:

Las naciones europeas deben abordar el futuro de su seguridad, del que depende el futuro de su independencia politica y su prosperidad, y asumir la responsabilidad en el campo de la defensa.

ID Number: JA023353

Year: 2007

Type: ART

Die Rolle des Weltraums in der Europaischen Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 56. Jg., Nr. 1, Januar 2007, S. 14-21.)

Author(s):

1. Beer, Thomas

ID Number: JA023189

Year: 2007

Type: ART

Growing without a Strategy ? The Case of European Security and Defence Policy.

(INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 42, no. 2, June 2007, p. 261-275.)

Author(s):

1. Bonvicini, Gianni

2. Regelsberger, Elfriede

Notes:

Contrary to the expectations of many experts and politicians, one of the most politically sensitive sectors of the European integration process, the common foreign and security policy, has seen remarkable growth in recent years. The pressure of crises and conflicts beyond the EU's borders and the need to deal with them in a unitary way has driven the governments of member states and the community institutions to take development of CFSP/ESDP more seriously. The process has been pragmatic, establishing the mechanisms and policies required to respond to the challenges. It is this bottom-up, disorderly growth that the Constitutional Treaty had attempted to rationalise in a coherent framework, completing the work of the preceding treaties. With the stalled ratification of the CT, this growth has continued. But it cannot go on indefinitely. In order to bring order and coherence into CFSP/ESDP bodies and procedures, the substance of the Constitutional Treaty must be saved and approved rapidly.

ID Number: JA023821

Year: 2007

Type: ART

Human Security : A New Strategic Narrative for Europe.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 83, no. 2, March 2007, p. 273-288.)

Author(s):

1. Kaldor, Mary

2. Martin, Mary

3. Selchow, Sabine

Notes:

This article examines the potential of human security as a narrative and operational frame for the European Union's external relations. Human security is about the security of individuals and communities and it links physical and material security - 'freedom from fear', and 'freedom from want'. The article addresses both the lexis (language) and praxis (practice) of human security in relation to the EU. Much of the language currently used in EU external relations, particularly crisis management, civil-military cooperation and conflict management, already contains elements of a human security approach. At the same time, the concept of human security goes beyond these terms and if formally adopted and elaborated could greatly strengthen the EU's role as a global security actor. The article develops five principles of human security - human rights, legitimate political authority, multilateralism and regional focus - and makes the case that the application of these principles would increase the coherence, effectiveness and visibility of EU missions. The article concludes that the adoption of a human security approach would build on the foundational ideas of Europe in overcoming a history of war and imperialism and could help to rally public opinion behind the

European idea. More importantly, it would contribute to closing the real security vacuum that exists in large parts of the world today.

ID Number: JA023521

Year: 2007

Type: ART

The Interconnection between the European Security Defense Policy and the Balkans.

(SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN AND BLACK SEA STUDIES, vol. 7, no. 1, March 2007, p. 139-157.)

Author(s):

1. Montanaro-Jankovski, Lucia

Notes:

Stability in the European Union (EU) and the Balkans are tightly interconnected. Following the re-emergence of ethnic conflicts and division in the Balkans, the EU increasingly has assumed greater responsibility in shaping post-Yugoslav security. Indeed, in the context of the growing scope of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), expectations are rising. As this article points out, however, major problems persist. There is a need to define more substantive priorities and mould a coherent policy. Many lessons can be learned from previous Balkan experiences, both in terms of achieving coherent operational success on the ground and by combining Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Community instruments. This article draws on such lessons to elaborate criteria for the deployment and foreign engagement of ESDP missions.

ID Number: JA023622

Year: 2007

Type: ART

Sechs Jahre Europäische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik : und dann ?.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 56. Jg., Nr. 12, Dezember 2007, S. 10-13.)

Author(s):

1. Perruche, Jean-Paul

ID Number: JA024364

Year: 2007

Type: ART

The ESDP in Motion : Opportunities and Constraints for the Application of an Integrated Civil-Military Operational Scenario.

(STUDIA DIPLOMATICA, vol. 60, no. 3, 2007, p. 157-18.)

Author(s):

1. Petrov, Petar

ID Number: JA024869

Year: 2007

Type: ART

Mehrheitsentscheidung - Europäische Armee - Gemeinsame Verteidigung : Entwicklungstendenzen der ESVP.

(OSTERREICHISCHE MILITARISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 45. Jg., Heft 6, November - Dezember 2007, S. 655-664.)

Author(s):

1. Rehrl, Jochen

ID Number: JA024361

Year: 2007

Type: ART

Military Capability Development in the ESDP : Towards Effective

Governance ?.

(CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 28, no. 2, August 2007, p. 357-383.)

Author(s):

1. Reynolds, Christopher

Notes:

Although the improvement of military capabilities has been a key rationale underpinning the development of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), EU member states' continued preference for non-binding, intergovernmental forms of 'soft' or 'new' governance in this policy field has limited progress significantly. It is argued here that while agreements based on such mechanisms are easier to make, they are also easier to break. Stronger governance elements, such as independent leadership and enhanced cooperation, are likely to be required if security ambitions are to be translated into the kind of credible, deployable military capabilities that member states seek. Clauses contained in the Constitutional Treaty, as well as the creation and consolidation of the European Defence Agency, permit a degree of optimism, however.'

ID Number: JA024112

Year: 2007

Type: ART

CFSP/ESDP and the New EU Treaty.

(PERCEPTIONS, vol. 12, no. 2 - 3, Summer - Autumn 2007, p. 1-25.)

Author(s):

1. Savasan, Zerrin

Notes:

This article aims to analyse the new EU Treaty's effects and implications on external relations, especially those aspects relating to the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP).

ID Number: JA026163

Year: 2007

Type: ART

Qu'est-ce que l'Europe de la defense ?.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE ET SECURITE COLLECTIVE, 63e annee, no. 4, avril 2007, p. 77-85.)

Author(s):

1. Scialom, Michel

Notes:

L'Europe de la defense, dont on parle beaucoup, exprime au depart une ambition dans le cadre de la construction plus vaste de l'Union europeenne. Elle peut s'enorgueillir de realisations tangibles, notamment sur le terrain, et inspire les rapprochements industriels. Pour autant, il ne faudrait pas la considerer comme une realite figee car elle ne se concoit que dans une perspective dynamique, qui a toujours ete celle de l'Europe. Sous reserve que les incertitudes institutionnelles soient levees et que la complementarite avec l'OTAN soit reelle, elle ne pourra que s'approfondir, s'appuyant a la fois sur ce qui existe deja et sur l'apport qu'elle represente pour la paix et la securite du continent.

ID Number: JA023598

Year: 2007

Type: ART

Ist die EU auf die zukünftigen Herausforderungen der Sicherheits- und

Verteidigungspolitik vorbereitet ?.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 56. Jg., Nr. 10, Oktober 2007, S. 9-12.)

Author(s):

1. Solana, Javier

ID Number: JA024164

Year: 2007

Type: ART

Institutionnelle Aspekte der Europäischen Sicherheits- und

Verteidigungspolitik.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 56. Jg., Nr. 9, September 2007, S. 8-11.)

Author(s):

1. Wogau, Karl von

ID Number: JA024013

Year: 2007

Type: ART

## 2006

European Security and Defense Policy Demystified : Nation-Building and Identity in the European Union.

(ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY, vol. 33, no. 1, October 2006, p. 24-42.)

Author(s):

1. Anderson, Stephanie

2. Seitz, Thomas R.

Notes:

From a military standpoint, the European Union's Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) defies logic. Why would the European allies seek to create a competing military force outside NATO when worried about American isolationism and when unable and unwilling to dedicate the necessary resources ? This article suggests an alternative motive behind the European Union's establishment of a defense program - the development and enhancement of a 'European Identity'. In short, the ESDP is designed in no small part to further the project of nation-building in a broadening European Union. This article proposes a social-constructivist framework for analyzing this development.

ID Number: JA022966

Year: 2006

Type: ART

European Defence Capability and Capacity Needs : A Long-Term Vision.

(MILITARY TECHNOLOGY, vol. 30, no. 12, 2006, p. 16-25.)

Notes:

Every day, defence planners, technologists and industrialists across Europe take decisions which materially affect the sort of defence capabilities, and underpinning technological and industrial base, that Europe will have at its disposal in 20 years time. Those involved in such decisions are, in the French phrase, 'preparing the future' - and they need the best help that can be given them to understand the future for which they must prepare. Accordingly, the Ministerial Board of the European Defence Agency (EDA) tasked the Agency, in November 2005, to lead a wide-ranging exercise to develop an initial long-term vision of European defence capability and capacity needs, looking some two decades ahead. The results of this study are presented here.

ID Number: JA023201

Year: 2006

Type: ART

European Union Security and Defense Policy : Response to Unipolarity ?.  
(SECURITY STUDIES, vol. 15, no. 2, April - June 2006, p. 149-186.)

Author(s):

1. Posen, Barry R.

Notes:

The European Union has, since 1999, moved deliberately, if slowly, to develop the capability to undertake autonomously a range of demanding political military operations beyond Europe's borders. This effort, the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), is a puzzle insofar as post-Cold War Europe is very secure, and most European nations are members of an established alliance, the US-led North Atlantic Treaty Organization. ESDP is best explained by the international relations theory known as structural realism, the modern guise of balance of power theory. Though European states are not motivated by a perception of an imminent threat from the United States, they are balancing US power. The concentration of global power in the United States, unipolarity, is uncomfortable even for its friends who fear the abandonment that US freedom of action permits and who wish to influence the global political environment the United States could create.

ID Number: JA022923

Year: 2006

Type: ART

Welche Fahigkeiten braucht die europaische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik ?.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 55. Jg., Nr. 9, September 2006, S. 11-15.)

Author(s):

1. Wogau, Karl von

ID Number: JA022862

Year: 2006

Type: ART

## 2005

La politica europea de seguridad y defensa.

(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 19, no. 104, marzo - abril 2005, p. 47-61.)

Author(s):

1. Ayala, Jose Enrique de

Notes:

La defensa comun europea es posible y en los ultimos anos el avance de la PESD ha sido muy significativo. Si se quiere construir una Europa de los ciudadanos ha que senalar que el 78 por cien de los europeos esta a favor de una politica de seguridad y defensa europea comun.

ID Number: JA021420

Year: 2005

Type: ART

Die spezifisch europaische Verteidigungspolitik und -planung.

(OSTERREICHISCHE MILITARISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 43. Jg., Heft 6, November - Dezember 2005, S. 731-738.)

Author(s):

1. Brok, Elmar

ID Number: JA022023

Year: 2005

Type: ART

Quelles forces militaires pour quelle Europe de la defense ?.  
(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 61e annee, no. 1, janvier 2005, p. 29-40.)

Author(s):

1. Chauvancy, Francois

Notes:

Quelle sera la place de l'Europe puissance militaire ?

L'expression de la puissance peut en effet difficilement ignorer l'aptitude et la volonte a mener une guerre de haute intensite. Or, l'organisation actuelle et future, definie notamment par le Traite constitutionnel, les experiences de structures militaires multinationales, font des forces armees plus un laboratoire de l'integration europeenne qu'une fonction destinee a jouer son role a part entiere au sein de l'Europe de la defense. Cette situation laisse donc quelque doute sur l'efficacite a attendre des efforts en cours.

ID Number: JA021142

Year: 2005

Type: ART

Trois scenarios pour une PESD.

(POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 70e annee, no. 2, ete 2005, p. 285-295.)

Author(s):

1. Fabry, Elvire
2. Lebas, Colomban

Notes:

La Politique europeenne de securite et de defense souffre, en depit de ses progres (avancees institutionnelles, operations exterieures ...), de faiblesses fondamentales (oppositions entre Europeens, traditions des grandes diplomatises, bref absence d'une reelle politique etrangere commune). Les risques et menaces emergents incitent neanmoins a visualiser son futur a travers trois scenarios : celui de la 'Grande Suisse', celui des 'Noyaux durs', et celui du retrait americain d'Europe.

ID Number: JA021584

Year: 2005

Type: ART

Menselijke veiligheid als doctrine voor het gemeenschappelijk buitenlands en veiligheidsbeleid van de Europese Unie.

(VREDE EN VEILIGHEID, jg. 34, nr. 2, 2005, p. 172-193.)

Author(s):

1. Glasius, Marlies
2. Kaldor, Mary

Notes:

In het tijdperk van globalisering is een menselijke veiligheidsbenadering het meest realistische model voor een Europees veiligheidsbeleid. Een dergelijk beleid komt multilateraal tot stand, in overeenstemming met de regels van het internationale recht, legt de nadruk op individuen en opereert volgens de logica van rechtshandhaving in plaats van vredeshandhaving dan wel traditionele oorlogvoering. Dit artikel is gebaseerd op de voorstellen van de op verzoek van Hoge Vertegenwoordiger voor het Gemeenschappelijk Buitenlands en Veiligheidsbeleid Javier Solana ingestelde onafhankelijke Studiegroep inzake Europese Veiligheidscapaciteiten, die afgelopen september haar rapport uitbracht. Het is een pleidooi voor de ontwikkeling van een eigen Europees veiligheidsbeleid met als fundament een praktische uitwerking van het idee van menselijke veiligheid.

ID Number: JA021659

Year: 2005

Type: ART

Defense europeenne : quelles perspectives ?.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 61e annee, no. 5, mai 2005, p. 9-16.)

Author(s):

1. Haenel, Hubert

Notes:

La defense est l'un des domaines ou l'Europe a le plus progresse au cours des dernieres annees. Le Traite constitutionnel poursuit cette evolution et ouvre de nouvelles perspectives. Le developpement de cette Europe de la defense ne signifie pas que l'armee ne trouve plus sa legitimite dans la Nation, car il n'y a pas de contradiction entre la Nation et l'Europe.

ID Number: JA021517

Year: 2005

Type: ART

ESDP after the EU Constitution.

(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 150, no. 1, February 2005, p. 33-37.)

Author(s):

1. Isakova, Irina

Notes:

The purpose of this article is to analyze the provisions of the EU constitution related to the ESDP, compare the proclaimed goals with some of the realities on the ground and map the potential challenges for transatlantic relations.

ID Number: JA021310

Year: 2005

Type: ART

The Future of the European Security and Defence Policy.

(CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 26, no. 1, April 2005, p. 44-61.)

Author(s):

1. King, Anthony

Notes:

The European Security and Defence Policy marks an important political moment when European integration has been extended to the issue of defence. Understandably, there has been extensive commentary on the ESDP, most of which has focused on the ESDP's institutional, industrial or military deficiencies. These commentaries have been illuminating but by concentrating on the manifest weaknesses of the ESDP, scholars have perhaps neglected to discuss explicitly how a coherent ESDP could develop. Drawing on recent work by Ben Tonra this paper discusses the social conditions which are likely to be necessary if the ESDP is to develop into a robust policy. Above all else, a coherent ESDP depends upon the development of a binding sense of mutual obligation between France, Germany and Britain. These nations need to commit themselves to collective defence goals. The paper goes on to argue that for this collective commitment to be developed between these nations, the ESDP requires missions. Only through missions, in which these nations together experience a shared threat, will enduring collective interests and the political will to address them be developed. The future of the ESDP will thus be finally determined by the actions which are carried out in its name. In the end, this may mean that a European defence identity develops not through an independent ESDP but through NATO.

ID Number: JA021741

Year: 2005

Type: ART

Europaische Sicherheits-und Verteidigungspolitik.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 54. Jg., Nr. 11, November 2005, S. 32-35.)

Author(s):

1. Kubovcsik, Nina
2. Wiemers, Matthias

ID Number: JA022172

Year: 2005

Type: ART

L'etat-major de l'Union europeenne se deploie.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 61e annee, no. 7, juillet 2005, p. 19-27.)

Author(s):

1. Morel, Jean-Francois

Notes:

L'EMUE celebre son quatrieme anniversaire en s'agrandissant de maniere significative et en envoyant du personnel en mission pour repondre aux besoins croissants de la PESD, notamment dans les Balkans et en Afrique. L'un de ses travaux phare est la mise en place de la reaction rapide europeenne - sous la forme des Groupements tactiques - et de mesures destinees a optimiser les delais de prise de decision de l'UE. A certains stades, il est bon de rechercher les tendances de fond a travers les dynamiques qui se sont progressivement mises en place, afin d'identifier les perspectives d'un mouvement encore jeune.

ID Number: JA021690

Year: 2005

Type: ART

European Security and Defence in the EU Constitutional Treaty.

(JOURNAL OF CONFLICT & SECURITY LAW, vol. 10, no. 2, Summer 2005, p. 187-207.)

Author(s):

1. Naert, Frederik

Notes:

This contribution analyses the provisions on the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) in the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, focusing on elements that constitute a further development of the present *acquis* in this field. It successively addresses the adoption and status of the EU Constitution and the place of the CSDP therein, the objectives, scope and missions of the CSDP, the actors, decision-making, instruments and implementation, capabilities and permanent structured cooperation, financing, enhanced cooperation and cooperation with third States and other international organisation and concludes with some final remarks. The author argues that the commitment to a common defence as a future objective, the mutual defence clause, even with its caveats, the explicitly broader definition of the EU's crisis management missions, the possibility of enhanced cooperation on defence and of entrusting the execution of a mission to a group of Member States, the commitment to improve capabilities, the permanent structured cooperation and the creation of the function of the Union Minister for Foreign Affairs are significant positive developments in the EU Constitution regarding the CSDP. However, he submits that the CSDP still faces several major challenges, in particular some of the provisions concerned are rather ambiguous, a reference to cooperation with NATO is lacking. Member States will have to live up to their commitments and it remains to be seen whether the EU Constitution will enter into force.

ID Number: JA021723

Year: 2005

Type: ART

Europaische Optionen der Intervention fur internationale Sicherheit : die ESVP-Krisenreaktion vor der Bewahrung.  
(OSTERREICHISCHE MILITARISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 43. Jg., Heft 6, November - Dezember 2005, S. 723-730.)

Author(s):  
1. Ruhl, Lothar  
ID Number: JA022024  
Year: 2005  
Type: ART

## 2004

The Underlying Dynamics of the European Security and Defence Policy.  
(PERCEPTIONS, vol. 9, no. 1, March - May 2004, p. 119-146.)

Author(s):  
1. Acikmese, Sinem A.

Notes:

The main purpose of this article is to explore the evolution and the general framework of the CESDP with a view to clarifying why the Europeans, with Britain sitting in the driving seat, have embarked upon such an unprecedented journey to give the Union a genuine defence identity.

ID Number: JA021114  
Year: 2004  
Type: ART

Militaire integratie in de EU : een nieuw hoofdstuk ?.

(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 58, nr. 12, december 2004, p. 607-610.)

Author(s):  
1. Biscop, Sven

Notes:

The author addresses the current process of military integration in the European Union. This process is geared to achieving the Headline Goal, i.e. the ambition to be able to deploy 60,000 troops within sixty days and sustain that deployment for at least one year. The Headline Goal concerns only a fraction of the total armed forces of the Member States - there is no vision yet on the future of the other 1,5 million men and women in military uniform. Nevertheless, all Member States are aware of the need to continue the transformation of their armed forces. In particular for the smaller Member States this will only be possible through far-reaching European cooperation and specialisation, for reasons of budget as well as of efficiency. Ideally, the political ambitions embodied in the European Security Strategy would be translated into military ambitions - how many operations does the EU want to be able to implement at any one time - which in turn can be translated into detailed capability objectives as the basis for force planning at the EU level. As long as not all Member States are willing to proceed that far, permanent structured cooperation as provided in the draft Constitution could offer a platform for deeper integration between those that are willing to participate.

ID Number: JA021225  
Year: 2004  
Type: ART

Von segmentierter zu vernetzter Sicherheitspolitik in der EU der 25.  
(OSTERREICHISCHE MILITARISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 42. Jg., Heft 3, Mai - Juni  
2004, S. 259-268.)

Author(s):

1. Borchert, Heiko
2. Rummel, Reinhardt

Notes:

The future will demand a security approach that goes beyond the strict separation of military, police, and civil operation options and allows for a new operational spectrum that facilitates fluent transition among them. Despite its shortcomings, the ESDP is, in essence, the right answer to the challenges we are going to face. A reform of the security sector is in the interest of a European Union comprising 25 states and will contribute substantially to achieving ESS goals, while expanding the security zone and strengthening the international order. In addition, there are signs that the European network-centric approach of combining military and non-military capabilities will further trans-Atlantic relations, particularly with regard to stabilization tasks. This may positively influence the development of capabilities on both sides of the Atlantic, whether in a joint or in a coordinated manner.

ID Number: JA020441

Year: 2004

Type: ART

Dotons l'Union europeenne d'un budget de PESD.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 60e annee, no. 7, juillet 2004, p. 13-26.)

Author(s):

1. Cardot, Patrice

Notes:

C'est d'un budget dont l'UE a besoin pour mener a bien l'ensemble des investissements qui sont indispensables a la PESD. L'heure est venue d'une initiative budgétaire ambitieuse qui soit de nature a ameliorer sensiblement la performance de l'Union en matière de sécurité et de défense. Tout indique a la fois la nécessité politique, l'urgence stratégique, l'intérêt économique, social et financier d'une initiative en faveur d'une telle ouverture; laquelle renforcerait indubitablement la fonction d'intégration du budget de l'Union. Le présent article montre en quoi la constitution d'un tel budget est désormais possible, au prix de quelques décisions politiques, juridiques et financières 'raisonnables'.

ID Number: JA020658

Year: 2004

Type: ART

La politica europea de seguridad y defensa.

(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 18, no. 97, enero - febrero 2004, p. 127-137.)

Author(s):

1. Casajuana, Carles

Notes:

La UE es un actor global y el desarrollo de la PESD debe garantizarle disponer de las capacidades necesarias y estructuras apropiadas para prevenir conflictos y gestionar crisis en el exterior.

ID Number: JA020126

Year: 2004

Type: ART

Die rasche Entwicklung der Europaischen Sicherheits- und  
Verteidigungspolitik.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 53. Jg., Nr. 1, Januar 2004, S. 10-11.)

Author(s):

1. Cox, Pat

ID Number: JA020079

Year: 2004

Type: ART

La politique de securite de l'Union europeenne en devenir.

(POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 69e annee, no. 3, automne 2004, p. 637-648.)

Author(s):

1. Ehrhart, Hans-Georg

Notes:

Apres les profondes divisions face a la guerre contre l'Irak, qui semblaient marquer l'arret des progres de la politique de securite et de defense de l'Union europeenne, ceux-ci se sont au contraire acceleres, en particulier grace a la cooperation de l'Allemagne, de la France et du Royaume-Uni. De l'adoption d'une strategie europeenne de securite a la creation d'une cellule de planification operationnelle au sein de l'etat-major militaire de l'Union, en passant par la formulation d'une politique commune de non-proliferation, la creation d'une agence europeenne de l'armement, la reprise de la mission de la Force de stabilisation en Bosnie ou l'intervention militaire en Republique democratique du Congo, l'Union s'affirme ainsi de plus en plus comme un veritable acteur global dans le domaine de la securite. Certes, dans une Europe a 25, une volonte politique commune doit encore emerger pour mettre en place une veritable Union de la defense et de la securite. En attendant, les Etats membres partisans de l'integration de la politique de securite devront continuer, au moins provisoirement, a se tenir a l'avant-garde.

ID Number: JA020874

Year: 2004

Type: ART

The EU, Crisis Management and Peace Support Operations.

(INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, vol. 11, no. 3, Autumn 2004, Special Issue.)

Notes:

The purpose of this special issue is to examine the role the European Union has played in recent external crisis management and in peace support operations given the impact of the 2001 terrorist attack of 9/11 on Western policies and the EU's recently acquired access to military structures and forces, the so-called European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). The volume assesses whether the EU's involvement in recent external conflict provides evidence for the emergence of a 'European approach' that is qualitatively different from that pursued by the United States. At the same time, starting from the assumption that reactions to real or perceived 'external crises' are shaped by internal politics, capabilities and policy-making structures of Western national states, the aim of this volume is to shed some light on the complex nature of EU policy-making in the area of crisis management by looking at its decision-making procedures, its civilian and military capabilities for external intervention and its evolving military doctrine and security strategy.

ID Number: JA020806

Year: 2004

Type: ART

Au-delà du projet de Constitution européenne : pour une communauté de défense.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 60ème année, no. 12, décembre 2004, p. 149-155.)

Author(s):

1. Fennebresque, Michel

Notes:

Si la Politique européenne de sécurité et de défense (PESD) a débouché sur des avancées concrètes dans le domaine de la gestion des crises, aucun progrès n'est en vue en matière de défense commune. La Convention européenne avait proposé l'instauration, au sein de l'Union, d'une coopération plus étroite entre les Etats qui souhaiteraient aller plus vite et plus loin en ce domaine. Le projet de traité ne retenant pas cette disposition, l'auteur propose que les Etats intéressés mettent sur pied cette 'Communauté de défense' à côté de l'Union.

ID Number: JA021117

Year: 2004

Type: ART

Parliamentary Scrutiny of European Security and Defence Policy : Is There Anybody in Charge ?.

(PERSPECTIVES, no. 22, Summer 2004, p. 75-93.)

Author(s):

1. Gavrilescu, Suzana-Elena

Notes:

The author takes a fresh look at parliamentary scrutiny of ESDP to ask : is there anybody in charge ? Both national and European parliamentary oversight mechanisms are insufficient to address in isolation the challenges of a multi-level policy such as the ESDP. The EU presently has a good opportunity to develop inter-parliamentary mechanisms able to bridge the gap between the national and European levels of scrutiny. But will this opportunity be grasped ?

ID Number: JA020883

Year: 2004

Type: ART

Not Such a Soft Power : The External Deployment of European Forces.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 46, no. 2, Summer 2004, p. 163-182.)

Author(s):

1. Giegerich, Bastian

2. Wallace, William

Notes:

Despite the failure of EU member states to meet their 2003 targets for the Headline Goal, which would make their formal commitment to a European Security and Defence Policy operational, there was significant progress in other areas of European defence cooperation that year. Among them were the 'Berlin-Plus' arrangements for cooperation between NATO and EU military operations; the transfer to the EU of responsibility for peacekeeping in Macedonia (Operation Concordia) and for policing in Bosnia; and the successful launch of the EU's first long-range operation, Operation Artemis, in the Eastern Congo. In fact, there has been a remarkable increase in the scale, distance and diversity of external operations by European forces - an increase that has scarcely registered in public debate across Europe, let alone the United States. At the same time that EU governments were slipping behind the Headline Goals target, they were sustaining 50,000-60,000 troops on operations outside their common boundaries, in more than 20 countries in southeast Europe, Afghanistan and Central Asia, Iraq and the Gulf, and Africa.

ID Number: JA020586

Year: 2004

Type: ART

ESDP and NATO : Assuring Complementarity.

(INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 39, no. 1, January - March 2004, p. 51-70.)

Author(s):

1. Larrabee, F. Stephen

Notes:

The author analyses the impact of the latest developments in European defence on EU/US relations, underlining that since Spring 2003, ESDP has again emerged as a major source of discord. He argues that a rigid division of labour is unviable and puts forward a few suggestions aimed at improving transatlantic security cooperation.

ID Number: JA020413

Year: 2004

Type: ART

L'Europe, puissance par la defense ?.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 60e annee, no. 5, mai 2004, p. 42-54.)

Author(s):

1. Lefebvre, Maxime

Notes:

L'histoire nous enseigne que l'existence d'une menace commune n'a jamais permis d'unifier l'Europe. C'est l'éloignement de la menace après la fin de la guerre froide et le basculement d'une défense territoriale à une défense de projection, qui ouvre paradoxalement la voie à une 'Europe puissance' par la défense; mais les ambitions de cette 'Europe puissance' sont limitées à la fois par l'hyperpuissance américaine et par les divergences toujours possibles entre puissances européennes.

ID Number: JA020483

Year: 2004

Type: ART

Suppletifs des Americains, belle ambition pour l'Europe.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 60e annee, no. 11, novembre 2004, p. 37-46.)

Author(s):

1. Magnuszewski, Pierre

Notes:

L'Europe a-t-elle, ou n'a-t-elle pas, les moyens de sa puissance ? Lui faut-il toujours ce tuteur si possessif ? On a parlé d' 'inhibition incompréhensible'. Après s'être, hier, déchirée sur la guerre en Irak, elle préfère aujourd'hui tempérer, voire oublier; ou encore se resigner. La volonté politique, qui lui fait tant défaut, n'émanera pas des textes, elle viendra des individus. Sans doute lui faudra-t-il aussi une nouvelle race d'hommes . Dans le domaine de la défense, elle rappelle, avec force et détermination, ce qu'elle disait au semestre précédent et qui reprenait déjà ce qu'elle se proposait de décider six mois auparavant. Puis, elle s'aligne. Osera-t-elle un jour s'élancer, ou l'action (politique) l'effraie-t-elle à ce point ? Les craintes, quant à cette autonomie qu'elle prétend vouloir cultiver, sont largement fondées .

ID Number: JA021026

Year: 2004

Type: ART

The Arming of the European Union : Explaining the Armaments Dimension of

European Security and Defence Policy.

(PERSPECTIVES, no. 22, Summer 2004, p. 7-21.)

Author(s):

1. Mawdsley, Jocelyn

Notes:

The author offers here an explanation of the arming of the European Union. The focus of ESDP is, surprisingly, on military capabilities and the armaments thus required. Such a direction is at odds with the former orientation of CFSP. The question is whether this is due to the dominance of Britain and France in ESDP, or whether the EU has acquired an arms dynamic which is leading to a shift in the way the EU constructs its own external identity.

ID Number: JA020879

Year: 2004

Type: ART

From Crisis to Catharsis : ESDP after Iraq.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 80, no. 4, July 2004, p. 631-648.)

Author(s):

1. Menon, Anand

Notes:

For many observers, the Iraq crisis spelled the end of EU ambitions in the defence sphere. The profound public and bitter divisions that emerged were seen as illustrative of the insuperable problems confronting ESDP. This article argues, however, that the reverse is in fact the case. Far from sounding the death knell for ESDP, the crisis has had a cathartic effect in compelling the member states to face up to and resolve the major ambiguities that had always threatened to undermine EU defence policies. Consequently, these member states have, in the months following the war, laid the basis not only for a more modest but also for a more effective ESDP.

ID Number: JA020688

Year: 2004

Type: ART

2004 : oser la defense europeenne !.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 60e annee, no. 5, mai 2004, p. 83-95.)

Author(s):

1. Montesquiou, Aymeri De

Notes:

En 2004, le defense europeenne est a un tournant de son evolution. Largement souhaitee par les citoyens, elle s'organise selon un axe franco-allemand avec l'appui decisif de la Grande-Bretagne, qui entretient des relations privilegiees avec les Etats-Unis mais qui sait que son avenir est desormais en Europe. La defense europeenne se construit egalement au regard de la nouvelle doctrine strategique americaine qui privilegie les alliances de circonstance au detriment des alliances classiques et prone la guerre preventive.

ID Number: JA020486

Year: 2004

Type: ART

Le developpement des capacites militaires de l'Union europeenne.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 60e annee, no. 6, juin 2004, p. 65-73.)

Author(s):

1. Perruche, Jean-Paul

Notes:

La defense europeenne a commence a se concretiser sur le terrain puisque deux operations militaires, l'une proche, l'autre lointaine, ont ete accomplies l'an dernier sous la banniere de l'Union. Une troisieme est envisagee dans les Balkans dans les mois qui viennent. Si les capacites europeennes d'analyse de la situation internationale et de decision autonome sont desormais en place et ont subi l'epreuve des faits, le developpement de capacites militaires mobiles et interoperables est une condition majeure pour la credibilite de la PESD.

ID Number: JA020553

Year: 2004

Type: ART

ESDP and the Structure of World Power.

(INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 39, no. 1, January - March 2004, p.

5-17.)

Author(s):

1. Posen, Barry R.

Notes:

Disputes within the transatlantic alliance over the necessity and timing of the 2003 US-led war with Iraq and the modalities of the reconstruction of that country have produced doubts about the future of transatlantic relations. This article considers this future from a theoretical point of view : what does 'realism', the oldest and (arguably) most reliable theory of international politics, suggest about the future of transatlantic relations ? What are the larger forces that shape this issue ? These questions are examined in light of one of the more peculiar developments of the last decade : the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). Why does the EU, absent the Soviet Union, and largely sheltered under the umbrella of the mighty United States, choose to spend time and resources on such a project ?

ID Number: JA020410

Year: 2004

Type: ART

L'Union a-t-elle besoin de la PESD ?.

(POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 69e annee, no. 2, ete 2004, p. 361-373.)

Author(s):

1. Rotfeld, Adam D.

Notes:

Une politique de securite commune europeenne vise d'abord a preserver l'Europe d'un retour aux egoismes nationaux. Elle prend en compte la necessite du multilateralisme, qui s'affirme de plus en plus nettement. Mais la Politique etrangere de securite et de defense (PESD) n'unifie ni les interets, ne les conceptions differentes des Etats participants. Les rapports de l'Union europeenne et de l'Alliance constituent, entre ces Etats, un debat central : la Pologne croit que la PESD doit avancer en cooperation et en harmonie avec l'Organisation du traite de l'Atlantique Nord (OTAN), et dans le respect des engagements deja contractes. L'enjeu n'est ici rien moins que l'emergence d'une culture commune de securite entre Europeens, qui leur donne les moyens de se mesurer aux problemes strategiques d'aujourd'hui : ceux que posent l'aire mediterraneenne, les armes de destruction massive ou le terrorisme.

ID Number: JA020606

Year: 2004

Type: ART

Gemeinsame Aussen-, Sicherheits-, und Verteidigungspolitik der erweiterten EU.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 53. Jg., Nr. 6, Juni 2004, S. 8-10.)

Author(s):

1. Solana, Javier

Notes:

With the new terms provided for in the constitutional treaty the integration process in the fields of Common Foreign and Security Policy and Common Security and Defence Policy will continue in an undiminished scope, especially since most of these stipulations have already been initiated independently of the constitutional treaty by earlier decisions of the European Council. The willingness to find solutions to European problems could indeed be more distinct. But we should not forget that foreign and security policy represents a core area of national sovereignty which many politicians are still hesitant about consigning it to Europe. However, common foreign and security policy is a necessity if Europe is to succeed in meeting the challenges and in becoming a global actor.

ID Number: JA020570

Year: 2004

Type: ART

Evolving European Security Capabilities and EU-Turkish Relations.

(PERCEPTIONS, vol. 9, no. 1, March - May 2004, p. 99-118.)

Author(s):

1. Terzi, Ozlem

Notes:

This paper focuses on the place and potential of European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) in the European security structure and analyses the perception and reaction of Turkey towards such an emergent European security establishment as an example of a third country's perception of ESDP. The paper firstly explains the development of ESDP, its content and its relationship with NATO, and discusses its place in the European security architecture. Secondly, the paper summarises the reactions of the US, Russia and other non-EU European NATO members towards the ESDP. Thirdly, the paper focuses on Turkey's reaction towards the ESDP and analyses the reasons for its veto in NATO against the automatic recourse by the EU to NATO assets, coupled with the perception of the disruption of the balance between Greece and Turkey in the European security architecture. Finally, the paper presents an analysis of the developments that have led to the lifting of the Turkish veto and the agreement reached between the EU and NATO. It concludes that the transformation of the EU into a security actor distinct from NATO has the potential to create new dividing lines in Europe and thus the EU should preserve its civilian power image in order to continue to promote cooperation and inclusion in Europe.

ID Number: JA021113

Year: 2004

Type: ART

NATO, the EU and ESDP : An Emerging Division of Labour ?.  
(CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 25, no. 3, December 2004, p.  
430-451.)

Author(s):

1. Whitman, Richard G.

Notes:

The security landscape in Europe since the end of the Cold War has been marked by the dominance of NATO as the sole credible structure for military security. The situation is undergoing a transformation. There is now the existence of an embryonic division of labour between the European Union, through its ESDP, and NATO. To understand how this situation has arisen requires an understanding of the manner in which the EU has developed a military security identity and this article commences by examining the recent historical development of the ESDP. The article then proceeds to identify the nature of the emerging division of labour between the EU/ESDP and NATO. The examination is structured by identifying four sets of reasons behind the development of the emergent division of labour : the development of an EU consensus on military security; the 'new' NATO dynamic; atrophy in transatlantic relations; and finally, operational developments.

ID Number: JA021504

Year: 2004

Type: ART

The Reform of ESDP and EU-NATO Cooperation.

(INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 39, no. 1, January - March 2004, p.  
71-82.)

Author(s):

1. Wijk, Rob de

Notes:

The author examines the institutional development of ESDP to date and its effects on EU-NATO cooperation. European capabilities are, in his view, very important for NATO's effectiveness. Thus, he argues, if the US wants NATO to survive as an effective organisation, it should support the development of EU defence cooperation since this is the only way Europe can endow itself with credible capabilities.

ID Number: JA020414

Year: 2004

Type: ART

## 2003

The Institutional Reform of ESDP and Post-Prague NATO.

(INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 38, no. 3, July - September 2003, p.  
31-46.)

Author(s):

1. Bailes, Alyson J. K.

Notes:

The author analyses the rationale for reform of ESDP and its interrelationship with the parallel transformation of NATO. She notes that from the outset ESDP has been characterised by an emphasis on capabilities and crisis management based on coalitions of the willing and the able. However, the European Convention adopted reform proposals that seem to go in a different direction. One of these is to create a 'defence Euro-zone', which, in the author's view, could prove divisive and is unlikely to be accepted by the smaller and weaker countries. More convincing, according to the author, are other proposals such as introducing a solidarity clause for mutual assistance to deal with natural and man-made disasters and extending the so-called Petersberg tasks.

ID Number: JA019756

Year: 2003

Type: ART

GBVB : 'Gemeenschappelijk of Geen Buitenlands en Veiligheidsbeleid' ?.  
(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 57, nr. 9, september 2003, p. 403-406.)

Author(s):

1. Broek, Hans van den

Notes:

The author argues that whereas in economic terms the European Union has proved to be a global giant, in international politics it is not much more than a dwarf, as has clearly been illustrated in the recent Iraqi crisis. In order to deliver the EU from this political micro status, it should accept leadership in its own set. The author therefore proposes that France, the United Kingdom and Germany now begin to take up their joint responsibility in crisis situations. These countries are the heavyweights among the member states, and, possibly even more important, in this 'Group of Three' the three different political mainstreams which tend to rival in each crisis situation, are represented, i.e. the transatlantic reflexes of the United Kingdom, the continental reflexes of France and the military reticent reflexes of Germany. Supposing these three countries are able - from their respective backgrounds and political orientations - to arrive at a joint proposal, there is a very good chance it will receive the support of the other member states (twenty-two in the future EU).

ID Number: JA019591

Year: 2003

Type: ART

Europäische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 52. Jg., Nr. 11, November 2003, S. 8-12.)

Author(s):

1. Brok, Elmar

ID Number: JA019915

Year: 2003

Type: ART

The European Parliament and European Union Security and Defence Policy.

(EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 12, no. 2, Summer 2003, p. 1-20.)

Author(s):

1. Cutler, Robert M.

2. Lingen, Alexander Van

Notes:

Acquisition of co-decisional authority in home and foreign affairs was a significant turning point in the institutional history of the European Parliament (EP). The EP has become, as a result, the driver behind the EU's institutional development and adaptation to its changing international environment. The increasing confluence of CFSP/ESDP issue areas with the issue areas of EU enlargement illustrates the significance of the EP's participation. The relevant deliberations of the Convention on the Future of Europe also reflect this development. The EP is, through its Members, the EU organ closest to the blurry frontier between the (EU) 'system' and its (international) 'environment'.

ID Number: JA020329

Year: 2003

Type: ART

Usage de la force et promotion des valeurs et normes internationales : quel(s) fondement(s) pour la politique europeenne de securite et de defense ?.

(ETUDES INTERNATIONALES, vol. 34, no. 1, mars 2003, p. 5-24.)

Author(s):

1. Delcourt, Barbara

Notes:

Dans une premiere partie, un releve systematique des declarations de la CE/UE et de ses Etats membres a ete effectue afin de degager les lignes directrices du positionnement europeen en matiere de recours a la force depuis les debuts de la cooperation politique europeenne. D'une part, on peut constater que, conformement a une tradition d'inspiration kantienne, l'usage de la contrainte est parfois considere par les Europeens comme une condition d'effectivite du droit, en particulier des normes relatives aux droits des personnes. D'autre part, un certain nombre de prises de position apparaissent nettement plus en phase avec des presupposes realistes d'inspiration hobbesienne qui etablissent un lien entre l'existence d'interets particuliers et le recours a la force. En conclusion, on ne peut que relever le caractere tres ambigu du discours europeen, une situation qui peut s'expliquer par la difficulte de definir un projet politique commun.

ID Number: JA018947

Year: 2003

Type: ART

Flexible Models of Governance : Making CFSP and ESDP Work.

(INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 38, no. 3, July - September 2003, p. 15-30.)

Author(s):

1. Diedrichs, Udo  
2. Jopp, Mathias

Notes:

The authors examine the rules and procedures regulating the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy. They concentrate, in particular, on the mechanisms for flexibility in conducting ESDP which allow willing and able EU members to engage in deeper defence cooperation even if other European partners do not wish to participate. The authors give an overall assessment of the new forms of flexibility introduced in the draft Constitutional Treaty adopted by the Convention. They emphasise that, if enacted, the many new flexibility options could contribute substantially to the consolidation and development of CFSP and ESDP, even if decision-making in those areas will mostly continue to be subject to unanimity.

ID Number: JA019755

Year: 2003

Type: ART

Komt er ooit een Europees veiligheidsbeleid ? Stappen in de Europese Conventie.

(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 57, nr. 12, december 2003, p. 590-595.)

Author(s):

1. Eekelen, W. F. van

Notes:

The author elaborates on several aspects of European security and defence policy as were discussed within the European Convention and were translated into provisions in the Convention's Draft of a European Constitution. The author, who was involved in the Convention's work as member of its Working Group on Defence, discusses such items as closer cooperation, structured cooperation (involving member states who meet criteria regarding greater military capabilities and who, in view of the most demanding missions, want to enter into more binding

agreements); European military headquarters; and the idea of a European Armaments Agency. This agency's establishment is scheduled for 2004, as was decided at the European Summit in Saloniki last June.

ID Number: JA020070

Year: 2003

Type: ART

Die EU auf der Suche nach einer strategischen Rolle.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 52. Jg., Nr. 4, April 2003, S. 7-10.)

Author(s):

1. Fohrenbach, Gerd

ID Number: JA018997

Year: 2003

Type: ART

The Future of ESDP : Defence Capabilities for Europe.

(INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 38, no. 3, July - September 2003, p. 7-14.)

Author(s):

1. Garden, Timothy

Notes:

This article gives a critical assessment of the plans to strengthen common European military capabilities, comparing them with the parallel efforts undertaken within the NATO context to build a quickly deployable military force. The author notes that EU countries have recently taken several steps that indicate greater resolve than in the past for giving the Union a credible military role, including the decision to work out a European strategic doctrine. He stresses, however, the need for the EU countries to move without further delay towards the pooling of some force elements. The development of pooled capabilities would not only help the Union address a number of practical problems more effectively but also contribute to making it a more credible partner for the US in the planning and execution of major military operations. To make more effective use of European national defence budgets, the author also suggests establishing a planning and budgetary system at the European level. Finally, he argues in favour of extending the EU's competition rules to the defence sector as a key measure for eliminating the current inefficiencies caused by national preferences.

ID Number: JA019754

Year: 2003

Type: ART

Au-delà des apparences ou les lents progres de la PESD.

(POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 68e année, no. 3 - 4, automne - hiver 2003, p. 743-758.)

Author(s):

1. Howorth, Jolyon

Notes:

L'annee 2003 a pose trois defis a l'Union europeenne en matiere de defense : la consolidation d'une zone de securite sur ses nouvelles frontieres de l'Est; la reconstitution de son unite interne apres la crise irakienne; et la constitution de capacites militaires capables de repondre aux nouvelles menaces du siecle. Le conflit entre Paris et Londres, qui a permis aux Etats-Unis de jouer des divisions de l'Europe, a finalement ete surmonte a l'automne, quand les deux pays, avec Berlin, ont redefini leurs priorites pour une politique de defense viable. Enfin, si l'Union a commence a conduire de facon autonome ses premieres missions de maintien de la paix, il lui reste a mettre a niveau ses capacites militaires avec les necessites de

la guerre contre le terrorisme.

ID Number: JA020050

Year: 2003

Type: ART

ESDP and NATO : Wedlock or Deadlock ?.

(COOPERATION AND CONFLICT, vol. 38, no. 3, September 2003, p. 235-254.)

Author(s):

1. Howorth, Jolyon

Notes:

The debate over NATO's future intensified after the Prague summit in November 2002 when the Alliance was deemed to have given itself a global role in the war on terror through the creation of the NATO Response Force (NRF). However, squabbles inside the Alliance over Iraq and continuing uncertainties about the potential future role of NATO forces 'out of area' re-launched the debate in the spring of 2003. Experts remain bitterly divided between the 'NATO is Dead' school and the 'NATO Rides Again' schools. One key to the future lies in the viability of the NRF as a form of glue, which can hold the EU member states, and the US together. Prague heralded a new honeymoon between the two sides of the Atlantic, but both political and military problems confront attempts to operationalize any matchmaking role for the NRF. Meanwhile, ESDP continues to make steady progress towards its own 'Headline Goal' of military forces. Whether NATO as an alliance or ESDP as an autonomous political-military project will become the priority concern of the individual EU member states depends in large measure on the future course of EU-US relations and on unforeseen 'events', but in the current climate it is difficult to express optimism about a renewed harmonious partnership between the two sides of the Atlantic.

ID Number: JA019670

Year: 2003

Type: ART

The European Defence Plans : Filling the Transatlantic Gaps.

(INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 38, no. 3, July - September 2003, p. 61-77.)

Author(s):

1. Keohane, Daniel

Notes:

The author evaluates whether and to what extent the current European defence plans can actually contribute to filling the transatlantic gaps in defence capabilities. He expresses cautious optimism with regard to ESDP's prospects. He underlines that two important innovations have been introduced, that is, the concept of a 'framework nation' to take the lead in procuring a particular common asset, and the member states' commitment to interim arrangements to fill their capabilities gaps. The author warns, however, that there continues to be a serious intra-EU capabilities gap, which is likely to widen as the EU takes in new member countries. He concludes with a set of policy suggestions including the creation of a specific EU institutional figure responsible for ESDP and the introduction of provisions providing for a EU-wide integration of national defence markets.

ID Number: JA019758

Year: 2003

Type: ART

Turbulente stagnatie voorbij ? Europese defensie in de IGC.  
(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 57, nr. 12, december 2003, p. 595-600.)

Author(s):

1. Kooij, Daniel
2. Osinga, Frans

Notes:

The authors deal with the European defence and security policy which after a year of stagnation seems about to make a big leap forward with the debate on several proposals in the context of the IGC. Those proposals concern the strategic concept for the EU, the expansion of the military missions the EU is considering to fall within its remit, and the mechanisms to achieve improvement in military capabilities. The article offers an overview of the various proposals. In addition it provides a concise discussion of the import and legal and political hurdles affecting the feasibility and acceptability of the proposals. This concerns in particular the so-called Solana paper, which in effect amounts to a virtual adoption of the United States' national security strategy. Although in concert the effort to put ESDP and CFSP back on the map again is laudable, and necessary in light of the developments during the tumultuous period after 9/11, due to the contentious nature of the issues it is again doubtful whether this new round of initiatives will actually bring Europe beyond the period of turbulent stagnation.

ID Number: JA020071

Year: 2003

Type: ART

La consolidation de la cooperation europeenne de defense.  
(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 59e annee, no. 12, decembre 2003, p. 140-150.)

Author(s):

1. Paris, Henri

Notes:

Un demi-siecle apres la creation des premieres institutions, le bilan de la construction europeenne parait bien maigre, surtout en matiere de defense. C'est que s'opposent, parmi les 25 Etats qui composeront l'Union europeenne, deux concepts antinomiques, celui de l'Europe-puissance et celui d'une Europe simple zone economique. Une Europe-puissance n'existera pas sans defense. Quatre Etats ont les bases economiques necessaires a la creation de cette Europe de la defense. Le probleme qui se pose aux Europeens est celui de l'elargissement ou de l'approfondissement.

ID Number: JA019994

Year: 2003

Type: ART

Die europaische Sicherheitsstrategie.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 52. Jg., Nr. 10, Oktober 2003, S. 12-14.)

Author(s):

1. Reiter, Erich

ID Number: JA019680

Year: 2003

Type: ART

The European Union : Towards a Strategic Culture ?.

(SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 34, no. 4, December 2003, p. 479-496.)

Author(s):

1. Rynning, Sten

Notes:

The vigorous debate addressing the potential of the European Union's security and defence policy is indicative of high hopes and severe policy problems. This article examines the likelihood that EU member-states will develop the strategic culture - reflecting common interests and views of the world - that can be said to be a precondition for a successful security and defence policy. The article first investigates the EU's predominant values and the reigning conception of the legitimate use of military force, and it then weighs this political potential of the security and defence policy against obstacles to unity : the 'post-modern' complexity of multilevel governance coupled with the necessity of 'modern' executive authority to undertake military coercion, as illustrated by the recent fight against global terrorism. In the light of the conclusion that the EU does not have the potential to construct a strong strategic culture, the article suggests steps the EU could take to safeguard liberal achievements in its history of integration while also enabling strategic military action by groups of countries sharing a particular view of the world, an interest in a particular conflict, or both.

ID Number: JA020004

Year: 2003

Type: ART

Why Not NATO ? Military Planning in the European Union.

(JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES, vol. 26, no. 1, March 2003, p. 53-72.)

Author(s):

1. Rynning, Sten

Notes:

This article explains why the EU in recent years has gained an upper hand in Allied defence planning. The development is surprising in light of reforms undertaken by NATO in the mid-1990s and also the 1989-99 US ambition to reinforce NATO's defence planning process with the Defence Capabilities Initiative. The article argues that a number of European governments, notably including the British and French, has been motivated to seek change because NATO's defence planning process has proved difficult to adapt to new low-intensity threats and also because governments seek to control the political development of the EU itself. The article illustrates how these concerns are directly visible in the current EU design for military planning and offers an assessment of future NATO-EU relations.

ID Number: JA019392

Year: 2003

Type: ART

Why a Common Security and Defence Policy is Bad for Europe.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 45, no. 4, Winter 2003 - 2004, p. 193-206.)

Author(s):

1. Sangiovanni, Mette Eilstrup

Notes:

Some European policymakers have been tempted to use the Iraq crisis to build new momentum for further integrating European security and defence policy. But proceeding along this path would be a mistake. Adding military force to the European Union at a time of fundamental disagreement about where and when to deploy troops is a waste of resources and will likely undermine European credibility by deepening divisions among its member states. If Europeans want more global clout, they should

instead focus on strengthening their capacity for what they do best, namely non-military crisis-management and post-war reconstruction.

ID Number: JA019949

Year: 2003

Type: ART

The European Union's Security and Defence Policy : A Policy Without Substance ?.

(EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 12, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 39-63.)

Author(s):

1. Shepherd, Alistair J. K.

Notes:

The European Union (EU) has declared its European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) operational. It has put the institutional structures in place to manage the political aspects of security and defence policy and the member-states have pledged a range of military capabilities, which the EU may call upon. However, there are significant issues that need to be resolved for the ESDP to be a truly effective and credible policy. On the whole, these issues revolve around military capabilities, defence spending and a strategic concept. Without investing in critical military capabilities and without a clear direction, ESDP will become a policy without substance.

ID Number: JA019725

Year: 2003

Type: ART

De Europese Grondwet en de NAVO.

(VREDE EN VEILIGHEID, jg. 32, nr. 3, 2003, p. 321-331.)

Author(s):

1. Teunissen, Paul

Notes:

Europa staat aan de vooravond van de Intergouvernementele Conferentie die de definitieve tekst van de Europese Verdrag tot vaststelling van Grondwet voor Europa moet bepalen. Onderdeel van die Europese Grondwet zijn bepalingen over een gemeenschappelijke buitenlands en veiligheidsbeleid van de Unie. De bepalingen terzake zijn mede tot stand gekomen in het licht van de internationale ontwikkelingen (rol van de Verenigde Staten, toekomst van de NAVO, wenselijkheid van een militair kern-Europa). Dit artikel bespreekt en analyseert de ontwerptekst en de op stapel staande politiek-militaire gevolgen van de Europese Grondwet, waarbij in het bijzonder de verhouding tot de Noord-Atlantische Verdragsorganisatie centraal staat.

ID Number: JA019887

Year: 2003

Type: ART

The State of Affairs in EU Security and Defence Policy : The Breakthrough

in the Treaty of Nice.

(JOURNAL OF CONFLICT & SECURITY LAW, vol. 8, no. 2, October 2003, p. 265-288.)

Author(s):

1. Wessel, Ramses A.

Notes:

The debate lasted for more than fifty years, but with the entry into force of the Treaty of Nice on 1 February 2003, 'Europe' finally succeeded in establishing its own security and defence policy - at least in a procedural sense. This article aims to provide insight into the new European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), and in particular looks at the question of whether the Nice Treaty has turned the European Union into a fully-fledged security and defence organization. The transfer of the main institutions and competences of the Western European Union (WEU) to the EU potentially allows the latter to become more active in the field of military operations. However, this has implications for relations with NATO and the UN.

ID Number: JA020170

Year: 2003

Type: ART

## 2002

What Kinds of Operational Needs for Which Purposes ?.

(MILITARY TECHNOLOGY, vol. 26, no. 12, 2002, p. 15-16.)

Author(s):

1. Barbera, Moreno

Notes:

In order to understand which requirements are going to define the operational needs of EU forces, and the tasks we try to achieve, they are presented from our perspective, setting the role of the military structures within the Helsinki Headline Goal. Perhaps new lights can thus be shed on the issue that lets us have a better idea of the whole subject.

ID Number: JA018741

Year: 2002

Type: ART

L'ambiguite des relations OTAN-PESD : faux debat ou enjeu reel ?.

(REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 48, hiver 2002 - 2003, p. 129-137.)

Author(s):

1. Bono, Giovanna

Notes:

Depuis sa creation lors du Conseil de Helsinki en decembre 1999, la PESD suscite de nombreux malentendus entre l'OTAN et l'UE. Le Conseil de Nice, en decembre 2000, semblait avoir esquisse une solution en instaurant des canaux institutionnels de communication entre les deux partenaires. Toutefois, les evenements du 11 septembre 2001 ont cree de nouvelles divergences, notamment en ce qui concerne leur interpretation : les Americains defendant leur vision de 'lutte contre le Mal' face a l'exigence de multilateralisme des Europeens. Afin de construire un nouvel equilibre, les Etats-Unis devront laisser l'Union europeenne devenir un partenaire egal, tandis que les Quinze renonceraien a toute rhetorique anti-americaniste.

ID Number: JA018585

Year: 2002

Type: ART

Renforcer la Pesc et la PESD en modernisant les institutions de l'Union europeenne (2e partie).

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58e annee, no. 1, janvier 2002, p. 85-101.)

Author(s):

1. Cardot, Patrice

Notes:

Qu'il s'agisse de l'Union politique ou de l'Union economique et monetaire, la cooperation entre l'UE et les Etats doit obtenir des resultats. C'est pourquoi la prochaine etape d'approfondissement de l'integration europeenne devra creer les conditions d'une meilleure efficacite globale des processus mis en jeu dans les domaines de la politique etrangere, de la securite et de la defense. Elle devra egalement debattre du choix des institutions qui seront investies d'un pouvoir d'initiative, de decision ou de controle a l'egard des politiques de souverainete et d'influence que l'Union veut mettre en oeuvre, et reexaminer les regles et les parametres du jeu inter-institutionnel qui s'y rapporte. Dans le present article, se fondant sur le retour d'experience d'une pratique quotidienne des institutions nationales et europeennes ainsi que sur les resultats de travaux que certaines d'entre elles ont engages sur ces questions, l'auteur s'attache a formuler des recommandations precises quant aux voies institutionnelles qui paraissent en mesure de creer, a breve echeance, les conditions d'une transition efficace vers cet objectif ultime que constitue la naissance d'une Europe politique federale.

ID Number: JA017405

Year: 2002

Type: ART

La defense europeenne, condition necessaire a la formation d'une identite europeenne ?.

(REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 48, hiver 2002 - 2003, p. 109-118.)

Author(s):

1. Chilton, Paul A.

Notes:

De quelle maniere un lien de causalite peut-il etre etabli au sein du triptyque constitue par les termes defense, identite et Europe ? Pour repondre a cette question, il faut envisager dans quelle mesure la construction d'une defense commune est le moteur ou le catalyseur de l'identite europeenne. Pour ce faire, il est necessaire d'étudier les conditions de la formation de l'identite et de les appliquer a la notion de defense. Il sera alors possible de determiner les conditions - tant socio-historiques que cognitives - grace auxquelles la conceptualisation de la defense correspond a celle de l'identite et, par consequent, de mesurer comment la notion de defense pourrait contribuer a la genese d'une identite europeenne.

ID Number: JA018582

Year: 2002

Type: ART

The European Defence Project and the Prague Summit.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 78, no. 4, October 2002, p. 777-788.)

Author(s):

1. Clarke, Michael
2. Cornish, Paul

Notes:

This article reviews the state of the two security and defence institutions available to west Europeans : NATO and the EU's common European Security and Defence Policy. In each case, the authors assess the political maturity and stability of the institution, and then ask what it can contribute in terms of coordinated military capability to west European's strategic readiness. NATO's Prague summit in November 2002 will address the thorny issue of the next tranche of post-Cold War enlargement. But beyond the predictable debate about which candidates to admit, and what should be offered to those unsuccessful in their bid, there will be a far more urgent and important agenda to be discussed at Prague - the military capabilities of the European allies. Given that ESDP is still far from achieving its capability goals, the authors argue that the time is right for European allies to begin thinking in terms of generating a composite, joint strike force which could be configured to be interoperable with US forces and which could salvage something useful from the disheartening lack of progress in developing a European military capability.

ID Number: JA018517

Year: 2002

Type: ART

Colloquium : Core Group, Directoire, Enhanced Cooperation ? : Finding the Key to an Effective Foreign and Defence Policy for Europe.

(STUDIA DIPLOMATICA, vol. 55, no. 3, 2002, numero entier.)

ID Number: JA020209

Year: 2002

Type: ART

The Common European Security and Defence Policy and the 'Third-Country' Issue.

(EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 11, no. 2, Summer 2002, p. 75-100.)

Notes:

The Common European Security and Defence Policy (CESDP) of the European Union (EU) was launched in 1999 and has been perceived as a landmark step toward European security cooperation, particularly in the field of crisis management. Still in its early stages, some difficult issues have become apparent. Of these, the so-called 'third-country' issue may prove to be among the most significant. This problem refers to the necessity of associating states outside the EU with CESDP. In this regard, three states stand out - the United States, Turkey and Russia - and this article considers their concerns and the European response in detail. This is prefaced by a general overview of how the third-country problem emerged and what the EU has done to address it. It concludes by suggesting that third-country considerations could well determine where and how EU-led missions operating under the auspices of CESDP are deployed.

ID Number: JA018497

Year: 2002

Type: ART

Enjeux Pesc - PESD mi-2002.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58eme annee, no. 8 - 9, aout - septembre 2002, p. 37-45.)

Author(s):

1. Dufourcq, Jean

Notes:

Apres le point fait a l'occasion du Sommet de Seville fin juin, la Convention europeenne a entrepris d'aborder les questions diplomatiques et militaires ; les groupes de travail vont rassembler des conventionnels sur le theme du devenir de la Pesc et de son prolongement, la PESD. Les quelques propositions avancees dans cet article tentent d'apporter une perspective concrete a des travaux souvent confines dans des questions juridiques (avenir du Traite de Bruxelles modifie) ou institutionnels (interference entre MM. Solana et Patten).

ID Number: JA018194

Year: 2002

Type: ART

Europaische Sicherheits-und Verteidigungspolitik : quo vadis ?.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 51. Jg., Nr. 2, Februar 2002, S. 7-11.)

Author(s):

1. Frisch, Thomas

ID Number: JA017563

Year: 2002

Type: ART

ESDP : The Way Forward.

(MILITARY TECHNOLOGY, vol. 26, no. 12, 2002, p. 17-20.)

Author(s):

1. Gnesotto, Nicole

Notes:

As at mid-2002, taking into account the impact of 11 September, the prospect of EU enlargement and the emerging work of the Convention on the future of the EU, most commentators tend to believe that the momentum for the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) has been lost. The Europeans appear to be as divided as ever; the technological gap between European and American military forces is supposedly increasing every day; the NATO-EU relationship is still in limbo; and except for the Balkans, where the EU is showing real political involvement, the Europeans are suspected of being unwilling to tackle any security issue seriously.

ID Number: JA018742

Year: 2002

Type: ART

European Security and Defence Policy as a Framework for Defence Co-operation.

(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 1, February 2002, p. 13-15.)

Author(s):

1. Grave, Frank de

ID Number: JA017549

Year: 2002

Type: ART

Defense europeenne et controle democratique : une tache pour la Convention sur l'avenir de l'Europe.

(POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 67e annee, no. 2, avril - juin 2002, p. 455-470.)

Author(s):

1. Hilger, Michael

Notes:

The Assembly of WEU, the national parliaments of WEU and EU member states and the European Parliament have tried so far without success to remedy what one could call the 'parliamentary deficit' of the new European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) : it has arisen because the EU has set up politico-military crisis-management structures under the ESDP with a view to deploying forces for the so-called Petersberg tasks, which may include combat operations to restore peace. National parliaments, which have their constitutional responsibilities and must scrutinise their governments, have no means of acquiring information first-hand at EU level. The decision to deploy troops to crisis areas and the means to finance such missions were voted in national parliaments. Yet there is no interparliamentary body within the EU to supervise intergovernmental cooperation. At the same time, the EU treaty does not give the European Parliament the necessary competence for security and defence questions and member states remain reluctant to transfer sovereignty in that area. This is why the Convention on the future of Europe should give national parliaments collective representations at EU level by taking the interparliamentary model as a basis.

ID Number: JA018067

Year: 2002

Type: ART

Die Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik der Europaischen Union.

(OSTERREICHISCHE MILITARISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 40. Jg., Heft 3, Mai - Juni 2002, S. 267-277.)

Author(s):

1. Hochleitner, Erich

ID Number: JA017818

Year: 2002

Type: ART

Defense europeenne et sciences sociales : ou en est le debat theorique ?.

(REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 48, hiver 2002 - 2003, p. 79-88.)

Author(s):

1. Irondelle, Bastien

Notes:

Pour etablir un bilan du debat theorique sur la defense europeenne dans le champ des sciences sociales, toujours domine par la science politique, il faut analyser la primaute des approches empirico-descriptives. En ce sens, une normalisation des paradigmes et des outils theoriques s'avere necessaire pour etudier l'objet 'defense europeenne'. Cette demarche se place alors a l'encontre d'une posture s'appuyant sur la nature sui generis de l'integration europeenne pour promouvoir un paradigme de l'exception europeenne. Elle permet enfin de developper des perspectives de recherche pluridisciplinaires autour des problematiques de l'institutionnalisation de l'Europe de la defense et de l'europeanisation.

ID Number: JA018579

Year: 2002

Type: ART

Do European Security Capacities Have Feet of Clay ? Comments on the Institutional Setup of the European Security and Defense Policy.  
(PERSPECTIVES, no. 19, Winter 2002 - 2003, p. 32-51.)

Author(s):

1. Lizec, Borek

ID Number: JA019121

Year: 2002

Type: ART

Veiligheid voor geheel Europa ?.

(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 56, nr. 10, oktober 2002, p. 501-506.)

Author(s):

1. Lowenhardt, John

Notes:

The author claims that European Security and Defence Policy is making little progress. Americans are pushing NATO full steam ahead towards Central Europe where in Prague, this autumn, decisions will be taken on its further enlargement. But since September 2001, leaders of the European Union and its member states seem disoriented and incapable of setting firm priorities. Wasting energy on issues far from home, they tend to ignore the pressing problems in their 'near abroad'. In doing so they run the risk of their rapid intervention force, to be operative next year, turning into a failure.

ID Number: JA018404

Year: 2002

Type: ART

Europe's Security Policy Today.

(INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 3, no. 4, 2002, p. 29-34.)

Author(s):

1. Missiroli, Antonio

Notes:

Europe's Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) faces three challenges. In January it will begin its first on-the-ground operation in supervising the police in Bosnia. In the course of 2003 it will have to define its foreign policy institutions better as the European Convention makes its constitutional recommendations. And it will somehow have to squeeze out higher defense budgets if it is not to lose interoperability with the US superpower.

ID Number: JA018823

Year: 2002

Type: ART

EU-NATO Cooperation in Crisis Management : No Turkish Delight for ESDP.

(SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 33, no. 1, March 2002, p. 9-26.)

Author(s):

1. Missiroli, Antonio

Notes:

The issue of how to organize and implement a European security and defence 'identity' has been discussed at both the political and the academic level throughout the past decade. Initially, it was basically related only to NATO or, at best, to the NATO-WEU interface. As such, it did not make much progress, in spite of the commitments taken especially in Berlin (1996) and the limited decisions adopted in the WEU framework in 1997. Even at that time, the main bones of contention were the extent to which NATO 'assets and capabilities' would be put at the disposal of 'European-led' peace support operations and, as a consequence, the role and the rights of those European allies that were not full members of the WEU. With the onset of the ESDP and the de facto withering away of the WEU, the issue has become a bilateral one between the European Union and the

Alliance. The controversial points have remained more or less the same, but the political and legal contexts have changed. Ever since, apparently, the main obstacle to an arrangement between the two organizations allowing the EU to have 'assured access' to NATO planning capabilities has been Turkey's attitude. The article examines in detail all the problems involved, assessing the current state of affairs and drawing some conclusions for the future.

ID Number: JA017752

Year: 2002

Type: ART

La fin du complexe europeen de puissance ?.

(REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 48, hiver 2002 - 2003, p. 99-107.)

Author(s):

1. Nivet, Bastien

Notes:

L'Europe apparait, a travers les grands dossiers geostrategiques mediatises, comme une 'etrange superpuissance', dotee de pouvoirs dans le domaine economique et commercial, mais impuissante sur les plans politique et strategique. Le developpement de la PESD est alors aujourd'hui frequemment presente comme le signal que l'UE s'approche peu a peu du statut de 'puissance'. Cette interpretation doit toutefois etre nuancee, au vu des rapports ambigus qu'elle entretient avec la notion de puissance. L'irruption de la defense dans le champ d'action de l'UE est peut-etre alors, en realite, plus l'expression d'une prise de conscience des elements fondamentaux du complexe europeen de puissance que le moyen pour les Europeens d'accéder collectivement au rang de puissance sur la scene internationale.

ID Number: JA018581

Year: 2002

Type: ART

La PECSD ante la presidencia espanola.

(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 16, no. 85, enero - febrero 2002, p. 69-93.)

Notes:

Tras el impulso del Consejo de Colonia de 1999 para la constitucion de una politica europea de seguridad y defensa, la presidencia espanola se propone consolidar en 2002 este pilar de la UE.

ID Number: JA017556

Year: 2002

Type: ART

Directoria als remedie voor het GBVB ?.

(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 56, nr. 12, december 2002, p. 608-614.)

Author(s):

1. Sauer, Tom

Notes:

The author discusses the establishment of directories as a possible remedy compensating for rigidities in decision-making in the field of implementing a Common European Security and Defence Policy. In 2003, the European Union will possess a Rapid Reaction Force, but not the decision-making procedures needed to use this new mechanism in an efficient way. In order to overcome the consensus rule, some propose creating a directorate of the three largest member states : France, the United Kingdom and Germany, able to intervene with military means on behalf of the EU for purposes of crisis management. This article sketches costs and benefits of such a directorate. It concludes that potential benefits do not outweigh the costs.

The author outlines an ambitious alternative that creates a framework for effective and legitimate European military crisis management : a federal Europe, although limited to an inner-core of member states.

ID Number: JA018654

Year: 2002

Type: ART

The EU-NATO Interface : Defining Boundaries and Forging Links.

(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 1, February 2002, p. 16-17.)

Author(s):

1. Smith, Rupert

ID Number: JA017550

Year: 2002

Type: ART

La construction d'une defense europeenne : emergence d'un defi politique et appels a la resolution.

(REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 48, hiver 2002 - 2003, p. 119-128.)

Author(s):

1. Soetendorp, Ben

Notes:

La politique de securite ayant longtemps ete consideree par les Etats membres de l'Union europeenne comme appartenant au domaine reserve de l'Etat-nation, l'elaboration de la Politique europeenne de securite et de defense (PESD) a, par consequent, suscite un vif debat entre les Etats membres quant a la maniere de repondre a cet objectif politique. Cet article analyse les arguments de ce debat, ainsi que leur evolution, en mettant l'accent en particulier sur l'opportunité, la nature et la forme que devrait prendre la defense commune europeenne. En effet, si les arguments utilises par les Etats refletent leurs interets et leurs preferences, leur conceptualisation change au cours de leur interaction.

ID Number: JA018583

Year: 2002

Type: ART

Le developpement des capacites militaires de l'Union europeenne.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58e annee, no. 6, juin 2002, p. 9-16.)

Author(s):

1. Solana, Javier

Notes:

Since Saint-Malo considerable progress has been achieved in building the military capability of the European Union. However, adapting forces and capabilities is an ongoing and permanent process and further work will continue to be needed. The results achieved to-date have been obtained through a specific process which can be characterized by three general principles : recourse to voluntary contribution, using national assets, and following a capability approach. This approach has proved to be effective. After two cycles of this process, the voluntary contributions announced by Member States, and set out in a 'Force Catalogue', constitute a pool of forces that fully satisfy the needs identified to carry out the different types of crisis management missions within the Headline Goal. However, work remains to be done in order to allow the Union to carry out the most complex operations as efficiently as possible, and to reduce any limitations or restrictions. A European Capability Action plan has been designed and agreed to that effect. It is mainly focused on rectifying the remaining deficiencies by rationalising Member States respective defence efforts and increasing the synergy between their national and

multinational projects. The initial steps of this plan are encouraging, experts groups have been created to identify possible solutions for all the significant shortfalls. However, the actual implementation of the results of this process will need financial resources and innovative solutions will have to be developed to that effect, along with the enhancement of cooperation in the armament field in support of ESDP.

ID Number: JA017949

Year: 2002

Type: ART

La politique europeenne de securite et de defense et la presidence espagnole de l'Union.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58e annee, no. 2, fevrier 2002, p. 15-23.)

Author(s):

1. Trillo, Federico

ID Number: JA017568

Year: 2002

Type: ART

Expliquer la defense europeenne : un defi pour les analyses theoriques.

(REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 48, hiver 2002 - 2003, p.

89-97.)

Author(s):

1. White, Brian

Notes:

Les theories classiques de l'analyse de l'integration europeenne dans le domaine de la defense, que sont le neofonctionnalisme, le neorealisme et l'intergouvernementalisme, ont du faire face au developpement de la Politique europeenne de securite et de defense (PESD) depuis 1998. Si certains postulats fondamentaux sur lesquels reposaient ces theories ont ete remis en cause, il apparait cependant que l'intergouvernementalisme est la theorie la plus appropriee pour fournir une analyse pertinente de la PESD. Neanmoins, le concept d'"europeanisation" et les approches constructivistes constituent des perspectives alternatives qui posent un defi fondamental aux analyses classiques.

ID Number: JA018580

Year: 2002

Type: ART

Fortress Europa : European Defense and the Future of the North Atlantic Alliance.

(PARAMETERS, vol. 32, no. 4, Winter 2002 - 2003, p. 34-47.)

Author(s):

1. Wilkie, Robert

Notes:

The author's review of NATO's future explores the question that has preoccupied America's European allies for over 50 years : whether to be a good Atlanticist or a good European. With NATO and the European Union both expanding their spheres of influence, old jealousies based on fears of American hegemony and European indolence continue. The author's trip through NATO's history since the fall of the Soviet Union provides the reader with an understanding of the strategic framework required to ensure the successful continuation of the alliance and its competitor, the European Union. The author supports a relationship comprised of a NATO based on American primacy providing a strategic framework for operations outside the European theater, with the European Union focusing on a military force capable of dealing with contingencies on the continent.

ID Number: JA018551

Year: 2002

Type: ART

Europese defensie in de NAVO en de Europese Unie : eenheid en complementariteit.

(VREDE EN VEILIGHEID, jg. 31, nr. 2, 2002, p. 205-224.)

Author(s):

1. Wouters, Jan
2. Naert, Frederik

Notes:

Reeds geruime tijd streeft men in Europa naar meer integratie inzake veiligheid en defensie, inclusief crisisbeheersing. Daarin speelde aanvankelijk de Europese veiligheids- en defensie-identiteit (EVDI) de centrale rol. Zij moest de Europeanen de mogelijkheid bieden zonder de Verenigde Staten op te treden via de WEU, maar met een beroep op NAVO-middelen en op verzoek van de Europese Unie. Daartoe ontstonden complexe regelingen inzake het gebruik van NAVO-middelen door de WEU en deelname van niet-WEU EU- en NAVO-lidstaten aan WEU-operaties met NAVO-middelen. De WEU fungeerde hierdoor als een brug tussen Europese Unie en NAVO. Door de ontwikkeling van het Europees veiligheids- en defensiebeleid (EVDB) in de Europese Unie is de aandacht verschoven naar dit EVDB (dat crisisbeheer omvat) en werden de WEU-crisisbeheerfuncties overgeheveld naar de Europese Unie. De Europese Unie wenste geen onnodige duplicatie ten aanzien van de NAVO en wilde kunnen optreden, al dan niet met een beroep op NAVO-middelen. Daardoor werd een overdracht van de WEU-NAVO-regelingen naar de EU-NAVO-relatie noodzakelijk. De afronding daarvan verloopt evenwel moeilijk vanwege onenigheid over de mate van betrokkenheid van Turkije bij het EVDB en de EU-toegang tot NAVO-middelen. Dit dient zo spoedig mogelijk te worden opgelost om de complementariteit tussen het EVDB et de EVDI niet in het gedrang te brengen.

ID Number: JA018061

Year: 2002

Type: ART

The European Security and Defence Policy : What Impact on the EU's Approach to Security Challenges ?.

(EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 11, no. 2, Summer 2002, p. 101-124.)

Author(s):

1. Youngs, Richard

Notes:

The development of a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) has been seen by some as key to giving the EU greater international influence, by others as a threat to the EU's strengths as a civilian power. This article finds that, as of 2002, the EU's new military dimension could not be conceived as a fundamental threat to its civilian power acquis. Concerns have justifiably been raised over the possible diversion of resources into the military sphere, the emergence of a less transparent policy-making culture and ESDP's effect on the way the EU is perceived from outside. However, force levels have remained limited and most policy-makers see the new EU Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) as an instrument for complementing civilian elements of crisis management. This article measures ESDP more specifically against the substantive approaches towards security challenges that the EU has elaborated. It argues that European strategies suffer most notably from political-level conceptual weaknesses that cut across both civilian and military domains and that the incipient ESDP has yet to address.

ID Number: JA018498

Year: 2002

Type: ART

## 2001

Shaping the Requirements for the European Rapid Reaction Force.

(MILITARY TECHNOLOGY, vol. 25, no. 2, 2001, p. 58-72.)

Author(s):

1. Annati, Massimo

Notes:

The 1999-2000 period has been particularly significant for the development of European defence policies. In March 1999, the launch of 'Allied Force' provided a painfully clear demonstration that Europe is not able to deploy a combat force comparable with the US's, not even when such a force is needed to deal with a major crisis on the European continent itself. In April 1999, the NATO Defence Capability Initiative shaped the guidelines for the future development of a large part of the European defence structures. In December 1999, the Helsinki Summit formalised the European commitment towards the establishment by 2003 of a 50.000-60.000 strong joint force able to be deployed within 60 days for Petersberg mission. Finally, on 20 November 2000 the 15 EU nations met in Brussels to confirm the Helsinki commitment and detail the respective national capabilities they intend to contribute to the joint force.

ID Number: JA016437

Year: 2001

Type: ART

Het Middellandse-Zeegebied in het Europees Veiligheids- en Defensiebeleid.

(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 55, nr. 11, november 2001, p. 536-540.)

Author(s):

1. Biscop, Sven

Notes:

The author of this article states that now that the institutions and the military capacity of the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) are getting into place, it is time to consider a strategic concept in which due attention should be given to the Mediterranean. Although no direct military threat emerges from that region, the EU should formulate a policy on 'hard' security issues, in order to safeguard its interests in the Mediterranean. The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership includes an ambitious security basket, but as a result of the ongoing conflicts in the region and the lack of trust between the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean, this has not been implemented to date. In the first place the EU should therefore actively contribute to the resolution of all current conflicts, notably in the Middle East. The EU can then open up the ESDP to participation by its Mediterranean partners, as a first step to a Euro-Mediterranean security partnership. After 11 September, this would be the clearest signal of the EU's willingness to cooperate with instead of confronting the Arab World.

ID Number: JA017201

Year: 2001

Type: ART

La defense europeenne apres le conseil europeen de Nice.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 2, fevrier 2001, p. 23-34.)

Author(s):

1. Blanc, Emile
2. Fennebresque, Michel

Notes:

Apres un rapide rappel de la laborieuse montee en puissance de l'Europe de la defense, puis de l'acceleration donnee a Saint-Malo entretenue a Helsinki, Cologne et Feira, le bilan de Nice, particulierement positif pour la defense, est dresse. Les suites a donner a ce sommet sont developpees : mettre en place un dispositif de gestion de crise et se doter d'une capacite autonome d'appréciation, de décision et d'action. Au-delà, il faudra bien s'intéresser aussi à la défense collective, ce qui implique de clarifier les relations de l'Europe avec l'OTAN, et donc avec les Etats-Unis. Deja la coherence des actions a mener dans tous les domaines exige des Etats membres une vision commune de l'Europe qu'ils veulent construire, et une volonte sans faille d'y aboutir.

ID Number: JA016266

Year: 2001

Type: ART

Renforcer la Pesc et la PESD en modernisant les institutions de l'Union europeenne.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 12, decembre 2001, p. 19-35.)

Author(s):

1. Cardot, Patrice

Notes:

Nombreux sont ceux qui souhaitent que l'Union européenne puisse relever les défis que lui pose cette ambition retrouvée d'exercer sur la scène internationale les responsabilités qui incombe à un acteur régional en plein exercice. Ils attendent une impulsion politique forte et décisive se traduisant par des mesures concrètes, qui ne saurait produire tous ses effets si elle n'était précédée d'un nouvel approfondissement de l'intégration politique de l'Union. L'auteur examine dans cet article l'étendue réelle des pouvoirs qui sont actuellement conférés aux institutions et organes appelés à intervenir formellement dans le cadre des architectures qui gouvernent la mise en œuvre opérationnelle de la Pesc et de la PESD. Il propose une mise en perspective des évolutions attendues ainsi que des initiatives et orientations qui pourraient émerger du processus de réforme institutionnelle qui sera engagé à l'issue du Conseil européen de Laeken, les 14 et 15 décembre 2001.

ID Number: JA017340

Year: 2001

Type: ART

Une programmation militaire pour l'Europe.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 4, avril 2001, p. 59-78.)

Author(s):

1. Chautard, Sophie

Notes:

Les points abordés durant cette journée de colloque ont permis d'examiner la répartition des tâches entre les différentes armées européennes, la place de l'Union dans l'Alliance atlantique, la mise en place d'une défense européenne crédible, les conditions d'une politique européenne de l'armement et le projet crucial d'une programmation militaire européenne.

ID Number: JA016545

Year: 2001

Type: ART

De militaire integratie van de Europese Unie na Nice.

(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 55, nr. 6, juni 2001, p. 304-309.)

Author(s):

1. Cogen, Marc

Notes:

The author deals with military integration in the European Union. Based upon the historic European Council meeting of Helsinki (December 1999), the EU finally embarked upon the long road to military integration. This project may constitute the last major component of national sovereignty to be brought under the umbrella of the EU. At the European Council of Nice (December 2000) further steps were taken. The WEU has been deleted from the EU Treaty, implying a clear decision to transfer all WEU operational activities to the EU. Only the WEU article on collective self-defence is still waiting to be transferred. Another important decision was the upgrading of the Political and Security Committee as the lynchpin of decision-making in CFSP matters. The emergence of EU military integration offers both opportunities for creating a security structure in Europe and challenges to NATO. The author advocates the establishment of a Defence Council in the Union in order to develop a European defence policy, including its technological base and the defence industry. The Belgian EU Presidency of the second half of 2001 may table this issue.

ID Number: JA016705

Year: 2001

Type: ART

Beyond the EU/NATO Dichotomy : The Beginnings of a European Strategic Culture.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 77, no. 3, July 2001, p. 587-603.)

Author(s):

1. Cornish, Paul
2. Edwards, Geoffrey

Notes:

The European Union and its member states have moved with considerable speed towards the creation of a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). Whether what has been achieved so far adds up to a revolution remains a moot point. The Common Foreign and Security Policy of the Maastricht Treaty has not always been noted for its binding character, and too often the debate over security and defence has degenerated into an artificial, zero-sum-type game between Atlanticists and Europeanists. What is required for the success of the ESDP is not simply continued commitment to achieving the Headline Goals set out at Helsinki in 1999 but also the development of what the authors call a 'strategic culture', i.e. an institutional confidence and processes to manage and deploy military force as part of the effective range of legitimate policy instruments of the Union. The authors argue that political commitment at the highest levels has been underpinned by the institutionalization, within the Council Secretariat, of the 'military option' in the form of the Military Committee and a Directorate General for the EU's Military Staff (DGEUMS). Even more importantly, there are already signs, especially through such concepts as 'security sector reform' and 'structural stability', that the EU, through its development and humanitarian programmes, has already recognized the necessity of military solutions.

ID Number: JA016731

Year: 2001

Type: ART

Les bases d'un concept strategique europeen.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 6, juin 2001, p. 108-117.)

Author(s):

1. Dumoulin, Andre

Notes:

La politique europeenne de securite et de defense a besoin d'une base conceptuelle et ideologique reconnue de tous, legitimant et encadrant la montee en puissance de l'Union europeenne. L'appui des opinions et l'adoption de valeurs communes permettront aux citoyens et aux politiques, aux diplomates et aux militaires, aux Etats et aux ONG de se rejoindre dans la determination des principes d'engagement, d'intervention, de legitimatation ou de partage des risques. Ainsi pourra se construire cette base commune de valeurs, de droits et de devoirs, de cultures et d'interets, reponse a la question "" c'est quoi l'Europe ? "", a partir de laquelle doit se definir la politique europeenne commune ; ici de securite et de defense. D'un véritable Livre blanc europeen de la securite et de la defense a l'integration d'une dimension securite au sein d'une future charte constitutionnelle, en passant par l'adoption d'un concept strategique europeen sur l'environnement de securite, les initiatives prudentes sont deja perceptibles.

ID Number: JA016696

Year: 2001

Type: ART

NATO and the European Security and Defence Policy.

(COMMITTEE REPORTS (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), October 2001, 22 p. (491.6/24).)

Author(s):

1. Eekelen, Wim van

Notes:

The effort by the EU to develop its European Security and Defence Policy holds real hope for filling a need in European security in the post-Cold War era. It is not surprising that European countries have recognised the need to be able to manage crises without having to depend on NATO in every case, and ESDP could provide a valuable means to address such security challenges in the future. At the same time, it holds the potential of rectifying the long-standing imbalance in burden-sharing between the United States and the European Allies. But while the idea is welcome, the execution will be difficult. Europe bearing a greater share of the defence burden is desirable, but undermining NATO would ultimately leave both sides worse off. Including the European Allies outside of the EU in ESDP is essential. Because European defence budgets are limited, there must be a minimum of duplication of capabilities available at NATO, but the non-EU Allies must work with the EU to assure that both sides will have access to these assets. Finally, it is essential that ESDP develop the defence capabilities that are needed for the European countries to carry out the missions that have become critical to European security.

ID Number: JA017427

Year: 2001

Type: ART

NATO and the European Security and Defence Policy.

(COMMITTEE REPORTS (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), Spring 2001, 14 p. (491.6/24).)

Author(s):

1. Eekelen, Wim van

ID Number: JA017125

Year: 2001

Type: ART

Defense europeenne : irrealisme conceptuel financier et politique.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 12, decembre 2001, p. 36-44.)

Author(s):

1. Faure-Dufourmantelle, Alain

Notes:

En l'absence de concept de defense, l'Europe construit une force d'intervention destinee a maintenir l'ordre plutot que la paix. Inconsciente de la proximite des dangers, l'Europe ne peut alors etablir une politique de defense, par manque de volonte politique. L'analyse des budgets de defense des Quinze compares a celui des Etats-Unis confirme qu'il faudrait au moins doubler l'effort de chacun pour pouvoir se comparer aux Americains, qui peuvent ainsi maintenir leur position dominante.

ID Number: JA017341

Year: 2001

Type: ART

Europaische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik : der Erfolg von Nizza ? !.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 50. Jg., Nr. 2, Februar 2001, S. 10-12.)

Author(s):

1. Fretzsche, Helmut
2. Parchmann, Dirk

Notes:

With the implementation of the decisions taken by the European Council of Nice, the Union will achieve capacity to act in crisis management by 2003. However, the EU will have to rely on a close cooperation with NATO in future, too, especially in military crisis management missions at the top spectrum of the 'Petersberg' resolutions. Germany has reached its goal to integrate the WEU into the EU. What seemed to be unattainable only a few years ago has now taken shape with the Nice summit. The EU is about to become able to also act in the field of security policy. This will strengthen Europe's role in NATO, a requirement that has been established by our American allies over and over again since the 1960s. For a positive public perception of this progress it is important that the institutional measures will be directly followed by concrete improvements in the field of armed forces capabilities. The partners will have a particularly close look at Germany in this matter. The restructuring of the Bundeswehr must also be seen against this background.

ID Number: JA016223

Year: 2001

Type: ART

L'Europe de la defense en puissance.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 4, avril 2001, p. 51-58.)

Author(s):

1. Gautier, Louis

Notes:

Pour l'Europe de la defense, la fin de la guerre froide change la situation du tout au tout. Apres une phase dynamique marquee par les accords de Maastricht (1991) et la creation d'un corps europeen (1992), la defense europeenne pietine. Le processus est relance par l'initiative franco-britannique de Saint-Malo en decembre 1998. En deux ans des progres considerables furent accomplis, aboutissant au sommet de Nice en decembre 2000 a la mise en place d'une architecture institutionnelle pour traiter les sujets de defense et de securite. Au meme moment, l'Union europeenne adoptait des objectifs de capacite militaire. A terme, sa credibilite militaire sera proportionnelle a son niveau d'autonomie. Concretement cela exige qu'elle se dote progressivement des moyens de renseignement, de planification, de commandement et de controle qui lui font aujourd'hui defaut.

La reussite de l'Europe de la defense implique une bonne coordination 'interpiliers' de facon a permettre la conjugaison harmonieuse des instruments civils et militaires de gestion de crise. En outre, la mise en oeuvre de l'Europe de la defense passe aussi par les relations et les arrangements que l'Union et l'OTAN etablissent puis developpent. Dans l'immediat, il faut en avoir conscience et s'y preparer, le sort de la defense europeenne risque d'etre largement determine par le premier emploi en operations d'une force dirige par l'Union. Celle-ci fera veritablement precedent, or jusqu'a 2003 ses marges d'action restent etroites et les moyens comptes.

ID Number: JA016544

Year: 2001

Type: ART

#### Europa als internationaler Akteur.

(INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 2, Februar 2001, S. 23-27.)

Author(s):

1. Gloannec, Anne-Marie Le

Notes:

Nach dem Gipfel von Nizza stellt die deutsche Bundesregierung die Beschlusse zur Europaischen Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik (ESVP) als einen der Erfolge des Treffens dar. Die Autorin erortert die Frage, ob diese Einschätzung zutrifft. Zwei problemen der ESVP sind für sie nach wie vor ungelöst : der Zugang der EU zu Mitteln der NATO, die sie für geplante Militaraktionen braucht, sowie das Fehlen einer gemeinsamen Strategie der EU-Staaten, wie beispielsweise bei der Haltung gegenüber Irak. Nach wie vor mangelt es an einem gemeinsam politischen Willen, so das düstere Fazit der Verfasserin. Ohne ihn können die EU-Staaten jedoch kaum eine wirksame ESVP entwickeln.

ID Number: JA016333

Year: 2001

Type: ART

#### European Security and Defense Policy : A Key Project for European Unification.

(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 146, no. 6, December 2001, p. 19-24.)

Author(s):

1. Lubkemeier, Eckhard

Notes:

Developing a European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) is a dynamic EU project, which is still in its early days. Like enlargement, it will play a significant role in determining the future of the Union. The central aim is to complete and thus strengthen the EU's external ability to act through the development of civilian and military capabilities for international conflict prevention and crisis management. If the EU member states work together successfully in these fields, this will help forge a common identity and will deepen integration. The ESDP is therefore also a key project for the further unification of Europe.

ID Number: JA017251

Year: 2001

Type: ART

The Development of a Military Capability for the European Union.

(MILITARY TECHNOLOGY, vol. 25, no. 8, 2001, p. 81-89.)

Author(s):

1. Messervy-Whiting, Graham

Notes:

The aim of this article is to give an overview of the current state of development of the European Union's Common European Security and Defence Policy (CESDP).

ID Number: JA017076

Year: 2001

Type: ART

Towards a European Defence Policy.

(INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 36, no. 3, July - September 2001, p. 47-55.)

Author(s):

1. Minuto Rizzo, Alessandro

Notes:

The author gives his views on the state of the development of European defence and on the major obstacles that need to be overcome to provide the Union with credible crisis management capabilities.

ID Number: JA017238

Year: 2001

Type: ART

European Defence and NATO : The Case for New Governance.

(INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 56, no. 2, Spring 2001, p. 261-278.)

Author(s):

1. Moens, Alexander

ID Number: JA016898

Year: 2001

Type: ART

Post-Ismay Europe : Britain and the Rebalance of European Security.

(MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 12, no. 4, Fall 2001, p. 106-119.)

Author(s):

1. Pagedas, Constantine A.

ID Number: JA017233

Year: 2001

Type: ART

European Security and Defence Co-operation.

(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 146, no. 2, April 2001, p. 54-59.)

Author(s):

1. Quinlan, Michael

ID Number: JA016400

Year: 2001

Type: ART

L'Europe de la defense.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 1, janvier 2001, p. 7-15.)

Author(s):

1. Richard, Alain

ID Number: JA016178

Year: 2001

Type: ART

Providing Relief or Promoting Democracy ? : The European Union and Crisis Management.

(SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 32, no. 1, March 2001, p. 87-101.)

Author(s):

1. Rynning, Sten

Notes:

In the last decade, the EU has assumed a greater role in managing conflicts on the peripheries of Europe and is now aiming to strengthen its capabilities to perform this role. Most official documents emphasize the need to build up capacities for providing humanitarian relief, but the history of the EU is linked to the liberal hope of transcending conflict through democratic governance. Empirical evidence of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy, as well as the political ambitions that underpin the European Security and Defense Policy, strongly indicates that in performing crisis management the EU is turning to the more ambitious policy of democratic enforcement. The experience of involvement in the Balkans illustrates the risks of such a policy and highlights the problems that local balances of power pose to democratic development. The most probable answer from the EU is a muddled compromise between continuity and change, but a clue to a more sound answer can be found in developing a broader range of policy options that could be applied selectively to specific contexts of crisis. This would amount to creating a mechanism of variable geometry to promote a greater range of specific activities that would alleviate human suffering while escaping quagmires of democratization.

ID Number: JA016494

Year: 2001

Type: ART

El progreso de la politica de defensa europea.

(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 15, no. 83, septiembre - octubre 2001, p. 95-111.)

Author(s):

1. Serra, Narcis

Notes:

Dos factores han acelerado los avances de la UE en materia de seguridad y defensa en los ultimos anos : la guerra de Kosovo y el cambio de actitud de Reino Unido. Desde el Consejo Europeo de Colonia hasta el de Gotemburgo, los Quince han ido poniendo en marcha los mecanismos para dotarse de una capacidad militar propia sin romper el dialogo transatlantico en el seno de la OTAN.

ID Number: JA017807

Year: 2001

Type: ART

Desafios de la defensa europea.

(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 15, no. 79, Enero - Febrero 2001, p. 73-83.)

Author(s):

1. Solana, Javier

Notes:

La rapidez con que progressa la dimension de defensa en la union Europea obliga a recapacitar sobre lo conseguido, las instituciones y procedimientos acordados - en particular la fuerza de reaccion rapida - y aclarar algunas malinterpretaciones. Entre ella, las que creen ver en el proyecto un intento de debilitar la Alianza Atlantica y las relaciones euronorteamericanas.

ID Number: JA016227

Year: 2001

Type: ART

L'autonomie, cle de voute d'une veritable defense europeenne.  
(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 2, fevrier 2001, p. 35-44.)

Author(s):

1. Viriot, Jean-Marie

Notes:

Les declarations du president de la Republique francaise a la veille du sommet de Nice, evoquant une Europe de la defense 'coordonnee avec l'Alliance', mais 'independante par rapport au Shape' pour ce qui concerne 'son elaboration et sa mise en oeuvre', ont fait l'effet d'un pave dans la mare euro-atlantique alors qu'elles levent certaines ambiguites : l'Europe doit avoir l'ambition d'etre une puissance forte politiquement et militairement. L'attitude des Etats-Unis est guidee par la volonte de ne pas voir leur leadership remis en cause : il n'est donc pas question de toucher a son expression en europe, l'OTAN. Ils sont sans doute prêts a tolerer, peut-etre meme a accepter, voire pour certains a souhaiter, une Europe militaire relativement forte, mais ils excluent pour l'instant une europe politique forte. Les relations futures entre l'UE et l'OTAN s'en ressentiront mais il est temps de comprendre qu'il y aura dans l'avenir deux types d'operations militaires : celles avec les Etats-Unis au sein de l'OTAN; et celles sans les Etats-Unis concues et conduites par les Europeens.

ID Number: JA016267

Year: 2001

Type: ART

La defense europeenne : de l'autonomie a l'integration.

(POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 66e annee, no. 2, avril - juin 2001, p. 341-352.)

Author(s):

1. Walch, Jacques

Notes:

After much vacillation, European defence has become a reality. Its advent is announced through organisations, procedures and obligations. Henceforth, member states and the Union itself will have to plan for the coexistence between present military structures and the new ones. For the European Union, it is a matter of finding a comprehensive efficiency through the coalescing of the practices of its three pillars. The present members will have to manage the issue of a genuine European command structure. France will have to balance the discrepancies between its traditional strategy and the new European military policy.

ID Number: JA016952

Year: 2001

Type: ART

European Defense Edges Towards a New Spirit of Co-Operation.

(INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE REVIEW, vol. 34, January 2001, p. 54-58.)

Author(s):

1. Wilson, Gordon

Notes:

Technological advancement is a major element in Europe's latest steps toward a new defense identity.

ID Number: JA016024

Year: 2001

Type: ART

## 2000

Een Europees militaire arm, maar waarvoor ? : behoeft aan een Europees strategisch concept.

(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 54, nr. 9, september 2000, p. 439-442)

Author(s):

1. Biscop, Sven

Notes:

The author discusses the European Union's security and defence policy. Recently, steps have been taken to strengthen the resources, as well as the decision-making procedures of the EU in this field. Yet, a clear indication of the cases in which this military capacity will be deployed does not exist. At present, it is unclear where and when 'Europe' will intervene : will the EU become a police officer with a mandate worldwide or will EU-forces intervene only in case of a direct threat to European security ? The author argues that a European Strategic Concept is needed in order to answer these questions. Without such a concept the future of the EU's security and defence policy looks bleak.

ID Number: JA015693

Year: 2000

Type: ART

The European Security and Defence Policy : Threat to NATO.

(PERCEPTIONS, vol. 5, no. 3, September - October 2000, p. 108-114.)

Author(s):

1. Cash, Bill

ID Number: JA015719

Year: 2000

Type: ART

The Military Security Pool : Towards a New Security Regime for Europe ?.

(INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 35, no. 4, October - December 2000, p. 41-54.)

Author(s):

1. Deighton, Anne

ID Number: JA016338

Year: 2000

Type: ART

Les ambitions de l'Europe : de l'apres-Kosovo aux indicateurs de coherence.

(POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 65e annee, no. 2, ete 2000, p. 485-498.)

Author(s):

1. Dumoulin, Andre

Notes:

L'auteur analyse ici les ambitions europeennes en matiere de securite et de defense au lendemain de l'intervention au Kosovo. Selon lui, il est necessaire que l'Union europeenne se dote d'une reelle capacite de defense et ne se limite pas a un simple processus d'integration economique. C'est le seul moyen pour l'Europe d'exister en temps que veritable acteur diplomatique et strategique independant des Etats-Unis. Apres nous avoir mis en garde contre une americanisation des mentalites europeennes, l'auteur plaide en faveur de l'elaboration d'une doctrine strategique propre a l'Union, ce qui necessite de depasser les divergences internes, de ne pas dissocier IESE et PESC, et d'articuler le processus a l'Alliance atlantique.

ID Number: JA015593

Year: 2000

Type: ART

Building European Defence : NATO's ESDI and the European Union's ESDP.

(COMMITTEE REPORTS (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), 2000, 17 p.

(491.6/24).)

Author(s):

1. Eekelen, Wim van

ID Number: JA017111

Year: 2000

Type: ART

Europäische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik : was erwarten wir vom Gipfel in Nizza ?.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 49. Jg., Nr. 12, Dezember 2000, S. 38-41.)

Author(s):

1. Frietsche, Helmut

2. Parchmann, Dirk

3. Sommer, Peter Michael

Notes:

In the field of security policy, the European nations are now faced with an eminent task of shaping peace and stability. The progress made in the past year and a half in the development of a Security and Defense Policy of the European Union were breathtaking. The way in which the European nations are going to solve this task today and in the future will decisively shape the international security architecture of tomorrow. A greater ability of the EU and the Europeans in NATO to act in matters of security policy is in accordance with the necessities in the new Europe. It meets the conditions of globalization under which Europe can stand its ground only as a politically united power. The tasks lying ahead of the European nations are numerous and ambitious. At the EU summit in Nizza it is expected that the transition to the necessary permanent political and politico-military decision-making committees will be decided on and that the indispensable cooperation between NATO and European Union will be institutionally provided for as soon as possible.

ID Number: JA015960

Year: 2000

Type: ART

Their Own Army ?.

(FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 79, no. 4, July - August 2000, p. 12-17.)

Author(s):

1. Gordon, Philip H.

Notes:

Europe is about to create a unified military force. Done wrong, it could strain transatlantic relations and weaken European defense.

ID Number: JA015535

Year: 2000

Type: ART

Europe's Strategic Ambitions : The Limits of Ambiguity.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 42, no. 2, Summer 2000, p. 5-15.)

Author(s):

1. Heisbourg, Francois

Notes:

By any measure, the European Union's efforts to forge a new European security and defence policy (ESDP) have made remarkable progress. The essentially intergovernmental nature of the project, which thereby is not a frontal challenge to state sovereignty, is one of the reasons for this progress. However, a certain studied imprecision about the eventual destination has also been essential. This is not an unusual feature of the European integration process, in which progress

has often depended on defining practical objectives first, and deferring to a later stage the consideration of issues of principle and of implementation. However, the virtues of ambiguity are now reaching their limit : the force planners charged with fulfilling the 'headline goal' will need some guidance as to what the force is supposed to do; and the corresponding budget input will have to be defined.

ID Number: JA015392

Year: 2000

Type: ART

Europa en defensie : de volgende stappen.

(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 54, nr. 12, december 2000, p. 596-601.)

Author(s):

1. Kreemers, Bert

Notes:

The author reports on current developments on the road toward an autonomous European defence. It is by no means certain that the fifteen EU Member States will fulfill the expectations raised with respect to the Helsinki Headline Goal for an autonomous military capacity in 2003. Too many differences in the structure and orientation of the armed forces of the European countries make it difficult to carry out large and complicated military operations without external assistance. A great number of collective capabilities have yet to be built up and will not be ready in the near future. Europe could overcome this problem and stimulate the fulfilment of the Helsinki Headline Goal by restricting itself in the short run - to strengthening its role in current peacekeeping operations in the Balkans. Such an enhanced role would ease American concerns and doubts. Without such a promise irritation and criticism in Washington may threaten the present European consensus on the development of a common security and defence policy.

ID Number: JA016000

Year: 2000

Type: ART

Der europaische Sicherheitspfeiler : Stein des Anstosses fur die USA.

(INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 55. Jahr, Nr. 3, März 2000, S. 43-48.)

Author(s):

1. Meiers, Franz-Josef

Notes:

Die Herausbildung einer Europaischen Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik (ESVP) wird zum Zankapfel zwischen den USA und Europa. Der Autor analysiert die Positionen Frankreichs, Deutschlands und der USA und zeigt gemeinsame Wege auf.

ID Number: JA015530

Year: 2000

Type: ART

La politique europeenne de securite et de defense.

(REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 39, automne 2000, p. 51-58.)

Author(s):

1. Nivet, Bastien

ID Number: JA015699

Year: 2000

Type: ART

Top-Down or Bottom-Up : Is Security and Defence Policy in the EU a

Question of Political Will or Military Capability ?.

(EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 9, no. 2, Summer 2000, p. 13-30.)

Author(s):

1. Shepherd, Alistair J. K.

Notes:

Much of the debate since the formation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy has focused on the political will, or lack thereof, as the principal obstacle to a successful European security policy. However, even if a cohesive will to develop a clear and operational foreign and security policy exists, the lack of military capabilities within the EU would make the implementation of that policy difficult, if not impossible, for the foreseeable future. The emerging political will to develop a CFSP needs to be paralleled by significant improvements in the force projection capabilities of the EU member states in order for a CFSP and future Common Defence Policy to be credible.

ID Number: JA015723

Year: 2000

Type: ART

The End of Civilian Power EU : A Welcome Demise or Cause for Concern ?.

(INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 35, no. 2, April - June 2000, p.

Author(s):

1. Smith, Karen E.

Notes:

This article argues that despite the obvious current weaknesses of the EU's defence dimension, it is now abandoning its civilian power image. The second section questions the assumptions that lie behind such a move, in particular the widespread perception that the EU will be unable to act effectively in international affairs unless it can use military instruments. The third section examines the security threats facing the EU and questions how military instruments would help reduce or eliminate them. The EU risks generating a 'security dilemma' itself, if outsiders feel threatened by the establishment of an armed bloc centred on the Union. Finally, the article argues that the case for a civilian power EU is still strong.

ID Number: JA015513

Year: 2000

Type: ART

Common European Foreign and Security Policy Targets for the Future.

(NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, no. 1, 2000, p. 106-107.)

Author(s):

1. Solana, Javier

Notes:

As the European Union enters the 21st Century it faces three main challenges : it has to follow through on its historic decision to enlarge to include potentially a further 13 Member States. This will increase dramatically both the physical size of the Union and its population. It will create a stronger and a more diverse Union. The EU has also to adjust to the tremendous pace of economic change. In particular it must make rapid progress in the fields of information and communication technologies if it is to remain competitive. Thirdly, it is committed to developing a truly effective common foreign and security policy complete with a defence component.

ID Number: JA015633

Year: 2000

Type: ART

Hacia una politica de seguridad y defensa europea.  
(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 74, no. 76, julio - agosto 2000, p. 95-106.)

Author(s):

1. Staden, Alfred van
2. Kreemers, Bert

Notes:

La guerra de Kosovo impulso el desarollo de una capacidad europea autonoma en materia de defensa, pero son aun numerosos los obstaculos a su completa realizacion. Las suspicacias transatlanticas y las diferencias europeas en presupuestos y efectivos suponen importantes limitaciones.

ID Number: JA015605

Year: 2000

Type: ART

Vers l'Europe de la defense.

(COMMENTAIRE, vol. 23, no. 92, hiver 2000 - 2001, p. 779-784.)

Author(s):

1. Vernet, Daniel

ID Number: JA016122

Year: 2000

Type: ART

## 1999

De Saint-Malo a Feira : les enjeux de la renaissance du projet de defense europeenne.

(STUDIA DIPLOMATICA, vol. 52, no. 4, 1999, numero special.)

Author(s):

1. Dehoussse, Franklin
2. Galer, Benoit

Notes:

Le Conseil europeen de Cologne a defini des projets en apparence ambitieux pour l'identite europeenne de securite et de defense (ESDI). Ces projets ont ete confirmes, et dans une certaine mesure corriges, par les Conseils europeens d'Helsinki et de Feira. Ceux-ci ont mis davantage l'accent sur les aspects de capacite militaire (definition du projet 'Headline Goal') et moins sur les aspects institutionnels (integration de l'UEO dans l'UE). Avant d'examiner les implications de ce projet, il faut rappeler les structures internationales concernees par la securite europeenne : l'OTAN, l'UEO, et l'OSCE.

ID Number: JA015796

Year: 1999

Type: ART

Europaische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik : Ergebnisse der deutschen Doppelpräsidentschaft in EU und WEU.

(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 48. Jg., Nr. 12, Dezember 1999, S. 14-18.)

Author(s):

1. Sommer, Peter-Michael

Notes:

The first 6 months in 1999 have produced decisive progress in the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP). Prominent events which were also given much attention in the coverage by the media and, as a result of that, met with great public response were the NATO summit in Washington and the conference of the European Council in Cologne. Another important date was the 1st of May when the Amsterdam Treaty came into effect. In addition, The Council of Ministers of the Western European Union (WEU) in Bremen has also considerably contributed to giving the development of the European capabilities in the field of security and defense a new impulse.

ID Number: JA014747

Year: 1999

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