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EUROPEAN DEFENSE AND THE ESDP

LA DÉFENSE EUROPÉENNE ET LA PESD

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No. 10/2001

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PART I : BOOKS

PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES*

European Security and Defence Identity : New Developments - Maastricht :
Cicero Foundation, 1998.
ISBN/ISSN:9075759045
69 p.; 30 cm.
(Cicero Paper ; 4)
ID number: 80017039 Type: M
Library Location: 448 /00007
Subject(s):
1. EU--ESDP
2. ESDI
Added entry(s):
1. Cicero Foundation (NL)
Papers presented at the International Experts' Seminar organised by
the Cicero Foundation in Paris in the series 'Great Debates' on 19 and
20 March 1998.

The European Security and Defence Identity - Paris : Assembly of Western
European Union, 1998.
ISBN/ISSN:
93 p.; 30 cm.
ID number: 80017534 Type: M
Library Location: 448 /00015
Subject(s):
1. ESDI
2. EU--ESDP
Added entry(s):
1. Western European Union. Assembly
Colloquy, Madrid, 4-6 May 1998, Official Record.

L'Identite europeenne de securite et de defense - Paris : Assemblée de
l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale, 1998.
ISBN/ISSN:
96 p.; 30 cm.
ID number: 80017533 Type: M
Library Location: 448 /00015
Subject(s):
1. ESDI
2. EU--ESDP
Added entry(s):
1. Union de l'Europe Occidentale. Assemblée
Colloque, Madrid, 4-6 mai 1998 : Compte rendu officiel.

* This list contains material received as of November 27th, 2001 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 27 novembre 2001.

Europeanizing Security ? : NATO and an Integrating Europe - Washington : American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:0941441415

xi, 146 p. : ill. ; 30 cm.

(AICGS Research Report ; 9)

ID number: 80016975

Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01282

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY

2. EU--ESDP

3. ESDI

Added entry(s):

1. Lankowski, Carl, ed.

2. Serfaty, Simon, ed.

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

<<http://www.aicgs.org>> consulted 11/01/2001.

'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.'

L'Europe et la securite collective : depasser les mythes - Paris : Publisud, 2000.

ISBN/ISSN:2866003950

136 p. ; 23 cm.

(Prospective strategique)

ID number: 80017052

Type: M

Library Location: 448 /00008

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--MILITARY POLICY

2. EU--ESDP

3. ESDI

Added entry(s):

1. Burgelin, Henri, ed.

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

'Le present ouvrage reunit les contributions de personnalites appartenant a des pays ou a des organisations internationales concernees, 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 rencontres relevent des conceptions divergentes que les Etats europeens nourrissent de leur propre politique de defense et que le perfectionnement des institutions de l'Union n'est sans doute pas le meilleur moyen de les surmonter, ni de repondre au legitime souci de securite de tous les europeens. Si la situation ne parait pas mure pour l'etablissement d'un systeme de defense commun, en dehors de l'OTAN, il reste possible aux gouvernements qui le veulent d'agir ensemble pour renforcer la paix sur notre continent, a condition de respecter les options de chacun en matiere de securite et de donner priorite aux exigences d'une action efficace plutot qu'a celles de structures politico-administratives qui risquent de s'averer paralysantes.'

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, 2000.

ISBN/ISSN:

xi, 37 p.; 30cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 17)

ID number: 80017618

Type: M

Library Location: 448 /00016

Subject(s):

1. EU--ESDP
2. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
4. EUROPE--MILITARY POLICY

Added entry(s):

1. Lindley-French, Julian, ed.
2. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)
'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.'

La Belgique et la politique europeenne de securite et de defense (PESD) - Bruxelles : CRISP, 2000.

ISBN/ISSN:

51 p.; 27 cm.

(Courrier hebdomadaire du CRISP ; 1700)

ID number: 80017146

Type: M

Library Location: 448 /00010

Author(s):

1. Dumoulin, Andre

Subject(s):

1. EU--ESDP

Added entry(s):

1. Centre de Recherche et d'Information Socio-Politiques (BE)
'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 maitre 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'adequation du plan strategique de modernisation des Forces armees belges pour la periode 2000-2015 a cette meme PESD.'

Europe's New Defense Ambitions : Implications for NATO, the US, and Russia - Garmisch-Partenkirchen : George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, 2000.

ISBN/ISSN:1930831005

vii, 40 p.; 23 cm.

(Marshall Center Papers ; 1)

ID number: 80016630

Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01265

Author(s):

1. Ham, Peter van

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--MILITARY POLICY

2. EU--ESDP

3. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

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

'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.'

European Defence : Making It Work - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union, 2000.

ISBN/ISSN:

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

(Chaillot Papers ; 42)

ID number: 80016770

Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01273

Author(s):

1. Heisbourg, Francois

Subject(s):

1. EU--ESDP

2. EU--ARMED FORCES--HEADLINE GOAL

Added entry(s):

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

'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.'

European Integration and Defence : The Ultimate Challenge ? - Paris :
Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union, 2000.

ISBN/ISSN:

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

(Chaillot Papers ; 43)

ID number: 80016884

Type: M

Library Location: 448 /00005

Author(s):

1. Howorth, Jolyon

Subject(s):

1. EU--ESDP

Added entry(s):

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

'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.'

The Nordic Dimension in the Evolving European Security Structure and the Role of Norway - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union, 2000.

ISBN/ISSN:

v, 35 p. ; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 22)

ID number: 80016887

Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01278

Author(s):

1. Knutsen, Bjorn Olav

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE, NORTHERN--NATIONAL SECURITY

2. EU--ESDP

3. EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

4. EUROPE, NORTHERN--FOREIGN RELATIONS

5. NORWAY--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

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

'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.'

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, 2000.

ISBN/ISSN:

33 p.; 30 cm.

ID number: 80016997

Type: M

Library Location: 448 /00006

Author(s):

1. Marshall

Subject(s):

1. EU--ESDP

2. WEU

3. CRISIS MANAGEMENT--EU

Added entry(s):

1. Western European Union. Assembly

<<http://www.weu.int/assembly/eng/reports/1720c.html>> accessed

31/01/01.

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

Les Etats-Unis et la defense europeenne - Paris : Institut d'Etudes de
Securite de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale, 2000.

ISBN/ISSN:

ix, 57 p.; 24 cm.

(Cahiers de Chaillot ; 39)

ID number: 80017578

Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01261

Author(s):

1. Sloan, Stanley R.

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--MILITARY POLICY

2. EU--ESDP

3. ESDI

4. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--USA

Added entry(s):

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

'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 unanimite, 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.'

The United States and European Defence - Paris : Institute for Security
Studies of Western European Union, 2000.

ISBN/ISSN:

viii, 54 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 39)

ID number: 80016501

Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01261

Author(s):

1. Sloan, Stanley R.

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--MILITARY POLICY

2. EU--ESDP

3. ESDI

4. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--USA

Added entry(s):

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

'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.'

Coherence for European Security Policy : Debates, Cases, Assessments - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union, 2001.

ISBN/ISSN:

v, 90 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 27)

ID number: 80017195

Type: M

Library Location: 327.5 /00388

Subject(s):

1. CRISIS MANAGEMENT--EU
2. EU--CFSP
3. EU--ESDP
4. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

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

2. Missiroli, Antonio, ed.

'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.'

From St-Malo to Nice : European Defence : Core Documents - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union, 2001.

ISBN/ISSN:

x, 225 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 47)

ID number: 80017140

Type: M

Library Location: 448 /00011

Subject(s):

1. EU--ESDP
2. EUROPE--MILITARY POLICY

Added entry(s):

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

2. Rutten, Maartje, ed.

'The development of a common EU security and defence policy between December 1998 and December 2000 was almost revolutionary compared with the slow progress made during the preceding half century, at least in terms of political commitments and policy guidelines. Much as Europeans still have room for improvement, especially in terms of equipment and budgets, the progress made so far would have been unthinkable as recently as two years ago. For these reasons the Institute, as a catalyst for the European security and defence debate, considered it crucial to recapitulate on what happened during the two years that shook the world of European defence, and to identify the most relevant milestones along the road from St-Malo to Nice. The idea was to be as inclusive as practicable in order to provide as complete a reference work on the initial stages of the ESDP project as possible.'

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

Noesis, 2001.

ISBN/ISSN:8487462618

268 p.; 21 cm.

ID number: 80017359

Type: M

Library Location: 448 /00012

Subject(s):

1. EU--ESDP
2. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
3. EUROPE--MILITARY POLICY
4. ESDI

Added entry(s):

1. Asociacion de Periodistas Europeos (SP)

XII seminario internacional de seguridad y defensa, Parador Conde

Orgaz de Toledo, 28 y 29 de junio de 2000.

Europe's Military Revolution - London : Centre for European Reform, 2001.

ISBN/ISSN:190122922X

86 p.; 21 cm.

ID number: 80017072

Type: M

Library Location: 448 /00009

Author(s):

1. Andreani, Gilles
2. Bertram, Christoph
3. Grant, Charles

Subject(s):

1. EU--ESDP
2. EUROPE--MILITARY POLICY

Added entry(s):

1. Centre for European Reform (GB)

'Since the British and French governments called on the European Union to develop a military role, in December 1998, much progress has been made. But the authors argue that the Union will not fulfill its ambitions without strengthening the institutions that are responsible for foreign and defence policy. They make the case for merging the roles of the Commissioner for external relations and the High Representative for foreign policy. The authors also propose that an EU defence budget should finance common missions, capabilities and armaments programmes. Finally, they urge the US to support an initiative which, if successful, will make the Europeans more useful partners.'

Realigning Neutrality ? : Irish Defence Policy and the EU - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union, 2001.

ISBN/ISSN:

v, 35 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 24)

ID number: 80017059

Type: M

Library Location: 355 /00400

Author(s):

1. Keohane, Daniel

Subject(s):

1. IRELAND--MILITARY POLICY
2. IRELAND--NEUTRALITY
3. EU--ESDP

Added entry(s):

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

'The author explores the changing context of Irish defence policy in light of the rapid development of the Common European Security and Defence Policy (CESDP). In so doing he touches on policy considerations germane to all EU member-states with a tradition of neutrality who are having to adjust to a new role in a changing world. The author also uses defence policy as a metaphor for the changing internal debate at a time when a strong and polemical discourse is underway about Ireland's role in the wider world. Many, particularly on the left, hark back to the days when Ireland's traditional neutrality was a feasible option in a world made up of competing

blocks. The author argues that in such a changed strategic environment neutrality no longer affords the luxury of non-engagement and that Ireland has to be seen to be an active and effective member of a broad Western security community. At the same time, he points out that Ireland not only has a strong record of UN peacekeeping worldwide but that its commitment of up to 850 troops to the European Rapid Reaction Force represents tangible evidence of how far Ireland has come in realigning its neutrality. However, in a tight budgetary environment, without any major external threats and with the situation in Northern Ireland reasonably stable the Irish Defence Force will have to compete with other demands upon the national treasury if it is to improve its capabilities so that its stated will can be matched by relevant and effective military forces. The author concludes that whilst Ireland is no longer a neutral state it remains non-aligned, with NATO membership out of the question for the foreseeable future. That said, the CESDP will continue to condition Irish defence policy and promote a pro-active role for Ireland in promoting European peace and security.'

Den europaeiske forsvarsdimension : baggrund og perspektiver - Kobenhavn : Danks Udenrigspolitisk Institut, 2001.

ISBN/ISSN:8790681398

191 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ID number: 80017285

Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01296

Author(s):

1. Nielsen, Reimer R.

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--MILITARY POLICY

2. EU--ESDP

Added entry(s):

1. Dansk Udenrigspolitisk Institut (DK)

Bibliography: p.185-188.

Military Intervention and the European Union - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union, 2001.

ISBN/ISSN:

vi, 133 p. ; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 45)

ID number: 80017095

Type: M

Library Location: 341.2 /00266

Author(s):

1. Ortega, Martin

Subject(s):

1. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)

2. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)--EUROPE

3. EUROPEAN RAPID REACTION FORCE

4. EU--ESDP

Added entry(s):

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

Bibliography: p. 131-133.

'Two historic developments have made possible the association of the two subjects in the title of this book. Firstly, NATO's military operation in Kosovo, which was undertaken without a mandate from the Security Council, was considered legitimate by the majority of the international community. Yet the question remains, to what extent has the principle of non-intervention as defined during the Cold War changed after Kosovo ? In this paper, the answer is that a principle of collective intervention (including interventions undertaken with Security Council authorisation) and a principle of limited intervention (when interventions are decided by states) have replaced the old 'legalistic' principle of non-intervention, which was so strict that it could not meet increasing demands of respect for human rights. Secondly, following the incorporation of the Petersberg missions in the Treaty on European Union, the European Council has decided to create a rapid reaction force to accomplish those missions that will be operational in 2003. Leaving aside the uses of force that member states might individually undertake in the future, the question

now is, what type of operations will the EU force carry out ? Will it be employed for military interventions ? This book also tackles this question, and suggests that the fact that the EU is a unique international actor in which the national positions of member states must be combined and accommodated guarantees that the EU will only undertake military operations in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter. The EU force will thus be employed essentially in operations sanctioned by the Security Council. However, the development of the new principle of limited intervention implies that the EU force should also be employed in cases of extreme necessity, that is, humanitarian catastrophes that put at risk international peace, even in the absence of a mandate from the Security Council. The EU and its member states should multiply their efforts to explain to their NATO allies on the one hand, and to their neighbours and partners on the other, not only the technical aspects of the force that is being established but also the political intentions underlying it. In a world of states, in which violent confrontation has been the rule historically, it is possibly difficult to comprehend that the EU is a brand new international actor whose aims is not to project its military power but to expand the ideas of conflict prevention through economic integration, region and partnership building, and democratic values.'

PART II : MAGAZINE ARTICLES

DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES**

L' Europe de l' armement.
ARMEMENT, no. 72, decembre 2000, numero entier.

Les institutions de l' Europe de la defense.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 11, novembre 2001, p. 116-127.

Le sommet franco-britannique de Saint-Malo a permis a l'Europe de franchir un pas important dans la definition d'une politique europeenne de defense. Les objectifs a long terme ne sont cependant pas les memes entre ces deux pays. A Saint-Malo, la rencontre des deux politiques etrangeres, britannique et francaise, s'est faite sur une base pragmatique, a savoir la volonte commune de doter l'Union europeenne d'une capacite de gestion de crises.

Les institutions nationales vers la defense europeenne.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 11, novembre 2001, p. 107-115.

Depuis deux ans, une grande dynamique est engagee pour donner corps a ce qui n'etait jusqu'alors qu'un ensemble d'ambitions en matiere de defense europeenne. Cet ensemble etait base jusqu'alors sur deux organisations : l'Union de l'Europe occidentale, a laquelle l'UE est progressivement en train de se substituer, et l'OTAN, qui assume depuis 1949 un role essentiel dans la defense de l'Europe et qui continuera a le faire.

Towards a European Crisis Reaction Force.
MILITARY TECHNOLOGY, vol. 24, no. 4, 2000, p. 44-53.

The appalling events which have been unfolding in Former Yugoslavia for nearly ten years have brought home to Western nations the need for military resources to carry out peace-support operations. The political framework for the establishment of a European Crisis Reaction Force is now being put in place.

- Andreani, Gilles
Why Institutions Matter.
SURVIVAL, vol. 42, no. 2, Summer 2000, p. 81-95.

When British Prime Minister Tony Blair gave new impetus to a serious defence role for the European Union, he insisted that the debate should focus on real military capabilities, and stay clear of the institutional swamp in which previous attempts had been lost. Yet, institutions matter for the EU in a unique way : the process of European integration is a joint exercise in norms-setting and institution-building. Since the 1980s, each new step in European integration has brought along its own set of institutional requirements. Defence will inevitably do the same, all the more so because the EU is currently void of any defence culture : only in a specialised institutional setting will such a culture be imported into it, and solidify.

** This list contains material received as of November 27th 2001 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 27 novembre 2001.

- Annati, Massimo
Shaping the Requirements for the European Rapid Reaction Force.
MILITARY TECHNOLOGY, vol. 25, no. 2, 2001, p. 58-72.

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.

- Baichorov, Alexander
Security and Defence Policy of the European Union and NATO.
BELARUS IN THE WORLD, no. 2, 2000, p. 31-35.

- Bailes, Alyson J. K.
European Defence : Another Set of Questions.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 145, no. 1, February 2000, p. 38-44.

- Bailes, Alyson J. K.
European Defence Convergence Criteria.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 144, no. 3, June 1999, p. 60-65.

What are the realities of the EU moving towards greater cooperation in European defence, as envisaged in the Blair-Chirac European defence initiative launched in 1998 ? The idea was subtly given the nod at NATO's Washington summit and is likely to be formalised by EU leaders meeting in Koln. The author examines this project's similarities to - and differences from - the EU's last great gamble, of Economic and Monetary Union. She suggests that, like EMU, the defence project must have its criteria.

- Bailes, Alyson J. K.
NATO's European Pillar : The European Security and Defense Identity.
DEFENSE ANALYSIS, vol. 15, no. 3, December 1999, p. 305-322.

- Baudin, Pierre
Les aspects institutionnels de l' Europe de la defense.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 56eme annee, no. 12, decembre 2000, p. 5-21.

L'etude conduite par l'auteur aborde les questions institutionnelles et en devoile des aspects meconnus.

- Baudin, Pierre
De la defense de l' Europe a l' Europe de la defense.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 56eme annee, no. 11, novembre 2000, p. 34-48.

- Biscop, Sven
Een Europese militaire arm, maar waarvoor ? : behoefte aan een Europees strategisch concept.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 54, nr. 9, september 2000, p. 439-442

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.

- Blanc, Emile
Fennebresque, Michel
La defense europeenne apres le conseil europeen de Nice.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 2, fevrier 2001, p. 23-34.

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 decision et d'action. Au-dela, il faudra bien s'interesser aussi a la defense 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.

- Bonvicini, Gianni
European Defence : Beyond Functional Convergence : Procedures and Institutions.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 34, no. 3, July - September 1999, p. 21-28.

The author addresses the problems of the construction of a European defence as they emerged from the most recent debate within the European Union and the experience of the Kosovo conflict. He emphasises the need for the Union to make substantial progress not only in the institutional realm - starting with the no longer postponable absorption of the Western European Union - but also in the military realm, by effectively integrating military capabilities through the adoption of macro-defence criteria of convergence in some ways analogous to the procedures set down in Maastricht for economic and monetary integration. In the concluding part of the article, he proposes a series of measures that could help the EU member countries achieve these goals.

- Bressy, Bernard de
Defense europeenne : et la Russie ?
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55eme annee, no. 1, janvier 1999, p. 23-31.

Le defense de l'Europe suscite bien des reflexions, des discussions, des opinions diverses. En outre, on n'y aborde generalement guere le role que peut y jouer la Russie : amie ou ennemie ? Incluse ou exclue ? Et dans quelles limites geographiques ?

- Bressy, Bernard de
Defense ou intervention : le paradoxe europeen.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 56eme annee, no. 4, avril 2000, p. 5-11.

- Cammilleri, Anne
Le Traite de Nice et la politique europeenne de defense.
REVUE DES AFFAIRES EUROPEENNES, 10eme annee, no. 4, juillet 2000, p. 389-397.

- Cash, Bill
The European Security and Defence Policy : Threat to NATO.
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 5, no. 3, September - October 2000, p. 108-114.

- Chautard, Sophie
Une programmation militaire pour l' Europe.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 4, avril 2001, p. 59-78.

Les points abordes durant cette journee de colloque ont permis d'examiner la repartition des taches entre les differentes armees europeennes, la place de l'Union dans l'Alliance atlantique, la mise en place d'une defense europeenne credible, les conditions d'une politique europeenne de l'armement et le projet crucial d'une programmation militaire europeenne.

- Clarke, Michael
French and British Security : Mirror Images in a Globalized World.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 76, no. 4, October 2000, p. 725-739.

The French government is reassessing the whole basis on which it trains and equips its diplomats for their calling, driven by a growing perception that French diplomacy has not been performing well. The 'Heisbourg Report' on the state of French diplomacy pulled no punches and accused French diplomats of being closed to international influences, untrained for modern diplomacy and stifled by a state-centrist view of modern international relations. On the face of it this can all be interpreted as a milestone in an underlying convergence between Francophone and Anglophone approaches to modern diplomacy and security. In very important respects, however, Britain and France are mirror images of each other. What is defined here as mirror imaging can be seen to exist at three different levels which are self-reinforcing, though not in obvious ways : in the pros and cons of each others' policy-making style; in their inextricable fate to develop the European Security and Defence Policy project; and even at the most abstract levels in the predicaments they face in the light of globalization. Seen in this context, it is evident that it is not merely the skills and techniques of French and British policy-makers that need to be re-examined, but rather their way of thinking about their own state and about the nature of the international system around them in an era when globalization is symptomatic of deep structural change.

- Cogen, Marc
De militaire integratie van de Europese Unie na Nice.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 55, nr. 6, juni 2001, p. 304-309.

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 linchpin 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.

- Cornish, Paul
Edwards, Geoffrey
Beyond the EU/NATO Dichotomy : The Beginnings of a European Strategic Culture.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 77, no. 3, July 2001, p. 587-603.
<http://www.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>

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.

- Croft, Susan
The EU, NATO and Europeanisation : The Return of Architectural Debate.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 9, no. 3, Autumn 2000, p. 1-20.

In international relations, ideas matter. Not only are ideas important, and rooted in a relationship with interests, but present ideas are shaped by the outcome of past ideational battles. It is the impact of conflict between the ideas of the early 1990 upon the present that concerns this article. The first section of this article suggests that ideas matter. The second then examines the interplay of those ideas of European security in the early 1990s. The third and fourth sections trace the inevitable move to NATO enlargement that arose as a consequence. And the conclusion examines how this contemporary history has shaped the debates of today.

- Dehousse, Franklin
Galer, Benoit
De Saint-Malo a Feira : les enjeux de la renaissance du projet de defense europeenne.
STUDIA DIPLOMATICA, vol. 52, no. 4, 1999, numero special.

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.

- Deighton, Anne
The Military Security Pool : Towards a New Security Regime for Europe ?
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 35, no. 4, October - December 2000, p. 41-54.

- Dombrowski, Peter
Bundeswehr Reforms and Transatlantic Security.
STRATEGIC REVIEW, vol. 28, no. 4, Fall 2000, p. 59-65.

After a long struggle, a new European security architecture is taking shape. If, as planned, Europe is to develop a stronger, potentially autonomous security posture, both regionally and globally, it will need Germany to make significant symbolic, political, and material contributions. As this examination of recent developments in German defense policy will show, Germany's apparent inability to devote resources to common security problems may undermine Europe's defense reform initiatives. For the US, this may mean continuing to shoulder a disproportionate share of costs associated with providing European security, even as global commitments multiply and the strains on US military forces increase.

- Dumoulin, Andre
Les ambitions de l' Europe : de l' apres-Kosovo aux indicateurs de coherence.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 65e annee, no. 2, ete 2000, p. 485-498.

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 IESD et PESC, et d'articuler le processus a l'Alliance atlantique.

- Dumoulin, Andre
Les bases d' un concept strategique europeen.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 6, juin 2001, p. 108-117.

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 legitimisation 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 veritable 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.

- Eekelen, Wim Van
Building European Defence : NATO's ESDI and the European Union's ESDP.
COMMITTEE REPORTS (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), 2000, 17 p.
(491.6/24).
<http://www.nato-pa.int/publications/comrep>

- Eekelen, Wim Van
NATO and the European Security and Defence Policy.
COMMITTEE REPORTS (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), Spring 2001, 14 p.
(491.6/24).
<http://www.nato-pa.int/publications/comrep>

- Ellis, James O.
NATO and the European Security and Defence Identity.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 34, no. 2, April - June 1999, p. 47-50.

The author focuses on the comparative advantages that NATO offers as a context for concrete and effective development of the European Security and Defence Identity.

- Folmer, G. J.
Zelfstandige Europese defensie : visioen of visie ?
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 54, nr. 3, maart 2000, p. 130-135.

The author deals with the prospect of a European defence. From its economic and demographic potential an independent European defence capacity is a reasonable objective. To achieve it, not only political will but also practical measures have to be taken. These measures comprise, inter alia, an increase in active personnel and a shift in the organisational composition of the armies so that e.g. more engineers, more mobile medical units and logistics are available. As for the latter, nations should give priority to consider how to make use of civilian resources rather than to rely exclusively on military means. Furthermore, the command and control facilities should be improved to provide more mobile Headquarters at the Army Corps level in order to support sustained operations. Concurrently, the communications facilities at both the command and unit level should be improved to achieve communality and interoperability. The EU's objective for 2003, i.e. to have 50-60.000 troops standing ready at a 60 days notice, requires at least a second batch at the ready if an operation is to be sustained for just one year. For longer periods up to the indefinite operations such as in the Balkans, the total amount required will be 4 to 5 times that of the capacity in the field. Europe still has a long way to go; its objective can only be achieved if political will is not only expressed in procedural matters, but in practical measures as well.

- Frietzsche, Helmut
Parchmann, Dirk
Europäische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik : der Erfolg von Nizza ? !
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 50. Jg., Nr. 2, Februar 2001, S. 10-12.

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.

- Frietzsche, Helmut
Parchmann, Dirk
Sommer, Peter Michael
Europäische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik : was erwarten wir vom Gipfel in Nizza ?
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 49. Jg., Nr. 12, Dezember 2000, S. 38-41.

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.

- Fuentes, Jorge
La Transformación de Europa.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 14, no. 74, marzo - abril 2000, p. 73-82.

La defensa europea ha avanzado en el último año más que en las cuatro décadas anteriores de construcción comunitaria. La guerra de Kosovo ha acelerado este proceso, pero también el giro político británico y la necesaria redefinición de las relaciones transatlánticas. En marzo se constituyen las nuevas instituciones de la política exterior y de seguridad común de la EU.

- Gautier, Louis
L'Europe de la défense au portait.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 64e année, no. 2, été 1999, p. 233-243.

L'auteur analyse, dans cet article, l'évolution de la question de la défense européenne depuis la fin de la guerre froide, en particulier du point de vue français. Pour lui, la déclaration franco-britannique sur la défense européenne de Saint-Malo de décembre 1998 ainsi que la crise au Kosovo ont relancé cette problématique. Repoussant toute approche purement institutionnelle, il souhaite que soit privilégiée une démarche pragmatique sur la base de la convergence de vues en matière de défense qui se dessine entre les partenaires européens depuis Saint-Malo.

- Gautier, Louis
L'Europe de la défense en puissance.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e année, no. 4, avril 2001, p. 51-58.

Pour l'Europe de la défense, la fin de la guerre froide change la situation du tout au tout. Après une phase dynamique marquée par les accords de Maastricht (1991) et la création d'un corps européen (1992), la défense européenne piétine. Le processus est relancé par l'initiative franco-britannique de Saint-Malo en décembre 1998. En deux ans des progrès considérables furent accomplis, aboutissant au sommet de Nice en décembre 2000 à la mise en place d'une architecture institutionnelle pour traiter les sujets de défense et de sécurité. Au même moment, l'Union européenne adoptait des objectifs de capacité militaire. À terme, sa crédibilité militaire sera proportionnelle à son niveau d'autonomie. Concrètement cela exige qu'elle se dote progressivement des moyens de renseignement, de planification, de commandement et de contrôle qui lui font aujourd'hui défaut. La réussite de l'Europe de la défense implique une bonne coordination 'interpilliers' de façon à 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 dirigee par l'Union. Celle-ci fera veritablement precedent, or jusqu'a 2003 ses marges d'action restent etroites et les moyens comptes.

- Gloannec, Anne-Marie Le
Europa als internationaler Akteur.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 2, Februar 2001, S. 23-27.

Nach dem Gipfel von Nizza stellt die deutsche Bundesregierung die Beschlüsse zur Europäischen Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik (ESVP) als einen der Erfolge des Treffens dar. Die Autorin erörtert 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 Militäraktionen 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.

- Gorand, Francois
La defense europeenne apres Helsinki.
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 23, no. 89, printemps 2000, p. 5-13.

- Gordon, Philip H.
Their Own Army ?
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 79, no. 4, July - August 2000, p. 12-17.

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

- Gutmann, Francis
Defensa europea : una perspectiva francesa.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 14, no. 77, septiembre - octubre 2000, p. 63-73.

Francia es consciente de que Europa no se puede construir sin una defensa. No obstante, no podría aceptar que la defensa europea fuera una mera prolongación de los norteamericanos en la OTAN. Es preciso que, en el seno de la Alianza Atlantica, se establezca un pilar europeo en el mismo plano que Estados Unidos. Aunque muchos europeos consideran incuestionable que los norteamericanos les defenderán en todas las circunstancias, nada autoriza a pensar así.

- Heisbourg, Francois
L' Europe de la defense dans l' Alliance atlantique.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 64e annee, no. 2, ete 1999, p. 219-232.

Pour l'auteur, malgre son succes, l'avenir de l'OTAN est incertain, notamment en raison du caractere flou de sa raison d'etre actuelle et de la remise en cause croissante de sa coherence. Dans ce contexte, les Europeens doivent developper leurs capacites de defense, susceptibles de soutenir une veritable politique exterieure et de securite commune et d'apporter une contribution positive a l'Alliance. Selon lui, les pays de l'Union devraient privilegier tout particulierement les capacites de projection de forces adaptees aux crises de l'apres-guerre froide, dont les insuffisances sont notables dans le conflit du Kosovo, et favoriser une convergence sur le long terme des politiques de defense et d'equipement militaire.

- Heisbourg, Francois
European Defence Takes a Leap Forward.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 48, Spring - Summer 2000, p. 8-11.

Recent moves towards a common European defence and security policy and European defence capabilities that are 'separable but not separate' from NATO have sparked off considerable debate. Concerns have been voiced that this could lead to a decoupling of Europe's security from that of its other NATO allies, a duplication of effort or capabilities, and discrimination against those allies who are not European Union members. The author argues that we need to get beyond the rhetoric of the three 'D's. Difficult issues have been raised but there is nothing necessarily incompatible between EU and NATO approaches. Above all, there is an urgent need for Europe to boost its capabilities, if it is not to be confined in future to a useful, but limited, reactive defence and security role.

- Heisbourg, Francois
Europe's Strategic Ambitions : The Limits of Ambiguity.
SURVIVAL, vol. 42, no. 2, Summer 2000, p. 5-15.

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.

- Heisbourg, Francois
Trittbrettfahrer ? : keine europäische Verteidigung ohne Deutschland.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 55. Jahr, Nr. 4, April 2000, S. 35-42.

Deutschland sieht sich, um seinen Verpflichtungen im Rahmen der Europäischen Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik gerecht werden zu können, vor die Aufgabe gestellt, seine Verteidigungspolitik und seine Streitkräftenstruktur grundsätzlich neu zu definieren. Der Autor vom Genfer Centre for Security Policy empfiehlt der Bundesrepublik auf lange Sicht die Einführung einer Berufsarmee und warnt nachdrücklich vor einschneidenden Ausgabenkürzungen.

- Hummer, Waldemar
Solidarität versus Neutralität : das immerwährend neutrale Österreich in der GASP vor und nach Nizza.
ÖSTERREICHISCHE MILITÄRISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 39. Jg., Heft 2, März - April 2001, S. 147-166.

- Hyde-Price, Adrian
The Antinomies of European Security : Dual Enlargement and the Reshaping of European Order.
CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 21, no. 3, December 2000, p. 139-167.

The reshaping of the European security order is primarily taking place through a process of phased institutional enlargement of NATO and the European Union. This article addresses a gap in the literature by focusing on the relationship between the two enlargement processes, and their combined impact on the reshaping of European order. The central argument advanced is that the dual enlargement process lacks a coherent

comprehensive concept, and that the decoupling of NATO from EU enlargement threatens to undermine efforts to build a stable peace order in Europe. By analysing the paradoxes and dilemmas of the phased enlargement process, this paper seeks to expose some of the underlying antinomies of post-Cold War European security.

- Kay, Sean

NATO's Open Door : Geostrategic Priorities and the Impact of the European Union.

SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 32, no. 2, June 2001, p. 201-215.

<http://www.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>

NATO is committed to an open-door policy towards adding new members and has promised further decisions about the future of enlargement in 2002. The enlargement process, however, may have run its course. The USA has been ambivalent about NATO's open-door policy, and the Bush team does not seem to have resolved whether its 'realist' approach to security is to be built on unilateral initiatives, such as the National Missile Defense, or on great cooperation with allies. Without practical efforts to keep the NATO door open, the USA may lose political initiative in the European security agenda to the EU. The emergence of the EU as a security actor puts unique pressure on the USA to move beyond its ambiguity on enlargement and to establish realistic goals drawn from sound geostrategic priorities. If NATO fails to find a means of opening opportunities for expanded partner cooperation via the EU, significant duplication may occur. With renewed US leadership drawing from purely strategic priorities to drive enlargement, the USA and its allies might be persuaded to take up enlargement again. In this context, the greatest lasting contribution of NATO's Partnership for Peace may be to serve as a bridge between NATO and the EU and thus establish both institutions on a functional dual-track enlargement process.

- Kelche, Jean-Pierre

Vers une force europeenne de reaction rapide.

DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 2, fevrier 2001, p. 5-22.

L'enjeu principal du projet de defense europeenne est de definir et concretiser la capacite d'autonomie que l'on veut donner a l'Union en matiere de prevention et de gestion des crises. Apres un rappel des aspects essentiels, quelques elements de reflexion relatifs a une strategie europeenne de gestion des crises sont proposes. Les premiers contours de la force europeenne de reaction rapide sont traces : elle regroupe les moyens militaires mis a la disposition de l'Union europeenne pour contribuer a la gestion des crises. Il s'agit des forces militaires terrestres aeriennes et navales, mais aussi des capacites strategiques essentielles. Enfin, un bilan de l'action francaise en matiere de defense europeenne est tire.

- Kreemers, Bert

Europa en defensie : de volgende stappen.

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

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.

- Kroning, Volker
Stabilising and Securing Europe : The EU's Contribution.
COMMITTEE REPORTS (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), 2000, 21 p.
(491.6/24).
<http://www.nato-pa.int/publications/comrep>

In this study, the rapporteur focuses on the non-military aspects of the EU's foreign and security policies. He does not address the military component of CESDP and its relationship with NATO. On the other hand, he goes beyond 'crisis management' proper and examines EU enlargement and outreach policies, as he is convinced that these policies should have a security- and stability-enhancing effect. It is indeed essential that the EU never loses sight of the fact that its primary purpose lays in the ideal of the founding fathers, i.e. preventing war among the countries of Europe. This must be the guiding principle of its enlargement policy, and also of the definition of its relations with peripheral countries that have not, or only a distant, prospect of becoming members.

- Lachaux, Claude
Alliance atlantique et Europe de la defense : les faits sont tetus.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55eme annee, no. 8-9, aout - septembre 1999, p. 80-86.

A partir de quelques chiffres essentiels, l'auteur montre que quel que soit le domaine examine, demographique, budgetaire, economique, industriel, les Europeens font plutot pale figure compares aux Americains.

- Lamers, Karl A.
Shaping the Transatlantic Security Architecture : Strategic Missile Defence and ESDP.
COMMITTEE REPORTS (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), Spring 2001, 19 p.
(491.6/24).
<http://www.nato-pa.int/publications/comrep>

Two issues currently dominate the security agenda of the transatlantic alliance : ballistic missile defence and European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). Though not directly linked to one another, the debates both directly and indirectly influence each other and will considerably shape core areas of Alliance security.

- Lhuissier, Jean-Marie
Le Kosovo : lecons pour la defense.
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 23, no. 90, ete 2000, p. 301-310.

- Mathiopoulos, Margarita
Gyarmati, Istvan
Saint Malo and Beyond : Toward European Defense.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 22, no. 4, Autumn 1999, p. 65-76.

The European Security and Defense Identity has come at a very opportune time for the continent. The lessons of the Kosovo conflict, and Britain's newfound embrace of continental views under Tony Blair, will facilitate this much needed development in an often hesitant European setting.

- Meiers, Franz-Josef
Der europäische Sicherheitspfeiler : Stein des Anstoßes für die USA.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 55. Jahr, Nr. 3, März 2000, S. 43-48.

Die Herausbildung einer Europäischen 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.
- Meiers, Franz-Josef
La politique allemande de sécurité et de défense a la croisée des chemins.
POLITIQUE ÉTRANGÈRE, 65e année, no. 1, printemps 2000, p. 47-65.

L'auteur étudie dans cet article l'évolution de la politique allemande de sécurité et de défense, et tout particulièrement de la Bundeswehr. Les progrès en direction d'une politique européenne de sécurité et de défense (PESD) et la définition par l'OTAN de nouvelles missions de prévention des conflits et de gestion des crises impliquent, selon lui, une mutation de la politique allemande et une adaptation de la Bundeswehr. À l'inverse du gouvernement allemand qui élude toute question de réforme structurelle, l'auteur se montre favorable à une transformation de la Bundeswehr, à l'image de ce qui s'est produit, en particulier, en France et au Royaume-Uni, avec pour objectif d'en faire à terme une force armée 'de projection flexible et mobile'. Pour lui, cela doit conduire notamment à une réduction importante de ses effectifs, à des efforts en matière d'investissement et à un renforcement des forces de réaction de crise.
- Messervy-Whiting, Graham
The Development of a Military Capability for the European Union.
MILITARY TECHNOLOGY, vol. 25, no. 8, 2001, p. 81-89.

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).
- Moens, Alexander
Developing a European Intervention Force : The Politics of Sequencing, Autonomy, and Ready Access.
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 55, no. 2, Spring 2000, p. 247-269.
- Moens, Alexander
European Defence and NATO : The Case for new Governance.
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, vol. 56, no. 2, Spring 2001, p. 261-278.
- Nivet, Bastien
La politique européenne de sécurité et de défense.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATÉGIQUE, no. 39, automne 2000, p. 51-58.
- Pond, Elizabeth
Kosovo : Catalyst for Europe.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 22, no. 4, Autumn 1999, p. 77-92.

Kosovo has made an impact on Europe's consciousness redefining of its identity and key policy structures. The Balkan project is now providing the unifying mission that has been absent in the European enterprise.
- Quinlan, Michael
European Security and Defence Co-operation.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 146, no. 2, April 2001, p. 54-59.

- Richard, Alain
L' Europe de la defense.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 1, janvier 2001, p. 7-15.

- Ruhle, Michael
Transatlantische Dissonanzen : sieben Thesen zu den Sicherheitsbeziehungen.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 55. Jahr, Nr. 4, April 2000, S. 43-46.

Die transatlantische Sicherheitspolitik ist und bleibt das management von Asymmetrie, postuliert der Autor, Mitglied des Internationalen Stabes der NATO. Auf beiden Seiten des Atlantiks sollte die Maxime gelten, das krisengefährdete Verhältnis nicht durch künstliche Themen zu belasten. Dazu gehöre die überflüssige Diskussion über den nuklearen Ersteinsatz ebenso wie die amerikanische Globalisierungsrhetorik.

- Rynning, Sten
Providing Relief or Promoting Democracy ? : The European Union and Crisis Management.
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 32, no. 1, March 2001, p. 87-101.
<http://www.swetsnetnavigator.nl/prod>

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.

- Santayana, Jose Pardo de
Retos de la defensa europea.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 14, no. 75, mayo - junio 2000, p. 59-70.

En el horizonte de los tres proximos anos, Europa debe demostrar si esta preparada para afrontar el reto de unas capacidades de defensa mas autonomas y aclarar si son razonables las criticas de EE UU, en las que expresa su preocupacion de que se debilite a la OTAN. La logica militar sugiere profundizar en la cooperacion industrial transatlantica.

- Schake, Kori
Bloch-Laine, Amaya
Grant, Charles
Building a European Defence Capability.
SURVIVAL, vol. 41, no. 1, Spring 1999, p. 20-40.

For much of the 1990s, the US and the EU have been trying to define a new transatlantic bargain that balances Europe's desire for a broader and more independent political role with its continued reliance on US and NATO military capabilities. The goal is a European security and defence identity that allows the EU to conduct military missions with command structures, forces and assets that are normally assigned to NATO. Four practical steps are necessary. First, the Western European Union (WEU)

should be abolished and its functions divided between the EU and NATO. Second, European militaries must enhance their capability for projecting and sustaining power. Third, NATO's military structure should be adapted to incorporate French participation, even without the full reintegration of France into NATO. Finally, these steps are unlikely to lead very far unless the Americans and Europeans can establish better patterns for managing inevitable transatlantic disagreements over crises like Bosnia or Iraq.

- Schmidt, Peter
ESDI : 'Separable but not Separate ?'
NATO REVIEW, vol. 48, Spring - Summer 2000, p. 12-15.

The development of a European Security and Defence Identity that is 'separable but not separate' from NATO took a new turn at the European Union's Helsinki summit in December 1999. But as the author argues, the EU's plans soon to absorb the Western European Union and to create a rapid reaction corps by 2003 raise a tangle of membership issues, as well as questions of a more fundamental nature.

- Shepherd, Alistair J. K.
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.

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.

- Smith, Karen E.
The End of Civilian Power EU : A Welcome Demise or Cause for Concern ?
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 35, no. 2, April - June 2000, p. 11-28.

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.

- Solana, Javier
Common European Foreign and Security Policy Targets for the Future.
NATO'S NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, no. 1, 2000, p. 106-107.

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.

- Solana, Javier
Desafios de la defensa europea.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 15, no. 79, Enero - Febrero 2001, p. 73-83.

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.

- Sommer, Peter-Michael
Europäische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik : Ergebnisse der deutschen Doppelpräsidentschaft in EU und WEU.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 48. Jg., Nr. 12, Dezember 1999, S. 14-18.

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.

- Staden, Alfred van
Kreemers, Bert
Hacia una politica de seguridad y defensa europea.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 74, no. 76, julio - agosto 2000, p. 95-106.

La guerra de Kosovo impulso el desarrollo 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.

- Teunissen, P. J.
Peacekeeping Europe moeizaam in de steigers : een politieke stap vooruit.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 54, nr. 3, maart 2000, p. 124-129.

The author takes stock of recent developments in European defence matters. The EU and NATO decisions of last December are a substantial step forward towards a European capacity for peace operations, and perhaps, towards a future European defence. At the same time many questions and ambiguities concerning Europe's defence efforts and its long-term goals remain. This is a basic reason why the institutional questions still have to be settled.

- Teunissen, Paul
Europese defensiepolitiek : plannen en realiteiten.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 53, nr. 9, september 1999, p. 493-499.

The author assesses plans and realities in the area of European defence policy. The decision of the Cologne European Council of June 1999 to strengthen the European security and defence policy is very much a preliminary one. The main aspects still have to be worked out : the mode of integration of the WEU into the EU, the involvement of non-EU/NATO allies, decision-making procedures, the mandates question, the build-up of military means. The EU member states have not yet reached consensus on

these issues. The Kosovo crisis demonstrates that they must act in close coordination with NATO in order to avoid failure.

- Teunissen, Paul
Het smalle pad naar Europese defensiesamenwerking : institutionele opzet en politieke doelstellingen.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 53, nr. 2, februari 1999, p. 92-107.

The author surveys the new discussion on European defence cooperation in which much is still uncertain because of political divergencies. One option is to widen the 'double hatting' formula and reduce the role of WEU or dissolve it. A second option is European Combined Joint Task Forces, with European headquarters, British or French. Again WEU might be dissolved or not. A third option is to continue WEU, but not integrate it into the European Union. NATO's defence role in Europe would not be reduced. A fourth option, with several variations, is to integrate WEU into the EU. This would require serious political changes in Europe. Here more than else cooperation by the United States and other non-EU NATO allies would be required. The author also discusses the Franco-British compromise of St Malo and the relation with the negotiations on NATO's strategic doctrine and Europe's defence industry.

- Vernet, Daniel
Vers l' Europe de la defense.
COMMENTAIRE, vol. 23, no. 92, hiver 2000 - 2001, p. 779-784.

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

Les declarations du president de la Republique francaise a la veille du sommet de Nice, évoquant 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 ambiguïtes : 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.

- Walch, Jacques
La defense europeenne : de l' autonomie a l' integration.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 66e annee, no. 2, avril - juin 2001, p. 341-352.

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.

- Wilson, Gordon
European Defense Edges Towards a New Spirit of Co-Operation.
INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE REVIEW, vol. 34, January 2001, p. 54-58.
<http://online.janes.com>

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

- Yost, David S.
The NATO Capabilities Gap and the European Union.
SURVIVAL, vol. 42, no. 4, Winter 2000 - 2001, p. 97-128.

The defence-capabilities gap that divides the US from its European allies is real, and it matters. The gap can most usefully be viewed as the aggregate of multiple gaps relating to the organisation and conduct of large-scale expeditionary operations. Transatlantic disparities in the ability to mount such operations became painfully obvious during NATO's Kosovo intervention in March-June 1999, and spurred commitments on both sides of the Atlantic to narrow the gap. However, a closer examination of the European Union's post-Kosovo efforts to develop an autonomous military capability reveals serious obstacles to improving European forces. chief among them is a deep reluctance to increase defence spending, in view of the low level of threat perceptions in NATO Europe and high social priorities in Europe.

- Biscop, Sven
Het Middellandse-Zeegebied in het Europees Veiligheids- en
Defensiebeleid.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 55, nr. 11, november 2001, p. 536-540.

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.

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