European Adaptation to Expeditionary Warfare: Implications for the US Army
Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College, 2002

Author: Dorman, Andrew
Subject: EUROPEAN RAPID REACTION FORCE
Subject: EU--ESDP
Notes: 'The NATO Alliance deterred Soviet aggression towards Western Europe by maintaining a large ground force of several corps supported by numerous air armadas. Success lay partly on vigilance and partly on the large heavy mechanized and armored divisions, which were suited for intensive combat in Central Europe. That era has passed, unlikely to be replicated again. To its credit, the Alliance recognized this change and began adapting almost immediately. In this monograph, the author briefly examines the European response to the changing security environment and the opportunities presented by the European Security and Defense Policy Expeditionary Force. As he correctly observes, the establishment of a European expeditionary force will be no easy matter, will require substantial investment, and will take years to complete. However, it is the right course for Europe to take. The European Union cannot manage emerging security issues using Cold War legacy forces because they are too ponderous to deploy. A lighter, more nimble expeditionary force is critical to EU policy. The author also points out that the United States must remain involved in the EU initiatives. Europe cannot go it alone and will need advice and perhaps even material support if it is to realize its ambitious agenda.'

Location: 448 /00025
Year: 2002
The real progress toward political stability and internal security that has been made has largely been possible because of unprecedented cooperation between NATO, the US and the EU from the early days of the crisis in 2001. Whether through NATO or the EU, the international community needs to continue to help Macedonia during the transition period. NATO should, therefore, remain for six months or until such time as the EU is ready to assume the security functions, whichever period is shorter. This would give NATO a set departure date while ensuring a proper hand-over. As NATO draws down and the EU prepares to take over, the latter should also focus on complementary tasks to demonstrate its increased commitment to Macedonia. In particular, the EU and NATO should act now in tandems to address the gap in border control - probably the most vital remaining security issue - by deploying and protecting a sizeable EUMM contingent along the vulnerable Kosovo, Serbia and Albania borders.

URL:
Location: 496.3 /00340
Year: 2002
What Future for NATO?
London: Centre for European Reform, 2002
Author: Sloan, Stanley
Author: Ham, Peter van

Subject: NATO
Subject: NATO--USA
Subject: EUROPE--MILITARY RELATIONS--USA
Subject: USA--MILITARY RELATIONS--EUROPE

Notes: 'Stanley Sloan argues that NATO is not finished by that it is in need of serious reform. He identifies the key steps that both Europe and America need to implement, such as curbing US unilateral tendencies, beefing up Europe's 'hard power' capabilities and giving NATO a role in dealing with new security threats. NATO's command structure, he argues, should shift from a geographic to a functional focus. And he makes the case that in addition to pursuing NATO reform, Europe and America also need to deepen their cooperation through a new Atlantic Community initiative. Using a broader canvass, Peter van Ham analyses the reasons for the growing discord across the Atlantic on many international security issues. He argues that this divergence in 'strategic perspectives' is of a structural rather than a transitory nature - and that consequently NATO's role as an effective security partnership between the US and Europe will suffer. His conclusion is that Europe and America should accept this unfortunate reality - but work to manage their differences adroitly. For the Europeans this means they must learn to stand on their own political feet, for example by developing an EU strategic concept. Strengthening the EU's foreign and security policy would be more fruitful than complaining about America, or pretending that institutional tinkering will somehow revitalise the Atlantic alliance of old.'

Location: 49/00137
Year: 2002
Europe's New Security Vocation  
Washington : National Defense University, 2002  
(MacNair Paper ; 66)

Author : Brenner, Michael

Subject : EU--ESDP
Subject : EU--ESDP--USA

Notes : accessed 20/09/02.
'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 unilaterism, 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.'

http://www.ndu.edu/inss/macnair/ mcnair66/McN66.pdf

Location : 448 /00023
Year : 2002
The European Security and Defense Policy: NATO's Companion - or Competitor?
Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 2002
(Rand Publications; MR-1463)

Author: Hunter, Robert Edwards, 1940-

Subject: EU--ESDP
Subject: EU--ESDP--USA
Subject: NATO

Notes: accessed 11/03/02. '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.'

URL: http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1463

Location: 448/00019
Year: 2002
The terrorist attacks on New York and Washington on September 11th 2001 triggered an outpouring of public sympathy and government solidarity towards the US among its European allies. But the stirrings of a new transatlantic relationship were clear several months earlier, as the rancour that had accompanied the debate over a common European defence policy ebbed away. These changes have created a more balanced and constructive relationship between the US and the EU. But they fail to address two serious problems that are threatening the ability and willingness of US and EU forces to work together: the divergence of European and US armed forces, and the question of 'assured access' to NATO and US military assets by the EU. The status quo is unsustainable. The most productive way to redress these political and military problems is to encourage not only the emergence of a viable European military force, but also the duplication of capabilities already existing in NATO and US forces. Some duplication already exists; much more will be necessary if European defence policy is to be more than mere rhetoric. Europe should focus initially on logistical assets - for transport, communications and intelligence - that are essential for military operations and are scarce even in US forces. This approach would allow the EU to conduct military operations without relying on US assistance. It would also increase European influence over US decisions about the use of force. For if EU states are able to participate in the more demanding sorts of combat, their views on how to conduct the military campaign would carry more weight in US decision-making.
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.'
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."

Location: 355.3/00105
Year: 2002
The Politics of European Enlargement: NATO, the EU and the New US-European Relationship
(Occasional Paper; 67)

Author: Wiarda, Howard J.
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: EU--ENLARGEMENT

Notes: accessed 11/03/02. 'This paper focuses on the nature of the political criteria, what may be termed the politics of the 'end game' of EU and NATO expansion. Now that the technical criteria have been, for the most part satisfied, what comes next? Who decides who gets admitted, when, and on what basis? Four major actors or sets of actors are discussed: the Eastern/Central European applicant countries, the EU and the European allies, Russia, and the United States. In each case the interests and the politics involved are examined and an attempt is made to reach some tentative conclusions as to how the process of enlargement will now proceed. A final substantive section, building on the earlier analysis, weighs both the technical and, increasingly, the political considerations operative as the enlargement process nears its decisive moment.'


Location: 495.3 /00081
Year: 2002
Peace and Democracy : The Rediscovered Link : The EU, NATO and the European System of Liberal-Democratic Security Communities
(NATO-EAPC Fellowships Winners)

Author: Lucarelli, Sonia


Location: 80018045
Year: 2000-2002
Military Intervention and the European Union  
(Chaillot Papers ; 45)  

Author : Ortega, Martin  
Subject :  
INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)  
EUROPEAN RAPID REACTION FORCE  
EU--ESDP  

Notes : '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.'  

Location : 341.2 /00266
European Defense Cooperation: Asset or Threat to NATO?
(Wilson Forum)

Author: Quinlan, Michael
Subject: EU--ESDP
Subject: EUROPE--MILITARY POLICY

Notes: 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.'

Location: 448 /00022
Year: 2001
A New Transatlantic Partnership: The European Union and the United States - Partners or Competitors? = Vers un nouveau partenariat transatlantique : l'Union européenne et les États-Unis - partenaires ou concurrents?

Subject: EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
Subject: USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
Subject: EU--USA
Subject: NATO--USA
Author: Confédération Interalliée des Officiers de Réserve


Location: 327 /01077
Year: 2001
The Transatlantic Security Agenda: A Conference Report and Analysis
Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Army War College, 2001

Author: Blank, Stephen J.
Subject: EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--USA
Subject: USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
Subject: EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
Subject: NATO--USA
Subject: NATO--EUROPE

Notes: 'This report presents a summary and analysis of the conference held on March 26-27, 2001 and cosponsored by the Strategic Studies Institute and Harvard University's Belfer Center for the Study of Science and International Affairs. Issues discussed at the conference included NATO and EU enlargement, these organizations' mutual relationship now that the EU is creating its own defense arm, the European Security and Defense program (ESDP), defense spending, as well as interoperability with Russia on a wide range of issues.'

Location: 355.4 /01314
Year: 2001
Title: Security and Identity in Europe: Exploring the New Agenda
Houndmills, UK: MacMillan, 2000
(Southampton Studies in International Policy)

Subject: EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY

Notes: Bibliography: p. 259-262. Includes index. 'This book explores the crucial relationship between security and identity in a changing Europe. With the increasing intertwining of security and identity, a new agenda has emerged, both for policy-makers struggling with the dilemmas and uncertainties of post-Cold War Europe, and for academics trying to make sense analytically and conceptually of this changed continent. This volume covers a series of key issues facing contemporary European security, including NATO enlargement, EU integration, war in the Balkans, Russia's uncertain future, and developments around Europe's periphery in Central Asia and the Maghreb. This new agenda is explored through a range of theoretical approaches, from traditional realism and geopolitics to constructivist and postmodern interpretations. This book thus offers an excellent guide to contending theories of international relations and provides innovative insights for readers seeking to understand a changing Europe at the beginning of the new millennium.'

Location: 355.4 /01341
Year: 2000
'The Kosovo war has concentrated new attention on the transatlantic relationship and its principal institution, NATO. NATO has admitted new members and adopted a new strategy, giving it a broader and more interventionist role than Europeans have been used to. Meanwhile, proposals to formulate a distinctive European Union foreign policy and defence identity could irritate the security relationship with North America that has lasted for fifty years. A struggle among Europeans for control of Europe's future is bound up with management of the euro and arguments over integration and enlargement of the EU. The threat of a transatlantic trade war suggests the struggle is threatening to disrupt the Atlantic relationship. Will the Atlantic Community strengthen or weaken under these strains? In this book, distinguished experts consider the arguments over enlargement of NATO and the European Union, and the course of European integration and transatlantic trade, in order to assess the state of this vital relationship and its future.'
European Defence : Making It Work
(Chaillot Papers ; 42)

Author : Heisbourg, Francois
Subject : EU--ESDP
Subject : EU--ARMED FORCES--HEADLINE GOAL

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.'

Location : 355.4 /01273
Year : 2000
Europe's New Defense Ambitions: Implications for NATO, the US, and Russia
(Marshall Center Papers; 1)

Author: Ham, Peter van

Subject: EUROPE--MILITARY POLICY
Subject: EU--ESDP
Subject: EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY

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.'

Location: 355.4 / 01265
Year: 2000
'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.'
Building a Bigger Europe: EU and NATO Enlargement in Comparative Perspective
Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2000

Author: Smith, Martin A.

Subject: EU--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes: 'This fresh and original study of EU and NATO enlargement sets both in a comparative context and considers them against a backdrop of the evolution of a pan-European security community. Part one examines and discusses the EU and NATO enlargement processes and the 'incremental linkage' which has developed between them. Part two includes separate chapters on the post-Cold War evolution of the EU and NATO overall. These discussions focus on their strengths and limitations in contributing to the broader and more cooperative kind of European security which the end of the Cold War makes possible.'

Location: 495.3 /00064
Year: 2000
The Daedalus European Security: The Interactions of NATO, EU, WEU
(NATO-EAPC Fellowships Winners)

Author: Hatjiadoniu, Katerina


ID number: 80016747
Year: 1998-2000
Europeanizing Security?: NATO and an Integrating Europe
Washington: American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, 1999
(AICGS Research Report; 9)

Subject: EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
Subject: EU--ESDP
Subject: ESDI

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.'

URL: http://www.aicgs.org

Location: 355.4 /01282
Year: 1999
Europe in the Balance: Securing the Peace Won in the Cold War

Author: Bertram, Christoph, 1937-
Subject: EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
Subject: NATO--TRANSITION
Subject: EU--ENLARGEMENT
Subject: NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes: ‘This essay examines the challenges and the opportunities that present themselves in the defining phase of the post-Cold War period, as Europe’s future hangs in the balance. Chapter 1 looks at the special role that institutions, particularly NATO and the EU, will need to play in that context. Chapter 2 discusses the future of NATO as a military alliance. Chapters 3 and 4 examine the consequences of NATO’s accepting a more political role in relation to Russia and Eastern Europe, respectively. Chapters 5 and 6 deal with the EU’s prospects for overcoming its internal divisions and extending its framework of prosperity to Eastern Europe. Chapter 7 considers the interrelationship of NATO and the EU in the new Europe. Chapter 8 suggests ways to assure the continued involvement of the United States in the affairs of Europe. A concluding chapter summarizes the major findings and proposals.’

Location: 355.4 /01175
Year: 1995
Moore, Patrick
Shifting Responsibility in the Balkans: The EU Takes the Lead.

EU--BALKAN_PENINSULA
EU--ESDP
CRISIS MANAGEMENT--EU
ENGLISH

The problems of transatlantic policies in the Balkans are analysed by the author. He notes that the EU and the US share the same long-term goals in the area, that is, its full integration into Euro-Atlantic structures. However, he also underlines that the US will continue to reduce its military presence in the region and call for a greater European role. This offers the EU the opportunity to act, for the first time, as a major player in its neighbouring area and to make up for the failure of its Balkan policies in the early nineties. According to Moore, the Balkans - beginning with the military operation in Macedonia - could represent a starting block for the European security and defence policy. And this could also help the Europeans to get over their general sense of frustration about US predominance in security matters.

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Adramowitz, Morton
Hurlburt, Heather
Can the EU Hack the Balkans?

EU--BALKAN PENINSULA
CRISIS MANAGEMENT--EU
EU--ESDP
ENGLISH
This article attempts to answer 'why' Poland and Germany pursued EU and NATO enlargement in the ways they did and why their strategic interests converged in support for enlargement. Two broad explanations are power maximisation, stressing rational notions of economic and security interests, and historical legacies, pointing to the importance of historical factors and national predispositions or political cultures in shaping German and Polish perspectives on enlargement and European integration. Germany's inbred attachments to multilateralism gelled with Poland's post 1989 desire to return to Europe, which resulted in a common position on enlargements. However, this would not necessarily endure in the long run, as has been indicated more recently in Polish-German discord over the issue of European federalism and the future shape of integration.
EU--FOREIGN RELATIONS

ENGLISH

The point of departure in this article is the question of why the EU's policy focus can be said to be regional rather than global in spite of having access to considerable capabilities and instruments in its foreign policy and why the EU has made such little use of the (modest) military means at its disposal so far. The approach used is a constructivist approach drawing on discourse analysis of primarily EU Council documents and the speeches of the High Representative Solana. Successful enlargement and a successful EU role in the former Yugoslavia are presented as the keys to a truly future global role. Moreover, it is shown that the dominant discourse in the EU in the 1990s constructed the EU as a civilian power drawing on political and economic means, which has to a large extent also been the case after the St. Malo Process. In other words, dominant framework of meaning at the EU level provides a possible answer to the EU's regional policy focus and its limited use of military means.

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EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
EUROPE--MILITARY RELATIONS--USA

ENGLISH

The 5 % of the daily trillion-dollar transatlantic trade that gets the negative headlines shouldn't make us forget the extraordinary 95 % that keeps us all living better on both sides of the ocean. Nor should the 5 % of 'unilateralism' deflect us from the 95 % of foreign policy that is multilateral. More light and less heat is needed.
Zagorski, Andrei
The OSCE in the Context of the Forthcoming EU and NATO Extensions.

OSCE
NATO--ENLARGEMENT
EU--ENLARGEMENT
EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY

ENGLISH

This contribution analyzes the potential effect of the forthcoming EU and NATO extensions on the OSCE resulting from the increasing membership in the two institutions, and from their evolving mandates. In the second and third parts, it assesses the OSCE’s comparative advantages and areas of excellence followed by conclusions with regard to the future profile of the Organization within the evolving European security system.

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

EU--ESDP
EU--ESDP--TURKEY
CRISIS MANAGEMENT--EU

ENGLISH

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

EU--ESDP

ENGLISH
This article examines the dual problem of Russia’s international identity and its integration with the West, looking at it from first the Eastern then the Western side. It argues that a Westernist state identity would be sustainable for Russia only if accompanied by integration with the Euro-Atlantic institutions, and that in some respects the prospects for this are not as bad as usually thought: Russia is in fact in the process of entering most of the minor institutions of the Atlantic system. However, NATO and the EU are the decisive institutions, and here Russia has fared poorly. Neither side conceptualizes NATO in a way that would lead to Russian entry. NATO affirms that Russia is eligible to join when it meets the conditions, but few people on either side believe it: the conditions were conceptualized for including only small countries, not Russia. The inertia of mutual counter-position remains strong. Many in NATO circles have raised a series of objections to ever including Russia, ranging from a visceral belief that NATO needs to have Russia as its external enemy to a more specific fear of a Russian veto power; and NATO has yet to undertake to make its decision-making arrangements more flexible, as would be necessary in order to address the fear of vetoes. In theory the obstacles could be overcome in the present period; in practice this does not seem likely. Presently Russia is instead speaking mainly of uniting with the EU, yet this has even fewer prospects: the EU is too small to take in a large Russia. The failure to find a substantial Western institutional home for Russia has meant, and is likely to continue to mean, undermining the viability of the recurrent attempts at a Westernist identity for Russia.
This article examines Finland's and Sweden's security policy in order to explain what the 'post-neutrality' of these countries is and what it is not. Why do Finland and Sweden appear to be willing to accept almost everything else in the field of security cooperation except collective defence? The authors focus on both the similarities and differences between the Swedish and Finnish policy by analysing their policies in general and the attitudes towards NATO and the EU in particular. The authors argue that geopolitics and historical memories still separate the countries, but they have more in common now than during the Cold War. Despite their participation in the European Security and Defence Policy and cooperation with NATO, neither of them feels any need to give up their policy of military non-alignment. In the future, changes in policy are more likely to happen because of development within the EU than because of any external threat posed by Russia.
Both the European Union and NATO are not committed in principle to substantial enlargement. It remains doubtful, however, how far member governments are making a success of further enlargement, let alone thinking through its strategic implications. Yet the process of dual enlargement will define the future security, political and economic structures of the European region. During the past year west European governments have extended promises of eventual membership to the western Balkan states and to Turkey; while the future positions of Ukraine, Russia, the Caucasus states and the southern Mediterranean associates all raise delicate policy issues. Hard choices remain to be made about the adaptation of these organizations to eastern enlargement, and about the management of relations with the near neighbours who will remain outside.

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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 1990s 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.
1999 and before

Eekelen, Wim van

ESDI

ENGLISH

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Lenzi, Guido

WEU
EU

FRENCH

L'OTAN et l'Union européenne ont évolué parallèlement et ont désormais une vocation politique. Dès lors que des rapports fonctionnels ont été institués entre l'OTAN et l'UEO (Berlin, Madrid), et entre l'UE et l'UEO (Maastricht, Amsterdam), on ne saurait attribuer a l'UEO la responsabilité de l'inaction européenne : malgré des difficultés résiduelles (mécanisme de commandement, prise de décision), l'UEO est opérationnelle. Dans la constitution du chaînon manquant - les relations de l'UE et de l'OTAN -, il faut lever deux préalables : politique - une définition des 'nouvelles missions' - et opérationnel - la mise en place des GFIM. C'est à ce moment-la seulement que l'UEO pourra assumer 'le contrôle politique et la direction stratégique' d'opérations spécifiquement européennes.