

The Five Central Pillars of European Security

Tibor Babos



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2007

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In Memoriam Dr. János Pusztai DSc and Dr. János Széplaki DSc

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Foreword

“Europe” and “security” are two of the most frequently utilized words discussed in international relations. Although these words may appear self-explanatory, to date, no unified concept exists for this topic. As the Chairman, NATO Military Committee, on a daily basis I experience how the world’s leading officials, experts and researchers interpret European security and prioritize its elements differently. The appraisals, reasoning and viewpoints are often influenced by political, economic, cultural, historical, geographic and religious orientation or related factors. The basic dilemma of European security originates from this issue: the lack of common denominators and definitions affects not only the problem’s approach, but its solution, as the outcome of negotiations and conferences conducted to resolve issues differ throughout Europe.

The study LTC Tibor Babos (Ph.D.) conducted helps minimize the differences, brings opposing points of view closer to one another and brings concepts closer to common denominators. Relying on his 6-year research, through identifying the definite complexities of European security, he defines the five most important pillars. He not only systematizes the complex interdependence of European security, he also rationalizes and simplifies their understanding. In light of this thought, I recommend this book to every politician, expert and military officer involved in research on international contacts and political security in Europe.

General Béla Király (Ph.D.)

Editor's Introduction

Through this work, Tibor Babos makes an important contribution to the study of European security. Over the course of six years of academic research and interaction with key leaders at multiple levels, Babos has assessed the historical roots of the players, provided a context for the debate, and framed the key issues for enhancing the topic. Throughout the nearly 200 pages, the author seeks to challenge readers, so that they do more than merely consider this important topic, but engage in the debate. This can be shown visually on the cover page; the title is 'Five Pillars,' but the picture shows a façade with six central pillars. Readers are thus invited to add their own pillar, and become active participants in future security studies.

As editor, my task was merely to streamline the words and phrases into more free-flowing English. Through this process, it was truly an honour for me to provide a small measure of assistance to Babos, the NATO Public Diplomacy Office, the NATO School, as well as the Hungarian Strategic and Defense Research Center. Clearly though, all credit goes to the author. The reasoning, logic, facts, and opinions are the product of many years of serious study. And the many interesting ideas and novel concepts are a product of the dedicated efforts and hard work of Tibor Babos.

This is a book of extraordinary magnitude; the breadth and depth of the presentation touch upon a multitude of academic disciplines. The overall value is that it constructs a frame of reference for the continued study of the vital and timely topic of European security.

Colonel Kurt W. Schake
United States Air Force
Dean of Academics
NATO School

Abstract

We are witnessing fast-paced changes in our world. In the latter part of the 1980s, with the total collapse of the communist block, the Cold War ended, bi-polarity ceased and the realignment of power centers occurred on the basis of economic and political elements. The new strategic environment in terms of the European role in the political world, as well as the European order, resulted in fundamental changes. In the midst of this extraordinarily dynamic and complex procedure, a primary responsibility of security policies is to simplify, systematize and define the most important factors necessary to minimally but sufficiently understand the current processes of European security. To achieve this, the present study intends to provide answers to three questions:

1. What are the central pillars of today's European security structure?
2. What is the number of minimal but absolutely necessary central relationships?
3. What are their contents?

The thesis of the study is the following premise: in order to understand European security, at least five central considerations, circumstances, processes and their correlation must be observed. Namely:

1. Historical characteristics, traditional heritage and actual characteristics of interest assertion by European powers
2. Continuity, changes and new trends of global and European security challenges
3. European security policy and defense capability development
4. Transatlantic relationship dialectics
5. European integration rules

Introduction

*Take the changes by the hand,
before they take you by the throat.*
Winston Churchill

i. Thesis

At the doorstep of the third millennium, we are witnessing fast paced changes in our world. In the latter part of the 1980s, with the total collapse of the communist block, the Cold War ended, bi-polarity ceased and the realignment of power centers occurred on the basis of economic and political lines of power. The new strategic environment in terms of the European role in the political world, as well as the European order, resulted in fundamental changes.¹

In the midst of this extraordinarily dynamic and complex procedure, the primary responsibility of security policies is to simplify, systematize and define the most important factors necessary to minimally but sufficiently understand the current processes of European security. This study intends to provide answers to three questions:

1. What are the central pillars of today's European security structure?
2. What is the number of minimal but absolutely necessary central relationships?
3. What are their contents?

The thesis of the study is that there exist five central considerations, circumstances, processes, and their correlations. Pillars, in a sense, of European security. In order to understand security in a European setting, these factors must be observed. This study claims European security today rests on the following:

1. Historical characteristics, traditional heritage and actual characteristics of interest assertion by European powers
2. Continuity, changes and new trends of global and European security challenges
3. European security policy and defense capability evolution
4. Transatlantic relationship dialectics
5. European integration rules

¹ Tibor BABOS, Linda ROYER, The Role of the Partnership for Peace Programme and the State Partnership Program in the Process of NATO Enlargement. The Case of Hungarian-Ohio Cooperation, Thesis, Naval Post-graduate School, Monterey, California, USA, 2003, p. 3, Online: http://www.ngb-ia.org/public/library_file_proxy.cfm/lid/118 (March 15, 2004)

ii. Topic relevance and support

The primary topics of this book are European security, international, political and militarily structures. Due to this broad ambition and its resulting complexity, this analysis also touches upon other areas, such as historical, cultural and social relevance on the continent.

The goal is to study European security and the necessities of international relationships, processes, procedures and through scientific, rational and objective views, make recommendations to simplify our understanding of European security.

Material processing expanded to the entire European continent and its geo-strategically connected areas, especially the Atlantic region, North America, the Mediterranean, parts of Asia, as well as the Middle East. Indirectly, in justifiable cases to elaborate on viewpoints, it expanded further to issues of global relevance. Although the emphasis of the research was on post-Cold War international relationships, it also accepted the tenets of the school of international relationships where the characteristics of today's circumstances may be traced back to the European system created by the Westphalia Peace Agreements, when nations had the necessary tools and structures at their disposal. In terms of time, the study begins in the year 1648 and finishes in the current era.

The levels and characters of international relationships between nations and international organizations are the centers of attention. On one hand, the dissertation examines relationships between certain nations. On the other hand, it reviews the development of a horizontal system of connection between international organizations. It also analyzes the two-dimensional vertical relationships, more specifically, how national connections surface on international levels and how viewpoints of national institutions affect nations.

In the interest of reaching the intended aim, the author examined relevant elements of European security – theoretical and actual – while seeking to maintain the optimal and necessary balance. During the processing of information, the fundamental *modus operandi* was to base theoretical assumptions and prognoses on actual foundations. Furthermore, comparative analyses served as the basis of consequence development.

The solid foundation of this study is supported by the author's 15-year professional experience augmented by the quality of external sources. The basis of the technical expertise stems from direct involvement with the EU, NATO, Partnership for Peace (PfP) and Western European Union (WEU) committees, enrollment at post-graduate academic institutions in the United States and Canada, participation in more than 100 security courses, seminars and conferences gaining first-hand knowledge, coupled with handling tasks, observing work processes and conducting exchanges of ideas at these organizations. The credibility, professionalism and the objectivity of the manuscript are substantiated by the nearly 150 sources identified in the appendix and over 400 cited references.

The study, through interdependence as an element of the global and European processes, attempts to clinch the comprehensive, multi-disciplinary European security in a way to maximally rely on historical developments and the relevance of the necessary international relationships in existence today. Through the five central pillars and the

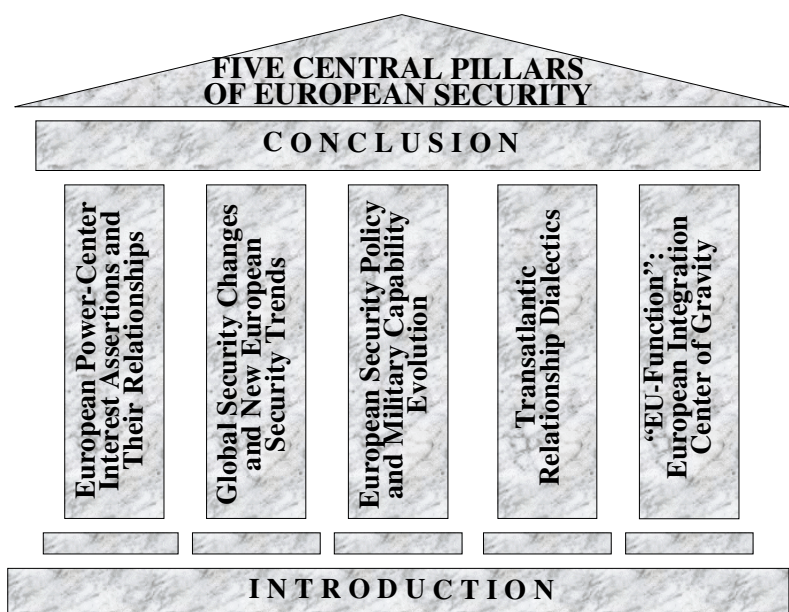
elaboration of their contents, the author intends not only to identify the most significant connections, but also looks to present a new system of viewpoints to study European security.

iii. Book layout

In light of the aforementioned, the book is structured on these five chapters:

1. European power-center interest assertions and their relationships
2. Global security changes and new European security trends
3. European security policy and military capability evolution
4. Transatlantic relationship dialectics
5. “EU-function*”: European integration center of gravity

*EU-function - lat el., societal activities or institutional steps with beneficial effects on other’s activities.²



Babos Tibor

The first chapter addresses the forming of European security politics, as a defining and independent factor. Accordingly, France, Germany, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America are European security’s dominant players today. All of these aforementioned nations are major powers and, with the exception of Germany, all were charter members of the UN Security Council and nuclear powers. All five are members of the G-8, and OSCE and are active participants in regional security tasks. On the basis of significant political, economic and military potential, they have the ability to influence regional and international organizations; thus, directly or indirectly these nations affect international organizations and processes. Initially, this chapter examines chronological foundations of European power structures and continues with the significant characteristics displayed by major powers and foreign policy implications of the aforementioned five key concepts. The analysis of dominant powers, evaluation of their historical and political inheritance and the traditionally imbedded characteristics are viewed from the standpoint of their internal and external behavior reacting to the events of the 1990s, September 11th (9/11), Iraq, and relationships with international organizations.

² BAKOS Ferenc: Idegen szavak és kifejezések kézisztára, Akadémiai Kiadó (Akadémiai Publishing), Budapest 1999, p. 228.

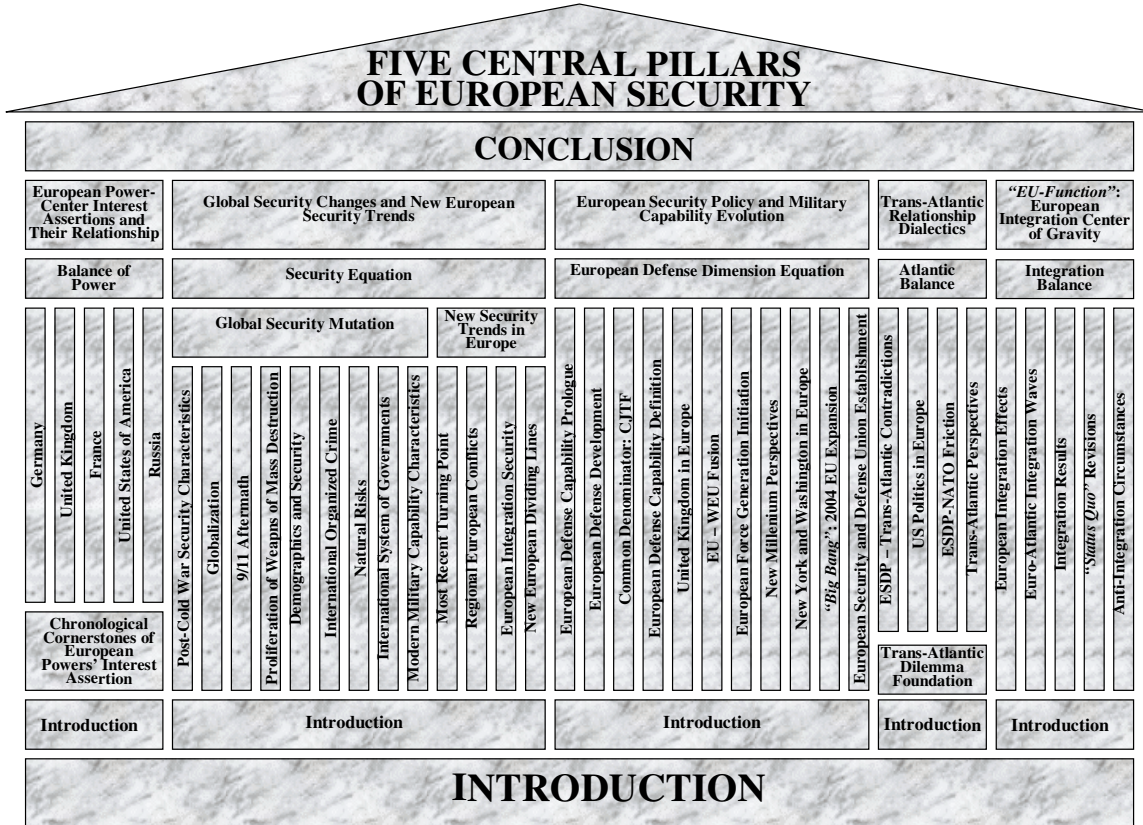
The purpose of the second chapter is to briefly establish priorities, indicate and study global security challenges and international procedures that determine, categorize or influence the present and future European security. The main focus of this chapter is the issue of the security challenges themselves as risk factors, how their mutations fundamentally influence everyday procedures, and why these must be handled individually as single pillars when examining European security. This segment addresses the changing of risk factors as the two sub-chapters examine and compare global and European security dimensions starting with the general, heading toward the specific.

The third chapter examines European integration, and the military capabilities aimed to support it. The qualitative and quantitative indicators bring about not only the revision of European security, but also significantly influence the EU-US, EU-NATO and EU-Russia relationships and modify the significance of the Union upon the world stage. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss how a more compressed European economic, financial and cultural force augmented by military power fundamentally affects European security. Considering the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) and the defensive qualities as partial elements, they are then integrated into the European Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Military force is the Union's most significant global foreign and security policy factor ensuring global prospects for the Union. The sub-chapters expand on CFSP and ESDP chronology, developmental changes and prospects and the relevant resonance. Through these, we can understand how the European defense capabilities – despite the growing pains – already afford the EU significant global respect, influence and additional expansion prospects.

The fourth chapter identifies the most characteristic requirements and contradictions of the transatlantic connection and argues how the quality of relationships between the two shores of the Atlantic Ocean affect not only Europe and the United States, but also has a dominating effect on world security. The thesis is how the expanding European power base concentration resulting from regional integration not only modifies the previous status quo but also receives different interpretation in Europe and the United States. European Union expansion, building a unified European Security and Defense Policy and US foreign policy, are characterized by numerous uncertain issues, developmental alternatives and more and more contradictions. This segment states, the dialectics of transatlantic security are built on the basis of ESDP progression and the laws it developed, US foreign policy, Europe-oriented policies, and the dissonance between ESDP and NATO.

The fifth chapter addresses the center of European integration and its requirements. As its thesis, it identifies integration as the most defining process of European security with the EU and NATO as the two central organizations. Upon examining the characteristics of the integration, we can clearly state that the current European era is the result of a range of issues: the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Warsaw Pact and Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA); the democratization process following the German reunification; and the beginning of a dynamic disintegration process and consolidation of international forces. In the early 1990s, the disintegration attempts were significantly more intensive and characteristic while in the second half of the decade, disintegration evolved into integration and, in Eastern as well as Western Europe and the United States, these issues posed pivotal questions. Examining the waves of expansion, effects of the integration, interests of current and projected members and the integration-induced exigency, we see that integration is more a process than an end state. This progression expands from two sources: EU and NATO integration strategy, and the dialectics of aspiring member's interests..

The summary presents the results, conclusions and recommendations of the research. Based on the aforementioned, this study is built on a structure which can be illustrated through the following schematic diagram:



Babos Tibor

Chapter 1

European Power-Center Interest Assertions and Their Relationships

The instinct to expand is characteristic of every power.
Lajos Kossuth

1.1. Introduction

The establishment of force centers, methods of pursuing national interests internationally, and external political interaction in Europe are all governed by historically-developed complex rules. The permanent attitudes of some European states and the changes of their alliances always made European security policy alternatives complex, evolutionary, and unpredictable. Today, the foreign policies of European and non-European nations differ sharply from each other. In many cases they cooperate, occasionally they do not, and the tenure of their cooperation varies in the long- and short-term. This is complicated by differing historical developments, varying economic status, other cultural and religious values. On this basis they do not maintain like interests on security problems, nor in their dealings with international organizations. European Union nations, NATO members, non-EU allies, non-NATO EU members, EU aspirants, NATO-aspirants, large and small nations, all pursue different national interests. Such goals also vary between Western, Eastern, Northern, Southern and Central European nations.

Historical precedents and current international relations confirm cooperation is established on the basis of situational, vice formal or previously-arranged factors. Numerous post-Cold War events occurred resulting in revised international relations. The development of a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)/ESDP is prominent. As the result of the San Malo summit, President Chirac and Prime Minister Blair made a joint recommendation for the CFSP defensive dimension and the establishment of ESDP. The escalating Gulf War II provided the second example in 2003 when another German-French coalition was established to oppose the Iraq policies of the US and UK. The Iraqi conflict indicates how national interests, but more importantly their changes are significant elements of national security policies and how alliances can be established or redefined by a totalitarian dictatorship maintaining differing geo-strategic, cultural and religious values, creating fundamental differences in international cooperation and ally formations in a relatively short time even in events outside of the European and Atlantic region. Spain is another example; at the commencement of the Iraqi military activities, it maintained a strong pro-US policy stance and contributed significant assets to military operations; however, after the 11 March terrorist attacks and subsequent election, it made fundamental changes in its foreign policies. As a mid-level European power, Spain's example underscores how alliances are based not only on established, traditional characteristics, but are also affected by international political changes.

This chapter contends that in regards to the formation of European security policy, the defining factor is national interests. The United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany and Russia are the dominant players in European security policy. Their significant political, economic and military strengths allow them to have great influence with regional and international organizations and, directly or indirectly, on the shaping of international processes. Handling of regional armed conflicts, along with the expansion of international organizations are elements of the political, economic and military might of these states. The

extent of international, economic and military conflicts of these power players directly impact neighboring regions and beyond. The 1929 New York stock market crash, Hitler’s military expansion, German reunification, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and the 9/11 terror attacks on the United States significantly influenced the entire world.

This chapter addresses the chronological cornerstones of European power center interests and continues with examining the characteristics and foreign policies of the major powers based on the aforementioned five pillars. The main elements of the analysis and evaluation are based on the following methodologies: historical and political traditions, the outcome of their traditionally imbedded characteristics, internal and external character, behavior of these power centers in terms of various historical events, and their relationship with international organizations.

1.2. Chronological Cornerstones of Power Assertion By European Powers

In 1648, the Westphalia Peace Agreement ended the Thirty Year’s War, recognized nation-state sovereignty and the sense of belonging, placed international cooperation on new foundations.³ Starting with the second half of the 17th century, the gradually developing system of nation-states with religious, political and economic criteria established contacts with one another.



The industrial revolution and societal mass competition evolved into economic conflicts manifested by quickly developing and expanding societal demands which elevated national interests to the forefront. The range of bilateral and multilateral connections determined the extent of European cooperation. Economic and military strength established individual nation’s actual place, role and influence. Maintaining peace and the European balance of power became the primary interests of the western colonial powers (England, Kingdom of Portugal, Kingdom of Spain, Republic of France and the Russian Empire), while

³ KUN Tibor, *A nemzetközi szervezetek története*, Klio, 2002/1, 11. évf., Online: <http://www.c3.hu/~klio/klio021/klio011.html> (December 9, 2003)

⁴ *Europe in the 17th Century*, Bartleby.com, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/nation01.html> (October 15, 2006)

the non-colonial powers (Habsburg Empire and the Kingdom of Prussia) were interested primarily in equalizing the power imbalance favoring the colonial powers.⁵

After Napoleon’s capitulation, the European map was not only redrawn by the 1815 Congress of Vienna Agreement, but European connections were established on new foundations. The “Holy Union” established the so-called “European Concert” and meant nothing more than how the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, France, Prussia, the Russian Empire and the United Kingdom attempted to establish European security and ensure peace based on collective responsibility. The Metternich Initiatives were to guarantee 60,000 soldiers from each of these five major powers if someone violated the peace treaty. The leading European powers had different interests and capabilities though, and this cooperation quickly fizzled.⁶



Comparing the bases of power (size, population and military strength), the Russian Empire was the strongest. It did not depend on allies, solidified its situation in the Caucasus, Persia, Central Asia, Far East and North America and made arrangements to advance toward the Balkans and Northern Europe. As the largest colonial power, Great Britain dominated the high seas and was the primary industrial, economic and financial power. It was not dependent on its allies, had the second strongest military and continuously strengthened its power base throughout the world. After Napoleon’s losses, France’s boundaries reverted to the previous borders and its Mediterranean and North African interests were significantly scaled back; however, due to its other bases of power through the colonies, significant military strength and relative independence from its allies, France still remained a force to reckon with. Based on landmass, population and power sources, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy remained a strong force; however, it had serious weaknesses. Its limited colonies offered only restricted influence outside of Europe, it was unable to efficiently control the various ethnic groups within its boundaries, its borders and neighbors (primarily the Ottoman Empire) represented significant dangers, increasing its desire to secure allies in Central and Eastern Europe so as to realize its ambition in the Balkans. Prussia had no colonies, weak borders, limited resources with weak political and military stature, and needed coalition partners to pursue its expansion in the Baltic and Eastern European region.⁸

⁵ Historical atlas of Europe, The development of Europe's modern states 1648-2001, Online: <http://home.wanadoo.nl/gerard.vonhebel/1803.htm> (December 13, 2003)
⁶ Henry KISSINGER, *Diplomacy*, (A Touchstone Book, New York, 1994), p. 85.
⁷ *Europe in 1815*, Bartleby.com, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/wester01.html> (October 15, 2006)
⁸ BABOS Tibor, *Did the Vienna Settlement Rest on Balance of Power? – as P. W. Schroeder states?*, presentation at Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, USA, April 8, 2002.

European Concert as well as the balance of power was weakened by the 1848-49 revolutions and unity disappeared at the beginning of the Crimean Peninsula War. After the French won the war in 1856, the Russian Empire was forced out of the Balkans, lost the southern part of Bessarabia and had to neutralize the Black Sea.⁹ As the French gained strength and Russia was temporarily weakened, the two central European powers continued to pursue allies while the British Crown became the leading empire in Europe. After the Russian tsar emerged on the winning side at the end of the Russian-Turkish War, in 1878, he regained the land lost twenty years previous and significantly returned his nation's presence in the Balkans.¹⁰



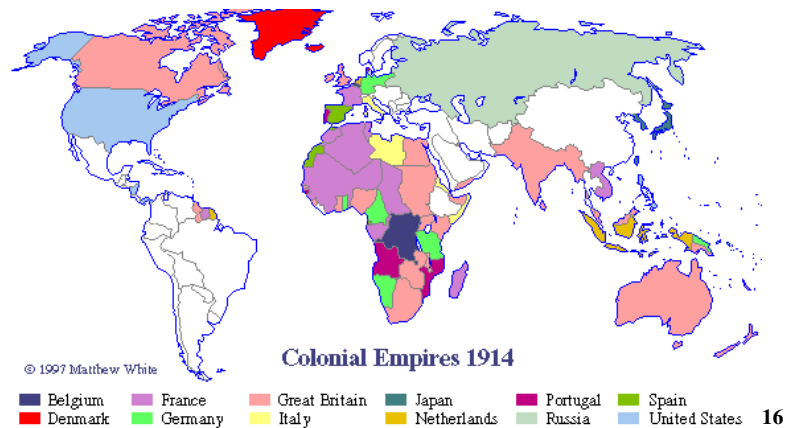
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The latter decades of the 19th century can be characterized as a time of coalitions. In 1879, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Prussia formed a coalition against the Russian Empire.¹² Soon, Italy also joined these forces. Although the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Prussia and the Russian Empire signed the Triple Alliance in 1881, the agreement served only protocol purposes.¹³ France established the opposing force to counter the Triple Alliance, and as the first step, it signed a French-Russian military cooperation agreement in 1892.¹⁴ Soon thereafter, at the initiation of hostilities between Russia and Japan, Paris reestablished its ties with London, forming an agreement christened *Entente*.¹⁵ The circle closed in 1904 when the British-Russian agreement was signed now forming a tri-nation (British, French and Russian) coalition, three colonial powers showing a unified front against the Triple Alliance.

Simultaneously, a new major power emerged on another continent and its influence on European events started to take shape. As the winning side of the Mexican-American War, in 1848, Washington gained large territories in the southwestern part of the continent. The 1898 Spanish-American War also resulted in gains for the United States and, at the beginning

⁹ The Encyclopedia of World History, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001), Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1259.html#c5p02069> (December 13, 2003)
¹⁰ Ibid., <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1260.html> (December 13, 2003)
¹¹ Europe in 1871, Bartleby.com, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/wester02.html> (October 15, 2006)
¹² The Dual Alliance Between Austria-Hungary and Germany - October 7, 1879, The Avalon Project at Yale Law, Online: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/dualalli.htm> (December 14, 2003)
¹³ The Three Emperors League - June 18, 1881, The Avalon Project at Yale Law, Online: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/empleagu.htm> (December 11, 2003)
¹⁴ The Franco-Russian Alliance Military Convention - August 18, 1892, The Avalon Project at Yale Law, Online: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/frumil.htm> (December 12, 2003)
¹⁵ European Global Domination, 1800-1914, The Encyclopedia of World History, Bartleby.com, Great Books, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1128.html> (January 30, 2005)

of the 20th century President Theodore Roosevelt gained control of territories in Central America, the Caribbean Sea, the Panama Canal and the Philippines and built a strong navy.



Since they could not make significant gains, realignment of the world order became a goal for the central Axis. The European powers tried to utilize lively diplomatic exchanges to support nationalist imperialistic attempts; nevertheless, the future alliances of the upcoming Great War were already established by the end of the 19th century.



As a result of the Versailles Peace Treaty, the League of Nations was formed in 1919. However, in the 1920s, there was no international or supranational organization with the necessary stature to maximize impact, elevate objectives, and impart fair international judgment. It was evident the post-war order would be established by the peace initiatives of winning powers as dictated by their tailor-made interests.¹⁸ The war itself and the concluding treaty brought about radical changes on the continent's geo-strategic map.

¹⁶ Imperialism and Balance of Power, Historical Atlas for the 20th Century, Online: <http://users.erols.com/mwhite28/1907powr.htm> (October 15, 2006)

¹⁷ Europe 1914, Online: <http://www.dean.usma.edu/history/web03/atlases/great%20war/great%20war%20%20pages/great%20war%20map%2002.htm> (October 15, 2006)

¹⁸ The Encyclopedia of World History, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001), Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1698.html> (December 14, 2003)



19



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The losing sides suffered significant losses in landmass and ethnic groups along with political, economic and financial influence. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy ended, forming a number of smaller nations and federations. The demands of the peace agreement and the radical border initiatives not only defined developments on the continent for a number of decades but soon became grounds for massive counter-developments.



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The central powers perceived the peace agreements as blasphemous and took steps toward revenge; Europe's strongest nation imploded. The Soviet Union, a new form of government, was established with interest assertion desires that could not be compared to any previous examples. It opposed the tsarist mindset and began a significantly different foreign policy.

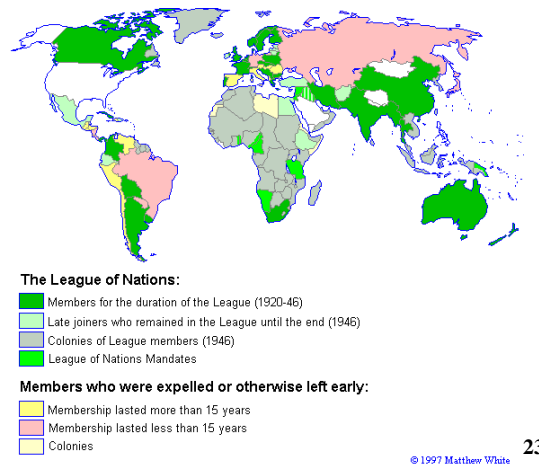
19 Europe 1914, Online: <http://www.fsmitha.com/h2/map01eu.htm> (October 15, 2006)

20 Europe, 1919, Online: <http://www.fsmitha.com/h2/map10eu.htm> (October 15, 2006)

21 Territorial Changes Following World War I, Bartleby.com, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/peaces01.html> (October 15, 2006)

The winning powers strengthened their positions in Europe and outside of the continent on previously gained colonies. In 1926, the British Commonwealth held its Empire Conference where Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa could participate as equal partners in the interest of the Crown. France expanded its influence in East-Africa and Indochina, and the United States became the successful leader of the Pan-American Union.²² Barely a decade after Versailles, it became certain that the losing powers of World War I would not accept the forcefully implemented status quo, nor resign to being kept out of the colonization process.

Japan and Italy began to exhibit expansionary tendencies. In the 1930s, Japan annexed Manchuria (1931-1932), Italy did the same with Ethiopia (1935) and Germany took possession of the Rhine Valley (1936), all of these clearly signified the failure of international relations, the ineffectiveness of the League of Nations, and confirmed military might as the most important element for achieving political and economic ambitions.



In the shadow of war preparations, Europe was split yet again. By 1940, Germany and Italy were also aligned with Japan, forming the Axis powers. France, the United Kingdom, United States and China signed on as the Allied coalition.²⁴

Simultaneously, two significant powers with a seemingly opposing stance, albeit with similar ideological direction, were gaining momentum on the continent. In 1917, communism secured a foothold and began to gain strength in the east, while only a few years later, Nazism and Fascism started in Germany and Italy. As Hitler started the war in 1939, he opted to accept the heretofore-foreign Stalinist leadership as an ally under the auspices of a common enemy. With this coalition, the European connections of the 20th century not only completed the circle with totalitarian regimes but also firmly imbedded themselves into European history.

²² Ibid., Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1699.html> (December 14, 2003.)

²³ The League of Nations, 1920-1946, Online: <http://users.erols.com/mwhite28/lego-nat.htm> (October 15, 2006)

²⁴ Three-Power Pact Between Germany, Italy, and Japan, Signed at Berlin, September 27, 1940, The Avalon Project, at Yale Law School, 1997, Online: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/triparti.htm> (February 14, 2004)

Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin participated as equals and allies at the Teheran Conference in 1943. Barely two years later, at the Potsdam Conference, leaders of these three nations demonstrated opposing ambitions.²⁵ Following the demise of Nazism as an ideology, Stalinist communism continued to gain strength, while in the West, as a counter-balance, the concept of democratic values was vocalized by the United States. As Europe started to rebuild from the ruins of World War II, the continent was divided between two opposing ideologies, as antagonism became increasingly evident between Moscow and Washington. The polarization was caused primarily by the differences between Lenin’s communist and Wilson’s capitalist views of the world as they were built on opposing political, economic and social models. Fundamentally, the single similarity between the two systems was the desire each had to develop a strong military to guarantee its own ideological model. In terms of foreign policy, Stalin strengthened his dominance on the Balkans and instituted communist-oriented governments in Eastern Europe. Simultaneously, the United States, with its European presence and with the implementation of the Marshall Plan, enhanced its influence in Western Europe. The peace and cooperation so longed for during World War II would not materialize.

In his 1946 speech in Fulton, Missouri, confirming the East-West opposition, Churchill announced his “Iron Curtain” view. The emotionally motivated ideologically opposed polarity divided Eastern Europe and the West and restrained East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria behind the Curtain.²⁶



The 1948 Berlin Crisis split Germany and Europe and, as an encore, led to the creation of NATO, then the Warsaw Pact, crystallizing the global antagonism between the two leading powers. The Cold War realigned the traditional power structure on the entire continent giving the reins to two players beyond Europe proper, relegating the traditional

²⁵ Potsdam Conference, *The Berlin (Potsdam) Conference*, July 17-August 2, 1945 (a) Protocol of the Proceedings, August 1, 1945, The Avalon Project at Yale Law, Online: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/decade/decade17.htm> (December 14, 2003)

²⁶ *The Rise of a New Opponent*, Peace Becomes Cold War, 1945-1950, American Military History, Army Historical Series, Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, Online: <http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/books/AMH/AMH-24.htm> (December 25, 2003)

²⁷ Europe 1956, Online: <http://www.fsmitha.com/h2/map24eu.htm> (October 15, 2006)

European power figures to secondary roles, and adding insult to injury as they simultaneously lost significant portions of their colonies.²⁸

During the Cold War, the Eastern and the Western Blocks were affected by significant political and economic trembles. Although the interest assertion of European states de facto could not take place, the two sides (Moscow and Washington) were weakened by significant interior problems: the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, France's withdrawal from the Alliance's integrated military structure and the eviction of foreign military units in 1967, the Czechoslovakian Revolution in 1968, and the Polish events in 1982. Things were anything but smooth in the interior affairs of the blocks as Yugoslavia and Albania refused to subordinate themselves to Moscow and the United Kingdom was excluded from the European integration trends until 1973.

The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis brought the United States and the Soviet Union to the realization how a sequence of misunderstandings could have escalated a political, counter-intelligence confrontation to nuclear war.²⁹ In an attempt to avoid such scenarios, the 1970s and 1980s brought about the implementation of numerous mechanisms to improve mutual trust. Gorbachev's election as the Party Secretary in March 1985 and the Soviet-American summit he initiated less than six months later arrived as a warm breeze to the Cold War and accelerated the democratization of the East-West processes shaking the world on short order. The eventual collapse of Soviet leadership created a vacuum leading the East toward disintegration and caused the opposite effect, integration tendencies in the West.

The end of the Cold War redefined the European political map and interest assertion. In addition to the United States, the nations of France, Germany and the United Kingdom returned to the scene as power players in the West. In the East, the disintegration of the Soviet Union created a number of nation-states, among them the country with the largest landmass in the world and nuclear capability: Russia. As the process of evaluating development of the continent and analyzing various factors affirms, five predominate sources of power generate European security integration: France, Germany, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States. As conflicts in the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq and the fight against terrorism came to the forefront after the Cold War, numerous events constantly reaffirmed how the national interests and foreign policy ambitions – just the same way as the case was historically – differ not only fundamentally but, based on some issues, can change radically. In these complex circumstances, it is especially important to note their national characteristics and behaviors, so as to understand their implications.

1.3. Germany

Germany has been a central factor in European events since Bismarck established the German Empire in 1871. Two wars lost in the 20th century, occupation after 1945, and subsequent division of the country left lasting marks affecting its foreign policy, factors that remain even today. The German reunification created not only Europe's most populous nation but also the strongest, most developed economy and industry and a dominant player in

²⁸ Changing Structures of Global Power, The Encyclopedia of World History, Bartleby.com, Great Books Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/2636.html> (December 29, 2003)

²⁹ Peter KORNBLUH, Laurence CHANG, The Cuban Missile Crisis, (The New Press, New York, 1998), Online: http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nsa/cuba_mis_cri/declass.htm (December 16, 2003)

the political and military arena.³⁰ It is a member of the EU, G-8 and NATO. In security policies the modern country traditional favors the primacy of the international community. Germany's politics can be clearly described by recognizable elements, with a common denominator between the politics of Bismarck and the current German government being a consuming desire to strengthen German unity.

The two most significant goals of Bismarck's foreign policy in the latter third of the 19th century were to isolate France, the historically most significant aggressor and foe, and to maintain balance with the other power players to ensure they would not be able to destroy German unity politically or militarily. The German Empire's foreign policy during Bismarck and Kaiser Wilhelm II varied significantly from the policies pursued by other major European leaders. Two primary reasons to attribute to this were Germany's constant fear of colonial powers and constant vulnerability from the West and the East due to its perceived sense of being surrounded. Without an invitation, Germany entered the elite "club" of major powers and viewed the exponential growth of its military as the avenue toward strengthening its imperialistic position.³¹

The industrial revolution and the expansion of economic prospects elevated Germany to the level of colonial powers. The mental assets and labor capital augmented by political ambitions and militarism began to create significant challenges for two colonial powers, France and the United Kingdom. Naval force development challenged British naval supremacy and, in the 1870-71 War, the demonstrated capability of German land forces provoked France. The wars from 1863 to 1870 sought to unify Germany and, when finished, clearly confirmed that France was no longer the dominant force on the European continent.³² Early in the 20th century, the expanding arms race gained renewed strength and crystallized new political alliances: Germany with Austria and Italy formed the Triple Alliance in 1882 and, on the other side, France and the United Kingdom formed the *Entente Cordiale* in 1904.³³ Upon Russia's entry into the coalition, the *Entente* became the Allied Powers.³⁴

Germany lost World War I bringing about significant economic losses and a decrease of landmass, however, its political and economic ambitions remained unchanged. The German mourning was quickly replaced by the expanding Nazi ideologies. Although the Versailles Treaty reduced the formerly two million-strong German military to 10% of its previous size, German imperialism continued to simmer under the cinders. During the 15-year tenure of the Weimar Republic (1918-1933), its politics and control of the military leadership satisfied the Allied Powers; however, due to the government's weakness and inefficiency, the military leadership was misleading its "masters" from the beginning. After 1925, when Hindenburg was elected president of the Weimar Republic, the military leadership was realigned based on old concepts, in line with new German ambitions. When

³⁰ Background, Introduction, Germany, The World Fact Book, Central Intelligence Agency of the United States, Online: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/gm.html> (January 7, 2004)

³¹ Major Foreign Policy Goals and Strategies, Early Developments, Germany, Country Study & Guide, ALLREFER, Online: <http://reference.allrefer.com/country-guide-study/germany/germany143.html> (December 20, 2003)

³² European Diplomacy and Wars, 1648-1795, The Encyclopedia of World History, Bartleby.com, Great Books, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1100.html> (December 29, 2003)

³³ Entente Cordiale – The Centenary, Online: <http://www.entente-cordiale.org/en/1a.html> (February 14, 2004)

³⁴ World War I: The First Three Years, American Military History, Army Historical Series, Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, Online: <http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/books/AMH/AMH-17.htm> (December 28, 2003)

Hitler assumed power in 1933, augmented by radical political ambition, the situation worsened and German imperialism, under the auspices of Nazism, was prepared for revenge.³⁵

In 1933, during the negotiations organized by the winning powers to address troop reductions and weapons inspections, Hitler demanded equal status. Since his request was denied, he completely ignoring established international custom and walked away from the negotiating table. He then implemented the draft and announced plans to increase his troop strength to 36 divisions.³⁶ In response, the Allies re-established previous ties among coalition partners (Britain, France and Russia) and the arms race was on again. In 1936, with the German-Italian and German-Japanese coalitions, Germany felt strong enough to challenge France and Russia. The German behavior in Ethiopia and Central and Eastern Africa escalated quickly but moderately and began to steer the world toward another Great War. In 1938, the international agreements in Munich convinced Hitler the Allies could not stop him anymore.³⁷

After the fall of the Third Reich, the country was destroyed and fell under American, British, French and Soviet control. Although the winning powers did not originally plan to divide the nation, the reparations in the Western-controlled zones progressed at a different pace than on the Russian-controlled side. Furthermore, Germany landed in the crossfire of two ideologically different manifestations. As a result, in 1949, the nation was split; the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) integrated toward the West, as the German Democratic Republic (GDR) oriented east.³⁸ At the beginning of the Cold War, their foreign policies did not display signs of independence; however, the sense of responsibility, utmost desire to avoid complete domination and the search for independence were common to both nations. The significant difference was evident the way the FRG started to build its new society, while the GDR political system was a dictatorial system with Moscow pulling the strings. Barely a decade after the division, the difference in economic and social development between the two nations became very evident.

During the late 1960s, an independent foreign policy concept named *ostpolitik* surfaced in West Germany with two fundamental goals: 1) a sense of responsibility for the atrocities committed against the people of Eastern Europe and the desire for compensation; and 2) the plan to develop a cooperating mechanism and a system of contractual cooperation with the Communist Block. *Ostpolitik* was to initiate and develop communication with Eastern European nations to assist the Soviet-controlled populace to learn democratic values and human rights. The Brandt-led chancellery intended to minimize the social burdens resulting from the geography-induced division of the German people.³⁹

The East-West conflict surfacing in the 1980s enticed Chancellor Kohl to publicly announce on November 28, 1989 – just three weeks after the Fall of the Wall – the perspective of a confederation formed by the two nations. Due to inadequate preparations, the

³⁵ German Military in Two World Wars, German Culture, Online:

http://www.germanculture.com.ua/library/facts/bl_germany_world_wars.htm (December 28, 2003)

³⁶ European Diplomacy and the Depression, 1919-39, The Encyclopedia of World History, Bartleby.com, Great Books, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1832.html#c6p01129> (January 8, 2004)

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1835.html> (December 31, 2003)

³⁸ Historical Setting: 1945-1990, Germany, Country Study & Guide, ALLREFER, Online: <http://reference.allrefer.com/country-guide-study/germany/germany35.html> (December 20, 2003)

³⁹ *Ostpolitik*, German Culture, Online: http://www.germanculture.com.ua/library/history/bl_ostpolitik.htm (December 21, 2003)

reaction was rather negative in both countries and on the rest of the continent. This foreign policy and communication failure afforded political possibilities to the Honecker-led *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* (SED) to initiate a counter-campaign and significantly throw back the unification process. The reform processes taking place in Hungary assisted West Germany out of this untenable international position. Initially, the Nemeth government closed its eye to the events taking place on the Hungary-Austria border when thousands of East Germans crossed the Iron Curtain separating the two nations. As Hungary later openly allowed this practice to continue, it not only quasi-recognized the German reunification but, at the same time, it backed out from East German-Soviet interests making the disintegration of the East Block unavoidable.

The German reunification on October 3, 1990 redefined Germany's place and role in Europe – opening new perspectives. The primary goal of German policy was the legitimization of a unified nation in the EU, NATO, WEU and OSCE and a number of security-oriented organizations to decrease concerns surfaced upon reunification. "Responsible politics" remained the foundation of its foreign policy rejecting military involvement while emphasizing humanitarian, environmental and economic factors moving them to the forefront. These factors were elements in Germany's foreign policy stance during the civil war in Yugoslavia. Recognizing the independent Croatia and Slovenia in December 1991, Germany parted from the policies of other major powers as it not only displayed proof of its rejection of Milosevic's regime and perceived totalitarian atrocities, the German government was willing to form an independent foreign policy stance without the approval of its coalition partners.⁴⁰

The Kohl-cabinet was characterized by a classic liberal foreign policy recognizing the successor states of the disintegrating Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia and the support of the European integration process. The deterioration of circumstances in the Balkan region influenced the federal court in 1994 to enable German troops to participate in UN peacekeeping missions with *Bundestag* approval.⁴¹ The Schroeder government gained power in 1998 and demonstrated a more peace-oriented stance and displayed an even stronger desire to utilize European integration and consensus as avenues to resolve international conflicts. In terms of arguments about developing defensive capabilities, it urged active European participation to resolve issues identified during the Petersberg tasks. The international security challenges, European security defense dimension resulting from integration, and the results of the unsolved Kosovo crisis forced the new leadership to assess consequences; however, due to internal challenges, this began with great difficulties.

After 9/11, Chancellor Schroeder offered unlimited solidarity with the American public.⁴² For domestic consumption, he began making statements about German ambitions in humanitarian, logistic and financial aid, implying that the previous post-war dependent German policy would soon be a thing of the past.⁴³ The certainty of this was demonstrated

⁴⁰ Postunification Developments, Germany, Country Study & Guide, ALLREFER, Online: <http://reference.allrefer.com/country-guide-study/germany/germany145.html> (December 20, 2003)

⁴¹ Karen DONFRED, German Foreign Policy: Kosovo, American Institute for Contemporary Studies, Washington D.C., Online: <http://www.aicgs.org/research/germany2000/donfried.shtml> (December 20, 2003)

⁴² Wolfgang SCHAUBLE, Continuity and Change – the Future of German Foreign Policy, (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 14. März 2003), Online: http://www.kas.de/publikationen/2003/1609_dokument.html (December 25, 2003)

⁴³ Manuela GLAAB, German Foreign Policy, (Internationale Politik, Transatlantic Edition, December 18, 2003), Online: <http://www.dgap.org/english/tip/tip0301/book1.htm> (December 21, 2003)

during the Iraq conflict, when Germany, in its own interest, was not only willing to confront the US, but formed an active opposition with France, Moscow and Beijing. The fact is, the common German-French stance is supported by similar views on EU issues. Since the 1990s, the German-Russian relationship has been influenced by large-scale Russian investments. Unequivocally, the US played the biggest role in helping Germany re-establish itself after World War II; however, Schroeder's about-face warns us that international political issues of major power and coalition goals can shake or even realign long-established alliances. Just as the case with other leading powers, Germany's relationships are based on liberal, multi-national cooperation. It seems Germany is willing to establish ties with other forces when its values are similar or they jointly oppose aggression, even if the other nations are motivated by ulterior motives. The events of the past few years project how Berlin's foreign policy is somewhat consistent in terms of its convictions. Such consistent behavior can bear questionable results in an international cooperation system where the viewpoints of major international players quickly change.

The biggest beneficiary of the 2004 EU enlargement was Germany. Among the ten new EU members, Germany was the leading trading partner for eight (the Baltic States, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia). Thanks to its geo-strategic position and *neo-ostpolitik*, Germany was in a position to reap major profits both economically and politically from the expansion.⁴⁴

Considering the German security policy, we can conclude that Germany is no longer on the geo-strategic frontline. It borders only friendly and ally nations; its geographical integrity and sovereignty is not threatened by an external force, it is a secure member of the western system of government and shares values demonstrated by its European neighbors. On the other hand, it views the conservative Russian community's hegemonic expressions as risky, because with international sympathy it could endanger Eastern European investors. In accordance with German security policy, augmented by the EU, NATO and numerous European and global security organizations, Germany sees accepting joint responsibility as the avenue to maintain stability.⁴⁵

Reunification, the newly established regional government, societal differences and the dilemma of fusing the 495,000-member *Bundeswehr* with the 170,000-strong *Nationale Volksarmee* (NVA) were major challenges for the nation. By 1995, military strength decreased to 370,000 and, in compliance with the 2003 force-reduction plan, shrunk further to 284,000.⁴⁶ The new defensive reform projects the strengthening of military, national security components, and multi-functionality allowing the *Bundeswehr* to utilize its widespread resources to counter political, economic and military conflicts, as well as

⁴⁴ In a nation of 82 million, due to internal politics, 5-6% of the GDP is spent on reunification subvention expenses simply meaning the eastern region absorbs the production benefits generated in the West. In a nation of 82 million, due to internal politics, 5-6% of the GDP is spent on reunification subvention expenses simply meaning the eastern region absorbs the production benefits generated in the West. Klaus NAUMANN, *The Transformation of NATO and the Shaping of European Security*, Center for Strategic Decision Research (CSDR), Online: <http://www.csdr.org/95Book/Naumann.htm> (December 21, 2003)

⁴⁵ Klaus NAUMANN, *The Transformation of NATO and the Shaping of European Security*, Center for Strategic Decision Research (CSDR), Online: <http://www.csdr.org/95Book/Naumann.htm> (December 21, 2003)

⁴⁶ *Bundeswehr*, Science Daily, Online: <http://www.sciencedaily.com/encyclopedia/Bundeswehr/> (December 21, 2003)

effectively respond against terrorism.⁴⁷ After 9/11, the German security policy was expanded by new elements, although reinforcing ESDP remained a significant goal, expanding NATO cohesion became a practical matter. Defense doctrine and military technology continue to be viewed as basic requirements for compatibility with the US. Unlike other EU powers, the *Bundeswehr* could be mobilized only for multi-national operations and clear international mandates. Keeping these criteria at the forefront, the military leadership places exceptional emphasis on a joint acceptance of responsibility and, within it, to special maneuvers, mission specialization and the establishment of common, fully interoperable forces.⁴⁸ Following the 1994 constitutional change which allowed *Bundeswehr* troops to be sent abroad, Germany became the second largest participant for NATO-led international peacekeeping missions. In 2002, approximately, 9,000 German service members participated in Kosovo Force (KFOR), Stabilization Force (SFOR), Macedonia, Afghanistan and other international missions.⁴⁹

Resulting from historical mistakes, the German military's special international image management occupy a central position in the nation's security concepts.⁵⁰ In terms of its defense budget, the *Bundeswehr* consumes 1.5% (\$35,800,000) of the GDP (2003 data). This not only placed it well behind France and the United Kingdom, but was below the stated NATO goal of 2% GDP for military spending.⁵¹ This position will remain for the foreseeable future. An additional peculiarity, specifically due to the reliable civilian control exercised over the military, the conscription-based armed forces remain and have not been replaced by a professional (volunteer) force.⁵²

We can safely state that German history has left marks on German foreign policy. The consistent liberal and peace-oriented post-Cold War German diplomacy unequivocally rejects the use of military force.⁵³ This contention is supported by reunification, diplomacy practiced during the conflicts in Yugoslavia, Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq, where Berlin resolutely took the pacifist alternative to resolve the issues. Beside the priorities of the German reunification, Berlin's foreign policy today focuses on globalization, utilizing development of European-given economic opportunities and solidifying legitimacy and primacy of international organizations.

Additional circumstances include the way Germany remains the single nation among the major powers not to possess nuclear weapons. Considering the strength of its

⁴⁷ Klaus NAUMANN, The Transformation of NATO and the Shaping of European Security, Center for Strategic Decision Research (CSDR), Online: <http://www.csdrr.org/95Book/Naumann.htm> (December 21, 2003)

⁴⁸ Stephen F. SZABO, Transforming German Defense: The New Defense Policy Guidelines, A Revolution in Defense Planning, American Institute for Contemporary German Studies. Washington, D.C., Online: <http://www.aicgs.org/research/911/szabo911.shtml> (December 21, 2003)

⁴⁹ Rudiger LEMP, German Foreign Policy and Nepal-German Ties, (The People's Review, August 22-28, 2002), Online: <http://www.yomary.com/p-review/2002/08/22082002/comment1.html> (December 21, 2003)

⁵⁰ National Security in Germany, German Culture, Online: http://www.germanculture.com.ua/library/facts/bl_ntl_security.htm (December 21, 2003)

⁵¹ Military, Germany, CIA Fact Book, Online: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/gm.html#Military> (December 21, 2003)

⁵² Stephen F. SZABO, Transforming German Defense: The New Defense Policy Guidelines, A Revolution in Defense Planning, American Institute for Contemporary German Studies. Washington, D.C., Online: <http://www.aicgs.org/research/911/szabo911.shtml> (December 21, 2003)

⁵³ Khatya CHHOR, Western Press Review: Germany's No-Confidence Vote, Tensions Within Northern Alliance, Radio Free Europe, Online: <http://www.rferl.org/nca/features/2001/11/16112001090129.asp> (December 22, 2003)

conventional military, Germany continues to base its security policy on economic strength--with significant success. Unlike France and the United Kingdom, Germany does not have to spend funds to maintain a nuclear arsenal; it can funnel the funds into its economy and still have assets to spend to develop a high-tech military.

Kohl's post-reunification era announcement in 1989, the Kohl-Mitterrand CFSP initiative, the recognition of the Balkan states in the early 1990s, the *Bundeswehr's* participation in peacekeeping operations, confrontational views with the French over EU political and social developments, and the German stance during the Iraqi War all clearly indicated Berlin's foreign policy profile had a unique and profound impact on international relations.⁵⁴ The expanding German attempts to enforce its own interests became more evident in internal and foreign policies during Schroeder's regime. The decrease of his efficiency became evident in November 2005 when he lost his chancellor seat.

The CDU-CSU-SPD three-party coalition supported the new chancellor, Dr. Angela Merkel. She took office on November 22, 2005 and will most likely lead Germany in a new direction. She is the first female Chancellor of Germany, the first former citizen of the German Democratic Republic to lead the reunited Germany and the first woman to lead Germany since it became a modern nation-state in 1871. She is also, as of 2006, the youngest person to be chancellor since World War II. Merkel, considered by Forbes Magazine to be the most powerful woman in the world, is only the third woman to serve on the G8 and, on January 1, 2007, became the second woman to chair the G8.

Based on her previous activities and statements, the new German head of government represents a complete opposite and much more conservative stance from her predecessors on numerous issues, even though she started her political career in the East German communist youth organization and later became the GDR's Academy of Science's regional agitating propaganda (AgitProp) secretary. Her name is associated with longer working hours, solidifying the German free market and simplifying the process to fire workers. In terms of her foreign policy, she intends to strengthen US-German connections.⁵⁵ Thus, her domestic media's repeated comparison with the Iron Lady (former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher) should come as no surprise.⁵⁶ The issue of whether the new "Iron Lady" will corrode and, if not, how much of her hard-line stance she will keep, is still an open question.

1.4. United Kingdom

The United Kingdom has been a dominant European power since the Great Discoveries. In the 19th century, it was the primary economic, industrial, financial and maritime power, controlling 25% of the world's territory. In the 20th century, primarily because of the two world wars, the United Kingdom gradually lost its empire characteristics and, today, fully observes modern capitalistic values. It is a nuclear power, permanent member of the UN Security Council, founding NATO and G-8 member. It does, however,

⁵⁴ Achim LIDSBA, Germany Will Play Its Role – in EU and NATO, European Affairs, The European Institute, Washington, DC, 2001 Winter, Online:

https://europeanaffairs.org/archive/2001_winter/2001_winter_58.php4 (March 7, 2004)

⁵⁵ Angela Merkel, Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia, Online: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Angela_Merkel (April 23, 2006)

⁵⁶ Clay RISEN, Iron Lady, Is Angela Merkel the next Maggie Thatcher? Slate, Tuesday, July 5, 2005, Online: <http://www.slate.com/id/2122001/> (April 23, 2006)

maintain an individualistic relationship with the European Union.⁵⁷ In its foreign policy, it concentrates on US connections and European Union membership and is an avid supporter of transatlantic relationships.

The country reached a centralized monarchy and modern economy at the end of the Tudor period. After the 1648 civil wars, it could pay more attention to empire building.⁵⁸ The same year, the Westphalia Peace Agreements endorsed religion-focused diplomacy and urged the utilization of economic, trade and military tools which led to great national prosperity. Its geo-strategic advantages were used to the fullest, continuing the strengthening of the colonial empire, which led to frequent conflict with other European powers: Dutch (1652-1654, 1665-1667, 1672-1674); Spanish (1656-1659, 1739-1748); and French (1754-1763, 1775-1783).

From the imperialistic expansionary views, the industrial revolution and its modern government, the island nation realized the largest profits in the 19th century. After the Napoleonic War, the Europeans consolidated the continent and the country shifted focused its aims at the imperial and colonial empire. Although it lost the US, causing major losses for the Crown, simultaneously it stabilized Australia, Canada and New Zealand as Commonwealth members. During this time, it controlled Africa, China, Egypt, India, Iran, the Ottoman Empire, South Africa and the entire Indian Ocean.⁵⁹ Aided by further expansions, the country strengthened the world's strongest maritime fleet, not only guaranteeing the security of the empire trade but serving as a tool to advance its interests.

Since the threatening powers were located on the continent, it was in its interest to keep the continent's balance of power divided. It kept its distance to European conflicts and always pursued divisional international politics.. The primary interest of the British Crown was the operation of a colonial empire. The ever more serious rivalization on the continent led England to build its security on two pillars: 1) rely on the English Channel to keep its distance from the continent; and 2) maintain good relations with the Russian Empire, for that nation had the 19th century's strongest army. With the exception of diplomatic measures, London was not directly involved with the European events in the latter half of the 19th century.

Major changes were forced upon the country at the end of the 19th century. Although it wanted to maintain the empire, it was confronted by European powers abroad, with Germany in East Africa, and Russia and France on the Suez Canal. The 1878 English-Afghan confrontation escalated into a Russian-German issue in 1886 and, in view of the Triple Alliance established in 1882, it did not benefit either participant.⁶⁰

The Russia-Japan War served as a rationale for the 1904 British-French *Entente*. Since the colonial territorial disputes were resolved with this agreement, the two nations initiated long-range cooperation.⁶¹ The British-Russian union resolved the Persian and

⁵⁷ Background, Introduction, United Kingdom, The World Fact Book, Central Intelligence Agency of the United States, Online: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/uk.html#Military> (January 7, 2004)

⁵⁸ England, Scotland and Ireland, Early Modern Europe, 1479-1815, The Encyclopedia of World History, Bartleby.com, Great Books, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/593.html> (January 7, 2004)

⁵⁹ European Global Domination, 1800-1914, The Encyclopedia of World History, Bartleby.com, Great Books, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/953.html> (January 1, 2004)

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1111.html> (January 5, 2004)

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1128.html> (January 5, 2004)

Afghanistan problems and, by 1907, London could consider France and the Russian Empire as partners.⁶² Since the German-Austrian regional expansion was confronted by the interests of France and the Russian Tsar, a British-French-Russian cooperation not only remained in force, but at the beginning of the Great War, served as a military-maritime defensive cooperation.



Just as before, when the Versailles Treaty ending World War I realigned the power between major European players, Britain focused on opportunities for colonial expansion. In the 1920s and 1930s, the political and military contacts between the English and French deepened.⁶⁴ The failure of the Chamberlain-Hitler summits and the 1938 Munich Conference clearly demonstrated to the British that Nazi Germany was undeniably dragging the European continent towards another war. England, France and the Soviet Union signed a peace treaty rekindling the coalition agreement between these three nations now aimed at stopping the Nazi expansion. Immediately after Hitler attacked Poland, France and England jointly declared war against Germany.

Emerging from the war on the winning side, suffering the least European casualties (460,000) and material losses, the United Kingdom was in a special situation, but it still had to share its attention between rebuilding its own nation, its colonies, and Europe. To expedite the internal rehabilitation, it turned to the United States and Canada for financial assistance in the form of loans and grants and, in 1952, became the third nuclear power (after the United States and the Soviet Union).⁶⁵ By 1957, it completed successful tests of the hydrogen bomb. The US-Brit relationship deepened, even beyond the “special relationship” which had developed during World War II. By allowing the US to establish military installations on its territory during the escalating Cold War and immediately taking a stance on the side of the US during the Korean War, it became the primary partner of US foreign policy spearheading Atlanticism.⁶⁶

As for its European policies, as one of the winning powers, this island nation went to great lengths to control Germany; however, it did not activate itself properly in the Western-European economic integration process until the middle of the Cold War. Its constant

⁶² Ibid., Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1131.html> (January 5, 2004)

⁶³ *The British Empire 1914*, Historical Atlas for the 20th Century, Online: <http://users.erols.com/mwhite28/brit-emp.htm> (October 15, 2006)

⁶⁴ *The Era of Great Depression*, The Encyclopedia of World History, Bartleby.com, Great Books, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1719.html> (January 8, 2004)

⁶⁵ *Britain, Western Europe, 1945-2000*, The Encyclopedia of World History, Bartleby.com, Great Books, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/2758.html> (January 9, 2004)

⁶⁶ Kurt SCHAKE, *Strategic Frontier: American Bomber Bases Overseas, 1950-1960*, Norwegian University Press, Trondheim, (1998).

attempts to join the Common Market were unsuccessful as France continued to veto its entry until 1973.

After the war, London immediately attempted to unite its possessions, but the Crown could not enforce its will on the colonies, largely due to the rise of nationalism. Between the 1950s and mid-1960s, the United Kingdom lost India, Cyprus, Suez Canal, Kenya, Singapore, Borneo and Malaysia signifying the dissolution of the empire.⁶⁷ Complications remaining from the colonial status shook the United Kingdom unity from time to time. The last one took place in Northern Ireland. At the end of the 1960s, the escalating demonstrations deteriorated to armed clashes culminating in a military invasion in 1974.⁶⁸ Although the Hillsborough Agreement was signed in 1985, leading to a national referendum about Northern Ireland, the terrorist attacks continued during Thatcher's and Major's regimes. The breakthrough occurred upon Blair's election. He established communication with Sinn Fein, initiated a dialogue and treated Northern Ireland as a partner.

The United Kingdom displayed its security and colonial interest implications in 1982 when it used its military power to defend the Falkland Islands against Argentina. The conflict not only meant to confirm the United Kingdom's unwillingness to accept encroachment on its colonies, it also demonstrated the capability of Her Majesty's military to apply sufficient force thousands of miles away in order to defeat an enemy, even Argentina, with a population in excess of 40 million people.

After the Cold War, the United Kingdom remained a significant force in international relations. Its security policies are not single-handedly Euro-focused, with a balance struck between the US relationship, Atlanticism and European Union. The Labor Party's Blair established closer relationship with the US, yet also sought to engage the French. As the Maastricht Treaty indicated for the first time, London was willing to activate itself not only on the continent, but also provide a new impetus to American-European cooperation. As France realized this, it rekindled its German cooperation.

In 2003, London supported the United States not only through joint military maneuvers but confirmed the indivisibility of the Anglo-Saxon cohesion.⁶⁹ London's international relations meant it was relegated to third position in European matters behind the French and Germans. It found allies in Spain, Poland and the majority of Central and Eastern European states. Clearly, the division between the European Union and the US-Brit coalition surfaced because of the Iraqi conflict; however, that was only the point where the increasing differences between French and Anglo-Saxon interests surfaced, leading to the subsequent polarization. The French swayed the Germans, Russians and Chinese to its side, while the United States and United Kingdom joined forces with other nations.

The United Kingdom vehemently supported the development of ESDP and, in unison with the US, envisioned its completion without unnecessary duplication. According to London's rationale, 9/11 confirmed NATO and European Union defensive structures were not mutually exclusive and simultaneous development of the two was the logical decision. Since France strongly opposed this view, London strengthened its diplomacy with other EU-member allies and went to great lengths to influence Central and Eastern European nations in

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid., Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/2787.html> (January 9, 2004)

⁶⁹ [US and UK, A Transatlantic Love Story?](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/3264169.stm#graph) BBC News UK Edition, November 17, 2003, Online: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/3264169.stm#graph (January 11, 2004)

advance of the 2004 NATO and EU expansion Britain used diplomatic avenues to counter the excessive Europe-oriented policies of the German-French alliance. “The Letter of the Eight” could be attributed to British diplomacy during the Iraq conflict as it opposed the views demonstrated by Germany and France.

The British defense policy prescribed two tasks for the military: 1) defend the United Kingdom, its population and its remaining colonies and 2) as a model of a “good stabilizing force”, strengthen international stability and peace.⁷⁰ Although the colonial empire always required a rapid reaction force, the Falklands War and 9/11 encouraged an increase of the British defensive reaction capability. The defensive concept prepared after 9/11 opened a new chapter identifying asymmetric warfare, defensive characteristics and expanded the roles of anti-terror organizations.⁷¹ Just as Blair repeatedly emphasized, only with complete cooperation with the US can London remain a spearhead in the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT).

Since the Cold War, the continuously decreasing British defense spending at still at \$42.8 billion (equates to 2.4% of the GDP - 2003 data), the second highest spending in Europe.⁷² The military force of 212,000-strong is the 6th largest in Europe (behind Russia, Ukraine, France, Italy and Germany).⁷³ The military’s technological capability, training and readiness are extremely high and are augmented by a strategic nuclear weapon delivery capability. As Afghanistan and Iraq military maneuvers undeniably prove, from the European allies, only Her Majesty’s military has the strength to fully integrate into US military operations.

After Blair’s 1998 military reform, privatization of the military became the prime minister’s newest and most ambitious project. The continuous transfer of supporting elements from government possession to private ventures intends to minimize the maintenance, development and operating expenses and, while converting them to business ventures, it even expects financial profits. Since Her Majesty’s military leases services, real estate and equipment during actual use only, it does not have to absorb the facility security, maintenance and storage expenses around the year. The minister of defense claims a saving of \$560 million.⁷⁴

We can conclude the Blair Cabinet’s foreign policy is much more open and driven than its predecessors. Since it strengthened its American contacts, it frequently emerges in Europe offering an alternative to the French and German direction. It seems Blair is not about to jeopardize its US relations or its EU membership at the expense of the other, thereby it continues to remain the bridge between the two. This typically British role enhances its

⁷⁰ UK Defence Policy, British Defence Staff, Washington, Online: <http://www.bdsw.org/> (January 10, 2004)

⁷¹ Robert FOX, A grounded defence policy: Britain's Strategic Defence Review, once hailed as a miracle, is outmoded and based on bluff, (Defence), New Statesman, Look Smart, July 8, 2002, Online: http://www.findarticles.com/cf_dls/m0FQP/4595_131/89858441/p1/article.jhtml (January 10, 2004)

⁷² Privatized British Military More Efficient, Daily Policy Digest, National Center for Policy Analysis, Washington D.C., Friday, March 29, 2002, Online: <http://www.ncpa.org/iss/pri/2002/pd032902a.html> (January 10, 2004)

⁷³ Map & Graph: Military: Top 23 Armed forces personnel, nationmaster.com, Online: http://www.nationmaster.com/red/graph-T/mil_arm_for_per&int=23 (January 10, 2004)

⁷⁴ Wess MITCHELL, Privatizing Defense: Britain Leads the Way, Daily Policy Digest, National Center for Policy Analysis, Washington D.C., Friday, March 29, 2002, Online: <http://ncpa.org/pub/ba/ba391/ba391.pdf> (October 15, 2006)

significance on bilateral channels as well as upon EU and NATO levels. Another example of its rational pro-active approach is London's Northern Ireland policy, with its constantly increasing tolerance. The UK attitude can be imagined as Europe's ambassador in the US, and the US ambassador in Europe. This allows opportunities for NATO and EU to enlist the island nation to raise its issues across the Atlantic.⁷⁵

1.5. France

With the colonization, politicization of the Bourbon dynasty, the concept *levee en masse*, Napoleonic conquests, and leading roles in two world wars, France established itself forever in the almanac of European powers.⁷⁶ France emerged as a quasi-winner from both wars, despite losing its colonies, and significantly decreasing its international power. Since the de Gaulle era, it became much stronger economically and militarily, joined the nuclear powers, and pursued unique policies. It's a permanent UN Security Council member, founding member of the EU, G-8 and NATO, although it formally withdrew from the Alliance's military structure. Since solving its differences with Germany, it has become the generator for political and ideological issues affecting Europe.⁷⁷

France became a significant power player in Europe after the Hundred Year's War and even moreso after 1589, when the Bourbon dynasty began. France systematically increased its influence on world politics constantly entering into confrontations with the British, Germans, Russians and Spanish. After the Thirty Year's War, Cardinal Richelieu gained control of France and came to signify not only strength as an established centralized monarchy, but through the signing of the Westphalia Agreement, gained military and political domination over the Dutch, Germans, Italians and Swedes.⁷⁸

Louis XIV further built the monarchy's strength in Europe and established its modern foreign policy concept, even before the founding doctrine of European diplomacy was naturalized. In the second half of the 17th century and in the 18th century, France conducted numerous wars against other European powers: Netherlands (1672-1678, 1701-1714), Spain (1676), and England (1688-1697, 1701-1714, 1754-1763, 1775-1783).⁷⁹ After the French Revolution, Napoleon gained power and shortly thereafter, destroyed the existing European balance of power. The Congress of Vienna in 1815 reinstated France's pre-revolution borders and, despite significant restrictions, also offered France a position as a significant European power.

⁷⁵ Andrew RAWNSLEY, [America or Europe: Tony, the choice is yours](#), The Observer, Guardian Unlimited, January 21, 2001, Online: http://www.findarticles.com/cf_dls/m0FQP/4595_131/89858441/p1/article.jhtml (January 10, 2004)

⁷⁶ [France Information](#), History, World Info Zone, Online: <http://www.worldinfozone.com/country.php?country=France&page=2> (December 20, 2003)

⁷⁷ [Background, Introduction, France](#), The World Fact Book, Central Intelligence Agency of the United States, Online: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/fr.html> (January 7, 2004)

⁷⁸ [French Participation in the Thirty Years's War](#), The Encyclopedia of World History, Bartleby.com, Great Books, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/600.html> (December 29, 2003)

⁷⁹ [France, Early Modern Europe, 1478-1815](#), The Encyclopedia of World History, Bartleby.com, Great Books, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/707.html> (December 29, 2003)



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European cooperation ended with the Crimean War (1853-1856), France regained its dominant role in Europe; however, while the British and Russian foreign policy interests focused on colonizations and conquest and not on Europe, the strengthening German unity movement started to become a major rival. The first demonstration of this was the Koeniggratz Battle in 1866 and the Prussians emerging as the winners.⁸¹ The French-dominated territories in the Mediterranean, Near East, Northern, Africa, Madagascar and Indochina began to attract the interests of other colonial powers.⁸²

The end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century can be characterized by aggressive German foreign policy, and the pursuit of relevant alliances. The German empire-building attempts impacted the French interests in Europe, as well as West and Central Africa. Since the French were not able to stop German expansion, the nation was looking for allies on the continent. After losing two wars in the 19th century to the Germans, and to deter additional threats, France took significant strides to consolidate its alliances with Russia and the United Kingdom to counter this threat. The plan ran into obstacles with the Russians, as they had not forgotten the Crimean War, as well as the British attempts to gain influence along the Suez Canal. The Dreyfus Affair of 1894 further complicated matters.⁸³

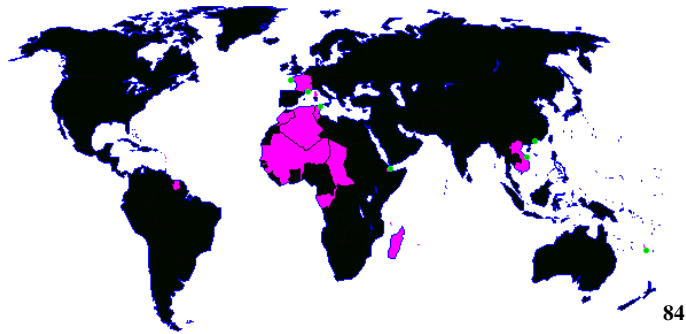
The 1904 *Entente* and the developing French-Russian alliance showed to the Triple Alliance the reality of a British-French-Russian union. The 1914 assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand provided a new impetus to Austro-German diplomacy leading to the declaration of war against Russia and France, setting in motion World War I.

⁸⁰ Napoleon's Empire, 1812, Bartleby.com, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/napole02.html> (October 15, 2006)

⁸¹ Crimean War, European Diplomacy, 1848-1914, The Encyclopedia of World History, Bartleby.com, Great Books, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1100.html> (December 29, 2003)

⁸² Developments in Major Empires, The Encyclopedia of World History, Bartleby.com, Great Books Online, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/953.html> (December 29, 2003)

⁸³ The Encyclopedia of World History, Bartleby.com, Great Books, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1195.html#c5p01655> (December 19, 2003)



Afterwards, French retribution was mercilessly carried out by the Versailles Treaty: Germany was sanctioned economically, politically and militarily, while Austria and Hungary were chopped-up, relinquishing land and large groups of their ethnic population.⁸⁵ In compliance with the treaty, the central and eastern European border realignment not only foreshadowed World War II, but also became a source of conflict 70 years later when the artificially created Czechoslovakia disintegrated and Yugoslavia was destroyed by civil wars.

During the late 1930s, on the occasion of the German-Czechoslovak and the German-Polish confrontations, France rekindled its diplomacy with London. But the German military offensive was overwhelming and France capitulated on June 22, 1940. The Vichy government remained in place until the Allies returned. On August 25, 1944, de Gaulle entered the liberated capital, relocating the free French government from Algiers to Paris.⁸⁶

After World War II, French foreign policy maintained its uniquely independent direction, despite the world's bipolarity. France was unable to shine in its former glory after World War II and in terms of influence over the US was relegated to a position behind the British. During the Cold War, France spearheaded what we now view as the European integration process, where the US was excluded while France maintained a dominant position in the supra-national union. Toward its goal, it pursued (West) German support signing the Elyse Agreement establishing annual summit meetings between the two leaders. In the 1970s, Valerie Giscard d'Estaing and Helmut Schmidt jointly recommended the continued development of a European Monetary System (EMS). In 1986, Mitterrand and Kohl proposed the initiation of a European free market (Single European Act) and, in 1990, the same two leaders initiated the implementation of a joint foreign and security policy.⁸⁷ Largely as a result of these efforts, by the 1990s French-German cooperation became the nucleus of Europe's formal integration.

France's integration-oriented policies gained a new look with the disappearance of the Iron Curtain. The German reunification clearly foreshadowed a diminishing French role in economic dominance; however, on the political front, France pursued other opportunities. Taking control of the uncertainty of the 1990s, Paris leapt toward refocusing the European Union towards security and giving priority to the European nations, while not recognizing US

⁸⁴ The French Empire 1914, Historical Atlas for the 20th Century, Online: <http://users.erols.com/mwhite28/frnc-emp.htm> (October 15, 2006)

⁸⁵ The Post-World War I. Era, The Encyclopedia of World History, Bartleby.com, Great Books, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1784.html> (December 19, 2003)

⁸⁶ France, Europe, 1919-45, The Encyclopedia of World History, Bartleby.com, Great Books, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1916.html> (December 19, 2003)

⁸⁷ France and the Building of Europe, France in the World, French Foreign Policy, Online: <http://www.france.diplomatie.fr./france/gb/politiq/02.html> (December 19, 2003)

dominance over Europe.⁸⁸ These views reflected the Adenauer philosophy, reinforcing the belief that Europe could be built without French-German cooperation.⁸⁹ The coordinated politics of the 1990s presented France with another leading role. Although Paris tried to appeal to London in the late 1990s, the conservative British government did not sympathize with French foreign policy until late in the decade. In 1998, the newly elected Blair met Chirac and displayed some willingness to cooperate. The San Malo Summit gave new impetus to the stalled European integration process; however, the summit took place without the Germans. This was another indication of France's willingness to take part in inconsistent foreign policies, placing its own interest in the foreground. Blair was unwilling to turn his back to Atlanticism and even tried to sway France to accept US involvement, but Chirac once again approached Germany through the newly-appointed Chancellor Schroeder. Soon, a major difference surfaced between the French and German national models, because Berlin preferred a federal model, whereas France supported intra-governmental cooperation.

The 9/11 events and the subsequent Iraqi crisis tested the French foreign policy. President Chirac took a position on the US side after the New York and Washington terrorist attacks; however, he could not accept Washington's intention to prepare for military maneuvers in areas of French interests without French involvement. The success of the French foreign policy must be recognized, as it reactivated its Paris-Berlin-Moscow-Beijing ties less than one year after the attacks – splitting the EU and NATO – taking a stance opposing the Washington-led coalition.⁹⁰ Solidifying European unity and diminishing the US presence at the three main European capitals had been the primary goals of Paris's diplomacy. Here again, France attempted to retain initiating and coordinating roles on the continent through its active foreign policy. Furthermore, recognizing Paris can only retain a secondary role beside the US, it took advantage of every opportunity to exclude Washington from taking part in European issues.⁹¹ In order to realize its foreign policy interests, France used its support at the EU to counter American actions.

The other dimension in France's interest assertion is the Mediterranean area and North Africa, where it has traditionally held strong political, economic and cultural ties. For this reason, France's political stance is never indifferent on Muslim terrorism, the Near East peace process, the Barcelona process or the Mediterranean Dialogue. Conversely, the Muslim immigrants established significant positions in the nation, shedding a different light on French foreign policy towards the United States and Israel.

In international organizations, France practices unique politics partly due to the nation's nuclear potential and partly to its permanent UN Security Council seat. Additionally, France pays the fourth largest amount into the UN treasury and is the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) leading supporter.⁹² In

⁸⁸ James PETRAS, Notes toward an understanding of revolutionary politics today, (Petras essays in English, Periódico Electrónico de Información Alternativa, May 16 2001), Online: <http://www.rebellion.org/petras/english/anderson170102.htm#> (December 18, 2003)

⁸⁹ Franco-German Tandem, France in the World, Online: http://www.france.diplomatie.fr/france/gb/politiq/03_2.html (December 17, 2003)

⁹⁰ Chua Lee HOONG, France's 'ethical' resistance a matter of self interest, (The Straits Times, March 19, 2003), Online: <http://www.straitstimes.asia1.com.sg/columnist/0,1886,16-177906-,00.html> (December 19, 2003)

⁹¹ Charles KRAUTHAMMER, France's game, (CNN.com/Inside Politics, March 17, 2003), Online: <http://www.cnn.com/2003/ALLPOLITICS/03/17/timep.france.tm/> (December 17, 2003)

⁹² French Participation in the UN Action, France in the World, Online: <http://www.france.diplomatie.fr/france/gb/politiq/04.html> (December 19, 2003)

European-oriented security organizations, France unequivocally intends to maintain leading coordination roles. Accordingly, Paris's attention is definitely directed toward organizations where this is feasible: EU, WEU and OSCE, while the US-dominated NATO is not a French priority. From a logical point of view, France maintains its antipathy toward NATO cohesion, often favoring ESDP at the loss of NATO.

In 2003, France with its 60 million citizens, spent \$45.2 billion (2.26% of its GDP) to maintain a 356,000-strong military, making it the nation with the fourth largest military in the world (following the US, China and Russia).⁹³ Based on the 1959 Presidential Decree, France's defensive concept rests on three pillars:

1. Maintain the nation's sovereignty, democratic system and vital interests in compliance with the 1958 constitution
2. Continue to develop European-oriented international organizations
3. Establish a comprehensive defensive concept not restricted to the military dimension⁹⁴

Additionally, less than a year after France completed a 6-year long military reform, it implemented numerous changes in traditional and nuclear force capabilities, reduced military strength by 150,000 troops, instituted major military structural realignments, increased the ratio of operational elements, and modernized its strategic deterrent capabilities. Since 1996, two central projects have been in progress: the Triumphant-class new-generation nuclear ballistic submarines, and the ASMP mid-range air-to-ground missile system.⁹⁵ Analyzing and evaluating the French military potential, we can clearly state its defensive capabilities are very mobile and its deterrent capabilities are sufficient to support French interests worldwide.

In contrast to Germany, the significant cost related to maintenance and subvention of its nuclear arsenal is a relative disadvantage. Nowadays, a nuclear power can provide guarantees against challenges only indirectly and from a distance, and nuclear assets incur major budgetary challenges. The indirect French ESDP-policy goal is to acquire joint-EU financing for its nuclear force. Considering France is only willing to share the expenses not the control with EU nations, the majority of the European nations reject such cooperation. As a result, Paris must locate other resources or will have to provide the funds to maintain its nuclear arsenal. Conversely, the national budget deficit cannot be decreased and it's questionable whether the expenses France incurs by maintaining ambitious nuclear weapons and their delivery systems could be recovered in Europe.

Internally, France is struggling with numerous challenges: its economic expansion is less dynamic; the social system reforms failed to materialize or to absorb the significant migration; and, the resulting unemployment failed to meet the EU-prescribed standards in 2002. Additionally, the government had to overcome not only today's security challenges by communicating its nuclear capabilities, but also had to arrange the resources for their funding. Maintaining its nuclear assets was a source of deficits not only in the social dimension but in foreign policy competitions also.

⁹³ France, World Fact Book, Central Intelligence Agency, Online: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/fr.html> (February 7, 2005)

⁹⁴ Defence Policy, France in the World, Online: <http://www.france.diplomatie.fr/france/gb/politiq/02.html> (December 19, 2003)

⁹⁵ France and the Building of Europe, Online: http://www.france.diplomatie.fr/france/gb/politiq/10_1.html (December 19, 2003)

Conclusively, we can state that France deserves special attention in Europe. It continues to remain uncertain how France intends to assume the role of a leading European political force; ensure European power balance; and continue its attempts to keep the US excluded in a way acceptable to all participants while not hindering European stability. The question is how long Germany will show willingness to finance France's political interests and what will happen when the Berlin-Paris-devised "European interests" do not correlate.⁹⁶ France can only be considered a consistent and key player in Europe if the often speculative, egocentric politics it pursues can be quickly and fundamentally realigned while still accommodating its own interests.

1.6. United States of America

Declared in 1776 and recognized in the 1783 Paris Agreement, a group of 13 states severed its ties with the British colonial master and named itself the United States of America. During the 19th and 20th century another 37 new states followed. A constant development of interests accompanied the expansion of this nation-state. Upon decidedly winning World War I, World War II and the Cold War, the US became the nation with the strongest economy, politics and military.⁹⁷ It is a nuclear superpower, founding member of the NATO and the G-8, and permanent member of the UN Security Council, The US truly has an active global foreign policy, while its European connections display more dissonance.

The US – in addition to an umbilical cord – was connected in many ways to Europe. It is a nation of immigrants, and as British, Dutch, French, Irish and other settlers established a European civilization on the North American continent, the emerging American society approached politics and issues with a European mindset. In the latter stages of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, after the nation recovered from the Civil War destruction, it started a powerful foreign policy and began to expand its economic and political influence across the globe. After endorsing the Mahan Doctrine in the late 19th century and developing its nuclear arsenal in the mid 20th century, the US fleet became the dominating maritime force in the Pacific Ocean.⁹⁸ In 1896 it took possession of Hawaii. After defeating the Spanish at the turn of the century, gained Cuba, much of the Caribbean, and the Philippines.⁹⁹ Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, the hero of the Spanish-American War, became the youngest president a few years later and, with control over the Pacific and the Caribbean, formed his foreign policy interests accordingly. In order to secure its trade interests with China, Japan, Philippines, Indonesia and the Caribbean nations, the US Congress approved huge sums to develop a world class navy. The US gained control of Panama, built the Panama Canal, and after uniting the Atlantic and Pacific fleet, its navy ruled the entire western hemisphere.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Stanley HOFFMAN, Classic Diplomacy in the Information Age, Foreign Affairs, July/August 2000, p. 4., Online: <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20010701fareviewessay5001/stanley-hoffmann/classic-diplomacy-in-the-information-age.html> (December 20, 2003)

⁹⁷ Background, Introduction, France, The World Fact Book, Central Intelligence Agency of the United States, Online: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/fr.html> (January 7, 2004)

⁹⁸ Expansion in the Pacific, The Age of Imperialism, An On-line History of the United States, Small Planet Communications, Online: <http://www.smplanet.com/imperialism/letter.html> (December 28, 2003)

⁹⁹ A Splendid Little War, The Spanish-American War, An On-line History of the United States, Small Planet Communications, Online: <http://www.smplanet.com/imperialism/splendid.html> (December 28, 2003)

¹⁰⁰ Teddy's Legacy, U.S. Invention in Latin America, An On-line History of the United States, Small Planet Communications, Online: <http://www.smplanet.com/imperialism/teddy.html> (December 28, 2003)

Central America and its activities in the Pacific distracted US interest from the 1914 European coalitions, so it was caught ill prepared for World War I. Although the majority of the Americans did not want to get involved with the escalating European war, the American economy and trade interests did justify its entry.¹⁰¹ After the Germans sank two of its trade ships, the US joined forces with the Allies, entering the war against the Axis powers.

In January 1918, President Wilson declared a 14-point European collective security balance. Although it contained outstanding international concepts, it was built on faulty foundations.¹⁰² Additionally, American foreign policy was complicated by a conceptual conflict between the president and the legislature, since the administration pursued an active Europe-oriented policy as part of international politics and the conservative congress's lobby strongly criticized him for turning away from domestic issues. Even though the US emerged from the war with relatively small losses, it had underlying economic problems. The 1929 Stock Market Crash shook the US at its foundation, and it took President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal program and the approaching war-oriented militarism to recover the nation's economic health.

After World War II broke out, the American Lend-Lease Act allowed the US to join the Allied coalition materially, by providing economic and military assistance.¹⁰³ After the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor in December 1941, Washington joined the war on many fronts. The atomic bomb not only brought the conflict in the Pacific to an end, it also opened a new chapter in international relations as it demonstrated the founding of a new superpower. The US emerged from another world war on the winning side, notably strongly than when it entered; it produced a third of the world's GDP, gained a key role in Europe and Asia, and established a hitherto unreachable military-technological advantage.¹⁰⁴

Following many of Wilson's international tenets, the post-World War II US foreign policy visualized a collective security to maintain balance and peace, thereby allowing the expansion of US political influence. The Atlantic Charter and the conferences at Washington, Moscow, Teheran and Yalta were all stages for the US to provide its concept. The San Francisco Agreement was signed in 1945 to establish the United Nations as an international organization for global security.¹⁰⁵

The power balance established after World War II, especially the Soviet expansion in Eastern Europe, negatively affected US interests. The takeover of this region, Soviet rejection of the Marshall Plan, the communist ideology's resistance defying capitalistic values, and the

¹⁰¹ World War I: The First Three Years, American Military History, Army Historical Series, Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, Online: <http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/books/AMH/AMH-17.htm> (December 28, 2003)

¹⁰² President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, The World War I Documents, Online: <http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi/1918/14points.html> (December 28, 2003)

¹⁰³ Lend Lease Act, 11 March 1941, Public Laws. Part 1 of United States Statutes at Large Containing the Laws and Concurrent Resolutions Enacted During the First Session of the Seventy-Seventh Congress of the United States of America, 1941-1942, and Treaties, International Agreements Other than Treaties, and Proclamations. Vol. 55 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1942), pp. 31-33, Online: <http://www.history.navy.mil/faqs/faq59-23.htm> (December 28, 2003)

¹⁰⁴ Henry KISSINGER, Diplomacy, (A Touchstone Book, New York, 1994), p. 602.

¹⁰⁵ A Selective Chronology, Milestones in the United Nations History, Online: <http://www.un.org/Overview/milesto4.htm> (December 25, 2003)

open display of nuclear capability were viewed as a serious threat to the US.¹⁰⁶ The opposing views by the two dominant powers surfaced in numerous political and military conflicts.

The Moscow-dictated communist ideology contained aggressive expansionary strategies and the effects were also felt in the West, leading the US to announce a campaign to counter this advance. The Marxist-Leninist ideology seemingly knew no bounds. Even so, the chronology of its policies during the Cold War became rather contradictory. Although the Marshall Plan helped Europe regain its footing and the Washington Plan projected the appearance of US-Europe cooperation, in the 1950s the US-envisioned limited nuclear war and divided the Western Block. France's exit from the Alliance's military structure and the cooling of the US-French relationship indirectly encouraged European integration and the pursuit of an alternative without the US.

In spite of the changes, the US European policies remain active. Through the State Partnership Program (SPP) virtually every Eastern European nation received US assistance by the early 1990s. Based on the initial successes of the SPP, in 1994, President Clinton announced the Partnership for Peace as a NATO assistance program to strengthen fledgling democracies.¹⁰⁷ Although the US was directly involved in Europe's continued development, it did not get any closer to Western Europe. Interestingly, even the start of Balkan Crisis failed to gain American involvement. After the collapse of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Milosevic-led regime directly provoked the newly-established EU. The Union would not have been able to handle or solve the conflict without US involvement; however, the EU refused to tolerate the direct and indirect (NATO-channeled) US interests. The Union strengthened its military dimension but sidestepped NATO, further damaging transatlantic cooperation. Even on the political front, a number of issues caused rifts. The fading of the American-European partnership was accelerated by numerous events around the turn of the millennium.

Perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to state that the 9/11 terror attacks had a larger influence on the US foreign policy than the November 1989 Fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent end of the Cold War era. this superpower, with a security policy built on the most advanced military capability to ensure security seemed, more vulnerable than ever before. US strategy developed after 9/11 initiated a war against terrorism and also encompassed the fight against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.¹⁰⁸ The military served a key role in this endeavor.

Since traditional diplomatic avenues proved unsuccessful, the Bush administration declared a global war to fight terrorism. The active American participation divided not only international opinion but had the similar effect on the US public. Primarily, accusations were mostly against unilateral involvement, the primacy of military operations, and the avoidance of international cooperation. Bush countered by emphasizing that a response to the extent and brutality of the attacks against the US cannot be limited to diplomatic channels. According to

¹⁰⁶ The Rise of a New Opponent, Peace Becomes Cold War, 1945-1950, American Military History, Army Historical Series, Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, Online: <http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/books/AMH/AMH-24.htm> (December 25, 2003).

¹⁰⁷ BABOS Tibor, ROYER Linda, The Role of the Partnership for Peace Programme and the State Partnership Program in the Process of NATO Enlargement. The Case of Hungarian-Ohio Cooperation, Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, USA, 2003, p. 71.

¹⁰⁸ The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, Online: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html> (December 29, 2003)

the White House, the Islamic fundamentals are not deterred by the defensive military capabilities of the United States, and can always initiate an attack. For this reason, it makes no sense to allow another opportunity for an attack, and the US must take steps against this.¹⁰⁹

Wolfgang Schauble, a former leader of the German parliamentary fraction CDU claims that the reaction to the terror attacks against the US was natural: with a secure financial background, technological capabilities and sincerity, the US formed its plans and solved its problems. Just like de Tocqueville said 175 years earlier, the US citizen knows from birth, in a fight against the devil or during life's challenges, a man can only rely on himself; nobody can stop him if he is able to use his individual strength.¹¹⁰ This was and continues to remain the foundation of American unilateralism. We can be certain, in its own defense and interests, the US is not willing to subordinate itself to terrorists nor even the international community. Since 1916, the Americans have repeatedly demonstrated their willingness to pursue enemies like Pancho Villa, Osama Bin Laden and Saddam Hussein anywhere in the world to serve justice.¹¹¹ Although it appears to be somewhat theatrical, when pursuing evil, for an American, the belief in freedom is undeterred and irrevocable.¹¹²

The nine-chapter National Security Strategy of the United States was published in September 2002 and presents an image of America's view of the world as well as the forces, tools, methods and sources necessary to defend its interests.¹¹³ This strategic concept is nothing less than a declaration of war and a proposal to join forces of international cooperation against terrorism.¹¹⁴ The third chapter categorically states the US will not negotiate or cooperate with terrorists. The most debatable element is the US desire to defend itself, if necessary, without the international community's support.¹¹⁵

It is important to realize that numerous conflicts with military successes failed to guarantee an effective rebuilding of complex societies; the many struggles with this complicated task might be too burdensome without international support. As is evident by the nuclear programs pursued by North Korea and Iran, Washington goes to great lengths through its diplomatic connections to establish an international coalition to resolve these conflicts. A practical explanation is the following: without international cooperation, the political, economic and financial system's mobilization cannot be guaranteed; furthermore, if the US takes action against the will of the international community, it can expect to be forced into a position where it has to complete the task without international assistance. The negative aspects of this are not limited to fiscal drawbacks, but will have effects on public support.

¹⁰⁹ Colin L. POWELL, [A strategy of Partnerships](http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20040101faessay83104/colin-l-powell/a-strategy-of-partnerships.html), (Foreign Affairs, January/February 2004), Online: <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20040101faessay83104/colin-l-powell/a-strategy-of-partnerships.html> (December 29, 2003)

¹¹⁰ Wolfgang SCHAUBLE, [Continuity and Change – the Future of German Foreign Policy](http://www.kas.de/publikationen/2003/1609_dokument.html), (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 14. Marz 2003), Online: http://www.kas.de/publikationen/2003/1609_dokument.html (December 25, 2003)

¹¹¹ [Transition and Change, 1902-1917](http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/books/amh/AMH-16.htm), American Military History, Army Historical Series, Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, Online: <http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/books/amh/AMH-16.htm> (December 28, 2003)

¹¹² Victor Davis HANSON, [The American Way of War](http://www.findarticles.com/cf_dls/m1282/7_55/99623994/p1/article.jhtml), (Look Smart, National Review, April 21, 2003), Online: http://www.findarticles.com/cf_dls/m1282/7_55/99623994/p1/article.jhtml (December 30, 2003)

¹¹³ The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, Online: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html> (December 29, 2003)

¹¹⁴ Ibid., Online: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss4.html> (December 29, 2003)

¹¹⁵ Ibid., Online: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss3.html> (December 29, 2003)

The war against terrorism is much broader than the military dimension, but the military strategy follows the same line of thought. The Pentagon's budget was \$378.5 billion in 2002¹¹⁶ to accomplish the following four tasks:

1. Defend the nation's security
2. Fight and win on all fronts in simultaneous wars
3. Maintain peacekeeping tasks in critical regions
4. Complete major military reforms

Toward this goal, the US intends to maintain its nuclear dominance, increase its active duty troop strength from 1.4 to 1.6 million, reassign troops from the Balkans to Southeast and East Asia to comply with the requirements of the 21st century, complete a selective modernization; continue to develop and implement a global defensive system, track space and computer-based military developments, prepare military and military-technology reforms and increase defense spending to 3.5%.¹¹⁷

America's cooperation with international organizations is paradoxical in the way the Americans continue to lose their dominance on diplomatic fronts in organizations they helped establish. Their inability to implement their will is the leading cause. Since UN decisions are bureaucratic, they are very conducive to compromise and – without its own resources – the organization is unable to prevent and handle issues as it still does not have complete respect of international players. The utilization of bilateral channels to assert compelling interests may further relegate the UN to secondary position.¹¹⁸

This is also true in the US-NATO relationship. The Iraqi conflict definitely caused deterioration of NATO cohesion. Washington contributes the most to UN and NATO budget and military forces. Should Washington opt to decrease its contributions to the UN or NATO, both organizations would likely run out of funds quickly. In NATO, we can be certain, without the support of the nation who, by far, contributes the most – financially and militarily – the organization would be unable to ensure security in Europe. The only rational solution is to revise the fiscal and budgetary procedures. The new structures must be based on a foundation where every participant is motivated. The entrance price into the decision process correlates to the nation fulfilling their agreed-upon level of contribution.

The US expectation was for the EU's large scale increase of responsibilities to decrease America's role – enabling the assertion of its global mission. The US imagined the realization of this concept through NATO, taking up a position in the center of European security policy. In 1998, US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright defined the "3-D rejection" during Europe's preparation of its security pillars this way:

1. Avoid unnecessary institutional, structural and responsibility overlaps (no duplication);
2. Avoid sclerosis of the Alliance's leadership mechanism (no de-coupling);

¹¹⁶ Gary SCHMITT, Memorandum to Opinion Leaders on Defense Budget, (December 16, 2002), Online: <http://www.newamericancentury.org/defense-20021216.htm> (December 29, 2003)

¹¹⁷ Rebuilding America's Defenses, Strategy, Forces and Resources for a New Century, A Report of the Project for the New American Century, September 2000, p. iv, Online: <http://www.newamericancentury.org/RebuildingAmericasDefenses.pdf> (December 29, 2003)

¹¹⁸ Seth G. JONES, The U.N.s Strengths and Weaknesses in Iraq, Rand commentary, San Diego Tribune, February 18, 2004

3. Prohibit differentiation against non-EU NATO members or neutral EU members (no discriminating).

A concern remained behind this 3-D concept about the way the EU would ensure a visible yet flexible separation of its defense policy. More accurately, since ESDP already exists, and the EU will continue to nourish it from NATO assets, ESDP may outgrow the Alliance, becoming independent and possibly able to challenge Washington.

The French-US relationship in bilateral dimensions and international organizations has shown significant disharmony. Paris's interests in the Arab world negatively affected the two-sided relationship and the French preference for ESDP caused a similar outlook for the US within NATO. The US countered, threatening to exclude France from the Alliance's military consultation and to implement economic sanctions by excluding France from the Iraq rebuilding process.¹¹⁹

Germany joined France's position in 2003, creating additional challenges for US foreign policy. The outstanding US-German relationship since the 1950s was worsened by the Schroeder Cabinet's pacifist policies and occasional anti-US rhetoric. It did not do much for their bilateral relationship when Berlin joined the Paris-led anti-Washington coalition. When the German Secretary of Justice compared Bush to Hitler, she only added more fuel to the fire.¹²⁰ Both countries felt that, this relationship not only cooled, but was poisoned.¹²¹

Originally, driven by its own interests in Iraq and following its own strategic path in the hope of success, Russia joined the French-led group. The initial military successes forced Putin to treat Bush as a strategic partner and not to allow political showmanship to undermine this nexus.¹²² The events of December 2003 altered the Washington-Paris-Berlin-Moscow relationship. Washington managed to steer the cooperation possibilities towards economics of Iraq's reconstruction and the handling that nation's huge debt, providing possibilities between the four capitals.¹²³

The changes Bush made, directly after the election, show an unusual sense of logic. Dr. Condoleezza Rice became the head of the US foreign policy team and Bush's desire to maintain and continue his previous policies became evident, as did his intent to be more pragmatic but also more successful asserting US interests. After the election, the American diplomacy changed direction, shifting even further to the right. Rice is an international relations and security policy expert, likely to pursue more dynamic and broader realist policies. This means nothing more than the possibility of maintaining the extent of military involvement; however, the complimentary diplomatic steps are likely to be more pro-active and prudent. The need to move from unilateral to multi-lateral direction was necessitated by Powell's failures especially his loss of confidence in the international and domestic arena.

¹¹⁹ Paul REYNOLDS, Q&A: US-French relations on ice, (BBC News, April 23, 2003), Online: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/2969329.stm> (January 2, 2004)

¹²⁰ John HOOPER, US-German relations strained over Iraq, The Guardian, September 22, 2002, Online: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/elsewhere/journalist/story/0,7792,798291,00.html> (January 2, 2004)

¹²¹ Ivo H. DAALDER, U.S.-German Relations After the Elections, American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, John Hopkins University, Online: <http://www.aicgs.org/research/focus2002/daalder.shtml> (January 2, 2004)

¹²² Lisa MCADAMS, Russian-US Relations, (Iraq Crisis Bulletin, March 20, 2003), Online: http://www.iraqcrisisbulletin.com/archives/032003/html/russian-us_relations.html (January 2, 2004)

¹²³ US-French relations thaw during Baker visit, (Times Online, December 16, 2003), Online: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,1-934401,00.html> (January 2, 2004)

The Iraqi interim elections on January 30, 2005 were major challenges for the US domestic audience. The brutal threats, dozens of attacks, and many victims did not deter eight million Iraqis--more than 60% of the voting-eligible population--from legitimizing the new parliament and the government, underscoring Bush's Iraqi policies. The successful election had long-range effects. Since such democratic elections are completely unknown in the region, the implementation of the American democracy's model in Iraq faced serious challenges in the Islamic community especially in Iran, Syria and Saudi Arabia. The dominant sectors in these nations feel directly threatened and are afraid the American democracy's ideologies will infect the Islam community. The other outcome of the Iraqi election's success is displayed in the transatlantic relationship. Directly before the election, significant European political and military assets were withdrawn from Iraq. After the successful election, the view of many European allies changed for the better. Diplomatically, these changes were positive for US diplomacy. We must also realize, the level of Bush's support is low and the heated conflicts with Iraq, Iran, Near East and North Korea could further erode it. From this situation, there is only one escape, a coordinated US diplomacy, a larger role in handling international responsibility and a simultaneous decrease in relying on its own strengths and resources. In this complicated situation, Europe, in all likelihood, will continue to count primarily on the United States.

Taking all this into consideration, we can safely project the American foreign policy of the near future will not change significantly from the current practice. It is not about to sacrifice its technological advantage or the freedom of military action but – as Powell stated – Washington's foreign policy plans to place more emphasis on unifying international cooperation and building the practical element of partnership.¹²⁴

1.7. Russia

The Romanov Dynasty gained control of Russia in the 17th century, strengthening its position in Eastern Europe. By the 19th century, the tsar's empire contained a portion of North America, Eastern and Central Asia and Eastern Europe. The Russian losses of World War I and the quickly expanding industrialization brought about the demise of the feudal tsarist empire in 1917, Lenin and later Stalin established and perpetuated the communist Soviet Union. After emerging on the winning side of the World War II, it continued to build the communist world order until 1991, when it collapsed due to political and economic issues. Since then, the 15 successor states have attempted to change a centralized economic policy and totalitarian government to a market-based and democratic system.¹²⁵ Russia has the biggest land mass, is the wealthiest in natural resources, is a permanent UN Security Council and G-8 member, strategic partner of NATO, nuclear superpower, and a significant player in European security.

In the 19th century, Russia became an important participant on the European scene. The population in this feudal nation increased from 36 million to 135 million in just 100 years. Its agricultural output expanded, its military force strengthened, and the tsar's

¹²⁴ Colin L. POWELL, [A strategy of Partnerships](http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20040101faessay83104/colin-l-powell/a-strategy-of-partnerships.html), (Foreign Affairs, January/February 2004), Online: <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20040101faessay83104/colin-l-powell/a-strategy-of-partnerships.html> (December 29, 2003)

¹²⁵ [Background, Introduction, Russia](http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/rs.html), The World Fact Book, Central Intelligence Agency of the United States, Online: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/rs.html> (March 6, 2004)

ambitions grew. As a result of the 1804-1813 war with Persia, the Russian Empire gained Georgia, Deghastan and Shemakha; thus, the majority of the Caucasus fell under Russian control. The simultaneously fought Russia-Ottoman (1806-1812) and the Russia-Sweden (1808-1809) wars led to the annexation of Bessarabia and Finland. Russian explorers and prospectors appeared in North America, from Alaska to California.¹²⁶

During the Congress of Vienna Agreement, Alexander I represented Russia as an empire, taking position on Europe's eastern wing. In 1815, Russia approached Europe not only in terms of military power, but also on cultural and religious grounds. Signing the Holy Union military cooperation agreement with the Austrian Franz I and the Prussian Kaiser Wilhelm III, the tsar claimed the three powers would guide the European future in a Christian way.¹²⁷ After strengthening its power base, the Russian Empire initiated wars against the Persians (1826-1828) and the Turks (1828-1829) gaining Armenia and the entire Caspian Sea and the western portion of the Black Sea. On the Far East, by 1847, the empire gained Turkmenistan and all of Siberia.¹²⁸

The Crimean War (1853-1856) destroyed the European cooperation, as the French defeated the Russians, forcing them out of the Balkans and Black Sea area. However, in the Far East, Russia made significant strides when the Aigun and Beijing Agreements, which enabled Russian annexation of the region north of Amur and the Ussuri region. Here, Russia established Vladivostok in 1860. Russia conquered Kazakhstan in 1854, Deghastan in 1859 and Uzbekistan in 1876. However, Russian prospectors were forced out of California and since the tsar did not view Alaska to be strategically significant, he sold the peninsula to the US in 1867.¹²⁹

The industrial revolution reached Russia in the 19th century affecting its productivity, and heavy industry from central and military orders grew by 8%.¹³⁰ The appearance of industrial workers and wide social differences became fertile grounds during the nascence of Marxist ideology: the Social Democratic Party was established in 1898 followed soon by the Social Revolutionary Party in 1901.

The tsar's Far East military maneuvers added East Manchuria to the empire and military operations toward Korea were followed up by the Russia-Japan War (1904-1905). Losing the war destroyed the tsar's credibility within the empire and open criticism of his failures, afforded massive popularity to the people's movements. Strikes and passive resistance increased, as did atrocities committed and armed interventions, which directly endangered the empire.¹³¹

The European struggles and solidifying of the opposing powers led the United Kingdom and France to look for allies in the East. With the British-French-Russian *Entente*, Russia established its role in European politics for decades. When the Germans declared war against Russia in August 1914, the tsar's Russian Empire was the largest and strongest in the world. Military losses and internal conflicts allowed popularized the Social Democratic Party,

¹²⁶ Russia, Eastern Europe and the Balkans, 1762-1914, The Encyclopedia of World History, Bartleby.com, Great Books Online, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1256.html> (December 29, 2003)

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1033.html#c5p00485> (December 29, 2003)

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, Online <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1258.html> (December 29, 2003)

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, Online <http://www.bartleby.com/67/955.html#c5p00010> (December 29, 2003)

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1261.html> (December 29, 2003)

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/1262.html> (January 4, 2004)

with a radical nucleus strengthening the Bolsheviks. On November 7, 1917 in alliance with the revolutionary military forces, the Bolsheviks took control of the Tsar's central economic offices, depriving the Romanov Dynasty of the power it maintained for over 300 years. On November 9, Lenin (with Stalin representing minority issues and Trotsky as the people's representative on foreign issues), established a new government,, which promptly dissolved the Tsar's military and formed the Red Army.¹³²

During the Great Revolution (1918-1920) the Bolshevik government brutally annihilated every political opponent and ensured communists had leadership posts in all former Russian colonies. In the 1920s, the Soviet Union struggled with major economic, political and social crises. Lenin's educational, social and other reforms were consolidated as Stalin when he gained power. In the 1930s, lands and factories were nationalized, taken under direct government control. More than 1,500 factories were built and the nation's industrial development increased by 14% annually. The Soviet Union was ready, by the late 1930s, to assume its role as a major power. In 1939, it signed the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, dividing Poland between Germany and Russia. Subsequently, Russian forces entered Poland and after taking control of the Baltic States, Stalin declared war against Finland.¹³³ However, the imperialist Stalin leadership did not anticipate Germany's initiation of an undeclared war against Russian territories on June 22, 1941.

The East-West polarization, based on antagonistic ideologies, became evident after World War II. The different political viewpoints escalated with Stalin's global ambitions serving as a generator for domination. Although the Soviet Union repelled the Nazi invasion, the nation lost 20 million people, suffering the biggest losses in World War II. Nevertheless, behind the motto: "Communism gloriously defeated Nazism", the Soviet Union started to redevelop quickly and Stalin realigned the government structure. Initially, he centralized it then turned his self-led administration into a cult. In 1946, he announced the fourth 5-year plan increasing expectations by 50% compared to pre-war standards. He kept the World War II-liberated countries under his control installing Moscow-friendly dictatorships,¹³⁴

Taking the Marxist-Leninist ideology to extremes, Stalin mobilized the military potential of communism to defeat capitalism. The military maneuvers displayed during several Berlin crises confirmed his lack of interest for cooperating with western European powers.¹³⁵ Stalin's isolation from the West gave reasons for more misunderstandings, resulting in both sides increasing their military potential, as they believed this to be the only available security guarantee. In order to avoid subsequent problems and to have the military might to respond, the arms race started diminishing the possibility of cooperation between the major powers. The West was convinced that communist expansion was not just a slogan, but that Moscow really intended to destroy capitalist societies.¹³⁶ These views were clearly confirmed in Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968) and Poland (1981-1982). We must also realize that the reason a full response did not take place in Poland is because the Polish leader Jaruzelsky implemented martial law before the Warsaw Pact could intervene.

¹³² *Ibid.*, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/2064.html> (January 4, 2004)

¹³³ *Ibid.*, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/2079.html> (January 4, 2004)

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/s7.2.9.24> (January 4, 2004)

¹³⁵ *The Rise of a New Opponent*, Peace Becomes Cold War, 1945-1950, American Military History, Army Historical Series, Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, Online: <http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/books/AMH/AMH-24.htm> (December 25, 2003)

¹³⁶ *The Rise of a New Opponent*, Peace Becomes Cold War, 1945-1950, American Military History, Army Historical Series, Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, Online: <http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/books/AMH/AMH-24.htm> (December 25, 2003)

The military-dominated Soviet economy and societal politics were characterized by unique but constant erosions. A lack of motivation to excel coupled with the over-financing of military, secret police and “normal” police functions led to significant deficits for the Soviet communist party. In the early 1980s, other crises surfaced in the Kremlin: the sudden deaths of First Party Secretaries Brezhnev, Andropov and Chernenko caused a leadership vacuum in the Soviet Union. To avoid the total collapse of the cult, the old establishment nominated a young and dynamic reformer, the 56-year old Gorbachev, to the First Party Secretary post in 1985.¹³⁷

When the economic deficits became increasingly evident, Gorbachev tried to compensate with a more open foreign policy and by practical implementation of the arms limitation agreements.¹³⁸ With the introduction of *Glasnost* and *Perestroika*, the new Soviet leadership wanted to identify the communism’s historic problems and contradictions. After facing facts, he proclaimed a type of communist unity.¹³⁹ As a result of reduced international tensions, as well as internal dissonance with economic, political, and social matters, democratic orientation surfaced in communist states across Central and Eastern Europe. In the 1980s, democratization grew in strength and Gorbachev ushered change. The Central and Eastern European nations were joined later by former Soviet republics when they turned against Moscow, abandoning the Warsaw Pact and CMEA, and claim independence. In December 1991, the communist form of government established in 1917 collapsed, ending the world’s bipolarity.

Chaos and dejection dominated the nation’s post-Soviet Union foreign policy. The intensive social and economic crises were coupled with ideological schizophrenia, political trauma and identity crisis. The nation needed half a decade to reconstruct the society and consolidate circumstances within its borders. By the mid-90s, the usual characteristics of Russian foreign policy – resurrect its place within Europe and the world – became evident.¹⁴⁰ After the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) was established and a strategic partnership was signed with the US, NATO, EU and numerous leading European powers, the desire to win back the lost global position characterized Russian foreign policy. Today, Moscow’s most important foreign policy goals are to retain and strengthen the domination over the CIS and to defend the ethnic Russian population outside current borders. Integrating the more than a dozen ethnic populations and nations within Russia is the central focus of the Kremlin’s policymakers.

¹³⁷ [The Collapse of the Soviet Union, www.HistoryOrb.com](http://www.historyorb.com/russia/intro.shtml), Online: <http://www.historyorb.com/russia/intro.shtml> (January 3, 2004)

¹³⁸ [The Estimates and the End of the Cold War, At Cold War's End: US Intelligence on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, 1989-1991](http://www.cia.gov/csi/books/19335/art-1.html#rtoc8), (History Staff, Center for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, 1999), Online: <http://www.cia.gov/csi/books/19335/art-1.html#rtoc8> (December 29, 2003)

¹³⁹ [The Collapse of the Soviet Union, www.HistoryOrb.com](http://www.historyorb.com/russia/intro.shtml), Online: <http://www.historyorb.com/russia/intro.shtml> (January 3, 2004)

¹⁴⁰ Tatyana PARKHALINA, [Impacts of Domestic and Regional Factors on Russia’s Foreign and Security Policy](http://www.fsk.ethz.ch/documents/studies/volume_1/Parkhalina.htm#Impacts%20of%20Domestic%20and%20Regional%20Factors%20on%20Russia's%20Foreign%20and%20Security%20Policy), Kurt R. SPILLMANN, Andreas WENGER (eds.) with the assistance of Derek MÜLLER and Jeronim PEROVIC, Volume 1: Russia's Place in Europe: A Security Debate, (Bern, 1999) Online: http://www.fsk.ethz.ch/documents/studies/volume_1/Parkhalina.htm#Impacts%20of%20Domestic%20and%20Regional%20Factors%20on%20Russia's%20Foreign%20and%20Security%20Policy (December 29, 2003)



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Ten years after the Soviet collapse, the Putin-led cabinet managed to consolidate domestic power and this stability resulted in changes of Russian foreign policy dynamics. Seemingly, the foreign policy became moderate and reserved resulting in a stronger stance in the Russian-French, Russian-German and Russian-British cooperation. After resolving domestic problems, Moscow's Europe-oriented political ambitions and tactics became more refined. The constant ESDP-NATO and EU-US confrontations are definitely advantageous for Moscow's interest assertions. Moscow tries to utilize its European favoritism to overcome its weaknesses as the traditionally contradictory views between Russia-US and Russia-NATO surface. For this reason, the Russians benefit from the ESDP-induced transatlantic waves by targeting the anti-NATO and the increasingly Europe-oriented nations. Primarily because Russia's military capacity is not at parity with NATO, it is very hard-pressed to maintain pace with the transatlantic military alliance. In contrast, the Union's strength is severely restricted and its maneuvers are only in framework form, a factor advantageous for the Kremlin.

Today, Russia's domestic and foreign policy rest upon two pillars: 1) maintain its major power status – more accurately the perception of this image – with specific steps; and 2) reach the aforementioned through diplomatic maneuvers.¹⁴² Even with NATO expansion, the Kremlin protested only on tactical grounds. The protest brought domestic and foreign policy benefits. It demanded attention and ultimately legitimizing Russian domestic and foreign policies.¹⁴³

Various maneuvers remain behind Russia-US, Russia-NATO and Russia-EU relationships today. Moscow's first goal is not cooperation or even integration, but to reach parity status by institutionalizing its previous superpower status and the freedom to pursue its own national aims. Putin warned the US before the coalition started the attack against Iraq

¹⁴¹ The Russian Federation, 2000, Bartleby.com, Online: <http://www.bartleby.com/67/russia06.html> (October 15, 2006)

¹⁴² Kurt R. SPILLMANN, Andreas WENGER (eds.) with the assistance of Derek MÜLLER and Jeronim PEROVIC, General Introduction, Volume 1: Russia's Place in Europe: A Security Debate, (Bern, 1999) Online: http://www.fsk.ethz.ch/documents/studies/volume_1/Parkhalina.htm#Impacts%20of%20Domestic%20and%20Regional%20Factors%20on%20Russia's%20Foreign%20and%20Security%20Policy (December 29, 2003)

¹⁴³ Mark A. SMITH, The Axis of Evil: The Russian Approach, (Conflict Studies Research Center, F83, July 2003), p. 2., Online: http://da.mod.uk/CSRC/Home/Russian_Foreign_Policy/F83 (January 6, 2004)

about the serious consequences the invasion would have on Middle East and world security. On the Russia-US or the Russia-NATO front, Moscow always considers the potential losses and gains of its rhetorical battles with the West.¹⁴⁴ The fact is, significant calculations are made before Putin takes foreign policy steps. Weakening the West's cohesion and proving Russia remains a strategic factor are fundamental factors.

Moscow concentrates its European policies on the European Union's main axle, the French-German cooperation. Russian foreign policy is aware that European Security and Defense Policy's future as well as EU prosperity rests on France's political direction and the German's continued willingness to finance it. The Putin-cabinet rekindled the now traditional Moscow-Paris cooperation and practices respectable and credible policies with Berlin. The latter is based partly on the Russian desire to decrease its national debt through favorable economic investment opportunities.

Denying the Alliance is at the core of Russian security policy. Although politically NATO and Russia have ambassadorial-level diplomatic relationship, actual cooperation with the organization through the PfP program receives only superficial support. A basic observation of the Russian-NATO relationship is that the Alliance must exert much energy to establish the cooperation framework and since Moscow is not likely to provide any type of financial assistance to joint activities, NATO can have tangible results only if it is willing to manage and finance the activity.

During the cool relationship after the Kosovo intervention, NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson attempted to normalize the relationship. In February 2000 the promised consultations with experts were only partially supported by the Russian administration. The NATO-Russia summit in Rome in May 2002 can be considered significant for this bilateral relationship. The newly established NATO-Russia Council started its activity with great vehemence and true political dialogue commenced on previously frozen topics. Moscow's leadership continued to display a closed mind to the Alliance's strategic concept. Moscow's political rhetoric opposed NATO but supported ESDP and always took advantage of opportunities to criticize NATO weaknesses and its exclusionary character.

It is significant to note that since assuming power Putin's displays usually relay the political promises to his partners just as they prefer to hear them. It is also apparent that these messages remain political rhetoric and only a minuscule portion is realized. This behavior not only enhances sympathy on a domestic level, but is clearly evident now how Putin's theatrical foreign policy objections before the 2004 election were meant for domestic consumption to win the election. Voters delivered the expected outcome.

In contrast, from the western view, the inconsistent domestic reforms and the very hectic economic situation are the real problems. This is rather discouraging since the domestic attempts coupled with external support provide little hope, and the frequent disappearance of the western subvention funds, the lack of progress in reforms all seem to support this theory; Moscow continues to manipulate and maneuver against the West. The trauma of losing an empire continues to create serious emotional problems for the Russian government and society, directly affecting Euro-Atlantic interaction. Brussels must realize

¹⁴⁴ Lisa MCADAMS, Russian-US Relations, (Iraq Crisis Bulletin, March 20, 2003), Online: http://www.iraqcrisisbulletin.com/archives/032003/html/russian-us_relations.html (January 2, 2004)

the geo-strategic effect of NATO and EU expansions they are very likely to continue receiving negative responses from Moscow.

The mentioned Russian diplomatic practice can be beneficial only in the short term. In advance of the 2003 Iraqi invasion, Russia ardently opposed US invasion at the UN, but this must be interpreted as Russia's inability – alone or with French and German assistance – to block the US from the use of military force. From the other side, had Moscow worked together with Washington, the huge gap between the Russian and American military and economic potentials would have been clearly evident, something Putin did not want to “publicize”. In paradox, Moscow's rhetoric urged the development of an international government, although was unable to produce tangible capabilities toward this goal. Just as shown in 1999 with Kosovo, and 2003 with Iraq, Russia is quite capable of mobilizing its diplomacy during crises and creating a counter-force to oppose Washington. However, in the end, when the American stance gains momentum in the UN, Moscow is one of the first to stand in unison with the world's remaining superpower.¹⁴⁵

The new Russian strategic concept clearly shows how theory fundamentally differs from doctrine. It recognizes domestic factors (i.e. economic crisis, social issues and ethnic tensions) as the primary dangers ahead of external military threats. Since Russia does not anticipate direct external military threat from any country, it intends to resolve domestic difficulties and continue to develop its resources. In contrast with every previous Russian Empire and Soviet concept, the current strategy is to rely on civil society, laws and the building of a market economy. In its external policies, it is prepared to cooperate with pragmatic and consequent dialogue.¹⁴⁶ There are, however, worrying elements. To defend minority interests in the non-Russian regions, it visualizes the feasibility of preventive military operations. The discriminating politics against non-Russian groups and subordinating the military under the president's leadership (in compliance with the 1992 constitution) imply that Russia considers itself a true world power.¹⁴⁷ In addition, the current defensive doctrines state, in the case of an attack against the nation or its allies, Russia is not about to discount the possible use of nuclear weapons.

Looking at Russia's military and defensive capability, the picture we see is extreme and contradictory. The million-strong military has an estimated \$10 billion budget. When comparing these data to many western-European power centers, we can visualize numerous risk factors. The military maintains a force that is 6-7 times the size of the German, British or French military; nevertheless, the Russian defense budget does not even reach 25% of any of these nations. In the military structure, it is quite strange to see strategic missiles and military space programs remaining as independent branches, equal with traditional land, air and maritime forces. When we also consider that the majority of the military technology is of Soviet origin and antiquated, that Russia's new weapon system introduction index is exceptionally low, overall training is obsolete, and the military's prestige extremely low. The

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Kurt R. SPILLMANN, Andreas WENGER (eds.) with the assistance of Derek MÜLLER and Jeronim PEROVIC, General Introduction, Volume 1: Russia's Place in Europe: A Security Debate, (Bern, 1999) Online: http://www.fsk.ethz.ch/documents/studies/volume_1/Parkhalina.htm#Impacts%20of%20Domestic%20and%20Regional%20Factors%20on%20Russia's%20Foreign%20and%20Security%20Policy (December 29, 2003)

¹⁴⁷ Russian Armed Forces: Perspectives of Military Reform and Evolution of the Military Doctrine, Institute for Strategic Assesments, Online: <http://www.nato.int/acad/fellow/97-99/konov-oznob.pdf> (March 6, 2004)

overall picture is scary. Right now, two-thirds of Russian officers live below the poverty level, and during their two-year term conscripts earn approximately \$5 per month.¹⁴⁸

Beside economic and social difficulties, and the catastrophic shape of the military, perhaps Russia's biggest security risk stems from the Cold War--the safe maintenance of its gigantic nuclear arsenal. According to the US Department of Energy, Russia possesses 600 tons of highly enriched uranium, 700 tons of weapon-grade uranium and 165 tons of plutonium.¹⁴⁹ Although Moscow signed on to the Nunn-Lugar Program allowing international inspectors to participate in nuclear reduction programs, the Kremlin severely restricts the extent of their participation. Above all, the Russian government proclaimed on numerous occasions, it is not able to safely store and inspect its nuclear arsenal. No thorough guarantees exist to preclude a major nuclear mishap, nor can Russia ensure the prevention of nuclear transfer to unauthorized hands, and doubts exist whether the claimed nuclear reductions actually resulted in destruction. This situation leads to great uncertainty and, in light of the aforementioned issues, also leads the question: What strategic purpose is served by maintaining the current arsenal?¹⁵⁰

The Kremlin's ethnic policies and relationships towards minorities and ethnic groups presents a serious security risk. Nearly 120 ethnic groups are represented in the territory of Russia, from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean, in a land mass which exceeds the surface area of some continents. Lenin claimed that with communism, nationalities would disappear and a new communist man would appear on the scene. This contention was clearly rejected by Russian nationalism.¹⁵¹ As the on-going Chechen crisis undeniably confirms, the national and ethnic conflicts started in the 1980s with the instability of the Russian leadership did not end with the collapse of the Soviet Union.¹⁵² Paradoxically, the Putin-led government does not hesitate to introduce force to resolve independence-oriented ethnic conflicts within its borders. Unfortunately, he does not seem to have any constructive solutions either. In their absence, we can be certain, the current situation cannot be perpetually stabilized.

The 9/11 issue also belongs here. These events helped Putin strengthen his centralized position on domestic issues, to justify a stricter force implementation. Moscow used this to legitimize its attacks against Chechnya. We must also recognize, the post-Cold War Russian foreign policy, including the warming of relations with the US after 9/11 and the subsequent French-German-Russian-Chinese coalition, may be credited not to common values but to common goals. As historical examples also warn us, Russian foreign and domestic policies are not permanent, but are variable factors of international relationships. The challenge remains how a country used to centralized control and execution for centuries will be able to contain an area of 6,659,406 square miles with almost 149 million residents in 49 states, 21 republics, 10 autonomous regions, 120 ethnic groups, and 8 different religions. All of this in

¹⁴⁸ Fred WEIR, [Iraqi Defeat Jolts Russian Military](http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/0416/p06s01-woiq.html), The Christian Science Monitor, April 16, 2003, Online: <http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/0416/p06s01-woiq.html> (December 29, 2003)

¹⁴⁹ [Weapons of Mass Destruction, The Major Nuclear Treaties, The Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons \(NPT\)](http://www.fas.org/irp/threat/uk_wmd/40706.htm#a18), Minutes of Evidence, Eighth Report, Foreign Affairs, Online: http://www.fas.org/irp/threat/uk_wmd/40706.htm#a18 (December 29, 2003)

¹⁵⁰ [Memorandum Submitted by Professor Robert O'neill](http://www.fas.org/irp/threat/uk_wmd/0040403.htm), Minutes of Evidence, Foreign Affairs, Online: http://www.fas.org/irp/threat/uk_wmd/0040403.htm (December 29, 2003)

¹⁵¹ [Ethnic problems in the Soviet Union](http://www.historyorb.com/russia/ethnic_problems.shtml), www.historyorb.com, Online: http://www.historyorb.com/russia/ethnic_problems.shtml (December 29, 2003)

¹⁵² Jeff THOMAS, [The Chechen War after the Fall of Grozny](http://www.csis.org/ruseura/ex002.html), CSIS, February 14, 2000, Online: <http://www.csis.org/ruseura/ex002.html> (January 5, 2004)

the midst of global democratization. If Moscow is not up to the task, what forces will enter the bastions of the Kremlin?

1.8. Balance of Power

Common interests constantly realign the continent's security, as they have always done. Europe's fate has often been determined primarily by the independent desires and interest collaborations of major powers, while smaller nations were limited to supporting roles. France, Germany, Russia and the United Kingdom had the biggest roles, and they influenced events across the European continent and within its adjacent regions.

Throughout history, we have seen how interest assertion and political influence of the leading powers changed to comply with the given circumstances, albeit often they were not consequent in their actions and international relations. Unknown effects have provided and will continue to provide uncertainty. The reaction by major powers will add to this. Paradoxically, major powers always reserve the right to consider the effects of their decisions in terms of their own interests, then select the best national alternative, even if the choice contradicts previous decisions. Naturally, they try to limit the frequency and the effects of these actions. In light of this, we can state that momentary interests and happenstance--not a sense of permanence--often determine the extent of cooperation between major powers.

The analysis is complicated not only by participants with active and passive policies, but also because some the viewpoints of governments change based on the given situations. Consider the way active players try to influence passive ones, and the level of influence needed to affect them varies dramatically. We can conclude the types of national reactions displayed may differ, even on identical stimuli, for nations can analyze different situations in similar ways. Another peculiarity is the way different and dynamic challenges polarize force centers. They quickly take positions between the often extreme and most notable options. In the midst of today's circumstances, ad hoc alliances often surface bilaterally, based on a given issue's interests, not necessarily through established organizations or with traditional responsibilities.

Since mutual distrust is always present in European activities, the participants are driven to decrease the unknown variables and risk factors. This requires them to establish alliances for their international agreements, norms, and foreign policies, as well as the necessity of a strong domestic defense system. Uncertain factors, like the intensity of arms races or regional conflicts, necessitate higher-level cooperation and coalition forming, while the absence of common dangers is likely to increase ambitions and confrontations.

The use of power is a basic factor in the implementation of a nation's interest to gain attention in the international arena. Power is indivisible: increasing one of its elements will cause a proportionate decrease with another. Historical examples clearly show power ambitions and imbalance have serious consequences. In the event the ambition is coupled with distrust or extreme ideology, international cooperation often results in irreversible situations such as armed conflict. Maintaining a rational structure of power division is a fundamental requirement of stable international cooperation.

Before and after the world wars, every nation looked for allies. The winning coalitions established security architecture to maximally guarantee against the return of external threats. Although cooperation between the leading powers soon became utopist due to the expanding ideological differences, coalition forming lived a renaissance. The eastern powers maintained the motto: “World’s proletariat unite!” and the first NATO Secretary General Lord Ismay characterized the role of the Alliance as: “Keep the Germans down, the Russians out, and the Americans in!”. In other words, counter the potential German awakening and be afraid of the “Red peril.” The British and French expected American defensive assistance. Barely a decade later, consolidating the aftereffects and the forming of the first nuclear groupings in the realigned strategic situation, France confronted the Americans politically and the British industrially, while seeking cooperation with the ancient enemy Germany. The bipolarity of the Cold War clouded the fault lines within the blocks; cooperation continued, but emerging issues began to weaken with cracks at the seams of the Alliance.

The security situation after the Cold War, in terms of the cooperation between the leading powers, demonstrates a special continuity: after the collapse of communism, the winners did not cooperate and numerous newer polarity alternatives surfaced. We can visualize the basic criteria for the new coalitions and how long they would remain, but it is certain that the two blocks of the past 50 years are now history. Taking the economic and political performance and reserves into consideration, it seems, beside the North American and European force concentrations, the Far East will most likely retain a significant position. Of course, a shift in the balance of power should be expected. Although there was no significant movement on the European continent for quite some time, minor shifts between Germany, United Kingdom and France are expected. In the Far East, the economic direction previously provided by Japan, South Korea and Taiwan was taken over by China in this century.

Gross Domestic Product (2003)

Rank	Country	GDP (\$ billion)*
1.	European Union	11,050
2.	USA	10,990
3.	China	6,449
4.	Japan	3,582
5.	India	3,033
6.	Germany	2,271
7.	United Kingdom	1,666
8.	France	1,661
9.	Italy	1,550
10.	Brazil	1,375
11.	Russia	1,282
12.	Canada	959
13.	Mexico	941
14.	Spain	886
15.	South Korea	858
16.	Indonesia	759
17.	Australia	571
18.	Taiwan	529
19.	Iran	478
20.	Thailand	478

*Rounded to nearest billion.

Source: CIA, The Word Fact Book (2005).¹⁵³

In terms of military expenditures, the picture is somewhat different:

Military Expenditures Per Nation (2003)

Rank	Country	Defense budget* (\$ million)
1.	USA	370,700
2.	China	60,000
3.	France	45,238
4.	United Kingdom	42,837
5.	Japan	42,488
6.	Germany	35,063
7.	Italy	28,183
8.	Saudi-Arabia	18,000
9.	South Korea	14,522
10.	Australia	14,120
11.	India	14,019
12.	Turkey	12,155
13.	Brazil	10,439
14.	Russia*	10,000
15.	Spain	9,907
16.	Canada	9,802
17.	Israel	9,110
18.	Netherlands	8,044
19.	Taiwan	7,612
20.	Greece	7,289

* Figures rounded to nearest million. Russia not in original source
Source: CIA, The Word Fact Book (2005).¹⁵⁴

The tables unequivocally indicate, the US is the lone superpower. In 2003, the US had a military budget above the combined total of the next fifteen nations. Since the US does not pursue the Roman Empire's hegemony and a world government did not materialize, the power balance of the future is rather open and liberally controlled. We can expect Washington to take steps against threats, but the outcome of potential confrontations against the world's leading powers (i.e. China, India, Russia and Saudi Arabia) remains unpredictable.

The development of today's medium range power relationship was coded by events in late 2004 and early 2005. The EU constitution issue and the security system's establishment, Bush and Putin re-elections, and the Iraqi interim elections allow us to project few changes before 2008. US dominance in the global security architecture has not diminished.

In the 1990s, an economic and political entity appeared in international relations that generated gravitational force to enhance European interaction and security adjustments. With increasing population density. As the first table shows, the EU is on economic parity with the US. This economic power leads to political influence and provides new strength for Western and Eastern European nations to unite. This is a definite alternative to counter the US hegemony. Although the process to determine what concepts will be used to build Europe's

¹⁵³ CIA, The Word Fact Book, Online:
<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/rankorder/2001rank.html> (February 8, 2005)

¹⁵⁴ CIA, The Word Fact Book, Online:
<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/rankorder/2067rank.html> (February 8, 2005)

power balance, the clashes between France, Germany and the United Kingdom to gain the upper hand to lead the EU and control its political direction is very much evident. The outcome of this battle and its actual stand will determine the type and quality of the transatlantic cooperation. In this view, the alternative of this relationship can be simplified: the EU force contributions increase proportionately as US influence decreases. Cooperation built on two pillars will be stronger and more balanced. The alternative is escalating confrontations, eventually dividing the West.

Interests of the major powers also surface at European security organizational levels; EU and NATO members must face conflicting views and often resolve them on “domestic” issues. The previously unshakable coalitions are subject to suddenly animated or even radical changes. Who would have thought a conflict as far away as Iraq could surface so much dissonance and split the Old Continent? Differences show the fragility of the continent’s seemingly stable balance of power. European domestic divisions affect not only the Union, but world politics and security.

In conclusion, we have no proof to claim a safer, more democratic and liberal world as the successor to the previous bipolar environment. Although globalization and interdependence brought the major powers closer to one another, these circumstances ensured a more favorable environment for the ambitions to surface and also to allow the key players to utilize their strengths to their individual advantage. The dialectics of international relationships reactivated diplomacy and the ad hoc interests and value-based energetic changes are now displayed. If there are no permanent alliances and no permanent enemies, then current alliances can indeed end. In order to avoid conflict and retain stability throughout this realignment, there is no better guarantee than to split power between force centers, maintain balance of power, and deepen their interdependence. Only a multi-layered, delicately balanced control system can guarantee the will of the majority through strict defense mechanisms by bringing attention to the smallest deviations. According to Hungarian poet Endre Ady, to be successful in every circumstance: “Either we will have a true world, or we will have nothing.”¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ ADY Endre, Emlékezés Táncsics Mihályra, Híres idézetek Tőle, Kelemen Kata honlapja, Online: http://www.kaposnet.hu/kata/ady_4.htm (September 2, 2003)

Chapter 2

Global Security Changes and New European Security Trends

*When the giant's war ends,
the midget's starts.*
Winston Churchill

2.1. Introduction

In the 1980s, the end of the opposing stance between East and West resulted in a new global strategic situation. The Central and Eastern European states parted with socialism and centralized government declaring a West-oriented social system. This tendency resulted in wide-ranging disintegration, albeit with integration tendencies. The changes in Central and Eastern Europe radically revised the world's political appearance and the resulting changes are still determining factors on the continent. With the relatively new, more layered and unstable situation, the security factors, danger sources and risk factors were expanded and received different emphasis. Relegated to secondary position during the Cold War, the other founding elements of security — economic, financial, religious, environmental, public safety, national, ethnic, cultural and migration problems – now moved to the foreground.

Europe and the connecting region's security is still characterized by comprehensive historical changes, dynamic reconstruction, marketing and political competition, economic, political and military integration, regionalization, localization and nationalization. The world order established at the end of World War II started to lose its dynamics during the changes taking place in the late 1980s. These new global power centers started to form in North America, Europe and Asia. The American and European economic potential played a major role in this process. Paradoxically, the disappearance of three primary security factors (the Soviet Union, Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) failed to make the West more secure or less vulnerable, and overall security was not enhanced. A few questions arose: what was the reason? How did global security consolidate after the Cold War? And what are the new risk factors to affect Europe's future?

This chapter's goals are to briefly identify the motivation for priorities, study the global security challenges and relevant international processes that characterize and influence our daily lives. The topics of this chapter are security challenges, risk factors, their revisions, and how they fundamentally influence permanent values. Their basic importance justifies a continuous examination. We will develop the effects of risk factors in two sub-chapters, from generic toward specific, followed by global and European security dimensions, concluding with a comparison of the two.

2.2. Global Security Mutation

2.2.1. Post-Cold War Security Characteristics

From the 1980s, the post-Cold War security processes started in stages of dominant global democratization trends; however, the continuously evolving dynamics confronted one another and subsequently changed constantly. Although European security is much more stabilized, the post-bipolar world became much more complex, unstable and less predictable.

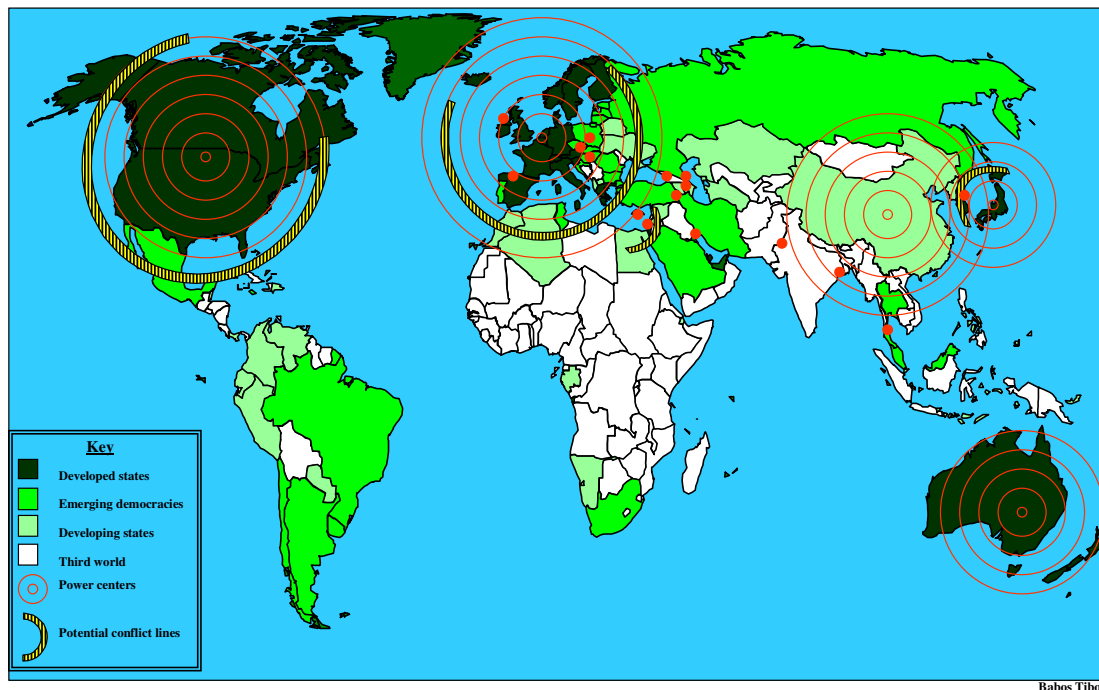
After the fading of the East-West confrontation and its spectrum of nuclear war, new security risks surfaced at the funeral of communism and in the quicksand of the Third World.

Risk factors arose below the previous threshold: nationalism, separatism, extremism, disproportionate economics, technology, sociology and cultures, deviations in development perspectives, ethnic and religious contrasts, territorial integrity, along with national and ethnic self-contradictions.¹⁵⁶ This list can be expanded with proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, international organized crime, money-laundering, drug, weapon and human trafficking, migration, environmental pollution, industrial catastrophes, and contagious diseases. These issues are not restricted by national borders today.

Simultaneously, global and European security challenges produced large-scale mutations. Today, more and more threats with trans-national characteristics surface from forceful elements, lacking scruples and without direct connection to nation-states. By nature, our security risk factors decreased in scale but are multi-faceted and more dynamic. With their effects, they could easily become global; and in terms of time, they cannot be clearly defined.

The security relationships can be indicated on a surface map similar to one used in geology to show a sort of threat map. Accordingly, the high points show the developed regions with the low points signifying less developed regions. At the top of the chart, we would see North America (US and Canada), Western Europe (EU) and the Far East (Japan, South Korea and Taiwan). From the stability of this level, the descent may be moderate or exponential. At the other end of development spectrum, in terms of economy, politics, and technology, we may find some nations in the Near East and Middle East, Indian subcontinent, Indochina, along with the Central and South American regions. The drastic drop in the standard of living is usually most evident at the meeting points of two opposing (extremely developed versus underdeveloped) regions. In European terms, this is the case between Southern and Southeastern Europe vs. North Africa; Northern vs. Eastern Europe. Elsewhere similar issues occur between North and Latin America, and between Japan and North Korea. There are huge differences in regions located at the extremes, and these generate the greatest turbulence.

¹⁵⁶ Nikolai AFANASSIEVSKY: *Building European Security Globally*, George A. JOULWAN and Roger WEISSINGER- BAYLON: *Stability, Democracy & Peace Through Cooperation: The New NATO*, XIIth NATO Workshop on Political-Military Decision Making, Dresden, Germany, June 18-22, 1995, Online: <http://www.csdrr.org/95Book/Afanassievsky.htm> (March 8, 2003)



2.2.2. Globalization

Globalization and modernization affect security, the pace of today's international cooperation, timely restrictions, and their outlooks. These two factors accelerate the speed of development to a hitherto unseen pace.¹⁵⁷ An increase in economic and technological competition along with clashes between cultural and religious centers result in dynamic liberalization of traditional order. The economic dimension, productivity, consumption and service structures, international finance, science and universal access to information modify the world order more forcefully and radically. As a result of our “shrinking” world, the differences are more defined.

A multi-polar system will gradually replaces the fragile single polarity of the post-Cold War world order. The realignment of regional economic entities will help solidify a new multi-polar world order.¹⁵⁸ The democratization of politics and liberalization of economies provide unlimited space for technological developments and modernization. In fact, these are responses to the globalization. In hindsight, it is self-explanatory how globalization itself (and paradoxically its complete rejection) led to the collapse of the communist resource utilization system and the destruction of bipolarity.

¹⁵⁷ Thomas L. FRIEDMAN, *The Impact of Globalization on World Peace*, Working Paper No. Burkle Center for International Relations, University of California, Los Angeles, January 17, 2001, 27, p. 3., Online: <http://www.international.ucla.edu/CMS/files/friedman.pdf> (January 21, 2004)

¹⁵⁸ Heintz GARTNER, Adrian HYDE-PRICE, Erich REITER: *Europe's New Security Challenges*, Alpo M. RUSI: *Europe's Changing Security Role*, Lynne Reinner Publishers, London, 2001, p. 113.

Globalization and the accompanying world economic expansion complete prosperity and freedom. The lesson from history is clear: general well-being and the limiting of poverty are ideal agents of a market economy. Developing market instincts and economic policies to strengthen business ventures serve developed and developing nations alike. For this reason, the stabilization of developing economies and the way they get closer to the leaders are key elements of global international expansion. Expanding productivity, liberal capital transfer and reinvestment possibilities in these nations indirectly induce an improvement in the global standard of living.¹⁵⁹

The key participants of globalization and the development perspectives of economic force centers are not only different, but relationships are also unresolved. The United States and the European Union with its three leading nations (France, Germany and the United Kingdom), China, Japan and Russia display more interesting similarities. The Iraqi conflicts showed coalitions are much looser and more fragile than they were in the past. Quickly changing force swings and their uncertain amplitude bring security risks that are hard to project. It remains unclear whether the pacifist powers opposing Washington will increase our security level or produce the opposite effect.

Confrontations targeting national economic, political and military strategies are potential security factors in the 21st century. The global competition between force centers in developed countries is becoming more dynamic and intense as the accumulation of security deviations in regions continue. The fight for survival between nations on various levels – independent of the *dolce vita* (the good life) – continues. The developed nations compete with others developed, as well as underdeveloped, countries. Simply, the “haves” and the “have-nots” both want more, even though the former already have many physical resources at their disposal. However, global resources are finite.

Economic and environmental extremes, limitations and results of the frequent, unstable political circumstances could lead to military conflicts. This applies not only within nations but also between nations with radical views where the competition is more active even if they do not possess significant strengths. Anti-establishment elements could change into movements, and certain political, ideological, religious, ethnic, national and cultural differences could change dynamics and later activate on a large scale. Al-Qa’ida, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, ETA, IRA or other African and South American radical groups are supported by millions. Considering the world must rely on the developing nations for raw materials and other resources, a conflict can quickly affect the stock market and other finance processes.

In addition to potential threats of some dictatorships, the perspectives of some mid-size powers are unclear, as they will not necessarily accept the conditions dictated by the West’s dominant economic, political and military world order.¹⁶⁰ China, India, Iran, a number of the Arab world’s numerous nations, and Russia present many challenges for Western hegemony. In these nations, the Western practice of preaching one thing and doing another is a frequent source of frustration, causing many people to feel the rules dictated by the West are unfair. The US-led Iraqi intervention in 1991 and 2003 were rationalized by some as primarily an attempt to gain control of Persian Gulf oil fields. Similar critiques sounded when NATO became involved in Yugoslavia. Many war opponents opined the Serb regime was no

¹⁵⁹ The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, Washington D.C., September 2002, pp. 17-18, Online: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf> (March 19, 2003)

¹⁶⁰ Paul ROGERS, International Security in the Early Twenty-First Century, ISIS Breafing Paper, No. 22, February 2000, p. 8., Online: <http://www.isis-europe.org/isiseu/english/no22.html> (March 1, 2003)

different than many other West-friendly governments.¹⁶¹ Whereas in other regions with abundant natural resources or other potential advantages, the West ignores the political scene, turning a blind eye to the events.

The social and cultural value affected by globalization initiates serious community identity conflicts on the macro and micro levels. The traditional national characteristics, self-awareness rules and other values receive new interpretation and, in this multi-level process, international strategic goals are significantly revised. The realignment of borders necessitates the reevaluation of connections between nations¹⁶², nation-states¹⁶³ and international organizations.¹⁶⁴ The disintegration of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, along with separatist movement activities by the Chechens, Irish and Basques suggest that federated forms of government are not necessarily efficient, and may even be the source of a regional destabilization.

The universal effects of globalization intermingles the differences between foreign and domestic security policies. In this process, the rules and nation-centered entities are dissolved, giving more space to laws dictated by global contact systems and their participants.¹⁶⁵ As risk factors become universal, arguments mount for a unified response to ensure security. Additionally, nation-states elevate their interests to international security-oriented organizations, producing an increased burden to be handled by international entities. In this process, governmental roles and competence are revised. Today, nations operate in the post-international dynamics time period. Where borders are more easily crossed, the effectiveness of organizations is decreased and politics become more convoluted. Governmental organizations remain important but function with less efficiency, diminishing resources and decreasing legitimacy.¹⁶⁶ Considering how prestige and legitimacy losses by international organizations take place more quickly than the same process takes for nations, the strength of national players increase proportionately. Even today, it is unclear how the EU will reach functionality over the nations and how the Union will become a true supra-national power.

Numerous cultural, religious and nationalistic obstacles remain in the way of globalization and modernization. Will these tightly closed communities (i.e. Islamic societies or dictatorships) be able to maintain pace with this complex multilevel process without conflict?¹⁶⁷ Since Islam is not homogenous, the break-ups will probably take place between the tightly closed fundamentalist dictatorships and the more open liberal societies. The two opposing forces are likely to confront each other until the contrasts are neutralized or destroyed. In Iraq, we saw a once tightly closed society participate in a democratic process. Compared to previous times, this was a fundamental change. The strengthening of women's equality movement in Muslim societies indicates that Islam is also changing. From a cultural

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Graham EVANS, Jeffrey NEWNHAM, The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations, Penguin Books, London, 1998, pp. 343-346.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 512.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 259.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 200.

¹⁶⁶ Heinz GARTNER, Adrian HYDE-PRICE and Erich REITER, Europe's New Security Challenges, Heinz GARTNER, Adrian HYDE-PRICE, Introduction, Lynne Reinner Publishers, London, 2001, p. 20.

¹⁶⁷ Peter KLOOS, The Dialectics of Globalization and Localization, In Press in: Kalb, Don, Marco van der Land, Richard Staring & Bart van Steenbergen (Eds.) (1999), Globalization, Inequality and Difference. Consequences of Transnational Flows. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999, Online: <http://casnws.scw.vu.nl/publicaties/kloos-dialectics.html> (January 24, 2004)

standpoint, questions are forming about globalization and future security. Will all nations, countries, federations, nation-states, regions, communities and organizations be able to activate their resources to join the process without conflict and to change? Could they possibly cease to exist? If not, which will not remain? When and at what price will they fold?

Perhaps, the biggest danger lies in the contrast of radicalism and technology.¹⁶⁸ Due to uneven social and economic standings and disproportionate resources, the confrontations are exacerbated between cultural, civilization, religious, ethnic-based rhetoric and political interests. This complex societal polarization could interact with the military potential remaining from the Cold War, as technological differences and the relatively easy access to weapons of mass destruction could play key roles.¹⁶⁹ As an additional element, we must also realize the role technology plays as the pace and scale of scientific developments are utilized by the “haves” to become wealthier and more developed, while the less privileged continue to fall further back.

We cannot anticipate how this imbalance will work out. Although the security risk factors appear universally, their division and intensity are not uniform, either on the global scale or within Europe. For example, the North American continent, due to its relative political and economic hegemony, had to face limited external and universal risk factors during the 1990s. Europe, resulting from its heterogeneity and continental asymmetry, was subject to many more risks during the same period. Through the disappearance of borders, Europe is becoming more balanced; however, the transnational issues not directly connected to nation-states may surface at any time and any place.

The probability of asymmetric security risks, much like the probability of using weapons of mass destruction, is increasing the dangers faced by developed countries.¹⁷⁰ After the stormy post-Cold War security environment, destructive technologies remain, without proper oversight, and their proliferation has restructured the world’s strategic balance. The countries, nations and non-national participants opposed to the world’s developed countries and, in the absence of “useable” tools of international interest assertion, pursue asymmetric assets with decreasing resource requirements, but with potentially universal effects. The powerful nations who developed these weapons have become potential targets. Since the probability exists for certain political forces in the Third World to utilize “dirty” warfare amongst each other or against developed nations, the nuclear, chemical and biological technology, gene manipulation, weapons of mass destruction delivery systems, and unauthorized access to computer systems are very probable sources of danger.

Terrorism is a sort of a side effect of reactions produced by globalization. Henceforth, terrorism can never be considered in internal problem since it can directly endanger international security.¹⁷¹ Imbalance, poverty, dictatorship’s expansionary ambition and the relevant cultural background serve as fertile ground to expand terrorism. It is a universal

¹⁶⁸ George W. BUSH, Preface, The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, Washington D.C., September 2002, p. v, Online: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf>, (March 19, 2003)

¹⁶⁹ Roger W. BARNETT, Regional Conflict: Requires Naval Forces, Proceedings of the U.S. Naval Institute, June 1992, p. 31.

¹⁷⁰ A U.S. Strategy for the 21st Century, December 2000, p. 36. Online: <http://www.expandnato.org/usstrategy.html>, (July 7, 2002)

¹⁷¹ George ROBERTSON, Speech at the Conference on the International Security and the Fight Against Terrorism, Vienna, Austria, June 14, 2002, Online: <http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2002/s020614a.htm>, (March 22, 2003)

threat. Scales of attacks, qualitative and quantitative indicators of global losses, along with trans-national professional, mobile and unscrupulous terrorist organizations are evident and signify dangers to the overall security of every nation-state.

2.2.3. 9/11 Aftermath

This date not only shook the world but also caused significant change in security policy perceptions. What previously were only potential risk factors are now everyday threats. Following the terrorist attacks, the quantitative indicators and distribution of the world's security factors did not change; however, the quality and nature did. Looking at targets, it is evident military sites are only secondary and attacks against civilian populations directly and significantly revised the previous rules of military warfare. The vulnerability of developed countries did not diminish, and now national and state defensive systems require fundamental revisions.

The New York and Washington events showed terrorists that innocent victims and material losses have an exponential relationship. Any attacks carried out with weapons of mass destruction would have radically increased indicators. In our times, when the terrorists, trans-national criminal organizations and others pursuing irrational policies are openly and actively looking to gain access to the world's most dangerous technology, any step short of direct confrontation is idealistic. The more likely the threat, the more fatal any hesitation is. Preventive measures – including direct military intervention – should receive a larger role in any future security policy.¹⁷²

We can be certain that fanatics with relative power status (i.e. Osama Bin Laden, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi or Abu Bakar Bashir) are prepared and able to sacrifice people—both followers and victims—for their cause. Considering the majority of terror planners send misguided or threatened women and young men to commit suicide attacks, taking steps against them is extremely difficult. The after-effects of major attacks mean economic and societal changes on national level. Anti-terrorism campaigns also demand increased expenditures, thus increased tax resources, worldwide which bring about numerous restrictions on mass transport and strategically significant facilities.¹⁷³

The anti-terror fight significantly influences international relationships. From this standpoint, the world is divided into three groups:

1. Supporters of terrorism
2. Opponents fighting against terrorism with every available resource with no tolerance for terrorism
3. The remainder, pursuing passive policies

Of the three, two are constantly in conflict: zero tolerance groups try to obtain additional political support from the passive groups. The future of this process cannot be predicted. On one hand, Madrid changed its terrorism policies after the March 11 terrorist events, so stepping back from the anti-terror group is possible. On the other hand, the British

¹⁷²

Ibid.

¹⁷³

Thomas P. M. BARNETT, The Pentagon's New Map, It Explains Why We're Going To War, and Why We'll keep going to War, Esquire, March 2003 issue, Online: <http://www.nwc.navy.mil/newrulesets/ThePentagonsNewMap.htm> (November 8, 2003)

government's policy supports the counter-example, as the British government remained resolute and solidified its anti-terror measures after the London terror attacks.

The September 11, March 11 and July 7 events became strategic challenges for the entire world. Today, the so-called GWOT has a broad interpretation and presents fundamental security questions: Who is the true enemy? What must be defended? How is victory defined? And what conditions must be met to end the war? Unequivocally, our world was modified with these threats and the resulting politics. Since this war is not conducted against nations or between nations, increasingly more references are made to the parallels with Huntington's "clash of civilizations" prophecies and today's global security circumstances. In our era, we must realize the cultural and civilization indifferences divide not only different societies, but also divide the West itself.

Considering the public view, a portion of the population represents a "peace at all cost" and believes armed aggression cannot defeat problems caused by societal differences. The other view claims that immediate and merciless retribution is the only result-oriented option against terrorism. If the latter wins, the question is whether without weapons and only with tolerance is it possible to convince the other party to decrease the differences. In the event other alternatives succeed in the GWOT and the terrorists, their leaders and supporting governments are destroyed, the question still remains whether the Muslim societies could be convinced to accept Western values and overcome current differences. If they reject them, Sept 11, March 11 or July 7 will, in all likelihood, be repeated again and again.¹⁷⁴

Just like the international relations examples show, the polarization between the pacifists and followers of the "prompt and justified reaction" significantly revises the traditional rules of coalition building. Additionally, Western security and integration struggle with significant cohesion problems and the outcome of these conflicting opinions is not clear. Reality already surpassed Huntington's theory -- not only Judeo-Christian, but also Muslim civilization is seriously split. The EU and the transatlantic allies are not united, and there are serious conflicts appearing in the Arab League and the entire Muslim community. Considering our status quo is likely to remain for quite awhile, we can safely project that only a joint alternative can become the solution, so as to maximize the strengthening of Western cohesion and tackle cultural, religious and economic differences. Every other action would contribute to a decrease of the current security level.

2.2.4. Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction

The greatest threat in our time is the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and, ultimately, the probability of their use by terrorists. During the Cold War, weapons of mass destruction were the ultimate tools, meaning their use was the last resort. In contrast, today, for certain national leaders and dictators, nuclear weapons could be viewed as the preferred option. In unauthorized hands, nuclear weapons represent threats not only for nations in conflict and their neighbors, but also entire regions. Weapons of mass destruction appear in international relationships, in bilateral and multi-lateral diplomacies, and could be the subject of bribes. The current or future possessors of these weapons of mass destruction view the assets as potential tools to threaten developed democracies that possess conventional

¹⁷⁴ James BOWDEN, *One Front: Two Wars*, Opinion Corner, Busch County, Online: http://www.bushcountry.org/news/columnists/jbowden/c110301_bowden_frontwars.htm (December 28, 2003)

superiority. In many respects, traditional concepts of warfare do not work against self-serving and unscrupulous terrorists.¹⁷⁵

Although the risk of nuclear destruction decreased since the end of the Cold War, we cannot exclude the possibility of nuclear war. An unexpected aggression with nuclear weapons or the escalation of a conventional war into the nuclear dimension remain possibilities. The vulnerability to a nuclear attack fundamentally changed the nature of space, time and quantity parameters.¹⁷⁶ Nuclear weapons possess more than a million times the destructive force of other military assets; thus, they are not just another and newer weapon on the already long list.¹⁷⁷ Nations with nuclear weapons but displaying irrational policies, (i.e. North Korea, perhaps India, Pakistan and China) remain significant security risk factors. Today, the interaction resulting from the use of nuclear assets, the dialectics of conflict and endless consequences, could have potentially fatal effects on our current security.

In addition to nuclear weapons, the dangers of biological and chemical attacks are also increasing. The production of the latter two is much simpler and requires smaller financial resources. They are smaller than the nuclear assets, giving various alternatives to deliver them at the target. Due to their size, detection is much more difficult. After the 9/11 terror attacks by aircraft, the number of anthrax letters clearly demonstrated that terrorists will pursue and utilize all available options to accomplish their goal. They are not afraid to use biological weapons nor will they shy away from the consequences of these weapons.

The uncontrolled proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the related threats have direct consequences. The developed world must utilize various defensive mechanisms to defuse the situation and survive. A logical outcome is to implement the “fort and moat” effect: to closely control border crossings, tighten immigration criteria and decrease investments. Embargoes and, last but not least, deploying military forces to control critical regions further increase the divisions between the sides.

2.2.5. Demographics and Security

Mass migrations serious challenge the cultural, religious, political and economic threshold of destination countries. As a result, migration pressures increase from Central America to North America, and from Africa and Western Asia to Europe. Closing the gates to counter this trend causes the gap between the developed and less developed nations to grow, and in response, less-privileged areas can be radicalized, turning migration into armed aggression.¹⁷⁸

A tightly controlled migration could counter internal demographic trends, such as aging and a decreasing labor force. Migration changes not only the population but also brings increasing ethnic divisions, birth rate increases and a younger, more dynamic society. Today,

¹⁷⁵ The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, Washington D.C., September 2002, p. 15., Online: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf> (March 19, 2003)

¹⁷⁶ Frederic S. DUNN, Introduction, Frederic S. DUNN Bernard BRODIE, Arnold WOLFERS, Percy E. CORBETT, William T. R. FOX, The Absolute Weapon: Atomic Power and the World Order, Yale Institute of International Studies, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1946, p. 3.

¹⁷⁷ BOBBIT, FREEDMAN & TREVERTON, The U.S. Nuclear Strategy, New York University Press, 1989, p. 65.

¹⁷⁸ Paul ROGERS, International Security in the Early Twenty-First Century, ISIS Breafing Paper, No. 22, February 2000, pp. 1-6, Online: <http://www.isis-europe.org/isiseu/english/no22.html> , (March 1, 2003)

the median age in the US is 35.5, meaning half of the population is older, and half younger. In Europe, this number is 37.7. According to demographer Bill Frey, by 2050 this ratio will favor the US with a 36.2 to 52.7 ratio. A significant demographic change could have decisive political consequences in the future.¹⁷⁹ In the event Europe will not change its migration and societal policies, it will find itself in critical shortage of workers in the future, with a significant decrease in those who can subsidize the aging population. Furthermore, the entire retirement and healthcare system will change radically. Keeping an eye on migration and maintaining a balance is critical for the immigration policies of developing nations. In view of this paradox, we still do not know whether in the current economic situation, either in Europe or the US, is able to withstand the effects, counter-effects and other challenges resulting from migration and the subsequent integration.

According to US sources, population change will be the most significant factor of the world's development in the upcoming 15 years. The population will increase by one billion during that time, with the majority of this going into large cities (10 million or more residents) within developing nations. Even though protecting these huge cities is not a primary task for the military, the potential to become a target location for a terrorist attack will have an effect on defensive preparations. So, the big cities could have a unique place and role in military maneuvers of the 21st century.¹⁸⁰ We can also conclude that today's military capabilities (in either quality or quantity) are insufficient to properly protect a megalopolis with 10 million residents and the appropriate infrastructure.

2.2.6. International Organized Crime

The burden of handling international criminal elements brings exponentially increasing risks to the world's development. Statistical facts prove the existence and government connections of a global network of criminal elements. One-third of organized crime consists of drug trafficking and drug trade-related activities. Money-laundering, auto theft, human trafficking, prostitution, and document falsification are all strategic criminal branches that may also be stepping stones toward more sophisticated organizations with higher level criminal goals for international relations. Looking at organized crime on a global scale, we can see it is an extremely fast-growing, changing and dynamic activity.¹⁸¹

These organizations successfully keep pace with the world's progress, as they are professionals who operate on multiple economic foundations, possess corporate mentality with wide-ranging contact systems and are operatives with tight anti-conspiracy protocols. They constantly renew their structure, use different methods and change their task distributions. Liberal markets and globalization afford heretofore-unavailable opportunities to enter the government sphere as well.¹⁸²

It is proven fact that many terrorist organization also conduct various profit-oriented activities; thus, they are involved with drug production and distribution or gun running.

¹⁷⁹ Half a billion Americans? Special report: Demography and the West, The Economist, Washington, August 24, 2002, p. 22.

¹⁸⁰ KŐSZEGVÁRI Tibor, A katonai műveletek a nagyvárosokban és a megapolisokban, Budapest, Hadtudomány, XI. évf. 3. szám, 2001 szeptember, Online: <http://www.zmka.hu/kulso/mhht/hadtudomany/2001/3/04/chapter1.htm> (February 23, 2004)

¹⁸¹ BABOS Tibor, A drogkérdés legfontosabb összefüggései, Kábítószer-biztonság, Magyar Honvéd, Budapest, 1997. július 27.

¹⁸² Ibid.

Terrorism is primarily a politically-motivated activity, more specifically, a tool focused on the political dimension. A terror organization, in order to support its activity, participates in legal activities. Organized crime is often interconnected with politics, but showing serious deviations like corruption, support and direction of terror, arms trading.¹⁸³ The recent charges brought against prominent representatives of the Italian political elite demonstrates that even mature democracies are not exempt from these issues.

2.2.7. Natural Risks

Natural and environmental effects are sources of increasing dangers for our civilization. The globe's diminishing supply of energy, raw materials and water resources can be attributed to our self-serving national economic policies, the developing world's weak environmental concerns and the imperialism of trans-national conglomerates. Environmental and air pollution, global warming and sudden climatic changes place significant pressure on agriculture production in many regions. Deforestation and other problems affect some nations through flooding, but the effects also influence large-scale capital and population shifts.

Control over resources and the disappearance of natural resources are some of the most dynamic sources of confrontation nowadays. Based on geography-afforded advantages and disadvantages at some locations, along with the "unfair" distribution of resources or the uneven division of significant motivational factors, are elements to balance the deficit inequalities of some nations. Besides the so-called strategic energy supplies – oil, natural gas and ore deposits – water, arable land and fishing rights are gaining in significance today and major steps are being taken throughout the world to retain or acquire new resources.

Drastically diminishing natural resources could be the source of unforeseeable security conflicts in the coming decades. Countries where prosperity or existence depends exclusively on natural resources – primarily the Arab states with their oil reserves – represent timebombs for global stability. The rapid disappearance of these reserves will be followed by shrinking economies and the combination of these unfavorable climate conditions will lead to cultural problems. Large migration and radical political demonstrations will be the logical outcomes of these serious economic and societal circumstances.

International involvement against the universal deterioration of public health indicators cannot be delayed. Today, the health conditions in underdeveloped nations are critical.¹⁸⁴ Countries where contagious or quickly spreading diseases such as HIV/AIDS, Ebola, malaria or tuberculosis (TB) infect a large portion of the population can also count on international isolation to worsen their tragic domestic problems. To improve this situation, the development of sufficient medical infrastructure cannot be delayed and remains a supra-national requirement.

Natural disasters require increasing attention. The 2004 tsunami in Southeast Asia, Hurricane Katrina, and the 2005 earthquake in Pakistan claimed lives by the tens of thousands. Although prevention of these disasters is impossible and protective measures extremely expensive, preparation and training can exponentially decrease the number of victims. Preparing the public for crisis situations is extremely important in natural and man-

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, Washington D.C., September 2002, p. 23, Online: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf> (March 19, 2003)

made disasters. Organized public behavior during a crisis by avoiding panic is the only way for government agencies – augmented by the military and public safety entities – to assist the public or the nation to survive large-scale natural disasters.

2.2.8. International System of Governments

In light of the Iraqi conflict, the survivability of the international systems of government remains an issue. Will the UN, NATO, EU, OSCE and other security organizations continue to pursue their charters or will the current security architectures collapse under the overall challenges of the 21st century? The long internal review continues to hinder the effectiveness of the United Nations. After the Cold War, NATO needed ten years to develop its reaction to the challenges of the new era. The European Union's progressive but contradictory development casts a shadow on numerous cooperation and confidence-enhancing forums – including OSCE and WEU – while forming its own monopoly on the continent in the process.

International organizations played important roles in security development and will continue to contribute to the forming of the military and economic security dimensions.¹⁸⁵ Nevertheless, the numerous limitations of international organizations allow risk factors to produce indirect “disobedience” and the related instability. Membership and functional overlaps, opposing interests at different levels, economic, political and financial interdependence, all negatively impact upon operations and results. The issue is worsened by the pluralism given to international law, leading the lawmakers and international organizations in many cases to display helplessness in the face of conflicts. Due to seeming amnesia of some international organizations, the qualitative and quantitative indicators of security precautions change. Additionally, the probability remains high that a threatened nation will take unilateral steps to defend its own security and interests.

2.2.9. Modern Military Capability Characteristics

Although military capabilities do not belong on the list of global security challenges, the answers provided to the threat-related questions make it necessary to include this issue here. Military forces with assets at varying modernization levels participate in today's conflicts. Even on the African continent, with conflicts ranging from tribal warfare to international skirmishes, military assets range from very primitive to state-of-the-art weapons. We can also add, the Allies utilized space-based satellite systems, complicated Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) and Joint Surveillance and Target Attack Radar System (JSTARS) assets, guided rockets and bombs against targets in Iraq, Afghanistan and Bosnia. The civil war in Nigeria, and conflict between Tutsi and Hutu tribes claimed more than 100,000 victims. At the same time, the US military forces are preparing to fight a “deathless” war. Today, warfare doctrines, methods, forces and tools cover a large spectrum; thus, we cannot predict the types of concepts, forces and assets will be necessary for the military to resolve its conflicts in the 21st century.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ James SPERLING, *Europe in Change. Two Tiers or Two Speeds? The European Security Order and the Enlargement of the European Union and NATO*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1999, p. 3.

¹⁸⁶ KŐSZEGVÁRI Tibor, *Hadviselés a 21. században*, Budapest, Hadtudomány, IX. évf. 1. szám, 1999 március, Online: <http://www.zmka.hu/kulso/mhtt/hadtudomany/1999/ht-1999-1-5.html> (February 23, 2004)

A new type of contradiction now exists within international law. The desire for military, political, and economic guarantees cannot be made without respect for international law. It is also true that a purely military force without international political legitimacy will bring about significant international opposition. The gap between the UN Security Council decrees and the completed missions is growing. Based on the Iraqi conflict, the US and British military potential seems to confirm that military force can significantly influence political events, including the enforcement of UN Security Council decisions and, indirectly, the strength of international law.¹⁸⁷

On the preference scale in this new type of conflict management, protecting the population, minimizing purposeful or accidental damage and maximizing political goals rank at the top of the list. This requirement necessitates significant responses. The current military establishment of Western democracies forms a transition between modern and post-modern terminologies with five characteristics:

1. Increasing mutual structural and cultural interdependence between civil and military sectors
2. Decrease in differences between fighting and support components in military services, branches and specific units
3. Changing military goals (from fighting large-scale wars to becoming more task-oriented)
4. Increasing domestic roles for the military, legitimized by external nation-state agreements
5. Internationalization of the military¹⁸⁸

As evident in Yugoslavia and the Iraq intervention, modern military operations are not necessarily characterized by mass deployment of assets or total destruction. The deployment of military branches, specific force elements, quick reaction or special forces elements to optimize crisis-specific, functional, professional task-oriented assets with pinpoint accuracy is necessitated where high-tech elements could be decisive. In contrast with the past, modern military operations occur with wide-ranging international and Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC) presence and with media cooperation. Avoiding unabated destruction is now significant planning factor for military operations. In the tools to mediate international political or social deviations, the military factor is relegated on moral grounds; however, not only did it not disappear, it gained importance along with becoming more professional. Today, the use of military force is not just an end solution, but also a significant factor in the successful handling of everyday conflicts.

Complex crisis situations have revised military tools and new elements were forced into the process. Consolidated crisis management demands wide-ranging coordination between politics, economics, banking systems, internal security services, international transport, strategic firms as well as other organizations and agencies. Additionally, not only foreign policy, diplomatic tools and practical action, military assets and their development ratios, but also their relationships are changing. In these circumstances, a decisive factor is whether developed nations should spend directly on military defense or indirectly, by investing in security-oriented social, economic and cultural programs. A further question is

¹⁸⁷ Bianca JAGGER, *Showdown: Iraq*, Late Edition, CNN, March 9, 2003

¹⁸⁸ Charles C. MOSKOS, John Allen WILLIAMS, David R. SEGAL: *The Postmodern Military, The Armed Forces After the Cold War*, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 1-2.

whether it is possible to build a defensive system to be secure from attacks by terrorists, guerillas and partisans.

In the early 1990s, the US Joint Chiefs of Staff began conducting research and experiments on the structure of future armed forces. The land forces to face the military challenges of the 21st century was named Force XXI – a force for the current century. The purpose of these developments is to prepare a land force by 2010 that is able to adjust to quickly changing and unpredictable international scenarios.¹⁸⁹ At NATO, the so-called CAFJO (Concepts for Allied Future Joint Operations) projects dictate the direction of developments. While in the short term, the Effect Based Approach to Operations (EBAO) intends to ensure only the originally NATO-planned results materialize, CAFJO is a long-range (15+ years) document – with the goal to maximize EBAO – and addresses capabilities, concepts and doctrine revisions. Preparing the capability requirements, CAFJO shows the way to a decreasing level (for military branch and warfighter support) maneuver concept development. The main elements are:

1. Strategic environment
2. EBAO-oriented conceptual framework
3. Future capabilities and force concepts
4. Capability development plans

The destruction-oriented Cold War-era issues have been replaced with smaller, more diverse, but unpredictable security risk factors. Today and even more so in the intermediate future, the mutation of the various conflicts and events will generate extreme economic and social polarization compounded by limited global resources.¹⁹⁰ The access to the destructive technologies remaining from the Cold War and their subsequent developments remain available for the parties on both sides to enforce their own interests.

As the 9/11 events showed, it is possible for radicals to impact the current world security framework. In light of this, it is not certain if the developed world (that in terms of world population remains only a minority) and the international security system will be able to comprehend, adapt and overcome these emerging threats. Simply stated, will the West be able to maintain unity? It is also uncertain whether developing nations will be willing to comprehend the globalization-caused circumstances and quickly close the gap. So, it remains unclear if the shift will be toward world peace, forced peace, or conflict. Recognizing, decreasing and possibly equalizing the initial contrasts will be necessary. The failure to reach the latter two stages will lead to further polarization and can bring about deepening antagonism. As Walter Lippman stated: “The world will continue to advance somehow and more conflicts will surface. The future as well as the past will be longer.”¹⁹¹ The conclusion we can draw from our long history is the necessity to act in order to avoid conflicts.¹⁹² On this issue, the European stance will have wide-ranging ramifications.

¹⁸⁹ KŐSZEGVÁRI Tibor, *Hadviselés a 21. században*, Budapest, Hadtudomány, IX. évf. 1. szám, 1999 március, Online: <http://www.zmka.hu/kulso/mhtt/hadtudomany/1999/ht-1999-1-5.html> (February 23, 2004)

¹⁹⁰ Paul ROGERS, *International Security in the Early Twenty-First Century*, ISIS Breafing Paper, No. 22., February 2000, p. 2, Online: <http://www.isis-europe.org/isiseu/english/no22.html> (November 8, 2003)

¹⁹¹ Arthur SCHLESSINGER, Jr., *The Historian and History*, Foreign Affairs, New York, April 1963, p. 491.

¹⁹² Simon SEFRATY, *Fragile Peace*, Charles L. BARRY, *The Search for Peace in Europe, perspectives from NATO and Eastern Europe*, National Defense University Press, Fort Leslay J. McNair, 1993, p. 257.

2.3. New European Security Trends

2.3.1. Most Recent Turning Point

The answer still eludes us, sixty years after Churchill posed the question, “What is Europe today?”. We can clearly state that today’s Europe is not the post-World War II Europe or the Cold War Europe. Today, Europe is different from what it was in the 1990s and will be different in subsequent decades. This sub-chapter – as an integral element of the thesis – advocates that, the characteristics of the continent’s security processes and awareness of actual problems are necessary to understand European security issues.

The political, economic and social changes, along with the integration and disintegration processes started in the latter part of the 1980s. Hungary opened its borders toward Austria in 1989; a few months later, following the large-scale demonstrations in Leipzig, Dresden and in other large cities, the Berlin Wall was dismantled, depriving the East German government of the ability to control the situation. In November that year, the opposition party took control of the government in Czechoslovakia. In December, a round table discussion was started between the communist government of Bulgaria and the opposition. Thereafter, the events taking place in Central Europe continued to progress, bringing about larger and larger changes. Although the majority of the changes occurred in peaceful ways, in Romania, clashes between demonstrators and domestic security forces turned bloody and violent.¹⁹³ As the changes reached the Soviet Union’s borders, the strides became even larger.

The single-party system of government was destroyed in many Central and Eastern European nations and dynamic, independent and separatist movements began to surface. Democracy and market-driven economies took the place of centralized planning and control. The Soviet Union was dissolved creating the CIS. Yugoslavia exploded. Czechoslovakia split. Germany reunited. The bastions of the Eastern Block, Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance disappeared.¹⁹⁴ The bi-polar stability based on the political and economic events disappeared and the various ethnic, nationalistic, independence-oriented and other factors, swept under by fifty years of government policies, surfaced again. Re-evaluating the Europe of the future became unavoidable.

The forces relying on ethnic dissonance and the strengthening of nationalism became an increasing burden for the European security environment. Similarly, the changes and the necessity for new measures became increasingly more urgent challenges for the former communist nations.¹⁹⁵ The changes taking place in Eastern and Central Europe – as we later discovered – were much more significant than the collapse of the communist form of government, as they affected not only Europe but also the rest of the world.

¹⁹³ John Van OUDENAREN, EU Enlargement, The return to Europe, TIERSKY Ronald, Europe Today, National Politics, European Integration and European Security, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Oxford, 1999, p. 404.

¹⁹⁴ Jarko FIDRMUC, Jan FIDRMUC, Integration, Disintegration and the Trade in Europe: Evolution of Trade Relations During the 1990s, Working Paper of the Österreichische National Bank, Wien, June 20, 2000, pp. 7-10., Online: <http://www2.oenb.at/workpaper/wp42.pdf> (January 21, 2004)

¹⁹⁵ Andrew M. DORMAN, Adrian TREACHER: European Security, an Introduction to Security Issues in Post-Cold War Europe, Dartmouth Publishing Company, Vermont, USA, 1995, p. 2.

The West was faced with the reality of its dreams: the East capitulated. With the sudden changes, previous strategic plans became obsolete and unexpected security risks surfaced. The new security circumstances necessitated time to comprehend them. It became evident how the long expected warming of relations and democratization actually complicated relationships. In this modified environment, it seemed the transatlantic connection would remain the foundation of West European security; however, the concept of forming a united Europe began to gain support simultaneously placing Atlanticism in a different light.

During the past decade, although the continent's international relationships were on solid foundations, their quality was no guarantee for continuity and unconditional prosperity. European peace and well-being were constantly overshadowed by the possible deterioration of various security deviations. The post-Cold War European conflicts were not between national governments but were between domestic entities, and quickly changing dynamics evolved into international dimensions. Homogenous ethnic groups do not form the majority of the European populations. Many nations have multiple ethnic groups within their borders and some ethnic groups span across national boundaries. This situation can be credited with numerous domestic issues and escalated into international conflicts. Suffering from multiple changeovers, the European regions, their periphery, the Balkans, Caucasus, Near East and North Africa were not exempt from armed conflicts either. The economic, political, and social contradictions, corruption and the way some governments failed to handle various domestic issues were elements of introducing weapons into deteriorating situations leading to armed conflicts. Such instability became potential dangers for the entire continent.

2.3.2. Regional European Conflicts

Regional clashes always characterized European history. Power conflicts, attempts to expand markets, nationalistic or religious differences and numerous issues often expanded into wars on the continent. Regional conflicts between nations were often fueled by ethnic differences. The drive for autonomy for residents of Cyprus, Kosovo, Northern Ireland and Transylvania, or similar goals of the Basque separatists in Spain, originate from the same ethnic basis that led to the collapse of the Soviet Union, the demise of Yugoslavia, splitting of Czechoslovakia, or even German reunification. Relying on examples of the past, we can be certain, European borders will not remain static in the future.

Even today, no guarantee exists to ensure the 1991 Balkan crisis will not ignite again. This conflict demonstrated how a previously domestic matter could explode when the opposing perspectives of numerous ethnic groups are controlled by an intolerant, totalitarian, nationalistic and federal governmental system. When regional conflicts escalated and the increasingly confrontational interests of various power centers jeopardized European security, the threshold was reached and the Alliance was forced to take action. In retrospect, the US-led NATO action produced only partial results: Belgrade's situation was changed not by military action alone, but by unified pressure from the international system. Fifteen years later, we must also realize, remnants of this cancer still remains in various parts of the country.

The Balkan conflict unequivocally demonstrated how guaranteeing European security and peace, the issues of national, ethnic and minority dissonance are deciding factors; resolution, without handling the issues for the long-term, stability is impossible. Evaluating

today's conflicts, we can see intra-national acceptance. In the case of national and ethnic conflicts, this is actually the optimization of the situation. In the absence of a democratically elected government and a stable economic foundation this is impossible to achieve without external involvement. Considering the elements of their existence and a likely absence of domestic resources, to solve these situations the involvement of major power centers and the international community based on objective, consequent and active participation are essential. At the same time, external involvement also carries dangers since the possibility of escalation of these risks is exponential based on the quantity of external interests. It is increasingly certain that without involvement and consensus from the United States, European Union and Russia, ending any type of crisis on the continent is near impossible.

In addition to the Balkans, the Chechen-Russian, Greek-Turkish, Turkish-Kurdish, British-Irish, Basque-Spanish conflicts, the Caucasus region, Cyprus, North Africa and the Near East are all sources of significant dangers. Additionally, the frequent domestic squabbles evident during the transformations in Eastern Europe are hard to project. The political, religious and ethnic differences in Russia, Ukraine and the Caucasus nations and their economic crises cannot be excluded. The outcome of a crisis could have serious ramifications to neighboring nations also struggling with instability and, indirectly, could affect the entire continent. The successful pursuit of Chechen autonomy could serve as motivation to other non-Russian ethnic groups along the Volga River, and others past the Ural Mountain Range, leading to a potential chain reaction within Russia.

Turkey has been the source of numerous security dilemmas for Europe on the southeastern region and beyond. Despite Turkey's desire for EU-integration, Ankara's foreign policy toward the West and the East has been muddled and difficult to anticipate. The Greek-Turkish and Kurdish-Turkish differences and the Turkish political stance on the Cyprus issue are all geared to destabilize the region. For this reason, the EU continues with a wait-and-see attitude to sanction the Turkish behavior if it does not match the EU's interests. The question remains how long Turkey will tolerate the delays to start the negotiations toward EU-entry and if Ankara will be fed up, what will be the consequences?

2.3.3. European Integration Security

In Europe, the collapse of the communist ideology opened the way for capitalistic ideologies. Creating favorable conditions for democratic societies, market-based economies along with building and strengthening nations based on the rule of law and multinational cooperation expanded the aforementioned foundations. Simultaneously, the growing hopelessness was essential to create an environment demanding more security in the Eastern and Central European nations. The disappearance of the previous system did not immediately bring about a revised security system based on new and stable relationships. The new democracies turned toward the integrated Western structures so the integration and disintegration intentions continued to significantly influence European security.

The Eastern European reform initiatives provided sound foundations for the continued building of European unity. In the early 1990s, the European Union's ideology started to crystallize, becoming an integral element of the WEU and building on the Schengen and Dublin Agreements, as well as the EU Union of Freedom, Security, Finance and Justice. In light of this situation, European integration became one of the most significant international processes of the 20th century. Who would have imagined fifty years ago, that Europe (and as

its nucleus, the two permanent rivals, France and Germany) would take responsibility for the world's most successful international system?¹⁹⁶

Western Europe successfully mastered the challenges and established systemic integration. After its birth and gaining its footing, the EU began to strengthen its political and economic stance exponentially, then and began talks with fourteen nations it identified as potential members. The establishment of the European Economic and Finance Union, the implementation of the Euro currency in 2002, and the recent entry of ten new members provided momentum for the opening of a unified Western European market and unequivocally showed to the world that Europe is in the final stages of reaching political, economic – and shortly military – significance. A constitution is the criteria for the continued social, political and economic solidification of the EU while its continually expanding strengths will be supported by an impetus for growing international cooperation and expansion.

Although in global terms, the EU-led production already approaches the economic output of the United States, the strict budget policy-based economic expansionary policies have not been able to handle such factors as unemployment, poverty and minority rights.¹⁹⁷ Certain elements of societies, nations and regions are showing differentiation tendencies. Relativity became a primary element not only of the European integration process but also its security and stability. These tendencies clearly have a negative effect on integration, and by increasing insecurity, give way for extremists, separatist movements and skeptical forces.

The expansions by the EU and NATO were geared to increase European unity, but the changes in Eastern Europe increased insecurity and introduced new tensions and conflicts. The qualitative and quantitative indicators of integration prove how Europe continues to slacken its political, economic and social security condition from the West toward the East. On a similar trend, the criteria to join the EU seemed to weaken during the move eastbound, and some of the previous requirements were muted or disappeared. As a result, the European integration process has to withstand serious obstacles to accomplish its goal to stand the test of time.

The two institutions with opposing natures and motivation on the integration politics cause significant challenges on the eastern wing. The majority of the region's southern and southeastern nations from old and new democracies claim rights of entry. The differences between the extent of development between the most recent members and the ones aspiring for membership demonstrate a varied picture. The majority of potential members – especially the ones in the southeastern sector – are fighting with large-scale dissatisfaction, political immaturity and significant social problems. Political cultures, government practices and social system developments are still struggling with major growing pains. The significance of the problems dominate and occasionally expand the capability of each nation's threshold. The energy, time and lack of financial resources relegate strategic planning and balanced consequent government policies to secondary position, extending the process to close the gap when compared to other members. As ten new members joined, the Union had to split its interests in many directions. In terms of conflicts, the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq require

¹⁹⁶ Andrew MORAVCSIK, European Integration: What Future for Europe and the U.S., Great Decisions, Washington DC, 1997., pp. 47-56.

¹⁹⁷ European Union – United States Facts and Figures – Statistics, pp. 1-4., Online: <http://www.eurunion.org/profile/facts/htm>, (February 28, 2003)

significant energy. In the crossfire of opposing parties, the tendency to increase division on the continent is increasing.

2.3.4. New European Dividing Lines

The new European dividing lines have emerged in three dimensions: international organizations, state, and national issues. Although various economic, political, cultural, religious, ethnic or other differences cause the dividing lines, ultimately they manifest themselves along the three identified dimensions. During the apparent solidification of the unity, the continent and the Union's bases lacked homogeneity. It appears this situation is not likely to change in the foreseeable future. Many people rationalize the advantage of the Union rests in the multi-faceted appearance; however, from the beginning, the numerous and historically deep-rooted European oppositions and inequality have not been resolved. Subsequently, these problems then radiate outside the continent.

In terms of the organizational dimensions, we can conclude, while the western region can be characterized as relatively stable, in the east heading toward the outskirts, order and prosperity gradually lose strength. This is also confirmed by the weakening or absence of security organizations designed to strengthen European stability as we move eastbound. Before 2004, Norway, Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Greece and Turkey represented the Alliance's eastern borders while Finland, Denmark, Austria, Italy and Germany marked the Union's eastern boundaries.

The expansions taking place in the EU and NATO in 2004 decreased the geo-strategic differences. At the Alliance's Prague Summit in 2002, the three Baltic States, Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia received invitations to join.¹⁹⁸ At the same time, the Union conducted membership talks with the same seven states plus Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Malta, Poland and Turkey.¹⁹⁹ During the Copenhagen Talks in December 2002, the European Council (EC) decided to admit ten new members in 2004 and another three in 2007 – later limited to Romania and Bulgaria.²⁰⁰ Accordingly, in 2007, the Alliance's eastern borders will be secured by Norway, the Baltic States, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey; while Finland, the Baltic States, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Greece will do the same for the EU. In both cases, we must note, in the heart of the Balkans, a vacuum will remain for some time and at the northern and southern tips of the Eastern European region. Membership will not be the same for the two entities. In the North, with Sweden and Finland, the Union's borders are shifting eastward, and the case is the same at the southern flank of the Alliance with Turkey. The differing borders for the two organizations and their effects could become critical for Turkey and Cyprus.

Europe's division presents a shifting of the East-West axis, but it is evident in other ways as well. From the early 1990s, transatlantic cooperation in the Alliance became increasingly questionable, since the majority of the Western European nations preferred to enhance the vitality of Europe and build unity on the continent. During the past decades, the countries involved with European security and the Europe-oriented organization changed

¹⁹⁸ Road to Membership, Prague Summit, Online: http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/2002/0211-prague/more_info/membership.htm, (March 22, 2003)

¹⁹⁹ General Report 2002, Chapter V: Enlargement, Section 1: Overview 1/1, Online: <http://europa.eu.int/abc/doc/off/rg/en/2002/pt0704.htm#anch0348>, (February 28, 2003)

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

significantly. In these processes, the European powers, European organizations, their conflicts and their outcomes carry tremendous weight.

The imbalance of European security was not followed by new and solid security architecture and the revitalization dynamics between major powers did not diminish. The ideological, political and economic vacuum formed by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the communist world must be handled by the West to maintain and increase its own security. To represent its own interests, it had to fill the gap. In the hope of maintaining and expanding the influence on European affairs ultimately for their own benefit, major powers continue to be motivated with an increasing level of confidence. In order to take the initiative, the powers players and a few others continue to pursue dynamic foreign policies and the revision, disappearance and re-birth of various alliances will continue to shape the continent for a long time.

In terms of power centers, the influences appear rather contradictory. France pressed for European unity and separation from the United States. Through the latter, it intended to regain its European and global status and to retain its leading role within the Union. Toward these goals, Paris needed allies on the continent. After German reunification, Paris turned towards London. The high point of recent France-British alliance was displayed during the San Malo Summit when the two nations – avoiding Germany – formalized a concept for European Security and Defense Policy.²⁰¹ After this, the French diplomatic policy was not able to “Europeanize” the British stance, so it pursued other coalition partners. A few months after the Iraqi conflict, the diplomatic standstill showed Paris prepared to oppose the US and, to support its own interests, it is prepared to enter into an alliance with Moscow. In the meantime, the consolidating Russia and the neo-liberal Germany became outstanding candidates. To date, France could not accept losing its extent of influence it had on the global stage. For this reason, Paris feels now is the time to secure a leading role in forming European processes.²⁰² Considering Putin’s goals included limiting American influence in Europe and increasing Russia’s own influence on the continent, the Russian interests seemed to coincide with the French goals.

The role of the Union’s strongest economic might has not yet been clearly defined in Europe. Even though Germany’s liberal and pacifist forces drew the line and separated themselves from the preventive steps the US took, and in numerous cases seemed willing to oppose the US, the conservatives have strong connections to Washington. In the case of Germany, it is unimaginable for its economic dominance not to be coupled with stronger more consistent politics than currently pursued, these will expand horizons in front of the German economy. In all likelihood, the nation’s foreign policy will soon move out of its current doldrums and will take a much more charismatic stance.

In contrast to the German foreign policy, the British policy was much clearer and more consistent. London’s pro-US behavior remained and Britain continues to favor the US over the continent. The European accomplishment during its 2005 EU leadership tenure can be characterized only as satisfactory since successes were rather limited. Perhaps the primary reason for this stems from London splitting its attention, as it was not single-handedly Europe oriented. The type of government to succeed Blair and the direction it will take the island nation are issues yet to be determined.

²⁰¹ Jolyon HOWORTH, Britain, France and the European Defence Initiative, The International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Survival*, vol. 42, no. 2, Summer 2000, p. 33.

²⁰² Winston S. CHURCHILL, News, War on Iraq, Fox News, USA, 13.05 PT, April 8, 2003

Russia's political intentions are not irrelevant for European security. This former military superpower's geo-strategic location, size, energy reserves and military arsenal assure its strategic position on the continent. Additionally, any domestic change will directly or indirectly affect its influence on Europe. Although the Russian political, economic and social sectors are relatively consolidated, Russia's foreign policies are still steered by its faded superpower image along with its desire to attain preferential treatment, to demand respect, and a desire to maintain regional influence.

Russia continues to mobilize significant forces to stabilize its partner-like relationships and to legitimize its make-believe superpower status. The current state of Russian foreign policy indicates its relationship with the US did not evolve as originally planned and the Chinese-Russian strategic partnership also failed to deliver the intended results. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Moscow failed to capitalize on American political sympathy and economic support. Russia also failed to nurture the Chinese connections intended to counter US influence. China and the United States – without Russia – managed to advance their own interests worldwide. After these failures, Moscow had to face the potentially nightmarish scenario of becoming an “also ran” on the international political scene. The Union's prosperity, promising market and, more importantly, the French-German political sympathy enabled Russia to pursue positive relationships with the EU to enhance its strategic partnership.²⁰³ The Putin-led cabinet placed its emphasis on Paris and Berlin while continuing to nurture the Chinese contacts and, in compliance with Russian interests, cooperate with or counter the steps taken by Washington.

The continent's small countries represent unique interests. The various attitudes Europe's other nations present are rather wide-ranging; however, the non-NATO EU members and potential members project the most characteristic interest groups. While the former group represented by Austria, Finland, Ireland and Sweden continues to keep its distance from the NATO-dictated responsibility burdens, nations in the latter groups are extremely varied. The nations joining the Union in 2004 continue to display a strong Atlantic-oriented position. While Norway rejected EU membership, joining the EU was the top priority for Bulgaria and Romania. For Croatia and Turkey, joining the Union remains the leading goal as these nations establish their foreign policies. Despite its membership in the Alliance and the Union, Denmark continues to openly distance itself from any type of collective military participation. So, these differences in no way display unity or cohesion, and point out how security organizations and the differences between international interests become security risk factors and potentially grow exponentially.

The deep wounds originating from various historically nationalistic and ethnic heritages were reopened during the instability in certain regions and nations. Due to the deeply rooted and always complicated nationalistic and ethnic oppositions and underlying interests, the number of conflicts with the potential to escalate into armed conflicts has escalated. The effects of the post-World War I Versailles Peace Treaty continue to linger even today. On the other hand, the Balkan conflict, to a certain extent, rejected Huntington's “clash of civilizations”. The religious differences have existed between the orthodox Serbs

²⁰³ Mark A. SMITH, *Contemporary Russian Perceptions of Euro-Atlantism*, Conflict Studies Research Centre, Directorate General Development and Doctrine, Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, Camberley, England, February 2002, p. 1.

and the catholic Croatians for centuries, but the war indicated how wars could be started by groups with identical heritage and ancestries.²⁰⁴

2.4. Security Equation

European security is threatened not only through global threats but also through numerous Europe-specific problems. Besides the universal risk factors, changing of the dangers, crystallization of defense processes, rules of integration, transatlantic connections and dialectics of power centers are also issues to keep under control. The terror attacks of New York, Washington, Moscow, Beslam, Madrid and London, the nuclear threats from North-Korea and Iran, the recurring Balkan conflicts, the situation in the Near East, and the Iraq and Afghanistan wars all present conceptual meanings to the definition of security and carry us further away from the situation of the Cold War.

During the Cold War, security was based on military and political strength. The two military blocks viewed maintaining and modernizing their nuclear capability, the mutual threat and possible retaliation as the way to avoid war. Under these circumstances, international institutions were relegated to a secondary position behind NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The collapse of the Soviet Union and disappearance of the Warsaw Pact fundamentally changed the circumstances. The drastic reduction of military and political security created a void and it was quickly filled with previously tertiary factors. The dominating anarchy situation in Eastern Europe had a major role in creating new problems and subsequently making many of them significantly worse. After the collapse of the Eastern Block, most former communist nations realized that Western nations did not represent threats. On the contrary, the West could actually represent security, stability, and development.

The decrease of the strategic military threat allowed new security issues to surface: social, religious, cultural, economic, human rights, ecological differences, inequality and perceived injustice. With the disappearance of the Iron Curtain, globalization expanded to new markets and, with this, some drawbacks started to show. This was favorably affected by the decreasing influence of national and international players as non-national factors gained in importance. These circumstances forced national and international participants to develop new and more effective systems to keep the unpleasant processes in check. The establishment of cooperative channels, their strengthening and access to western technological know-how presented opportunities. Bringing enormous budgets, strategic economic, industrial and agricultural firms gaining access to new markets and eliminated their competition. As a result of this economic cooperation, the EU integration process radically revised the continent's geo-strategic map in just a few years.

Along with the security challenges, vulnerability became global, the significance of international cooperation grew and international organizations received a new meaning. The EU, NATO and many international security organizations concluded that security was not a matter of avoiding negative tendencies, but the ability to handle and stabilize these issues in the most effective way. This recognition created new requirements for military capabilities. Foremost was the task to prepare and conduct peacekeeping operations, to be more successful

²⁰⁴ Tim JUDAH, The Serbs. History, Myth, and the Destruction of Yugoslavia, Yale Nota Bene, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2000, p. 7.

in keeping conflicts under control so they do not escalate. The new operational military theories require units to function in international military operations under the command of foreign military structures. These changes necessitate new defense planning, structures, mobilization plans and practices. In this military infrastructure, true professionalism is paramount.

The terror attacks confirmed Europe to be in the crosshairs of terror organizations just like the US; however, the current security policies in force in the US and Europe show significant differences. The US considers military capability as the primary tool to attain global security, so Washington maintains a larger and more potent, better-organized and technologically more developed military. Rhetorically, the EU agreed with the US foreign policy to fight terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction but in reality, it mobilized a much smaller force to participate in specific operations, and even then only on a regional scale. Another difference is the way European nations and their allies are oriented to participate in peacekeeping missions with priorities established by international organizations, as opposed to facing military challenges outright. These varying capabilities clearly indicate the differences between the European and American view of military force.

In light of all the aforementioned issues, the forming of future European security seems to be taking shape. One alternative will be to pursue the combined European order and prosperity by moving toward stability, economic and political integration, strengthening Euro-Atlantic partnership and developing defensive capabilities. The alternative will be to take the path toward continental and Atlantic division.

Chapter 3

European Security Policy and Military Capability Evolution

*Any alliance whose purpose is not the intention
to wage a war is senseless and useless*
Adolf Hitler

3.1. Introduction

Quoting Hitler can be an occupational risk for an author, since the reader might misunderstand his intention and think the author is either sympathetic with the man himself or his ideology. However, it is because of the power that Hitler has to cause reaction that these words were chosen. Had it not been Hitler, expounding from *Mein Kampf*, the words would have lost their weight. When one considers a new European Military Alliance, it is vital that the past is not forgotten when forging the new frontier. The thesis of this chapter is that once a military power exists, it will be utilized. The question in this case is not “when” but rather “where.” If it is used in Europe, or the aligning regions, the activation should be in a defensive posture, rather than in an offensive role. We must not forget Europe’s past when looking at the use of its military forces and learn from the lessons of history. Recent use of the European military forces in out of area operations beyond Europe’s Borders, especially in the emerging capabilities of the Eurocorps and EU Battlegroups might have a cause for some alarm.

European integration and the qualitative and quantitative military developments to defend it brought about continental security policy adjustments and these affect EU-US, EU-NATO and EU-Russia relationships. They also influence the EU role in global politics. This chapter’s goal is to show that the more combined European approach to economic, financial, cultural, and military force will have a significant impact on European security. The European Union’s common foreign and domestic policy, integrating the EU security and defense policy and the inclusive defensive functions not only strengthen the EU but also secure a long-term global future for the Union. The most recent step in that direction was the establishment of the European Security and Defense Union and the subsequent attempt to include this in the EU constitution. The sub-chapters address the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), ESDP and European Security and Defense Union (ESDU) development chronologies, enhancement stages and alternatives. Their establishment supports continental defensive capabilities – and despite their initial phase – already have respectable global prestige, influence and project additional capabilities for the Union.

3.2. European Defense Capability Prologue

There were attempts to develop an independent defensive systems during the Cold War; however, these were neither independent, nor solely European, nor restricted to defensive operations. Following the Dunkerque Agreement of 1947 between the British and the French, the Benelux states joined them in 1948, and they all signed the Brussels Treaty in 1954, to establish what became known as the Western European Union. However, the Pan-

European significance of these measures was only negligible.²⁰⁵ Almost immediately after its founding, the WEU was gradually relegated to the background, as NATO handled military-oriented tasks and other roles were absorbed by the European Community. Accordingly, the WEU practically died and completely suspended its activities between 1973 and 1984.

The 1949 Washington Declaration and the subsequent forming of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization soon played a major role in European security. Based on Article 51 of the UN charter, the Alliance's primary purpose was to collectively defend the 12 charter members, but immediately upon its creation, it became evident that this task had expanded.²⁰⁶ In the 1950s, the escalating Cold War and the polarizing world order required the Alliance to become not only a major force, but in short order the primary political-military organization in Europe. With US lead, an integrated defensive structure was formed and, as a result, it countered every other Western European Union security measure, becoming a monopoly. In other words, for decades, every other European security-oriented organization could function only as an integral element within the NATO structures.

In today's meaning, the common European or independent – not NATO-affiliated – security, foreign and defense policy-oriented attempts became the outcome of French Prime Minister Pleven's 1950 European Defense Council initiatives. Although the Benelux states, France, Germany and Italy also signed-on to the European Defense Community (EDC), due to French domestic contradictions, it was not ratified.²⁰⁷ As a result, the initiative quickly lost momentum and ended in 1954.

The dynamic polarization of the early Cold War practically aborted the development of an independent European defensive and security policy. The initiatives geared toward independent security policies remained only as plans in the shadow of WWII. Considering the situation and its inherent contradictions, they could not have materialized on a rational basis. European security, the West-type social order, transatlanticism supporting NATO, and the European communist region supporting the Warsaw Pact. So, EDC vegetated as a part of the NATO security structure and needed around 20 years to gather the strength needed to take its current shape.

In the 1950s, there were numerous economic and political integration activities in Europe which contributed to the defense dimension. European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), European Economic Community (EEC) and European Atomic Energy Agency (EURATOM) were the first to form European unions. Initially, the European Council was full of contradictions as well, but the economy-based development was unstoppable.

In the 1960s, European integration was brought to a screeching halt. Although Denmark, United Kingdom and Ireland submitted their requests in 1961 to join the EEC, they and other aspirants had to remain on the sidelines. The French-German relationship was also defined by deGaulle's unique policies. Even though the Schuman Declaration ensured the framework and supported the French-German cooperation, Paris desired to dominate and its

²⁰⁵ John Van OUDENAREN, European Integration, A history of Three Treaties, Ronald TIERSKY, Europe Today, National Politics, European Integration, and European Security, (Oxford, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, INC, 1999), p. 241.

²⁰⁶ NATO Handbook, (Brussels, NATO Office of Information and Press, 2001), p. 3.

²⁰⁷ R. T. Griffiths, European Defense Community, European Political Community, and the Beyen Plan, (Netherlands, Leiden, Leiden University, Historical Institute), Online: <http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/history/rtg/res1/edc.html> (May 17, 2003)

unwillingness to compromise made it impossible to find common denominators for nearly two decades. The breakthrough occurred at the Hague Summit in December 1969 when the six members concluded the exclusive economy-based cooperation must be expanded to financial and political channels and they also raised the possibility of expanding membership.²⁰⁸

The 1970s and 1980s saw a number of changes in the European integration and political processes. In 1970, in their closing communiqué, the foreign ministers meeting in Luxemburg voiced a desire for European political compromise. For the first time, the declaration indicated the necessity of foreign policy consultations and the basis for a common stance, even if the 6-member foreign policy cooperation could function only superficially and in name only, in the shadow of the dominating Alliance.

The next milestone in European integration occurred in 1973, when Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom were allowed to join. This was the first enlargement of the Union and provided an impetus to future political initiatives. In the 1970s, the French-German relationship finally moved from a long stalemate and with interim breaks continued to influence EU progression. After the common initiative to establish the European Council was ratified at the 1974 Paris Summit, long-term commitment was finally assured.²⁰⁹

The 1973-1974 Oil Crisis caused a serious and lengthy recession in the West. Some countries placed national interests in the foreground, relegating common interests to a secondary position, and the integration process lost some momentum. Soon, national steps to resolve the economic crisis proved unsuccessful and moreover, they had a negative impact on the entire situation. In 1979, the EU financial system was formed to synchronize national fiscal policies, stabilize European financial processes and establish the floating of national currencies based on market demands. In 1979, the second oil crisis had only marginal effects on the continent. With the European parliamentary election shortly thereafter, the membership talks with Mediterranean nations and the economic upswing all provided new dynamics to European integration. Along with these issues, security questions also moved to the foreground in the 1980s. To counter US influence in Europe, the WEU was activated with serious financial consequences and started to coordinate the collective security activities as modified by Article 5 of the Brussels Agreement.²¹⁰

In 1984, in the interest of continuing the EU successes, the EU Parliament accepted a formal framework. The WEU foreign and defense ministers met in Rome to coordinate the development and role of the organization. With European political cooperation afforded by the Union's structure, the previous economic unity was elevated to a political cooperation.²¹¹ In 1987, at the foreign minister conference conducted at The Hague, the WEU members signed on to the "EU security interest pillars," with elements of a NATO pillar but also with an integrated Western European security and defense dimension. The platform declared the Western European Union's relationship with NATO and other security organizations and

²⁰⁸ John Van OUDENAREN, *European Integration, A history of Three Treaties*, Ronald TIERSKY, Europe Today, National Politics, European Integration, and European Security, (Oxford, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, INC, 1999), pp. 243-251.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 251-252.

²¹⁰ BABOS Tibor, *Integrációnk harmadik pillére: a Nyugat-európai Unió, A társult tagsághoz vezető út*, (Budapest, Új Honvédségi Szemle, 1999/6)

²¹¹ John Van OUDENAREN, *European Integration, A history of Three Treaties*, Ronald TIERSKY, Europe Today, National Politics, European Integration, and European Security, (Oxford, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, INC, 1999), pp. 251-68.

defined the ground rules for possible expansion. As the appropriate forum to address European security and defense, it also stated how to prescribe the standards necessary to prepare for various roles in the future and the European alternatives of accepting these roles.²¹²

The resuscitation of the WEU was followed by a number of practical steps: in 1987-1988, as an independent organization, it accepted peacekeeping roles in the Iran-Iraq War. In 1990-1991, WEU observed the UN-mandated embargo in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. In 1989, to enhance capabilities, the WEU Institute for Security Studies (ISS) was formed with headquarters in Paris and a Satellite Center in Torrejon, Spain.²¹³

Under NATO auspices, EU integration and the economic and political agreement processes significantly contributed to the development of European security policy and its clarification. This was also aided by the discussions of military drawdown, easing of Cold War relations, and Eastern European political and social developments. The combination of these factors helped the continent become fertile ground for European integration and defense development.

3.3. European Defense Development

In the 1990s, Europe arrived at the world stage as an independent and defining economic center when it became practical to develop its continental political and security systems. The common, independent European security, foreign and defensive policies were spurred-on by Western European market unification, disappearance of Europe's interior borders, Eastern European democratization and the challenges stemming from the Far East and US force centers. The simultaneous development of dialectics of external and internal enhancements and independence-minded European politics were gaining definition as the first pillar of government. In the early 1990s, the requirement for foreign policy unity and maintaining respectable military forces became evident as criteria to effectively pursue interests against security risk factors.

Upon the recommendation of Chancellor Kohl and President Mitterrand, the development of a unified foreign and defensive policy was included in the European political agenda in 1990. In the same year, Portugal and Spain joined the WEU as well. 1991 was a year for major changes of the European economic and political reality. The Maastricht Treaty was signed to establish the EU and, in Luxemburg, the WEU members signed the Vianden Communiqué declaring their intent to enhance the WEU to assist the perspectives of the European integration process by making it a unified defensive element. Accordingly, a recommendation was made to form the EU security system from three sources: the WEU, NATO, and the OSCE.

While NATO worked to develop strategic concepts able to handle the new security environment, the European allies voiced their views on security and sovereignty issues. As a first step, the 1991 Maastricht Treaty encouraged a common EU foreign and internal security policy.²¹⁴ International cooperation, democracy, human rights and international law-based

²¹² NATO Handbook, (Brussels, NATO Office of Information and Press, 2001), pp. 360-361.

²¹³ History of WEU, Western European Union, Online: <http://www.weu.int/> (February 4, 2004)

²¹⁴ Gale A. MATTOX and Daniel WHITENECK, The ESDL, NATO and the new European security environment, James SPERLING, Europe in Change, Two tiers or two speeds? The European security

development procedures to guarantee EU-member security, independence and a basis of common values were identified as tasks for the CFSP as one of the Union's independent pillars. According to the agreement, CFSP is a matter of complex, internal activity whose goals and procedures are established by the EU Council and the common position is obtained by a majority of the Council of Foreign Ministers. European Union Agreement J.4.2, enacted in 1993, identified the WEU as the organization with responsibility for EU defensive policy and tasked it to prepare a viable defensive capability requirement system.²¹⁵

The establishment of the EU caused serious consternation in the capitals of the remaining superpowers. Washington expressed concerns about the way EU could rival the US and NATO during unstable EU security environments. Simultaneously, the weakened but still standing other remaining superpower was afraid of the West doubling its military capabilities upon the collapse of the Eastern Block. The misunderstandings, misstatements, reservations and accusations failed to disappear from the EU political rhetoric after the Cold War and remain as defining elements of nations involved with the continent's security events to this day.

The next step occurred at the signing of the Petersberg Declaration in 1992 as it *de jure* declared the framework to establish the European security systems. This declaration exhumed the WEU and included peacekeeping and humanitarian operations, civil defense, along with search and rescue (SAR), crisis management and conflict-related activities as its tasks.²¹⁶ For the first time, collective security issues stemming from Article 5 were separated from elements not reaching or going beyond that level. To affect the European defense cooperation or security management, the possibility of approaching NATO for assistance was raised. To complete the Petersberg tasks without delay the organization started to establish its military capability. Its most important project was the program to offer forces to the new WEU for cooperation and, in compliance with this, the membership countries could offer participation for humanitarian, civil defense and SAR tasks, along with peacekeeping and conflict management operations.²¹⁷ With the goal to coordinate the increasing planning and military-specific technical tasks, the new WEU established its own defense planning unit and the Western European Armaments Group (WEAG).

With the Petersberg Declaration and the active approval of Western European nations, the WEU and CFSP gained strength in the early 1990s, providing new meaning to European security prospects. After the deepening of the economic dimension, the EU integration – with the EU-WEU symbiosis – unequivocally started to display the characteristics of political unions with possible integration alternatives. With the establishment of a political and economic union and the discussion of further EU expansion – albeit indirectly – in the conflicts regions, the need for their effective handling became more urgent. All this pointed

order an the enlargement of the European Union and the NATO, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 121.

²¹⁵ Provisions of a Common Foreign and Security Policy, Treaty on European Union, Title V., Online: <http://europa.eu.int/en/record/mt/title5.html> (May 18, 2003)

²¹⁶ Gale A. MATTOX and Daniel WHITENECK, The ESDI, NATO and the new European security environment, James SPERLING, Europe in Change, Two tiers or two speeds? The European security order an the enlargement of the European Union and the NATO, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 121-122.

²¹⁷ WEU: a European instrument for crisis management – reply to the annual report of the Council, Explanatory Memorandum III/4, (Assembly of WEU, Document 1647, May 18, 1999), Online: http://www.assembly-weu.org/en/documents/sessions_ordinaires/reports/1647.html (May 18, 2003)

the attention to the dilemmas of European security policies and, as a result, CFSP remains a priority in European politics even today.

3.4. Common Denominator: Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF)

The issue of EU security has been at the receiving end of numerous attacks from Europe-oriented international security organizations, major powers and nations with direct interests in Europe. Already in the early 1990s, it became evident that without implementation of strict guidelines, the awakening of European self-security could lead not only to serious complications between security organizations, also destabilization of European security and the transatlantic balance.

By the mid-1990s, it was evident to the European security oriented institutions that NATO and EU were the dominant entities and that the WEU could only be defined in relations to the other two organizations. In other words, the WEU did not represent real strength alone without the other two entities. In terms of the three, interdependence was undeniable and this was further complicated by the absence of homogeneity-based differences. These complicated relationships were responsible for the organization's willingness for compromise and cooperation.

NATO needed four years to provide a satisfactory response to the vehement European interrelationships. The Alliance-developed Atlantic-European policy was manifested in the European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI) concept and the Partnership for Peace (PfP) program. At the 1994 summit held in Brussels, national leaders recognized the need and supported the WEU initiative; the relevant harmonization of the Petersberg tasks with NATO goals, and its continued development. In response to the Petersberg Declaration, the Euro-Atlantic Council made reference to the possibility of providing Alliance troops to the WEU on a case-by-case basis and to provide specific details of their exact utilization. Additionally, the Brussels Summit, in connection with the ESDI, presented the international CJTF, based on a proposal initiated by Washington, with the goal to comply with the Petersberg-style peacekeeping and conflict management operations.²¹⁸

The CJTF supported NATO-WEU cooperation by establishing the military capabilities of the European Security and Defense Policy.²¹⁹ For the CJTF, this supported the "divisible but not independent" concept and, accordingly, its implementation was possible in NATO and the WEU.²²⁰ Since the Alliance forces were subordinated to the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) and the Euro-Atlantic Cooperation Council was identified as a cooperative organization, the CJTF could be introduced in partner nations. Since the CJTF projected the possibility of Pan-European cooperation, in addition to the EU-WEU units, the two entities had to pay increasing attention to the meaning of two concepts: common and independent.

²¹⁸ NATO Summit Final Communiqué, NATO M-NAC 2(94)116, § 14-15, (Brussels, NATO Headquarters, December 1, 1994), Online: <http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/49-95/c941201a.htm> (May 18, 2003)

²¹⁹ Strengthening European Security and Defense Capabilities, (NATO Fact Sheets, December 2000), Online: <http://www.nato.int/docu/facts/2000/dev-esdi.htm> (May 18, 2003)

²²⁰ Robert E. HUNTER, *Security in the Euro-Atlantic Area*, (Barcelona, Nuevos Retos Para La Seguridad Europea, Revista Cidob d'Afers Internacionals #49, May 2000), Online: <http://www.cidob.org/Ingles/Publicaciones/Afers/49hunter.htm> (May 18, 2003)

With the CJTF project, American interest in European security increased significantly. Since the US was capable to support the CJTF, through indirect NATO channels Washington not only retained its right to influence, it also remained a major player in European military operations. The US was not the only CJTF beneficiary: the WEU and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) also gained. For example, by including European allies and partners in joint operations, the US was relieved from the burden of providing this defensive umbrella and was able to pay more attention to global issues and pursue its own interests in other regions.²²¹ Since previously all the European integration organizations were reliant on US military potential, the Europeans also drew benefits from CJTF participation as they gained access to US military warfighting maneuvers, the needed technology and, based on these, they could initiate the prioritization of their capabilities. Since CJTF represented the common denominator, this became a symbiosis for EU and NATO, as CFSP was forced to concentrate on “common,” not “independent” and “European,” tasks.

In the NATO-EU-WEU triad, CJTF presented a long-term solution to avoiding European defense capability duplication and competition, by providing a deepening of practical cooperation based on interdependence. Considering the absence of European military capability, the concept was built on US forces and, because of this, significant criticism developed in the US and in Europe. While Washington constantly criticized the weak European defense capabilities, Brussels did not view favorably the practice of the US establishing roles for its European allies.

A few years later, CJTF synchronized its variations, presented and adopted them, first in the Alliance then in the UN, the EU, the WEU, the PfP, and the OSCE. Through this, by the mid-1990s, the Alliance reached a monopolistic situation with operations capabilities. The units operated in wide-ranging, task-oriented, mission-specific spectrum subordinated to various headquarters, but primarily they were organized and operated based on NATO principles. NATO continued to develop the “new” CJTF and, in 1996, presented it in Berlin and validated the use of operative branches, the readiness of subordinated reaction forces and the ability to coordinate and execute a comprehensive response to unexpected conflicts. All in all, with CJTF organization, this signified the transparency established between security organizations in the conflict management arena; however, NATO retained primary control.

During the course of CJTF improvements, it became certain any military operation on the European continent or abroad without NATO political and military support would be a failure. In other words, excluding the US and indirectly the Alliance, none of the other organizations was able to deploy needed capability to accomplish a specific operational task. As the primary reason, other than the intent, Europe could not muster the resources for CFSP or WEU to become a military factor in the region. So, in the mid-1990s, neither the political will nor financial backing existed to form a security organization in Europe with independent and credible capabilities to handle the security deviations present on the continent. Although faced with occasional and political confrontations, the CJTF carried out the role of being the lowest common denominator between the two organizations. Despite lengthy and serious arguments, we can still conclude the, originally, CJTF was contrary to European independence; however, through avoiding the pre-arranged military structures and parallels,

²²¹ Ashton B. CARTER, George A. JOULWAN, Thomas G. MCINERNEY, Michael P. C. CARNS, *Anticipating Today the Essential Capabilities for Tomorrow, Analysis*, (1999 Fletcher Conference, November 2, 1999), Online: <http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/documents/Fletcher/Fletcher-99/F99-P3-A.htm> (May 8, 2003)

under NATO auspices, it contributed to the continued enhancement of the European defense dimension.

Independent European security materialized with the EU and WEU defense initiatives. With the Alliance's financial and political backing, it continued to move along in the mid-1990s. The practical steps taken to follow the Petersberg-established direction including accepting limited tasks in Europe and remained NATO-dependent. It became sensible for NATO to be the guarantee for lengthy European defense, while the collective WEU disappeared into the past and the development of EU defense capabilities was still an issue for the future. The concept of NATO remaining the institution to maintain European security gained believers and the two plans for independence remained largely a matter of pride, not of reality.

3.5. European Defense Capability Definition

In 1996, the EU started to review its own controlling agreement, updates and modifications. A series of Inter-governmental Conference (IGC) sessions conducted with the 15 members in 1997 was concluded by the Amsterdam Summit. Its declaration minutely detailed the common foreign defense security policy and its future developments. Representing the EU, Amsterdam attempted to identify the Petersberg-type political integration, defense planning alternatives, and the Union's position on ESDP and CJTF. The agreement proved the EU took interest in developing common and independent European security and defense policy and defined defense capabilities based on CFSP-guidance.²²²

Provided with the opportunity to initiate military operations and to decide about its role, CFSP was expanded vertically and horizontally. The development of CFSP strategies was referred to the European Council and, accordingly, defense plan development continued to remain a matter to be decided by consensus; however, council majority was necessary for operations planning decisions and their execution.²²³ The agreement identified the Council Secretary along with a person responsible for a joint foreign and defense policy execution, and provided authority to cooperate directly with the council and the presidency on the relevant issues.

The agreement recommended CFSP-related decision processes be incorporated in member nation's domestic structures. Considering the contents did not contain any reference to ESDI or to the Union-ESDI relationships, the relevant wording showed contrasts between CFSP and NATO. For example, while NATO used the "ESDI mosaic" expression, the Union's interpretation referring to the wide spectrum of this process preferred the CFSP, ESDP, EDP (European Defense Policy) abbreviations. By that time, a permanent conflict developed between the Alliance and the Union, illustrated by the inability of the inter-governmental coordination to produce a breakthrough in advance of the 1997 Amsterdam Agreement on the issue of common concepts and their terms.

²²² General Secretariat Working Party, Task Force on the Intergovernmental Conference, Note on the European Parliament's Priorities for the IGC and the New Amsterdam Treaty, Report and Initial Evaluation of the Results, Onilne: http://www.europarl.eu.int/topics/treaty/report/part3_en.htm (May 18, 2003)

²²³ Treaty of Amsterdam Amending the Treaty on European Union, The Treaties Establishing The European Communities and Related Acts, (Official Journal, C 340, November 10, 1997), Article J.3-4, Online: <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/dat/amsterdam.html> (May 29, 2003)

The European foreign and security policies were repeatedly revised before the Amsterdam Summit. The Treaty was expanded by the Petersberg tasks, Europe-specific security questions and military capability coordination. In this area, priority was placed on member states incorporating EU-recommendations into their legal system. At the EU-level, legitimizing the CFSP in international relationships for specific roles and through international law remained a high priority.²²⁴

The Amsterdam Treaty viewed the original Maastricht formula as a guiding philosophy and, accordingly, the WEU as an integral element of EU development; thus, the WEU must carry out the Petersberg tasks for the EU security intentions to materialize. Amsterdam only authorized the WEU to establish the capabilities to accomplish the military tasks prescribed by the Petersberg Declaration. Additionally, it also restated that tasks beyond the Petersberg Declaration were strictly for NATO.²²⁵

The Treaty went to great lengths to address the deepening EU-WEU relationship with the forming and enlarging operations capabilities as a cornerstone. The goal was for the Union to establish a common foreign and security policy with member-state approval for a unified defensive-oriented goal and to include the WEU as an integral element. This assumed the harmonization of EU and member states and their legal relationship, a task not likely to be accomplished without further coordination.²²⁶ By 1997, the European security policies inspired the Union to build a more operative and faster mechanism for a functioning security policy and provided the needed military assets.

The WEU, still in its independent phase, reacted negatively to the Amsterdam Agreement. In its 1997 Brussels Declaration, it took sides with the North Atlantic Council's Berlin stance and with the WEU-NATO relationship's basic principles, by stating the link between the organizations: through ESDP NATO was connected to the WEU, and with the Petersberg tasks the WEU was tied to the Alliance.²²⁷ The Berlin guidance established the Western European Union's military concept. With this, the WEU wanted to legitimize its own operational capability by devising a system to utilize the needed NATO and EU capabilities to handle European conflicts. The wording of the document exceeded this though, since to connect the two entities the WEU imagined its role along the lines of a coordinating organization, such as the UN and the OSCE.²²⁸ However, the WEU lacked concrete capabilities and political capital, so this attempt failed due to the lack of interest by the member countries. It became certain that the WEU operates only formally and its activities are absorbed as elements of the territory and power maintained by the two other organizations.

Some members hindered CFSP development, foremost the United Kingdom. The Kosovo bloodshed and the unpredictability of the Southern Slav conflict boosted British foreign policy. The just-elected Blair in his speech at Poertschach stated his intent to take a more active part in defining and executing the EU integration process. To him, EU security

²²⁴ Ibid., Article J.7.1

²²⁵ Ibid., Article J.7

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ WEU Ministerial Council, *Declaration of the WEU on the Role of the Western European Union and its Relations with the European Union and with the Atlantic Alliance*, Brussels, July 22, 1997, Article J.7.B, Online: <http://www.cip.fuhem.es/ueh/documentos/ueo/97-brussels.htm> (May 29, 2003)

²²⁸ Ibid., Article J.7.C.

and defense policy was characterized by weakness and aimlessness, and that was unacceptable.²²⁹ To gain ground in European integration, Blair was forced to start radical diplomatic reforms.²³⁰ According to the revised British approach, CFSP could not be successful without the necessary military force and, conversely, without military capability, CFSP would remain merely a lightweight and short-term political initiative. The turn of British foreign policy toward the European Union meant significant revisions in defense capability developments.

3.6. The United Kingdom in Europe

At St Malo in December 1998, the United Kingdom and France released a joint declaration on European defense which expressed continental concepts, but simultaneously recognized the Alliance's primacy and the necessity for continued support.²³¹ The basic message of this bilateral summit was the necessity to enable the EU to independently handle international conflicts. The San Malo Declaration identified the British-French aim for common political goals and European security developments as bilateral goals. Since this occurred without German involvement, numerous verbal exchanges followed about foreign and security policies. After San Malo, the question was not whether CFSP could be accomplished. The issue was revised to address what forces could be used and which organizations would have the leading role.

With the British taking a more European-oriented approach, the concept of the CFSP changed fundamentally. Not only was the topic returned to the table but also more and more alternatives began to take shape in discussions. The United States and Germany were forced to reconsider their foreign policies. The noticeably increasing British-French cooperation, soon to be supported by German participation, proved to be decisive in the development of the European defensive dimension. As a result of the significant British role, ESDI was strengthened and thereby the EU indirectly assumed an increased role.²³²

The desire of members to take action on behalf of the Union had long ranging consequences. According to the St Malo Declaration, an EU military force must be available for mobilization in case of a European crisis.²³³ Additionally, the plan included affording the Union with the technical structure and capabilities to be responsive and decisive when the Alliance does not want to commit resources.

²²⁹ Margarita MATHIOPOULOS & István GYARMATI, Saint Malo and Beyond: Toward European Defense, The Washington Quarterly, (Washington D.C., Autumn 1999), p. 67. Online: <http://www.twq.com/autumn99/224Mathiopoulos.pdf> (May 30, 2003)

²³⁰ Jolyon HOWORTH, British Defence Policy in the Post-War World: torn between Atlanticism and Europeanism, Online: <http://staff.bath.ac.uk/mlsre/BritishDefencePolicy.htm> (May 29, 2003)

²³¹ Peter W. RODMAN, NATO and the European Union's 'Common Foreign and Security Policy, Remarks prepared for the Subcommittee on European Affairs Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate, (Washington D.C., The Nixon Center, March 24, 1999), Online: http://www.nixoncenter.org/publications/testimony/3_24NATO.htm (May 29, 2003)

²³² Margarita MATHIOPOULOS & István GYARMATI, Saint Malo and Beyond: Toward European Defense, The Washington Quarterly, (Washington D.C., Autumn 1999), p. 67. Online: <http://www.twq.com/autumn99/224Mathiopoulos.pdf> (May 30, 2003)

²³³ Jennifer DU, Britain's Growing Collaboration with the European Union on a Pan-Europe Defense System, (Los Angeles, UCLA International Institute, April 22, 2002), Online: <http://www.isop.ucla.edu/article.asp?parentid=1707> (May 30, 2003)

Accordingly, the European Council assumed responsibility within a CFSP framework to develop the capabilities of a common defense policy elements and the Union started the initiation of an independent military. This joint British-French stance was to continue, and the most progressive element was a timetable for EU defense development. San Malo projected the Union to have significant military (peacekeeping) capability by 2003. The Atlantic-oriented United Kingdom landed in the uppermost echelon of the EU and discussions toward EU-NATO political cooperation began. Following this positive start, the two organizations always invited representatives from the other organization; furthermore, even non-EU members (i.e. Turkey and Norway) could participate in the forming of EU defense capabilities.²³⁴ The European Union's most important cooperation strategy avoided unnecessary duplication and parallels, gaining maximal utilization of EU and WEU structural capabilities and prodding initiation of mechanisms to enable access to the Alliance's international military capabilities.²³⁵ Thus, the independence-oriented European security policy question took a more important role on the international political scene. It seemed, CFSP gained sympathy in every just about every EU capital city.

The European picture developed at San Malo, in content and execution, could not be viewed as complete. The primary reason was its building on bilateral desires and capabilities. It did not clarify what the parties mean under "military assets" and the contradictory role projected for the Western European Union's future. Although the organization had a major role in ESDI and CFSP development, the strengthening of European unity pillars raised serious problems within the established entity's relationship with one another. The WEU becoming a part of the EU was a given; however, it was not yet known how it could be completely absorbed by the EU.²³⁶

Reviewing the Declaration in detail, there are many doubts caused by the ambiguity in the wording. On one side, the agreement confirmed the Alliance as a fundamental and defining element of European security. On the other, it solidified the need for a more independent foreign and security policy and military capability development. Discord appeared between the British and French views of CFSP development. The French desire was to make the program more Europe-oriented to counter US dominance; the British intent was to commit toward Atlanticism with the preference to resolve the numerous continental issues through Atlantic-oriented compromise. To summarize the effect of San Malo on CFSP, we could state the active British foreign policy moved the EU-US relationship in a positive direction, a desirable step as the direction was in the best interests of both parties. However, this British-French agreement raised a number of questions, and the following political and military issues became central elements of future negotiations:

1. Effect on the NATO role in Europe
2. Change of the NATO-WEU relationship
3. European Union's ability to fill the void left by the disappearance of the WEU; and in a looser meaning,
4. The extent of changes for the Transatlantic and Pan-European relationships

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Hanna OJANEN, *Participation and Influence: Finland, Sweden and the Post-Amsterdam Development of the CFSP*, (Occasional Paper, January 2000), Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/occasion/occ11.html> (May 30, 2003)

²³⁶ Declaration of the European Council on strengthening the common European policy on security and defence (Brussels, Press Release, Nr. 122/99, 03.06.1999), § 5, Online: http://www.basicint.org/europe/ESDP/0699-PR_EUdefpol.htm (May 30, 2003)

For CFSP development, the Alliance's Washington Summit in April 1999 became a milestone as it defined the new dynamics of the transatlantic relationship. The Alliance's proclamation addressed the Union's continental roles and validated the text of previous NATO-EU agreements. In terms of the EU, this meant that in a short time it would become a key player and in European security. The Alliance's permissiveness was visible, but yet limited and conditional. The heads of state and heads of government declared, NATO retains the right to take the leading role and the Union could only initiate an independent crisis-handling operation when the Alliance relinquishes its interest.²³⁷ In no way could this agreement be considered reserved. Without a doubt it demonstrated the real power struggle and the dominance of the Alliance in the context of the two organizations.

The most significant documents of the Washington Summit, the new Strategic Concept and Defense Capability Initiative (DCI), urged the continuation of defense planning within NATO and its member nations.. The DCI program partially served the realization of a European defensive dimension because with enhanced capabilities the European members could more successfully cooperate with the US and, in military terms, prepare a reliable and independent European crisis management and defense planning system's continued enhancement. It seemed practical for NATO to rely on the DCI and the Alliance's defense planning system. In this respect, duplication of current capabilities became avoidable; the vision of a wide-ranging strategic cooperation began to form between the two organizations.

At the Washington Summit, the conditions for independent European defense capabilities were developed. The results of the summit gave an impetus to the nations participating at the European Union's Cologne Summit to move from the stalemate on defense policy decision issues where it stagnated for years. In the Washington Communiqué, there was a reference to the EU-led operations and the need to develop the mechanism for NATO-EU cooperation addressing the utilization of NATO assets and capabilities by the Union. A document was completed to control the utilization of NATO assets and capabilities in the EU-led operations. The Strategic Concept emphasized increased European commitments and responsibilities and placed more emphasis on the need to increase European defense capabilities. According to the concept, ESDI development could be imagined only within NATO and with a more balanced transatlantic relationship.

The new NATO Strategic Concept declared political solidarity, called for appropriate military readiness, and stressed maintenance of a common defense as central elements of the Alliance's security ideals. The Alliance emphasized limited responses to challenges outside of Article 5 basically adapting to the Petersberg Declaration.²³⁸ While the NATO strategy did not dedicate a single paragraph to EU/WEU issues, PfP filled six paragraphs and ESDI a complete sub-chapter.²³⁹ Clearly, this proved, the Alliance imagined the maintenance of European security based on its own strengths along with the transatlantic and Pan-European cooperation. On the 50th birthday of the Alliance, the rivalry between NATO and EU was evident as was a creative level of conflict. The basic reason for these was the absence of needed military support behind the European Union's political stance, something NATO did not lack. So, while ignoring the stated security circumstances of the Alliance, the EU worked independently and with unstoppable determination to establish its own security guarantees.

²³⁷ The Alliance's Strategic Concept, (Washington D.C., North Atlantic Council, Press Release, NAC-S (99)65, April 23-24, 1999), § 30, Online: <http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/1999/p99-065e.htm> (May 18, 2003)

²³⁸ Ibid., § 28-29.

²³⁹ Ibid., § 30, 33-38.

Simultaneously, the Alliance took advantage of its superiority using the “divide and conquer” mentality to minimize the actions against it as it strengthened the Alliance’s security umbrella.

The WEU conducted its final event as an independent organization in Bremen, hosting foreign and defense ministers in May 1999, as the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland joined as new members. Here, the EU foreign ministers took a stance to encourage member-nations to display more determined steps to increase European military capabilities, complete tasks as identified at the Petersberg Summit, include military decision-makers, effective military assets and contingents within or independent of NATO from national or multi-national sources. The use of NATO military terms and taking a pro-NATO approach was noticeable. The closing communiqué stated that European defense structures and development must continue to augment NATO without redundancy. To increase operational efficiency, the WEU urged the integration of member-nation’s military structures according to their status and in light of the new developments, to continue the previous steps and cooperate with the Union and the Alliance.²⁴⁰

In terms of the Western European Union’s future, Bremen was the dividing line for it and the European Union. The resolution included steps for the European Council to take in order to integrate the WEU into the EU; however, in this process, it remained questionable how the European Union’s independent states could participate in a common security and how the fiscal contributions would be divided while remaining acceptable.

3.7. EU - WEU Fusion

In 1999, Germany inherited the rotating EU Presidency and refined and further developed the San Malo’s CFSP-vision, Western European Union’s Bremen Communiqué and Washington’s concept. With the British-French-German unity, in its term-closing Cologne Communiqué, the German Presidency decreed that developing common European security and defense policies would expand the Common Foreign and Security Policy’s military dimension. Simultaneously, by the end of 2000, the WEU would integrate into the EU and the Petersberg tasks would be absorbed by ESDP.²⁴¹ In other words, the WEU-CFSP contradictions would cease with the WEU integration into the Union as envisioned by the Maastricht philosophy. A timetable was developed for the integration and accordingly, by 2000, all decisions would have to be made to complete the fusion of the Unions.

The planned EU-WEU integration expedited the need for a number of urgent strategic decisions.²⁴² Retaining the Western European Union’s accomplishments during the fusion remained a primary goal. Toward this goal, the Union started a system of guarantees to ensure the continuation of the Western European Union’s functional element’s operative guidance and the WEU-established European crisis management capabilities. A number of issues had to be clarified: the Western European Union’s actual roles, the legal state of EU-

²⁴⁰ Bremen Declaration, WEU Council of Ministers, (Bremen, May 10, 1999), 3. §, Online: http://www.esteri.it/eng/archives/arch_press/miscpapers/d100599e.htm (July 28, 2003)

²⁴¹ Presidency Report on Strengthening of the Common European Policy on Security and Defense, (Cologne, European Council, June 3-4, 1999), § 2. Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (May 31, 2003)

²⁴² German Presidency Paper, Informal Reflection at WEU on Europe’s Security and Defense, (Bonn, February 24, 1999), § I.1., Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (May 31, 2003)

member observers and partners, and institutional changes necessary to allow the EU to take over crisis management roles from the WEU. By projecting the absorption of WEU and standardization of the military industry, the Cologne Agreement contributed to the solidification of the Union and the establishment of its independent capabilities.

After EU integration, the WEU members and partners did not receive guarantees about retaining the rights they earned during the WEU tenure and this remained a problem to resolve. Topping the list of issues was whether the extent of “other” European interests, those of non-EU members, would be considered since the WEU members justifiably persisted to retain their rights granted by the WEU while a number of EU members imagined the “independent” European defense dimension through their exclusion. The declaration credited the EU communiqué to have stated its desire to continue to expand and include NATO member allies into the EU; however, it did not address the avenue for this.²⁴³ It verified the desire for collective security cooperation and agreements with NATO, and accepted to keep the collective defense tasks within NATO parameters. Accordingly, the Union could only utilize NATO assets when an agreement is made on a case-by-case basis.²⁴⁴

The EU-NATO-WEU effect mechanism surfaced as a special element of Washington’s foreign policy. For Washington, the French plan for sovereign European security was just as unacceptable as a clear rejection of the Alliance. Former US Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott assured the Union that the US would pay special attention to EU politics displayed toward the six non-EU members. Speaking of ESDI, Talbot guaranteed it to be a forum for these nations to participate in the planning and decision-making process and, when so preferred, they may also participate in its activities.²⁴⁵ Caving in to US pressure, a compromise decision followed in the European capitals. In crisis situations, the decision would be made by the EU nucleus; however, immediately thereafter the non-EU member allies would have equal weight in deciding the crisis management operations and would be involved in critical decisions.²⁴⁶

After Cologne, the Union started to make serious efforts to gain familiarity with the NATO defense planning procedures and their utilization expecting to have access to the assets as announced at the Washington Summit. The Union would turn to the Alliance when taking part in operations needing NATO assets, and it would rely on direct NATO involvement when the needed operational and strategic options would exceed EU capabilities. This meant a requirement to establish guidance to avail NATO structures to all EU members who intend to participate in EU-directed operations utilizing NATO assets.

In November 1999, the WEU minister’s council conducted a session with the Western European Armament Group in Luxemburg. Considering the WEU-EU fusion was already a given fact, in the interest of a smooth realignment and continuation of multi-national independent European military capability, the Treaty of European Union (TEU) began to reevaluate the Petersberg Agreement. Based on Chapter 17, military capability and decision-

²⁴³ Declaration of the European Council on Strengthening the Common European Policy on Security and Defense, (Cologne, European Council, June 3-4, 1999), § 3. Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (May 31, 2003)

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, § II.1-2.

²⁴⁵ Strobe TALBOTT, America’s take in a Strong Europe, Remarks at a Royal Institute of International Affairs, Conference on the Future of NATO, (London, October 7, 1999), Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (May 31, 2003)

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, § II.3.

making authority were offered to the EU. With this step, the EU not only gained insight into the activities of the WEU Secretariat, Military Branch, Satellite Center and the Institute for Security Studies, it also began preparations to include them in its core.²⁴⁷ The fusion of the two Unions enabled the EU to elevate the standards encouraging the WEU to do the same. The invitation of the WEAG aimed at helping the EU secure its weapon and military industry cooperation, and was to serve the same purpose.²⁴⁸

3.8. European Force Generation Initiation

At the end of 1999, the Helsinki Summit took place. This event was a milestone for the second pillar, defining its direction. In its summary, the Finn Presidency dedicated an entire chapter to the new Common European Security and Defense Policy (CESDP).²⁴⁹ In the Helsinki Communiqué, the heads of state and government discussed the desire for European defense capabilities preparation in the practical dimensions. The Helsinki Summit moved the European security forward in two areas: 1) established the primary guiding principle of the European defense policy based on the European rapid reaction force; and, 2) established a temporary defense dimension framework basing it on a standard ESDP structure.

Although the declaration continued to emphasize the Petersberg-type tasks, it also stated to continue the Amsterdam, San Malo and Cologne guidance, and indicated the EU would start to form its own independent military force. Accordingly, to support EU-led operations, it needed assets. Additionally, new political and military structural development and execution was projected under EU Council oversight, with the responsibility for political and strategic decisions. Coordinated execution of all this was planned with continuous consultation and complete EU-NATO transparency.²⁵⁰

Another development was the way the Union's primary leaders politically supported the intent to ensure NATO would not be weakened; nevertheless, the connection with the Alliance would not be made. They maintained the new political and military structure must remain and respect the EU-established institutions.²⁵¹ The closing communiqué also declared Europe must be militarily self-sufficient, meaning it must maintain the necessary core capability, military branches, special forces, reconnaissance units, logistic capabilities and other support structures. The WEU accomplished a comprehensive evaluation and identified reconnaissance, command and control and strategic transport capabilities as the three weakest links in the ESDP. The Union started to rectify these weaknesses and received NATO assistance.²⁵²

The Union's Headline Goals (HG) served as the medium to prepare the organization's military defense concept. This was the primary defensive planning document and the

²⁴⁷ Luxemburg Declaration, WEU Ministerial Council, (Luxemburg, November 22-23, 1999), § 1-3., Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (May 31, 2003)

²⁴⁸ Armaments Cooperation Activities of the Western European Armaments Group Luxemburg Declaration, WEU Ministerial Council (WEAG), (Luxemburg, November 22-23, 1999), § 1-8., Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (May 31, 2003)

²⁴⁹ Presidency Conclusions, European Council, (Helsinki, 10-11 December, 1999), Chapter II, Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (June 1, 2003)

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Chapter II. § 28.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² *Ibid.*, Annex 1-IV, Military Capabilities for Petersberg Tasks, Presidency Progress Report to the Helsinki European Council on Strengthening the Common European Policy an Security and Defense

mechanism to guarantee the execution of the planned revisions. It was entirely independent of NATO. The Helsinki Agreement projected a 60,000 force to be recruited by 2003. In less than one year, this was exceeded by a large margin, as more than 100,000 troops, 400 aircraft and 100 warships were offered. This meant the military force was doubled. This heretofore-unimaginable revision brought quantitative changes and created a different qualitative situation since it exceeded the HG plan in every respect projecting unimaginable prospects for the CESDP evolution at the turn of the millennium. The extent of the quantity of assets offered created administrative and capability problems and only later did it become clear that this force could not be mobilized for years to come.

According to NATO, concepts envisioned by the Helsinki Agreement clearly exceeded the Union's crisis management requirements. For this reason, the grandiose HG philosophy was like a shadow over the EU-NATO cooperation. The recruiting of assets after the Helsinki Agreement caused some concerns for NATO, since the Union's forces might not only accomplish the Petersberg tasks, but could also form an independent European defense force. The US welcomed the practical steps to enhance military capabilities; nevertheless, Washington was concerned about a sense of independence the Union might gain. Another cause for misunderstandings was how the declaration claimed the Union members would use NATO assets in defense planning, defense plan initiatives, PfP planning and control procedures, but would not provide transparency for the US.²⁵³

The Finn Presidency projected new prospects by establishing and subordinating three new political, military-oriented, permanent organizations to the council de jure forming the Union's defense political and military organization. To support the work of the Political Security and Military Committee, a Military Branch was formed and tasked with the responsibility to prepare a comprehensive CESDP plan. Based on specific scenarios, a mechanism was developed for the council to delegate responsibility to the Political and Security Committee. At the same time, the Military Committee would oversee and control the work of the Military Branch to present advice, suggestions and develop operational plans.

Going beyond Union borders, the government leaders in their Pan-European communiqué requested non-Union allies and other European nations to contribute to the EU's defense capability.²⁵⁴ Although the Helsinki Communiqué made gestures toward EU aspirants and helped repair the EU-NATO relationship, it clearly demonstrated the EU was not yet capable to provide its own defense from its own internal military capability. The possible inclusion of non-EU member nations encourages the concept of a broader continental ESDP. Thus, the following questions arose: 1) How could non-EU nations participate in the decision process? 2) How could special military cooperation materialize between members and non-members especially in terms of operations or intelligence? And, 3) How would costs be divided? The EU aspirants reasoned, upon offering troops, they expected to take full part in the decision-making process. On this matter the Union had to concede. In order to realize the broad-based continental security cooperation alternative, it must treat nations who provide significant assets as equal partners.

A major weakness of the Helsinki Agreement was not giving enough credence to structural problems. During institutionalization of the ESDP, the realms of new committees overlapped with the council's previous permanent organizations. The conflicts became

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., Consultation and Cooperation with non-EU Countries and with NATO

visible in two prominent cases: the Political and Security Committee versus the Political Committee; and the Military Committee versus the Political Planning and Early Indicator Group. The 2000 Inter-governmental Conference was called and its primary task was to review and synchronize the work of old and new committees, to minimize overlapping responsibilities. Despite these issues, the Helsinki Summit provided the necessary impetus to the continuation of the millennium's European defense dimension and its execution.

The two leading accomplishments of the European Union's Portuguese Presidency were providing practical opportunities for Helsinki's temporary organizations and synchronizing the HG-related initiatives with national contribution capabilities.²⁵⁵ In March 2000, the Lisbon Conference (along with a new WEU Congress) accepted the Helsinki-proposed Interim Political and Security Committee (IPSC) to be formed by senior military officers of member nations and the proposal to establish a group of military experts. Accordingly, the aforementioned organizations started to function on March 1, 2000 and the IPSC became a sort of political committee working closely with the EU Secretary to deal with Common Foreign and Security Policy's daily problems and perspectives. Additionally, the military representatives and subject matter experts held their first meeting and elected leaders. After the Lisbon Summit accepted a document addressing the European Union's military organizations and the operational planning and control of EU military maneuvers, in essence, the European Union Military Staff (EUMS) could actually start to fulfill its role.²⁵⁶

An effective weapons industry is essential to develop a European defense capability and the WEU Ministers Council in May 2000 provided the needed impetus toward that goal. Taking part in this meeting at Porto were the representatives of the new NATO members – Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary.²⁵⁷ Not to be overlooked was the Western European Union's integration into the EU.²⁵⁸ Accordingly, the Military Committee and the Military Branch started to prepare a report about the reorganization plan and to maintain the readiness of WEU troops and other assets to meet EU objectives.²⁵⁹ By now, in advance of the EU-WEU fusion, virtually all obstacles disappeared and by devising the processes of the reorganization processes and assigning the responsibilities, the moment of actual integration became noticeably closer.

The frequent meetings between the EU and NATO and the ad hoc work group discussions with military experts were standardized in June 2000 at the Santa Maria de Feira Summit. In terms of controlling contact beyond NATO, the Feira Summit broke new ground. It made it possible for non-EU European allies and membership aspirants to participate in EU conflict management operations and even more importantly, to enhance cooperation between the two organizations. Four areas of cooperation were established:

1. Security issues
2. Capability packages

²⁵⁵ Presidency Conclusions, Common European Security and Defense Policy, European Council, (Lisbon, March 23-24, 2000), Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (June 1, 2003)

²⁵⁶ Documentum Submitted to the Lisbon European Council, Strengthening the common European and Defense Policy, European Council, (Lisbon, March 23-24, 2000), § 3, Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (June 1, 2003)

²⁵⁷ Porto Declaration, WEU Ministerial Council (Porto, 15-16 May, 2000), § 1, Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (June 2, 2003)

²⁵⁸ Armaments Cooperation, WEU Ministerial Council (Porto, 15-16 May, 2000), Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (June 2, 2003)

²⁵⁹ Porto Declaration, WEU Ministerial Council (Porto, 15-16 May, 2000), § 3, Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (June 2, 2003)

3. Procedures for EU to access NATO assets
4. Procedures for permanent consultations²⁶⁰

The EU established relevant ad hoc committees to elevate cooperation to the expert level.²⁶¹ The Feira Summit also decided about inclusion of nonmember's into EU tasks. The initiation of discussions dealing with the compromise to the original six EU members was a step in the proper direction even though the intended discussions failed to live up to the original expectations.

The closing Feira Communiqué's second Appendix stated, although EU and NATO strengthen each other, the nature and foundations are different. Referring to the EU/NATO/WEU triad, it declared to ensure their most sensible adaptation for EU-NATO relations, the EU would control the WEU-NATO contacts.²⁶² In terms of international organizations, this meant WEU de facto lost its autonomy and the EU became its legal successor. Additionally, for NATO and the US, now the European defense capability's bi-dimensional mode became one-sided and the viewpoints in the future would be more focused and consistent.

In the interest of building a civil component to handle crisis management, a decision was made in Feira to plan the forming of a 5,000-strong police force by 2003. The primary goal was to maintain domestic order before and after international conflicts. Furthermore, Feira also mandated members to prepare a 1,000-strong police force with a 30-day notice for mobilization.²⁶³

The Union, without compromise took the position to retain its decision-making authority in a crisis. In support, it envisioned a unified and integrated system to attempt to handle crisis management tasks and to coordinate the relevant steps. The EU also kept the right to invite non-EU members only when the situation demanded it or Brussels viewed it as essential. This meant in case of a crisis inviting non-EU members was possible, but not mandatory. By making the participation possible by invitation, the Union opened -- albeit cautiously -- toward the Pan-European region. Soon the EU, along with NATO, would compete with OSCE.²⁶⁴

The EU recognized the nature of differences between nations and their security institutions. The new guideline was to mandate member-nations to exchange relevant information in the event of a crisis. Fortunately, the new concepts to affect the consultations and coordination mechanisms did not negatively affect Russia or Ukraine, where framework

²⁶⁰ Common European Security and Defense Policy, Presidency Conclusions, (Santa Maria de Feira, European Council, 19-20 June, 2000), § I.C.9, Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (June 2, 2003)

²⁶¹ Military Aspects of Crisis Management, Presidency Report on the Common European Security and Defense Policy, (Santa Maria de Feira, European Council, June 19-20, 2000), § D, Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (June 2, 2003)

²⁶² Principles, Principles for Consultation with NATO on Military Issues and Recommendations on Developing Modalities for EU/NATO Relations, (Santa Maria de Feira, European Council, June 19-20, 2000), § 1-5, Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (June 2, 2003)

²⁶³ Presidency Conclusions, Santa Maria da Feira, June 19-20, 2000, § C9, C11, Online: http://www.europarl.eu.int/conferences/euromed/instorgs/feira_en.pdf (February 5, 2004)

²⁶⁴ Principles, Principles for Consultation with NATO on Military Issues and Recommendations on Developing Modalities for EU/NATO Relations, (Santa Maria de Feira, European Council, June 19-20, 2000), § C, Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (June 2, 2003)

agreements have been in place at the strategic level.²⁶⁵ Clarifying the conditions and circumstances in which countries may participate in European operations, the EU practically defined the continent's EU-norm mobilization framework.

The Portuguese Presidency failed to make significant progress during its tenure on EU-NATO cooperation. In its rhetoric, the EU continued to emphasize the possible inclusion of non-EU allies and aspirants in European crisis management issues; however, this remained only a formality. The real coordination remained along previously established channels and institutions; the NATO and PfP defense planning elements continued to remain in close contact. This meant some nations took part in defense planning processes as EU, NATO or PfP members based on their actual membership and priorities.²⁶⁶ Clarifying legal status of the non-EU member European allies and EU aspirants remained for subsequent EU presidencies to resolve.

3.9. New Millennium Prospects

The French EU leadership made some decisive but fateful decisions. The Western European Union's Marseille and the European Union's Nizza decisions, in coordination, subordinated the entire WEU operating system under EU reassigning responsibility for every crisis management function.²⁶⁷ The Torrejon Satellite Center and the Paris Institute for Security Studies (ISS) – previously WEU entities – were transferred to the EU. The successful WEU-operated transatlantic cooperation project was taken over by the ISS and the missions in progress and smaller projects, based on an EU decision, were halted at the end of their mandate.²⁶⁸

The next decade's trend for ESDP was summarized by the Feira Presidency's closing report. Relying on the results of the Cologne, Helsinki and Feira Summits, the European Union's goal for the new century was to establish a very broad, civil and military system of assets to be mobilized to resolve military and political crises on the European continent. Specifically, the most important goals established by the Helsinki summit were prioritization of force requirements and a catalog of deployable forces available. This started the identification and documentation of voluntary contributions from member nations. With the autonomous decision-making mechanism and its international recognition, the European Union's goal was to realize its plan to execute the Petersberg tasks and handle issues where the Alliance might not get involved.²⁶⁹ This certainly would not have happened through the duplication of NATO-EU voluntary contributions but through a rational utilization and more autonomy-based decision using ESDP assets. Nevertheless, this did not yet signify the availability of a "European Military Force".

²⁶⁵ Ibid., § 6-8.

²⁶⁶ Guiding Principles, Arrangements to be Concluded by the Council on Modalities of Consultation and/or Participation that will Allow the Non-EU European NATO Members and Other Countries Which are Candidates for Accession to the EU to Contribute to EU Military Crisis Management, (Santa Maria de Feira, European Council, June 19-20, 2000), § 2-6, Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (June 2, 2003)

²⁶⁷ Presidency Report on the Common European and Security Policy, European Council, (Nice, December 7-9, 2000), Annex VI. § V., Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (June 6, 2003)

²⁶⁸ BABOS Tibor, Integrációnk harmadik pillére: a NYEU - A társult tagsághoz vezető út, Új Honvédségi Szemle, Budapest, 1999/6

²⁶⁹ Presidency Report on the Common European and Security Policy, European Council, (Nice, December 7-9, 2000), Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (June 2, 2003)

The ESDP-oriented developments stemming from the Nizza Agreements were not viewed negatively by NATO, as they essentially contributed to move the renewed transatlantic relationship in the proper direction. The Summit's report displayed a more tolerant and friendly tone recognizing the Alliance's continued commitment toward collective defense and for maintaining a decisive role in crisis management. It also declared the European Security and Defense Policy must contribute to the revitalization of the Transatlantic cooperation.²⁷⁰ By strengthening the decision-making mechanisms and autonomies, an effective partnership between the two organizations began to take shape.

The synopsis for continued consultation and cooperation between NATO and EU validated this concept. The extent of cooperation between the two entities, in peacetime or war, was now defined. The Alliance's North Atlantic Council (NAC) was identified as a partner for the EU Political and Security Committee (PSC) in peacetime and during every presidency, at least semi-annually, a meeting was prescribed. The two military elements were to gather as situations required, but had to formally meet at least twice per year. The expert consultations were also institutionalized and the daily contacts created transparency. The task to handle crisis was divided into three phases: 1) dangerous times; 2) NATO asset utilization; and 3) independent (without NATO participation) maneuvers.²⁷¹ Accordingly, paragraph 10 of the Washington Summit's Communiqué was corrected to synchronize the defense planning procedures, the utilization of available NATO assets, and weaknesses in command and control.²⁷²

In addition to the gestures the French Presidency made towards NATO, it obligated the Union in other directions as well. Appendix 4 of the presidency's summary stated that the European military capability development must be synchronized with requirements of the international community's needs, with an emphasis that assets and mobilization capabilities had to be enhanced. In this process, the UN and the OSCE were the leading organizations; therefore, additional steps were necessary to improve EU-UN-OSCE cooperation and integration.²⁷³ Toward this goal, the Union expanded its system of cooperating mechanisms and, through offering a hand to other security organizations, it not only urged clarification of responsibilities toward the entire European security system, but expanding its system of tools, the EU promoted itself to be partners with the UN and OSCE.

According to the French, establishing the EU-led crisis management capabilities and their unsatisfactory state remained the largest challenge for ESDP. The report reiterated that the Helsinki Agreement and the November 2000 Brussels commitment conference urgently addressed issues of utilization, mobilization, deployment and interoperability required to fulfill Petersberg tasks. In addition, it also specified alignment of member-offered forces, the requirements to enhance command, control and communication (C³), intelligence and strategic air and maritime mobility.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Presidency Conclusions on the Common European and Security Policy, European Council, (Nice, December 7-9, 2000), Annex VII to Annex VI. § I-III., Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (June 5, 2003)

²⁷² Ibid., Appendix to Annex VII to Annex VI, Consultation and Cooperation on the Implementation of the Paragraph 10 of the Washington Communiqué.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., § I.(1)

To identify weaknesses with the slow pace of progress of the defense planning mechanism, a review of the HG was mandated. A decision followed to define the realistic goals during the constantly changing circumstances and to harmonize the defense planning procedures utilized by the EU, NATO, HG, Defense Capabilities Initiative (DCI) and the Planning and Review Process (PARP) based on the force catalog.²⁷⁵ To comply with these tasks, the EU defense plan was defined in 23 areas and NATO experts were invited to provide assistance.

The Nizza Summit accepted significant steps in the political and military realms, clarifying numerous tasks. In detail, it specified the tasks of the Political and Security Committee, Military Council and the Military Branch missions, structures, tasks and their authority with control of political and military decision-making processes.²⁷⁶ On this note, the EU clearly indicated its intention to defend economic and social accomplishments with its military force. By reviewing the authority and decision-making mechanism of the expanding independent agencies, committees and organizations, Nizza rationalized the internal processes and freed significant financial resources.

The Swedes followed the French in 2001, and expanded on a number of successes. They identified requirements to improve crisis management skills, develop necessary military structures, and continue dialogue with NATO to secure operational capabilities. In June 2001, the Goteborg Council – following the previously defined French approach – approved the police force action plan. It also accepted an initiative to continue cooperation with the UN toward settling crisis management problems. The IGC accepted the task to resolve the military capability issues and to help these forces realize their potential. It also opted to include non-EU allies and partners and EU-aspirants in the decision-making processes, moving nations along the proposed initiatives to gain their involvement. In the political dimension, its tasks included expanding on the Nizza and Goteborg philosophies by identifying modes and areas for continued UN-EU cooperation and urgently addressing the dilemmas in the area of the Union's crisis management structure and coherence. However, soon new priorities replaced the Swedish Presidency's original agenda.

3.10. New York and Washington in Europe

Due to the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the Union conducted its special council session with two goals: to confirm total solidarity with the US and to evaluate and analyze every relevant international security issue at the highest levels. The Brussels session declared the attacks to have been against democratic and multi-cultural values. In the event the attacks against the US were organized from abroad, based on Article 5 of the Washington Agreement, they will view the attack as an attack against all of them.²⁷⁷

NATO reacted much faster and with greater determination to the terror attacks endangering European security. On September 12, it declared an Article 5 situation and placed responses in the hands of national leaders. Every Alliance member decided

²⁷⁵ Presidency Conclusions on the Common European and Security Policy, European Council, (Nice, December 7-9, 2000), Annex I to Annex VI. § 3-4., Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/challiot/chai47e.html> (June 5, 2003)

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Annex III to Annex VI, Annex IV to Annex VI, Annex V to Annex VI.

²⁷⁷ Thérèse DELPECH, International terrorism and Europe, Chailiot Papers (Paris, European Union, Institute for Security Studies, December 2002), p.13.

immediately to activate the article addressing collective security. Since the collective defense concepts were confirmed, the Alliance's collective response was also possible. This was historical: for the first time, NATO decided on an Article 5 action. Nearly three weeks later, accommodating US requests, the Allies decided to start a military campaign against terrorism. Along these lines, intelligence cooperation was improved, air and maritime transport rules were tightened, NATO presence was increased in the Mediterranean Sea's eastern region, and NATO's early warning airborne alert system was activated.²⁷⁸

The international solidarity siding with the US and rejecting terrorism far surpassed even the most optimistic US and NATO expectations. As Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia joined the NATO declaration, they theoretically accepted identical responsibilities with Alliance members.²⁷⁹ The activities during the 48 hours after the attacks confirmed the Alliance to be more than rhetoric and more operative than the Union. The question remained, though, whether there would be willingness to act.

Washington needed a few weeks to adequately evaluate the events and, during this time, it did not provide a clear response to offers from Allies and partners. The military response and the collective NATO reaction did not take place for a long time. The Pentagon's first request occurred on September 26 when it asked for intelligence cooperation from the Allies to share information about terrorist organizations. Immediately, the NATO Secretary initiated steps to comply and to strengthen protection of the Alliance's European installations and to do the same for air and maritime ports. NATO mobilized 17 AWACS aircraft, increased control of the Mediterranean region, and completed a timetable to replace the 10,000 US service members serving in the Balkans.²⁸⁰ Nevertheless, the events occurred not under NATO guidance but on bilateral channels between Washington and specific nations. Still, we must note, the military forces would not have materialized without the assistance of the European allies and partners.

The collective security withstood the test of time and the Alliance's ability to mobilize far larger forces than the EU became evident. The actual NATO capabilities, however, remained untested. The issue whether there were solid reasons, whether the Alliance was able to face challenges like terrorism with more than rhetoric. Washington retained the decision about the expected military reaction. American requests were primarily through bilateral channels, and only secondarily to the NATO Alliance.

In December 2001, the EU Council met at Laeken and tried to keep the pace established in Goteborg; however, after 9/11 the execution of the planned steps slowed and needed reevaluation. In addition to the chapter with the heading: "The Union's Action Plan Following the September 11 Attacks", the EU had three other goals: 1) finalize plans to implement the common European currency on January 1, 2002; 2) continue to define the timetable for integration; and 3) continue to develop European Security and Defense Policy's military capabilities with special emphasis on their implementation indicators.²⁸¹ About the

²⁷⁸ The Key to the Prague Summit, *An Agenda for Change, New Agenda and New Threats*, p. 5-7., Online: http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/2002/0211-prague/in_focus/capabilities/prage-capabilities.pdf (June 17, 2003)

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ *Presidency Conclusions*, Laeken European Council (Laeken, December 14-15, 2001), § 5, 7-12, 13-18, Online:

latter goal, the EU declared it already has certain independent capabilities to handle crisis management tasks, capabilities it intends to expand to satisfy Petersberg responsibilities. The EU-NATO discussions about operational capabilities now reached their final stage.²⁸² The significance of this aforementioned statement was multifold. The decision was not only the outcome of post-9/11 events, it was also a major step as a new symbiosis started to develop between the two organizations.

In paragraph 17 of the Laeken Communiqué, the Union made reference to the action plan accepted on September 21 and declared its intention to fight terror globally. Accordingly, it initiated talks with NATO and the US to discuss cooperation to review the events, so as to avoid similar events in the future. Other topics included possible sanctions, sharing information about terrorists and their organizations, intelligence cooperation and the possibility of freezing assets belonging to individuals who aided terrorists. Additionally, they tried to instill closer cooperation in the war against biological and chemical weapons and decided to tighten civil aviation regulations.²⁸³ The Union appeared committed to fight against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; however, the displayed steps treated only the symptoms; the real work to treat the cause remained for the future. The gap between the planned defense dimension was much bigger than initially anticipated and a revised defense policy became necessary. The Union's action continued to remain on the rhetorical level and did not develop into action. The fact is, comparing EU and NATO, the Union's planning rhetoric went further and advanced the issue of joint security better. Since the EU still did not have the military potential, and the outstanding question was whether the Alliance's military capability could be used to execute the Union's defense policy plans.

Appendix 2 of the Laeken report, "Declaration on European Security and Defense Policy Operations Capabilities," was the initial attempt to respond to the new types of challenges facing European defense readiness. Accelerating the Nizza and Goteborg decisions, the Union decided to enhance the CFSP and ESDP operations capabilities as fast as possible. In this process, the civil and military elements and the necessary EU structures received increasing attention.²⁸⁴ Upon testing this capability, it was determined the EU was capable of analyzing and making plans and decisions. Where NATO was not committed to participate in resolving crisis situations, the Union was able to execute.²⁸⁵ The key was constant coordination between EU and NATO about military capabilities. By the end of 2001, the Union completed the agreement with NATO about security with specific access to NATO forces tools, defense planning and command structures.²⁸⁶

In order to strengthen the Headline Goal's planning mechanism, the Union released a declaration about the Common European Security and Defense Policy's Operational Capability, with the European Defense Plan as its primary element. Now, relying on the previously cataloged military capabilities it was possible to view the necessary force planning tools.²⁸⁷ The administrative tasks associated with actual military operations were solved through Laeken and more attention could then be paid to operational readiness.

<http://ue.eu.int/Newsroom/makeFrame.asp?MAX=&BID=76&DID=68827&LANG=2&File=/pressData/en/ec/68827.pdf&Picture=0> (June 15, 2003)

²⁸² Ibid., § 6.

²⁸³ Ibid., § 17-18.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., ANNEX II, A.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., ANNEX II, B.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., ANNEX II, C.

²⁸⁷ Bukhardt SCHMITT, *European Capability Action Plan*, Paris, Institute of Security Studies of the European Union, Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/esdp/06-bsecap.pdf> (February 5, 2004)

The Swedish Presidency's biggest accomplishment was in the area of conflict avoidance and conflict management, or more precisely, conflict management without the use of force. It accepted the Programme for the Prevention of Violent Conflicts (PPVC), committing the Union to mobilize even larger forces to avoid conflicts. According to the document, the EU defense mechanism would be activated in circumstances when domestic clashes reach a level where armed clashes were imminent. Should the conflict escalate to a military level, the primary goal for ESDP was to utilize acute intervention to end the conflict in the shortest possible time. The European defense capabilities now had to be developed to meet these challenges.²⁸⁸

As the century's first, the Swedish Presidency was successful and, on the defensive capability issue, also pragmatic. With Stockholm completing the plan to develop the Union's military operations capability and the relevant EU-NATO structural agreement, it addressed European Security and Defense Policy's most urgent problems and urged solution of other priority issues. This dynamic approach was characteristic of other political issues. Since treatment began on the Union's most significant ailments – ESDP and EU expansion policy harmonization – the necessary reform of interior strategy also started. Stockholm made it impossible to reverse the execution of these reforms. Through this, the Swedish Presidency placed the Union on a fixed path, ultimately leading in a positive direction toward further expansion.

The European Council conducted a session at Sevilla in June 2002 where it decided the implementation of the European Capability Action Plan (ECAP) operational maneuvers, rounding out its anti-terrorism fight. It also accepted the Berlin-Plus Initiative (BPI) about the EU-led operation geared toward the Bosnian events. Under the BPI, the Spanish conducted the initial EU military conflict resolution maneuver and the EU-led operation utilizing NATO assets was a success. Following this (on January 1, 2003) the police action under UN leadership was formally handed to the EU. An EU takeover of NATO tasks in Macedonia followed.²⁸⁹

The Spanish Presidency discussed the EU expansion in an entire chapter, and the first element addressed was a detailed description of the last six months of discussions leading up to its tenure. It also stated that the process had now reached its final stage. The Spanish praised some areas (agriculture, regional politics, finance and budget), however, they also emphasized the necessity for aspirants to make more concerted efforts to reach EU standards on administrative and legal issues.²⁹⁰ In light of these issues, with expectations of the aspirants meeting the prescribed standards, in Seville the EU leadership indicated its willingness to pursue and complete talks with the 10 nations by 2003. Additionally, the Union also projected a timetable to be followed after 2003, which listed criteria to meet and steps needed to gain entry. The signing of the agreements was scheduled for the spring, allowing the new members to take part in the 2004 European Parliamentary Election.²⁹¹

²⁸⁸ ESDP: A key project for European unification, Homepage of German EU policy, Online: http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/www/en/eu_politik/gasp/esvp_html (June 6, 2003)

²⁸⁹ Presidency Conclusions Seville European Council, June 21 and 22, 2002, Online: http://europa.eu.int/rapid/start/cgi/guesten.ksh?p_action.gettxt=gt&doc=DOC/02/1310|RAPID&lg=en&display= (February 5, 2004)

²⁹⁰ Ibid., § 18-20.

²⁹¹ Ibid., § 22.

Sevilla identified five leading pillars for European security:

1. Continue the GWOT
2. Place military cooperation on practical elements and strengthen civil-military capabilities as intended by the action plans
3. Continue responsibilities on crisis management and initiate a police mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina
4. Continue the mission in Macedonia after the Alliance mandate expires
5. Continue the Nizza provisions and establish defense cooperation with non-EU members²⁹²

Analyzing the Spanish Presidency, we can conclude that it accepted responsibility for numerous minor issues that ultimately carried major significance. Madrid held reasonable expectations and pursued smaller and complementary issues, maintaining oversight of defense security policies and EU expansion, and with these, could justifiably boast of significant accomplishments.

In its October 2002 meeting in Brussels, the European Council specified elements of harmonization toward EU expansion and prepared for the Copenhagen proclamation projected for December. It prepared a final proposal with political and economic criteria for the aspirants, including the timetable for the Copenhagen process and the integration contract to be signed in April 2003.²⁹³ These were declared in the Union's strategy and mandated that the Security and Foreign Secretariat, then led by Javier Solana, report to the European Council and the European Parliament on the integration processes and the progress displayed by aspirants in meeting established criteria.

Since Brussels decided to execute the Nizza proposal about the issue of non-EU member participation in European defense consultations – EU-NATO cooperation was boosted.²⁹⁴ Article 17 of the TEU reinforced the European Union's responsibility to take every decision affecting European security in conjunction with NATO allies and to execute plans based on previous agreements. With this step, both organizations accepted reciprocity and mandated themselves not to encroach on the interests of the other and to comply with the United Nations Charter.²⁹⁵

In great detail, Appendix 2 discussed the legal status of non-EU members in peacetime and during conflicts, their involvement in exercises and their roles during EU-led defense policy decisions and military operations. The Union underscored this declaring non-EU member ally's eligibility to participate in preliminary discussions affecting any defense, military or crisis management decisions. The "15+6" concept materialized whereby the "anytime based on need" talks could be initiated and this step significantly decreased the Union's previous stance.²⁹⁶ This also served as a precursor to indicate the EU-NATO

²⁹² Presidency Conclusions, Seville European Council (Seville, June 21-22, 2002), § 10-15, Online: <http://ue.eu.int/newsroom/makeFrame.asp?MAX=&BID=76&DID=72638&LANG=1&File=/pressData/en/ec/72638.pdf&Picture=0> (July 28, 2003)

²⁹³ Presidency Conclusions, Council of the European Union (Brussels, October 24-25, 2002), § I 1-2., Online: <http://ue.eu.int/newsroom/makeFrame.asp?MAX=&BID=76&DID=72968&LANG=1&File=/pressData/en/ec/72968.pdf&Picture=0> (July 15, 2003)

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, § 18-23.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, ANNEX II, ESDP: Implementation of the Nice Provisions in the Involvement of the Non-EU European Allies, § 1-2.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, § 3-17.

relationships were evolving and the harmonization of the two organizations would require significant political unification mechanisms and expertise in the near future.

The NATO summit at Prague in November 2002 also produced decisions to enhance the European defense dimension. The terror attacks in the US and the national defense strategies subsequently developed defining the war on terrorism, along with the mobilization and deployment of rapid reaction forces were the catalysts for these dimensions. The step urged by the US and taken by NATO significantly contributed to the solidification of the defense-oriented path taken by the European Union. Initiated by a sense of solidarity and the mobilization of specific defense systems, numerous political and diplomatic channels were opened within NATO and outside of it, elevating transatlantic cooperation and creating progress for European stability and security.

In these circumstances, the Prague Summit made breakthroughs on two fronts: it identified the new security challenges, and announced a major organizational expansion.²⁹⁷ Additionally, the NATO leaders made specific attempts to enhance cooperation with Russia and Ukraine.

In response to the terror attacks, NATO decided to realign its forces to be able to carry out directives made by the North Atlantic Council, including steps against nuclear, biological or chemical attacks. Toward this goal, the NATO Response Force (NRF) was established with the mission to quickly take and execute NAC decisions on land, in air, or sea. The decision was made to realign other military units based on the NRF, mandated compliance of the new system with the Union's HG, and to become operational by October 2004.²⁹⁸

Adjusting to the new guidelines projected for 2006, the command structure needed to be developed in a way to assist in the rationalization of military capabilities and effectiveness and to be built on the pillar of the Transatlantic relationships. The Prague Capabilities Commitment (PCC) served to define and assist in the realignment of future capabilities. In this framework, members could make specific offers in terms of intelligence, reconnaissance, command and control, air defense, precision-guided weapons, airlift, and defense against weapons of mass destruction. These contributions, after consultations with the Union, were also documented in the European Capability Action Plan.²⁹⁹ This created a multi-national, but nation-specific, structure to project new prospects for transatlantic and European defense systems.

To address tasks resulting from the anti-terror campaign, Brussels developed a Civil Emergency Plan (CEP), to inform and involve the population in steps to take in the event of attacks, with special emphasis given to nuclear, biologic and chemical scenarios. To execute the CEP, further measures were taken to form and utilize units to handle prototypes, laboratory experiments and reconnaissance tasks.³⁰⁰ With these steps, NATO made significant gestures toward civil defense and practically took the responsibility for joint

²⁹⁷ A. Elizabeth JONES, The Road to NATO's Prague Summit: New Capabilities, New Members, New Relationships, Speech to the World Affairs Council of Northern California, San Francisco, California, October 21, 2002, Online: <http://www.state.gov/p/eur/rls/rm/2002/14609.htm> (July 17, 2003)

²⁹⁸ Prague Summit Declaration, North Atlantic Council, (Prague, November 21, 2002), § 4.a, Online: <http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2002/p02-127e.htm> (June 17, 2003)

²⁹⁹ Ibid., 4.b-c.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 4.d-e.

involvement in case of attacks by weapons of mass destruction – significantly easing the fears of the European public.

As mentioned, the Prague Summit's other strategic decision was expansion. The Alliance extended invitations to Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia. This was extremely significant. The escalating defense risk factors and capability potentials presented by these seven nations enticed the Alliance toward the invitation, and this decision was timely. The integration began with a two-step process: signing of the initial agreement (due by April 2003) and ratification for actual membership (to be completed at the Istanbul Summit in June 2004). Additionally, the Alliance declared other aspirants might also join if they met specific criteria of the Membership Action Plan (MAP).³⁰¹

The Prague Summit was unable to produce a breakthrough with the two largest republics of the former Soviet Union. The US President and the NATO Secretary General made great efforts to allay Russian and Ukrainian fears that the expansion is not directed toward them. To support these claims, they recommended a cooperation package that was favorably received.³⁰² Although Ukraine showed interests in the Prague decision and actually took steps to enhance its cooperation with the West, Moscow rejected the plan., Russia accepted NATO expansion, but shortly thereafter, started its own political activities. It distanced itself from the Alliance and took advantage of EU-NATO tensions, by siding with the Union, specifically France and Germany. Since these two nations have limited natural resources, they are more reliant on Russia for raw materials. Thus, the two leading EU nations had vested interest in cooperation. As a result of this diplomatic game, the NATO-Russia relationship deteriorated, as significant division surfaced in transatlantic and European relationships.

The specific military-defense cooperation does not show a much-improved picture. Although Chapter 8 of the Prague Summit declaration addresses NATO-Russia cooperative developments and elevates this relationship above many other nations, Moscow continues to limit itself to the roles it accepts and completes these only marginally. In peace operations, defense reform, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, civil defense, research and development, Russia lags far behind its promises. Furthermore, during the Iraqi conflict, Moscow not only failed to take constructive steps to resolve the crisis, it even hindered progress. Without question, the Prague Summit took on big challenges and initiated reforms in many key areas; however, resolving the acute problems surfaced with the Alliance's structural changes still remains.

3.11. The “Big Bang”: 2004 EU Expansion

The Union's largest political-economic expansion was documented in the December 2002 Copenhagen Communiqué's first chapter. As the council accepted the report addressing the completion of talks with Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, the Union's biggest expansion was cemented for May 1, 2004. Further guidance for the harmonization of economic, financial,

³⁰¹ Ibid., 5-6.

³⁰² NATO's Prague Summit to Focus on Transformation, U.S. Official Says, United States Mission to the European Union, November 14, 2002, Online: <http://www.useu.be> (July 17, 2003)

structural changes was provided and the Union also prescribed certain responsibilities for the projected members during their initial three years.³⁰³

The expansion decree produced significant reactions. While the nations identified for EU-membership showed elation, the other aspirants demonstrated dejection. This latter was not tempered by the decree addressing the rationale for the decision preventing the invitation of Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey. In Turkey's case, the decree identified the standards established by the Union's 1993 Copenhagen Criteria. Specifically, Ankara's failure to meet the standards with its system of laws, lack of guarantees for a stable democracy, and lack of adequate protection for minorities.³⁰⁴ At the same time, the EU mandated itself to provide special assistance to Ankara in harmonizing its legal, customs and financial systems. It also declared, if progress was made and the Copenhagen Criteria were met, EU-membership talks could start in 2004.³⁰⁵ Bulgaria and Romania received much better report cards from Brussels. The efforts and successes these nations made during negotiations were recognized and a 2007 membership was projected if progress continued at the anticipated pace. To assist in these endeavors, an action plan was accepted and EU resources were set aside to assist the two nations.³⁰⁶

In addition to the expansion decision, the Danish Presidency made significant progress on EU-NATO cooperation. Further defining the BPI, a decision was made on 16 December 2002 to detail the chronology of EU-NATO cooperation.. After the Sevilla decision to participate in the police action in Bosnia, it was the Danes who made and implemented the conclusive decisions and decided to carry out the task. The police mission was started on January 1, 2003 within the ESDP framework with close HG cooperation.

The le Touquet French-British summit in February 2003 identified three areas for ESDP improvements: 1) rationalization of EU operational capabilities, 2) member-solidarity against external threats, and 3) strengthening military components. Toward this three-prong goal, it perceived complete ESDP modernization as essential. Additionally, the modernization must be based on common security and defense interests.³⁰⁷

After the decision addressing the expansion, EU policies were tested by the Iraqi conflict. Further evidence surfaced to verify that the Common European Security and Defense Policy was not common, nor was it European. The Union's first reaction to the Iraqi conflict occurred in March 2003 at the Brussels session. According to the closing report, the Union took the position to end the conflict as soon as possible, including UN involvement for return refugees and initiation of humanitarian assistance.³⁰⁸ The Union's position and acceptance of responsibilities were categorized into five areas:

³⁰³ Presidency Conclusions, Copenhagen European Council (Copenhagen, December 12-13, 2002), § I.3-9, Online: <http://ue.eu.int/newsroom/makeFrame.asp?MAX=&BID=76&DID=73774&LANG=1&File=/pressData/en/ec/73774.pdf&Picture=0> (June 8, 2003)

³⁰⁴ Ibid., § 18.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., § 19-20.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., § 13-16.

³⁰⁷ Press conference: Prime Minister Tony Blair and President Jacques Chirac - February 5, 2003, 10 Downing Street, Online: <http://www.number-10.gov.uk/output/Page1769.asp> (February 5, 2004)

³⁰⁸ Presidency Conclusions, Brussels, March 20-21, 2003, § 66-68, Online: <http://ue.eu.int/newsroom/makeFrame.asp?MAX=&BID=76&DID=75136&LANG=1&File=/pressData/en/ec/75136.pdf&Picture=0> (June 12, 2003)

1. International peace and stability guarantees remain the role of the UN Security Council
2. CFSP and ESDP development be subordinated to EU capability building
3. Expand transatlantic partnership since it remains the European Union's strategic basis for regional and global conflicts
4. Contribute to the war against terror
5. Oppose the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and support international efforts toward the same goal³⁰⁹

At the Brussels meeting, the normally reserved Union stance changed to a more forceful tone. The attack against the Serbian Prime Minister Djindjic enticed Brussels to increase its military presence and revise the mandate for its forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina.³¹⁰ The corruption evident in Serbia and Montenegro along with the consistently high crime rate accelerated the process to admit Belgrade into the European Council.³¹¹

Analyzing Brussels's closing report and comparing its effect on Iraq or the Balkans, we can clearly see its political weight lags far behind the US, and its military capability is well below the Alliance's plateau. The events taking place in 2003 forced Europe to realize its relative weakness was not only the outcome of its military disadvantage, but primarily the result of various competing interests on the continent.

For reasons stated above, the declaration addressing the Union's military capability provided special emphasis to completing the European Capability Action Plan tasks. This document mandated the members to accomplish previously-accepted responsibilities and complete planned developments.³¹² Upon evaluating the initial phase of the ECAP, the Minister's Council recognized the results of the 19 panels and endorsed the suggestion to place emphasis on incomplete tasks, not on new challenges. For this purpose, it established a Project Team to take a goal-oriented approach and complete relevant tasks. With the intent to expand and enhance the European Capability Action Plan's structural framework, the council also gave permission to initiate doctrinal developments.³¹³

The most important element to come out of Brussels was the initiation of a pro-active security reform and defense planning on the basis of the Helsinki Force Catalogue (HFC). An additional success within the ECAP framework was the effective summarization of the priorities into a new system which enabled initiation of specific projects such as aerial refueling, combat search and rescue (CSAR), training procedures, acquisition methodology, EU-level harmonization of national leadership elements, improving defense elements to counter weapons of mass destruction, coordinating special forces activities, strategic airlift, and Theatre Ballistic Missile Defense (TBMD).³¹⁴

3.12. European Security and Defense Union and European Defense Policy Establishment

³⁰⁹ Ibid., § 69.

³¹⁰ Ibid., § 83.

³¹¹ Ibid., § 81, 84.

³¹² Common Foreign & Security Policy, General Affairs & External Relations Council, p. 3., Online: http://europa.u.int/comm/external_relations/cfsp/intro/gac.htm (July 29, 2003)

³¹³ Ibid., p. 4.

³¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 4-5.

In April 2003, Belgium, France, Luxemburg and Germany submitted a joint initiative in Brussels about the renewal of European defense. The IGC accepted recommendations to identify defense cooperation enhancement alternatives, establish controls for solidarity, modify the Petersberg Declaration tasks, form a committee to oversee acquisition and establish the European Security and Defense University; however (ESDU).³¹⁵

The primary purpose of the ESDU would be to provide a forum for member nations to address the enhancement of defense and military cooperation in the Union. According to the proposal, participation in the initiative would be built on the following foundations:

1. Remain committed to mutually assist in any type of defensive challenges
2. Constantly coordinate military and security stance
3. Coordinate defense initiatives
4. Advance actual defense capability effectiveness and military technology

Additionally, membership in the ESDU would mandate members to participate in joint acquisition and training projects, modernization and specialization of the armed forces, increase military expenditures, and participate in UN peace operations.³¹⁶

In the interest of enhancing military defense cohesion, the four nations also submitted a proposal to initiate seven military projects:

1. Qualitative enhancement for the Rapid Reaction Force
2. Initiate the European strategic airlift headquarters by June 2004
3. Devise defense capabilities to counter weapons of mass destruction
4. Ensure urgent humanitarian assistance readiness
5. Establish a European military training and education center
6. Develop a common defense and operations planning
7. Form a multi-national expeditionary headquarters³¹⁷

Based on Brussels's success, in 2003, the Greek Presidency built the defense capability improvement stance on three pillars: 1) enhance the Union's Strategic Concept; 2) enhance transatlantic relationships; and 3) ease the EU expansion process. The Thessaloniki Declaration recognized the transatlantic relationship at another low-point with significantly different views between the continents. For this reason, it wanted the EU and the US to establish a multi-level and multi-pillar support structure to build on common values, common interests and by enlarging the area of cooperation to solidify interdependence.³¹⁸

Chapter VIII of the Greek Presidency report discusses the Union's security strategy, foreign policy and issues relating to CFSP and ESDP. Accepting the significant challenges of globalization, the Union took a stance on global government, regional cooperation and strengthening international law. In order to succeed in the security realm, it decided to

³¹⁵ Meeting of the Heads of State and Government of Germany, France, Luxembourg and Belgium on European Defence, 29 April, 2003 in Brussels, Internationale Politik, Transatlantic Edition, Online: http://www.dgap.org/english/tip/tip0302/ge_fr_lu_be290403.htm (February 5, 2004)

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Statement of the Presidency on the Thessaloniki European Council by Mr. T. Giannitsis before the European Parliament (Strasbourg, June 4, 2003), Online: <http://www.eu2003.gr/en/articles/2003/6/4/2984/index.asp> (November 8, 2003)

increase the military contingent to help with conflict-avoidance, increase emphasis on international laws and continue to promote peace through regional and global stabilization.³¹⁹

In an ESDP sub-chapter, the presidency declares the Union's military capabilities were sufficient to accomplish the entire spectrum of the Petersberg tasks. Nevertheless, it also states the capabilities were limited in many areas.³²⁰ The ECAP was meant to remedy this, supported by an inter-governmental panel tasked with four responsibilities:

1. Defense capability expansion
2. Research
3. Acquisition
4. Weapon-system enhancements

This panel remains open to any of the members and seeks to accomplish capability enhancements and crisis management efficiencies through technological cooperation, weapon systems coordination, and enhanced relationship with the weapons industry.³²¹ To increase capabilities by strengthening of EU-NATO cooperation and the Berlin-Plus Initiative since it is the most prosperous crisis management program between the two organizations.³²² During the Greek Presidency, the Union decided to expand on the Sevilla Summit's mandate and propose PPVC with primary emphasis on the Balkans.³²³

On the issue of the transatlantic connection, the Greek Presidency declared, that EU-US relationships are fundamental for European, transatlantic and global security interests. For this reason, the Union went to great lengths to ensure success at the EU-US Summit that June.³²⁴ The Union demonstrated a noticeably more friendly rhetoric toward the US. However, the Iraqi conflict showed that significant differences did exist on the two sides of the Atlantic.

The entry of ten new members was a significant element of the Greek Presidency. After the Copenhagen Communiqué confirmed the successful completion of the preliminary talks with these nations, the bilateral agreements were signed. The announcements and press releases make it clear that this was not the last EU expansion.

In 2003, between July 1 and December 31, the incumbent Italian Presidency conducted an Inter-governmental Conference, numerous other sessions, informal ministerial discussions, and a number of bi- and multi-lateral talks. Rome's most important task was to clarify the technical questions remaining after the Thessaloniki session. Although the referendum about the new constitution was projected to take place before EU expansion, the majority-driven decisions in the council included discords and delayed the constitution's preliminary draft. On the other hand, all of the IGC-supported tasks were carried out. Agreement was reached on nearly 80 areas, including the EU foreign minister's tasks and

³¹⁹ Presidency Conclusions, Thessaloniki European Council, (Thessaloniki, June 19-20, 2003), § VIII.54., Online: http://www.mfa.gr/english/foreign_policy/eu/Presidency_conclusions_en.pdf (July 30, 2003)

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, § 56.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, § 65.

³²² *Ibid.*, § 60.

³²³ *Ibid.*, § 61.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, § 69-70.

authority issues and consensus was reached on the Union's independent military capability and NATO cooperation.³²⁵

In the area of the second pillar, the most important accomplishment of the Italian Presidency was to make adjustments to the European security strategy, which identified global security challenges and their relevance for the EU. Within these parameters, it prepared a specific strategy and action plan against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The security strategy outlined military capability developments in the 2003-2010 timeframe. Additionally, ESDP reforms were driven by measures to enhance operational capabilities and civil elements to manage conflicts (i.e. police-enforced civil order, legal system strength, civil administration).³²⁶ This meant the establishment of a the civil-military cell within the EU Military Branch, and the European Council quickly assigned specific tasks to the new cell during its session in December 2003.

For EU-NATO cooperation, this December session was a milestone, for it recommended establishment of the so-called "EU-cell" within NATO's Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers in Europe (SHAPE). Simultaneously, it also recommended NATO establish a coordination group under the supervision of the Military Committee to solidify civil-military cooperation and assist with strategic planning, early warning and conflict analysis tasks. Additionally, it was able to arrange actual cooperation within the framework of the Berlin Plus Initiative in operational tasks. Operation Concordia in Macedonia demonstrated how an EU-led maneuver utilizing NATO assets could succeed.³²⁷ This was surpassed in Congo during Operation Artemis when the EU conducted the operation entirely on its own and the Alliance only provided advice. Although the mission was a success, we must also note, this operation included only a small segment of crisis management tasks and the Union remained a long way from approaching the conflict management ability of the Alliance.

Enhancing the Union's security remained the ultimate goal and the EU made a number of far-reaching decisions to fight terrorism and organized crime. On the subject of international social issues, the presidency condemned extreme, intolerant, forceful political forces and terrorism, while it accepted plans to further police cooperation and domestic security of EU-member states. These steps also strengthened EUROPOL and expanded its activities. Bilateral agreements were signed with Russia. Further measures controlled and tightened security systems at political, social and sporting events within the Union.³²⁸

The Italian Presidency had numerous successes in the fight with illegal immigration at the Union's external borders. Responding to global energy, environmental, economic and political challenges, it defined the Union's external borders and accepted into law a proposal to control immigration, extradition, information exchange and official contact with the source countries after December 30, 2004. The sum of 250 million Euro was set aside for these tasks in the 5-year budget.³²⁹

³²⁵ Summary of Results of the Italian six-month Presidency, Italian Presidency of the Council of the European Union, 2003, p. 1, Online: http://www.ueitalia2003.it/NR/rdonlyres/2569FD61-54E4-43D7-9DC3-1F169610B46D/0/SintesiRisultatiPresidenza_eng.pdf (January 24, 2004)

³²⁶ Ibid., p. 12.

³²⁷ Ibid., p. 13.

³²⁸ Ibid., p. 8.

³²⁹ Ibid., p. 7.

We can conclusively declare the Italian Presidency as a success. This is truly evident when we look at major challenges facing the Rome administration. On the defense front, we must note a favorable development: the ESDP-NATO competition seemed to be heading toward resolution through mutual acceptance. In light of this, we can summarize the Italian Presidency's accomplishments in these steps:

1. Identified mechanisms and structural changes necessary for the Union to proceed with projected expansion
2. Started to produce economic growth after years of stagnation
3. Adopted the European Security Strategy and presented the document *Headline Goal 2010*
4. Reorganized the third pillar responsible for domestic issues
5. Strengthened security of the Union's external borders
6. Identified the Union as a global entity³³⁰

Toward these goals, it prepared a working plan to place economic policies on new foundations, prepare the 2004 expansion, enhance "freedom, security and justice" institutions, and support the vitality of the Union on the world stage.³³¹

In his New Year speech, the Irish Prime Minister Ahern declared the restoration of the transatlantic dialog as the primary goal of his EU Presidency. Additionally, he set forth to do everything possible for integration of the 10 projected members.³³² In its program, the Irish Presidency briefly addressed the harmonization of opposing views on the EU constitution. The Irish Presidency, in retrospect, implemented or initiated a number of significant changes. The ones that deserve mention relate to changes affecting the environment, economy, finance and – the most important in terms of the security – the fight against crime.³³³

During the January 2004 session in Dublin, the EU ministers of interior and justice accepted the action plan to combat organized crime and strengthen the Union's freedom, security and justice concept. An action plan was designed to combat organized crime through institutionalizing a stronger common approach through partnership and coordination. Within this framework, the relevant intelligence gathering systems were harmonized, common databases established, and analysis disciplines implemented. Furthermore, standards were established to be more effective against organized crime. Beyond the domestic and security service cooperation, pan-European unity was proclaimed to include not only economic and financial aspects, but scientific and research institutions, schools and civil sectors. Based on the Dublin Declaration, justice and interior agencies began to redefine their directed competencies.³³⁴ Soon, these tasks appeared on the agenda of special units.

³³⁰ Results of the Italian six-month Presidency, Italian Presidency of the Council of the European Union, 2003, Online: http://www.ueitalia2003.it/EN/PrimoPiano/Dettaglio/pp_20031219Semestre.htm (January 24, 2004)

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² Michael GOREMLY, Irish Prime Minister Pushes Trade with State, (Ithaca Journal, September 23, 2003), Online: <http://www.theithacajournal.com/news/stories/20030923/localnews/310868.html> (January 12, 2004)

³³³ eu2004.ie, Policy Areas, Online: <http://www.eu2004.ie/templates/subhome1.asp?sNavlocator=4> (September 6, 2006)

³³⁴ Action Plan Against Organised Crime, Irish Presidency of the European Union, Informal Meeting of the Justice and Home Affairs Ministers, Dublin, Ireland, 22/23 Januar, 2004, Online: http://www.eu2004.ie/templates/document.asp?sNavlocator=4,355&content_id=2054 (September 6, 2006)

In terms of the CFSP, Headline Goal 2010 released in May 2004 not only revised the EU-capability enhancements, it also defined numerous requirements for the EU military force developments and timetables. Standing-up a quick response, deployable force by 2010 was identified as one of the aims. Especially noteworthy are the readiness-relevant indicators about conflict management concepts: the council must decide within a 5-day period about an operation and after an affirmative decision, the forces must then be in place within 10 days. In addition to these most ambitious plans, the document is self-critical of the delays and the passive approaches toward the Helsinki Headline Goal. It details expectations to handle the full spectrum of crises according to the conceptual elements of the European security strategy including humanitarian and rescue operations, military measures against terrorism, and complex task toward national defense sector reforms.

In order to gain validity for national and ally capability enhancement timetables, the Irish Presidency accepted the task to prepare the concept for the relevant EU warfigthing groups and for the quick response force. Accordingly, the European Capability Action Plan (ECAP) became prominent displaying relevant contributions needed to fill capability gaps of the time. Also related to ECAP was the ECAP Roadmap and the Capability Improvement Chart (CIC). These two documents aided information flow about military capability enhancements and encouraged more active dialogue about national capability contributions. These matters strengthened the Union's security and defense capacities. Two EU police actions (the police mission in Bosnia and Operation Proxima in Macedonia) could be judged as successes. Stabilization operations in Macedonia and Congo also proved the Union's ability to succeed with Petersberg-related tasks, and indicate the Union's increasing willingness to handle peacekeeping missions outside of the European zone.³³⁵

Conclusively we can state that the Irish Presidency was not only successful but took great strides in security, foreign and defense policy areas. Immediately after the European security strategy documents were signed, steps were initiated to execute the practical elements of the strategy and to prepare the timetable for the specific capabilities by the middle of the decade. The only missing element to secure the needed military capability was national political fortitude.

3.13. European Defense Dimension Equation

The capitals providing the EU presidency are each markers in the independent European security, foreign and defense policies. Thanks to their 15-year efforts, the independent European security, foreign and defense policy and the European defense capability became irreversible. With the establishment of the EU, the continent awakened and began to prepare foundations essential to guarantee its own security. Considering the Union's ESDP initiative is the newest security policy concept on the continent, its evolution and socialization is accompanied by numerous childhood illnesses. In human terms, it could be said that, the policy just reached puberty, so – to extend this analogy a bit further – ESDP demands attention, is ambitious and persistent, yet characterized by immaturity and contradictions. For this reason, puberty is often accompanied by dilemmas and prominent expressions lacking clear goals and wise decisions.

³³⁵ European Security and Defence Policy, Online: <http://www.eu2004.ie/templates/standard.asp?sNavlocator=4,18,299> (September 6, 2006)

The Balkan conflict had an *ars poetica* effect on European security policy since it confirmed the Union's insufficiency in political and military terms. Yet these inadequacies placed emphasis on ESDP and ultimately had a positive effect. Perhaps it is not an exaggeration to state, the Union's first ESDP-research center was in Brussels, while its first laboratory was in the Balkans. Through continuous practical evaluations, the conceptual ideas of ESDP certainly became more rational and secure.

The 2003 Iraqi conflict and Project Artemis in Congo served as the first test of the Union's global abilities. The experience demonstrated the Union's increasing willingness to participate in conflicts away from the European continent, even though it does not yet have the ability to support its political stature with convincing military might. We can certainly prognosticate, based on its economic significance, the EU will play an increasing role in global security challenges and will actively participate in the future. In the interest of having the assets necessary to handle the full spectrum of conflict management, financing European defense capabilities is essential.

Based on the analysis of past events and conventions, with high probability we can predict ESDU and the even newer European Defense Policy (EDP) present more organized and centralized programs for military cooperation. As we review their capabilities, ESDU and EDP are new initiatives and, according to trends, could be characterized as burdens and contradictions. ESDU and EDP – just as the case was with ESDP on numerous occasions – face a major decision: pursue independence and relevant sovereignty along with a possible confrontation with the US and NATO, or, take the path toward joint task acceptance with transatlantic cooperation. Considering the trend represented by CFSP and ESDP, we can presume the Union is likely to continue on the path toward independence and, with this, to counter the US. Looking at the events from a European perspective, it is very conceivable that the Alliance's role will slowly but surely become secondary to the EU.

Chapter 4

Transatlantic Relationship Dialectics

*You can ignore dialectics, but
dialectics will never ignore you.*
Leon Trotsky

4.1. Introduction

After the Cold War, relations between the United States and Western Europe were redefined; it repeatedly became evident how the quality of dialogue between the Atlantic Ocean's two shores impacts not only Europe and America, but also global security.³³⁶ This chapter discusses the transatlantic relationship's most significant elements. It will show the rationalities and contradictions, then reasons that differences of opinion generated by the Union's newly gained strength changes the status quo, providing opposing interpretations in the United States and Europe. Specifically, this chapter attempts to address the transatlantic dilemma through these questions:

- Can the EU and US foreign policies turn away from competition and more toward cooperation?
- What are the common economic and trade goals which contribute to stronger transatlantic security?
- What other individual alternatives exist?
- Is the "divisible but not independent" concept feasible in transatlantic relationship, more specifically, can the Alliance's European pillar and the Union's ESDP strengthen simultaneously?
- After the events of September 11, March 11, and the second Gulf War, can we justifiably claim more common interests unite than divide Europe and the US?
- Do Brussels and Washington share the view that stable transatlantic ties are invaluable and necessary to maintain global security?

In view of the aforementioned issues, the thesis of this chapter is that transatlantic security is built upon three foundations: ESDP progress, US foreign policy, how confrontation is addressed in the ESDP-NATO relationship

4.2. Transatlantic Dilemma Foundations

Changes sweeping through the 1990s created new circumstances for the US-Western Europe relationship and functional mechanisms became obsolete.³³⁷ After the demise of the Eastern Block, the political interests of the economic powerhouses decided the continent's fate. The security concerns surfacing in Eastern Europe soon confirmed the possibility of

³³⁶ Gale A. MATTOX, Daniel WHITENECK, The ESDI, NATO and the new European security environment, James SPERLING, Europe in Change, Two tiers or two speeds? The European security order an the enlargement of the European Union and the NATO, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 121-122.

³³⁷ Arne Olav BRUNDTLAND, Norwegian Security Policy after the Cold War, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, October 1995, Online: <http://odin.dep.no/odin/engelsk/norway/foreign/032005-990414/index-dok000-b-n-a.html> (March 6, 2004)

issues migrating to other regions. Small conflicts and security risk factors could expand to fundamentally shake world politics and economics. Simultaneously, the globalization-induced worldwide economic liberation disbanded the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, opened the Far East and Southern Asia markets, which led to ferocious competition in the West. The US tried to retain, reconstruct and expand its status as the world's economic power, but a strong European position had developed over the past several decades, and the ambitious European Union's main goals were to solidify its own economic and political potential, gain access to the region's expanding markets, and limit American influence. The differing transatlantic view was thus largely a matter of EU-US economic competition, with a result of producing distinct and separate interests.³³⁸ The complications appeared simultaneously in both intercontinental and continental terms. Numerous cases of differing views appeared between EU-members, non-EU Europeans, and non-European states.

Technical literature often defines the transatlantic dilemma as a matter of issues between NATO and the European Union, but the root of the conflict rests on the US-EU and more specifically, the US-France relationship. Although the Washington Agreement was designed to maintain the North Atlantic region's unity and common security interests, the Atlantic Ocean often divides Europe from the US instead of connecting the two. The Union's persistent desire for independence forces the US out of markets, but also presents significant competition for the US.³³⁹ In this, the interests of French foreign policy and German capital often form the strongest basis of power.

In addition to the significantly different political and economic interests between the two continents, differing approaches are also evident on how to address and resolve the world's conflicts. As the Union prefers European organized, consensus-based, multi-lateral alternatives, the US practices a unilateral and more direct foreign policy. The primary reason for this is America's ability to utilize its military assets to help the nation reach its economic and political goals. The EU has no such option. The acute clashes are often the result of stubborn fights between the two continents. In many ways, the highly praised transatlantic relationship has faded.

But, NATO and the EU relate to each other and overlap. Their mutual dependence are defining elements.³⁴⁰ Strengthening the European pillars of the Alliance gives a new meaning to this issue from the Transatlantic angle. The European Security and Defense Identity initiative identified in the Alliance's Strategic Concept recommends a more advanced NATO-synopsis toward the Euro-Atlantic and European security role by accepting more responsibility, more roles, and revised expense distribution. Simultaneously, the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy contains an ambitious concept, the Common European Security and Defense Policy announced at the Helsinki Summit. At last, the EU's military resources are beginning to back the political rhetoric.

³³⁸ Europe in the Global Competition, Report for the Turin Forum, July 14-15, 2001), Online: <http://www.contropiano.org/Document%20in%20English/2002/Europe%20in%20the%20Global%20Competition.htm> (March 5, 2004)

³³⁹ European Union – United States Facts and Figures – Statistics, pp. 1-4., Online: <http://www.eurunion.org/profile/facts/htm>, February 28, 2003

³⁴⁰ James SPERLING, Europe in Change. Two Tiers or Two Speeds? The European Security Order and the Enlargement of the European Union and NATO, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1999, p. 3.

A number of practical issues must be resolved before advancing, specifically the two organization's non-homogeneity and resulting inequalities. For this reason, ESDP development is often accompanied by lively and dynamic arguments. One of the most obvious stems from responsibility and authority issues. While NATO, with US lead, pursues global security and military ambitions, ESDP targets only conflict resolution goals. For membership aspirants, ESDP plans to revise the criteria to join by expanding the limited military elements of crisis management to include the full spectrum of conflict prevention and post-conflict treatment. Opposite interests are surfacing between countries that are members of the Alliance and the Union. France is of the opinion only EU-members should participate in establishing EU decisions and everybody else should be treated as outsiders. Many other nations support the view it essential to include NATO and non-EU members in the decision as natural and necessary elements to enhance EU-NATO cooperation.

In the new situation, many nations revised their national, regional and global strategies. In the aftermath of the quick Eastern European events, after having secondary roles in the shadow of the two superpowers during the Cold War, Europe wants to shed its decades-long place in the background and unquestionably expects to be treated as a partner. In many cases Europe even pursues the leading role.³⁴¹

4.3. ESDP Development with Transatlantic Contradictions

With development as a global force, the European Union's international contacts and their defense policies will be based on the second pillar.³⁴² The common, independent security policy concepts and practical elements are already adequate; the framework to advance already exists. Today, as we can consider the European security capability development and the accompanying adversity as significant, European Security and Defense Policy's immediate task will be to establish a common European defense, integrate its elements, and form a capable armed force. This capability needs to provide the Union with the freedom to pursue its political and economic interests. The Union's political ambitions to increase of its military strength generate Atlantic waves.

The Union's political and economic pursuits already guarantee its status as a partner in dealing with China, Japan, Russia and the United States.³⁴³ The activities beginning in 1991 proved Europe was not capable to completely resolve today's conflicts, even if they directly threaten the EU or are taking place on the continent's backyard. The three completed military operations (Concordia, Proxima, Artemis) clearly prove this. This view is not contradicted by EUFOR-Athens, EUPM, EUPOL, COPPS, EUPOL Kinshasa operations or the performance demonstrated in Darfur either.³⁴⁴ Europe's security and defense policy interests continue to *de facto* depend on NATO and US defense potentials. In this circumstance, it is essential to avoid a situation where resolution is not essential for the US but is of vital importance for the Union. Therefore, ESDP development must be instilled by the desire to establish a military force at the Union's disposal with the capability and resources to take measures independently. Since ESDP is a relatively new initiative, formed

³⁴¹ Andreas HARTMANN, Europe's Military Ambitions - Myth or Reality? European Documentation Centre, Saint Petersburg, Online: <http://www.edc.spb.ru/conf2002/hartmann.html> (March 5, 2004)

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Oleg ARTYUKOV, Will Europe Become a Super Power?, Pavda, 2003-01-21, Online: <http://english.pravda.ru/main/2003/01/21/42326.html> (March 5, 2004)

³⁴⁴

by specific national interests, it is natural for it to face opposing interests during its structural development. The path chosen for ESDP and its strategic goals are significant not only for European security but also for the Transatlantic relationship.

One of the most significant sources of criticism facing ESDP is the lack of specific goals and strategies. In the ESDP perspectives, the framework is taking shape placing the Petersberg tasks in the leading position; however, the practical elements of developing a collective defense are likely to become unavoidable in the near future.³⁴⁵ Although structures are not the same, under no circumstances could the Union deny its role to fulfill the Petersberg tasks or responsibilities related to collective defense. The Union's strategy has no other alternative than to pursue both tasks. Accepting to pursue the entire spectrum of defense tasks, ESDP has two options: split the available assets and develop its capabilities simultaneously with NATO, or build the two capabilities on top of one another. While the former alternative would mean duplication, additional structures would be necessitated by independence. The latter, along with feasibility, would also carry the burden of subordination to NATO. Taking the quantitative and qualitative indicators into consideration, in the author's view, the proper step for ESDP today is to expand its capabilities with functional areas. This means concentrating primarily on peacekeeping activities and crisis management, while keeping these tasks in the proper perspective, and inserting these capabilities into the collective defense equation.

The current interests of European security organizations have a significant effect in ESDP development. Besides NATO, the other organizations and activities also exist: OSCE, Euro-Atlantic Cooperation Council (EAPC), PfP, the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) agreement, and the Open Sky initiatives. All of these, however, take a secondary role, as they have limited perspectives and are unable to resolve wide-spectrum issues on their own. The events in the Balkans prove these organizations could only participate within a project-oriented approach and are unable to cope with complex problems. Their presence and significance are beyond reproach, but combining them with ESDP is only partially purposeful. While these identities are based on international foundations, the EU establishes its own foreign and defense policy based on a federal philosophy. So, in actuality, ESDP relies on other European security players then competes with them.

Another source of problems resulting from the European Security and Defense Policy's relative immaturity is the Union's massive development, large-scale plans, numerous and expanding tasks all coupled with limited time and resources. In other words, these huge steps confront ESDP with consequences of limited time and funds. A long-range European security and defense strategy and development of a governing system are unavoidable to minimize the losses resulting from such hectic changes.

During the preparation of the ESDP capability package, problems resulting from conflict-related questions must be considered. Since American-European security interests are not identical, we must entertain the possibility when the US would not become engaged to resolve a security matter on the European continent. European Union prosperity cannot be imagined without a rapid reaction military capability to resolve crisis situations quickly beyond the Petersberg tasks to guarantee security. European involvement cannot stop with the Petersberg tasks.

³⁴⁵ Breffni O'ROURKE, EU: Prodi Seeks To Reassure Eastern Candidates On Security, Washington D.C., Radio Free Europe, September 2001, Online: <http://www.rferl.org/features/2001/09/06092001114157.asp> (March 7, 2004)

Today, the issue is not whether ESDP can handle conflicts, coordinate military capabilities, and mobilize. Although the development of credible defense qualities is of primary importance, it is also timely to form the military mechanism to resolve conflicts, especially since some security policy concepts already project beyond conflict management. Unfortunately, these elements do not systematically fit into the concept of developing a European military force with a clear, specific goal; thus, our current view of the future for ESDP is characterized by further complications.

Whether the independent European security should materialize within the NATO system or as a new integrated architecture to handle tasks beyond the Petersberg dimension is an issue yet to be resolved. Considering the EU stand is for ESDP autonomy, the independence from US defense capability still remains, even if the current European-Transatlantic defense system guarantees the security of European allies. Although it is common knowledge, any avenue differing from the status quo requires significantly more resources. From the available alternatives, keeping ESDP within NATO structure is no longer possible. The Union's main goal is independence and, secondarily, functionality within an integrated defense system. ESDP appears independent but simultaneously forms an integral element of NATO and broader security structures. The basic requirement for all of these is to maintain a potent military capability.

The absence of strategic planning and coordination is demonstrated on the national level by the significant military drawdowns taking place on the continent, surpassing the projections of the Helsinki Declaration. Nevertheless, the majority of EU members offered significantly larger capabilities to the Union as originally planned. As a result, the quantitative indicators of the military forces available to the EU to handle the conflicts already surpassed the expected levels at the turn of the millennium. On structural and quality aspects, though, the force lags far behind the level expected from a unified and centrally controlled, potent military force. These difficulties became evident during the military mobilization difficulties of EU-led operations.

Kosovo proved how today's defensive military operations require high-level military potential and technology. The second Gulf War confirmed the technology gap between US and European allies cannot be bridged.³⁴⁶ These differences are catastrophic not only for Transatlantic solidarity but also shed doubts on the Union's ability to withstand today's challenges. In this situation, EU rhetoric appears rather contradictory since it proposes to expedite ESDP expansion, autonomy, and European Union missions while it implicitly allows for decreasing national defense budgets. It seems unbelievable, but none of the EU-member nations established specific requirements for its military. Considering the absence of clear goals, plans and central recommendations, the inequality is based on non-security mechanisms and many more components. The short-term existence of ESDP will be characterized by the multi-faceted individual interest and the resulting dynamic force realignment.

³⁴⁶ Philippe BLAILLARD, René SCHWOK, The development of a Common European Security and Defence Policy by the European Union and its Possible Consequences for Switzerland, Occasional Paper Series, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, June 15, 2001, p.6. Online: <http://www.gcsp.ch/e/publications/Occ-papers/30-CESDP.pdf> (March 5, 2004)

The specific military capabilities will be determined by the ability of nations to share the burden.³⁴⁷ In some nations, the military reforms must overcome challenges that may delay or restrict the pace of the transformations. Meeting the security requirements in this constantly changing environment, making progress with permanent obstacles, limitations established by budgets, rationalization, radical reforms, military technology modernization, maintaining readiness to meet self-defense and external obligations all have detrimental effects on national efforts. As a result, ESDP activities in some states are defined by domestic reforms. In the midst of these complicated challenges, Brussels, will not be able to enforce new criteria, but will have to expand on current resources and capabilities offered by the members. We must also note, the majority of the available assets are already committed to handle allied tasks.

The legal aspects of ESDP provide qualitative and quantitative restrictions defining the EU security development process. The extent of legal guidance aimed to assist the legitimization of the Union's political and economic initiatives more and more frequently become major hurdles, restricting the dynamics needed to ensure flexibility.³⁴⁸ The relatively short time and the steps taken (deemed unavoidable), often negatively impact upon the ability to function and establish a consistent approach, both of which are needed to handle complex issues. Other restricting circumstances (additional laws, guidance and restrictions) also slow down the entire process.

Absent in this cause-and-effect relationship are clear, evident and common goals, and timetables. ESDP chronology and results unequivocally indicate that defense development lags far behind EU structural, social, economic and governmental tasks. Comparing the systems utilized by ESDP and NATO, we notice, in terms of European defense dimension, that common terminology and unified operational concepts are not yet developed, possibly leading to various difficult communication-related complications for ESDP. Clear, transparent and simple goals are essential for ESDP.

Security issues raised by the 2004 EU expansion are not limited to new members, but also include regional problems. To date, ESDP did not identify these areas or prepare a comprehensive, official analysis. The most recent EU expansion and the aspirant's ESDP integration leaves much work ahead.³⁴⁹ Since the Union still did not define its expectations of the aspirants or criteria for joint activities, numerous uncertainties could negatively impact future integration in the defense, military and security settings. As the top priority for the defense integration, ESDP must answer these questions:

1. How will the aspirants be categorized individually and jointly with respect to the Allies?
2. How will the integration expenses be distributed within certain members and sorted among aspirants?
3. At what pace will the integration maintain in different areas (political, economic, military and other capabilities)?

³⁴⁷ Tim Garden and John Roper, Pooling Forces, Centre for European Reform Bulletin, December 1999, ISSUE 9, Online: http://www.cer.org.uk/articles/n_9_2.html (March 5, 2004)

³⁴⁸ Council Decision Adopting the Council's Security Regulations, Legislative Acts and Other Instruments, Council of the European Union, Brussels, 28 February, 2001, Online: http://www.cer.org.uk/articles/n_9_2.html (March 5, 2004)

³⁴⁹ Franco FRATTINI, The Path to European Integration Has Reached a Critical Point, European Affairs, The European Institute, Washington, DC, 2001 Winter, Online: https://europeanaffairs.org/current_issue/2003_fall/2003_fall_20.php4 (March 7, 2004)

Another issue waiting for resolution is the aspirants differing capabilities and how these could be matched within various segments of the ESDP development.

We must also account for the fact that aspirants and new members military budgets generally lag significantly behind the EU standards. This sensitive question is important for the EU, not only because fiscal issues define boundaries of military capability, but more so because significant time and effort is needed to harmonize the huge gaps between nations and their contributions. The ability of the European Security and Defense Policy's cohesion to survive the large-scale and heterogeneous composition of the new defense structure is far from certain. The concern is most prominent over Turkey's participation.

Sufficient attention was not yet given to the specific defense of non-NATO EU members and the EU aspirants with no intent to join the Alliance. On this issue, the Western European Union's integration into the EU has been the biggest concern.³⁵⁰ Since the 1948 Brussels Agreement is still ambiguous, the defensive guarantees of former WEU members (ten full members, six associate members, five observers and seven associate partners) are still unclear. How would a situation be judged if a non-NATO EU member is attacked from abroad? How could Article 5 be judged? Could the Maastricht Agreement be applied? Reworking this complex system would be sensible, because collective defense is a founding basis of ESDP. A chaotic execution would endanger the second pillar of the EU.

In the strategic preparation of ESDP, handling the non-EU allies and the aspirant nations is a complex but subjective dilemma with fundamental importance. Most of these nations have strong NATO orientation and many are avid supporters of transatlantic cooperation.³⁵¹ Looking at the 2004 expansion these nations utilized the Alliance's PfP program and NATO itself to assimilate into the European security architecture. Since these nations signify a major change on the Union's east wing by introducing their own views and difficulties to the EU, we can render modifications to the still very pliable ESDP. The non-EU member allies, from the beginning, connect their inclusion in the new EU structure and the EU access to NATO resources. This certainly strengthens the NATO-philosophy within the ESDP and indirectly aids dialogue between the two organizations.

According to some circles, ESDP must pursue complete sovereignty and must reject any subordinate role vis-à-vis EU-US and ESDP-NATO relationships. Through this concept, ESDP can be subordinated only to the Union's long-range plans since NATO interests are only secondary for Europe.³⁵² This means EU-members could initiate their defense contributions to ESDP; however, a direct consequence would be a duplication of effort and numerous parallels with NATO. This option also projected ESDP to become part of the NATO and EU-member relationship's vertical system. This way, the ESDP system would have solidified itself in a short time; however, the question how the Alliance would be able to mobilize under circumstances when NATO would have to represent a federated European

³⁵⁰ Greece's initial contribution to post-Amsterdam reflections on the Development of a Common Defence Policy by the E.U., Submitted to the General Affairs Council of May 17-18, 1999, Index of /MFA/altminister/releaseseng/may99, August 20, 1999, Online: <http://www.hri.org/MFA/altminister/releaseseng/may99/defpoleng130599.htm> (March 7, 2004)

³⁵¹ Breffni O'ROURKE, EU: Prodi Seeks To Reassure Eastern Candidates On Security, Washington D.C., Radio Free Europe, September 2001, Online: <http://www.rferl.org/features/2001/09/06092001114157.asp> (March 7, 2004)

³⁵² Tim GARDEN, Whither ESDP: Trends and Challenges, RAND Washington, October 13, 2003, Online: <http://www.tgarden.demon.co.uk/writings/articles/2003/031013rand.html> (March 5, 2004)

stance opposing the American interests remained unresolved. For example, at the start of the 2003 Iraqi conflict, transatlantic views differed. As a result, without the quick development of effective cooperation mechanisms, ESDP as a force multiplier could be a significant risk and might lead to a cooling of Transatlantic relationships.

In addition to the European crisis management capability, ESDP must also address concerns about the issue of US presence in Europe. The US presence will not last indefinitely; however, this issue cannot be solved on short notice.³⁵³ The dilemma is caused by expanding European sovereignty. The US presence is likely to decrease but under current circumstances – with its comparative advantage and stabilization effects – it is still essential. From this viewpoint, one must weigh the path ESDP expansion should take on US troop strength in Europe.

The reliance on the US for European defense and military capabilities stem only partially from the smaller military budget on the continent.³⁵⁴ A larger factor is the inappropriate distribution of expenses and the number of joint military activities (i.e. exercises and operations) is rather low. Additionally, European military forces are built on a structure of mass armies, not on small, mobile, technologically well-supported units. With the exception of France, Spain, the United Kingdom and to a certain extent the Netherlands, European nations have major military reforms ahead of them. Their reform programs stem from national interests and requirements, therefore possibilities have not been developed for the common European defense dimension. The time has arrived for ESDP to organize the status of national militaries and start to introduce a unified system with united interests.

The establishment of European military industry's practical elements is indispensable. Without the quick cooperation between military industrial elements, ESDP will be limited in the steps it may take, since it is too reliant on resources from certain national complexes. As a result, in terms of the domestic and external policies, the Union has to sacrifice portions of its strategic goals and must be willing to compromise with the Alliance, US and other nations where it acquires its military assets. Therefore, this matter of transatlantic industrial cooperation must be resolved.³⁵⁵ Transparency between European and US military technological systems is a requirement. The delay of military production could manifest itself through intra-European and Transatlantic competition and, coupled with political elements, may slow down or even erode ESDP.

A special problem facing the Union is its strategy to handle phases of ESDP-NATO cooperation. Intensive cooperation would hide the danger of NATO dominating ESDP, due to the latter's early stage of maturity. This could damage the Union's decision-making autonomy and ESDP could remain in the shadow of the Alliance. On the other hand, an immediate and stern rejection of NATO could affect the EU as it would intensify the Atlantic waves and non-EU members (such as American, Canadian, Norwegian and Turkish allies) could withdraw their support. Combined, these factors could induce instability and

³⁵³ Kay Bailey HUTCHISON, *Deployment of U.S. Forces in Europe*, Washington D.C., The Heritage Foundation, April 8, 2003, Online: <http://www.heritage.org/Research/Europe/hl782.cfm> (March 7, 2004)

³⁵⁴ *NATO Burdensharing After Enlargement*, a CBO Paper, Congressional Budget Office, Congress of the United States, August 2001, Online: <http://www.cbo.gov/showdoc.cfm?index=2976&sequence=0&from=0#anchor> (March 5, 2004)

³⁵⁵ Gordon ADAMS, *Transatlantic Defense-Industrial Cooperation and American Policy*, IISS/CEPS European Security Forum, Brussels, November 25, 2002, Online: <http://www.iiss.org/eusec/adams.htm> (March 5, 2004)

deterioration for ESDP. For the European Security and Defense Policy's solidification, the most feasible option would be to recognize the NATO dominance. But the goal should be for the Union to strengthen its capabilities in a way that is profitable to both institutions, for this mutual independence would enhance symbiosis.

The Union's cooperative willingness will bear heavily on the transatlantic relationship. In the event the harmonization of political goals and reasonable action is feasible, adding European Security and Defense Policy's military capabilities and simultaneously activating steps – legitimized by a number of international organizations – such crisis management and crisis avoidance measures and synchronizing the economic potential-based differences and interests, then the Transatlantic relationship could mean stability and security for the residents of the European region. In the event the dialogue fails to materialize and the path of subjective solution alternatives remains on the security management of the two powers, the outcome will be much more expensive and less efficient than if synergy between the two would have evolved.

Since ESDP development is probably in its most energetic period, some progress is characterized by contradictions., And future dilemmas will generate even more complications.. Considering that development of central military capabilities have been basic elements of ESDP evolution alternatives, the EU must solve a contradiction on its own basis: the EU does not accept US dominance on European security issues, but simultaneously, it is not willing to spend more on the rationalization of its military expenses. Whether it succeeds or not, Brussels can expect the US to represent its own specific viewpoints. US opinions will vary on a large scale, and will often be radical.

4.4. US Politics in Europe

Washington represents the counterpoint to the energetic European transatlantic spectrums. In its European policy development, the US appears as a unique entity since Washington's view carries significant importance on the evolution of European defense capabilities and also affects ESDP development with its every change of direction. Considering the "Old Continent" is important not just strategically but also represents competition, Washington pays close attention to European processes. Stanley Sloan, an American political-security expert, characterized the European politics of the US stating that the more development occurs with the European Union's real military capabilities, the more America studies, questions, opposes and fears the Union's advances.³⁵⁶ Regardless of defense capability developments, the US remains wary of the EU. This might be because the inappropriate military expenditures make the EU less useful in the eyes of the US or perhaps because the Union's political autonomy and ambitions could endanger the Alliance., US commentaries addressing European defense capabilities are almost always negative. and can be framed by these questions:³⁵⁷

1. Does ESDP contribute to an increase of European security?
2. Do EU ambitions worsen the region's cohesion?
2. Does ESDP development deepen transatlantic allegiance?
3. Does ESDP increase NATO solidarity and operational capabilities?
4. Does ESDP strengthen US security?

³⁵⁶ Nicole GNESOTTO, *Preface*, Stanley R. SLOAN, *The United States and the European Defense*, Chailiot Paper 39, Paris, Western European Union, Institute for Security Studies, April 2000, p. v.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

Searching to answer these results in numerous concerns across the Atlantic.

Washington's European connections through NATO avenues are based upon common democratic and cultural values. At the same time, Europe is its indispensable economic partner. In 1999, the bilateral economic interests were confirmed by a \$507 billion,³⁵⁸ and by 2001 US investments in the European Union reached \$640 billion. The EU surpassed this in the US with its \$808 billion investment.³⁵⁹ The US strategic plan for the 21st century could be summarized as follows: Our basic interests are to preserve and strengthen the Transatlantic alliance's constructive economic connections. The growing European economic prosperity expands, vitalizes and surpasses bilateral trade and investments. A favorable political and economic environment contributes significantly to the solidification of the new Central and Eastern European democratic institutions. The economic growth and progression aids the decrease of ethnic and religious tensions and, without this, they could escalate to forceful domestic and international conflicts. This initiates the increase of resources required to enhance defense security and also has a positive effect on Transatlantic security.³⁶⁰

For Washington, the largest contradiction is the issue of the European Union's defense isolation when the NATO-provided framework provides maximal guarantee for the Union. According to the US, the Union's defense and military pursuits are justified and natural, but their place would be within the NATO-initiated ESDI-led framework. The ESDP is designed to serve this purpose and is flexible enough to carry out EU requests including the defense of non-EU member allies. Adopting the ESDI-provided capability clearly integrates European ally's capabilities within the Atlantic security architecture and the system would not require comprehensive reforms. ESDP self-development unequivocally brings about the deterioration of the jointly-developed (NATO and WEU) ESDI indirectly endangering the existence of the Alliance.

Europe's stubbornness could lead to concerns within the US Congress with recognition of Europe as a security partner. In the Cold War, virtually every Western European nation viewed the US as an indispensable ally and counterbalance to the Soviet Union. In the 1990s, the US took a major part in the Balkan conflict, established PfP, generated Central and Eastern European integration, and constantly contributed to the military readiness of the Alliance. The US presence was an essential element of Western European security. Today, when European security begins to take shape under the United State's decades-long protection umbrella, the discussion is about emotional cooling of relations as the animosity toward the US grows. In view of this, Washington objects how some Europeans are not grateful, but even disrespectful and hostile.

The US leadership doubts the outcome of ESDP because the decreasing European defense expenditures do not compare with the security challenges nor with these expanding plans. Certainly, the outcome of ESDP ambitions and successes due to the realignment of

³⁵⁸ Strengthening Transatlantic Security, A U.S. Strategy for the 21st Century, December 2000, pp. 4-5, Online: <http://www.expandnato.org/usstrategy.html>, (March 5, 2003)

³⁵⁹ Facts and Figures on the European Union and the United States, Figure Investment 2001- Billions USD, Online: <http://www.eurunion.org/ptofile/facts.htm>, (April 5, 2003)

³⁶⁰ Strengthening Transatlantic Security, A U.S. Strategy for the 21st Century, December 2000, p. 5, Online: <http://www.expandnato.org/usstrategy.html>, (March 5, 2003)

resources results in decreasing prosperity for the Alliance.³⁶¹ In view of the world economy, Washington views the unavoidable duplication, parallels and implementation of new decision-making steps as useless maneuvering.

According to Washington, risks exist in the continent's inability to remove itself from the region's centric European defense planning and its contradiction with the global American view. If the EU does not part with its regional approach, and will not attempt to resolve the explosive conflicts further away than the Near East and Mediterranean, then it can be expected to direct its military technology and military operations toward the same goals. This regional defense policy attitude will certainly lead to an increase in technological and operational differences resulting in ESDP limiting itself. Should this happen, the US will remain without a partner to face the global challenges.

It bothers the US to see the EU pay too much attention to ESDP, legitimately raising the danger of the Alliance losing relevance. The criterion could evolve to induce certain foreign policy behaviors on both sides essentially leading the US and EU foreign policy toward unilateral division, mutual isolation and the shake-up of the Transatlantic relationship.

It is pessimistic how the ESDP development is characterized by political promises, rhetorical exaggerations, and extensive structural plans, but not an increase of specific capabilities. Security policy experts often remind us how easy it is to make promises, and how difficult it is to deliver.. It seems insidious for the EU to speak of a pro-transatlantic position, but work in chamber to actually oppose it. For the US, it is unacceptable to place more emphasis on institutional reorganization than actual defense capabilities. If Europe shared this view, it would first develop capabilities and would relegate administrative tasks to a secondary position. US experts repeatedly warn, Washington's security interests are aided by the development of real European defense, and not the creation of new institutions.³⁶²

ESDP rhetoric creates unnecessary and artificial dividing lines between EU members and non-EU allies, damaging US interests. Comprehensively, this affects not only NATO and transatlantic cohesion, but also endangers the policy's joint task acceptance.³⁶³ Considering the post-9/11 US foreign policy seeks broad international unity, Washington takes radical steps against activities and initiatives which spring from Brussels. to the contrary. Pursuing European security autonomy is not sympathetic for the US, because America must sacrifice its "more equal among equals" status.

To avoid the unpredictability resulting from hectic ESDP changes, the concept of devising a new plan to distribute tasks European allies seems to surface repeatedly, with the aim to rationalize and increase the cost effectiveness of the US forces in Europe. This projects not only the possibility of decreasing US presence, but also the withdrawal of its troops from the Southeastern European peacekeeping missions. According to Washington, it is unacceptable for Europe to practice a work distribution where the EU barely addresses conflict resolution. Washington intends to part from the American mentality stating the "US

³⁶¹ George ROBERTSON, *Investing in security*, NATO Review, Autumn 2002, Online: <http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2002/issue3/english/art3.html> (February 19, 2004)

³⁶² Stanly SLOAN, *The United States and the Europe's Role in the World: "Yes, but..." to a European Security and Defense Policy*, Miklós DÉRER, *The Future of a Common European Foreign and Security Policy*, Second Annual Conference in Atlantism, Budapest, Hungarian Atlantic Council, 2000, p. 62.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

should only take part in large-scale wars leaving the small ones for Europe” as this thought literally rationalizes the continent’s minimal involvement.³⁶⁴

Washington often views the frequently changing politics of France, Russia and Germany as unpredictable. A case in point occurred at the beginning of 2003 when this European triad formed a three-member alliance that would have seemed utopist just a few years ago earlier. When the Paris-Berlin-Moscow axis solidified over Iraq it practically declared war against Washington. Curious, how just five years after the British-French Summit at San Malo, a French-German coalition formed excluding London. The establishment of powerful multi-national coalitions raises the question how long these rather ad hoc coalitions will last and whether European unity will survive these sudden changes. It is questionable how European power will change if these alliances will be short-lived and new cliques form without US involvement.

For the US, there are contradictions between the international system’s anarchic security challenge characteristics and the desired US response against the challenges. According to Washington, the 9/11 events and the subsequent Madrid and London terror attacks prove the importance of quick and operative steps bureaucracy does not guarantee an effective response against deviant behavior. If we reach the stage when the UN does not support US interests and NATO becomes more non-cooperative, it would be possible for the US to view both organizations as irrelevant enough to withdraw financial support.³⁶⁵ This could also mean the disappearance of the US protective umbrella over Europe.

According to Washington, European centralization could lead to economic and industrial conflicts between the two continents. Since neither NATO nor ESDP has the unified weapons industries could generate serious conflicts. This might become evident as some European nations opt to acquire assets from other European suppliers rather than purchasing more economical and technologically more advanced US equipment. The US weapon industry would be very hard-pressed to accept losing its market share after the adjustments it made during the Cold War and in the 1990s to supply the European militaries.³⁶⁶

The US has been expanding its contacts on other strategic areas, such as South East Asia, Southern Asia, and Latin America. Although the US-Europe contacts are still strong, Washington’s attention may turn toward nations who provide it with the largest number of immigrants. The large-scale ethnic, national, religious and cultural presence is naturally coupled with economic and political interests. Since more and more political leaders emerge at local, regional and state-level governments from these immigrants, the US ties in Latin America and the Far East will probably strengthen. This will continue to become political and economic competition for Europe.

³⁶⁴ New challenges for Euro-American security cooperation, Document A/1786, REPORT submitted on behalf of the Political Committee by Mr Blaauw, Rapporteur, The Interparliamentary European Security and Defense Assembly, Assembly of WEU, June 4, 2002, § i-xxvi, Online: http://www.assembly-weu.org/en/documents/sessions_ordinaires/rpt/2002/1786.html (February 20, 2004)

³⁶⁵ Ed VULLIAMY, Kamal AHMED, UN fears Iraq anarchy as Bush calls for 'backbone' on Saddam, September 15, 2002, *The Observer*, Online: <http://observer.guardian.co.uk/iraq/story/0,12239,792595,00.html> (February 18, 2004)

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

As long as NATO continues to represent the most important global security organization, Washington will continue to favor the Alliance and European processes. For the US, though, strengthening of the European defense dimension will weaken transatlantic cooperation and NATO capability. Since ESDP would not adequately guarantee the continent's security without the US defense umbrella, the collapse of the transatlantic relationship would lead to an unpredictable security and a power vacuum on the continent. Considering that ESDP is not yet strong enough to handle European security, it is in the fundamental interests of the EU nations to clearly define their defense capability-oriented activities in order not to have a negative effect on the transatlantic relationships.

4.5. ESDP - NATO Friction

Shortly after the Cold War it became fashionable to ask if security organizations were still needed. The fundamental issue is not over mere existence, but future direction. The Alliance handled the dynamic revision of the global security and made the necessary adjustments. Strategic choices of the 1990s, the Alliance were accepted, and NATO would not have been able to continue isolationist politics or indifference policies. The dynamics of these actions and reactions increased and surfaced between the two shores of the Atlantic Ocean and include ESDP-NATO interference.

In the background of the ESDP-NATO conflict is the expanding qualitative and quantitative changes of the ESDP which not only induce competition, but also present NATO with challenges to its existence. Simplified, NATO is directly endangered by ESDP, more specifically, its strengthening, since the EU forms its own defense policy through minimizing duplications and intends to acquire the support entirely from current EU-member capacities.³⁶⁷ Technically, this means, ESDP will force itself between EU-member allies and NATO. This will leave more than administrative consequences, and could affect European security development, fundamentally shifting the balance of power along with its decision-making elements, processes, force structures and expenses.

While the Union views itself as an equal-level partner and develops its defense capabilities from this stance, significant critiques surface in the US about the Union's military efforts. Washington sees the EU as an equal partner; however, the Union must increase its military contributions.³⁶⁸ The US views every partner based on its defensive qualities, and the EU is no exception. However, the Union distances itself from any pre-qualifier. This discord really revolves around dependence; Europe wants to break out of the US bonds and the US is not yet ready to completely "give-up" Europe. The difference of opinion could be resolved through a detailed timetable to end this dependence. If both sides could clearly see the future of ESDP, with the clear "hows" and "whens", they could also see the proper avenues to form relationships with allies and partners. Since the timetable of the EU defense capabilities is not yet identified, this unclear process and its consequences force Washington to be wary. For

³⁶⁷ Robert E. HUNTER, *The European Security and Defense Policy: NATO's Companion - or Competitor?*, Santa Monica, Rand, p. 039-141., Online: <http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1463/MR1463.ch18.pdf> (February 19, 2004)

³⁶⁸ Richard MORNINGSTAR, *EU-U.S. Relations: Priorities and Policies in the New Millenium*, Remarks to American-European Community Association Conference, European Parliament, Brussels, Belgium, January 26, 2000 Online: <http://www.useu.be/About%20the%20Embassy/Ambassador/Speeches%20Morningstar/morn0126.html> (February 21, 2004)

this reason, European Security and Defense Policy's independence should be defined on one timetable – accepted by both sides – with clear guarantees for all parties stabilizing their confidence.

The actual EU contributions do not match the resources provided by the US; more accurately, EU contributions do not match the level of US assistance.³⁶⁹ Accordingly, a “unified” Europe should establish federal forces and integrate them into the Alliance. This would clarify an independent defense for NATO, and the US and European pillar would be more functional. Clearly structured and balanced transatlantic security architecture would better serve the sovereignty of both force centers and a balanced relationship.

Post-9/11 security challenges redirected attention from political cooperation to practical action and concrete defense responsibilities. The evaluation of this process and the perception about the rules to be implemented are not identical in the EU-US and the ESDP-NATO relationships. Although the mentioned organizations made significant efforts to combat terrorism, the qualitative indicators of the implemented mechanisms display classic differences between the two continents. Europeans view the US reaction as too extensive, and Washington sees the European reaction as too reserved. These perceptions might decisively impact upon evolution of the EU-US defense dimension and its technological developments. While the US wants to maximize its own security, the EU goal is to reach minimal levels, merely closing the gap between the two. Which alternative is correct? Does a feasible option even exist? From the material financing aspect, it is relevant whether the US will be able to continue the subvention of the additional assets. As well, can the EU be affected by an unanticipated challenge without adequate investment? If these two viewpoints cannot be brought closer, the outcome will be an increase in the technological and security gap coupled with political effects with unpredictable consequences.

In the event the Union will not adjust its level of contribution to the Alliance, any effort to close the gap will be significantly delayed. It is feasible for the US to modify its contributions to the EU level. This would not necessarily decrease the level of US security. In the event the US would actually limit its forces to a level maintained by the EU and would remove many of its forces from the continent, sudden erosion would follow and the European Union's vulnerability would increase. As such, the extent of bearing the burden would be balanced and NATO would, in all likelihood, continue to remain the strongest security establishment in the world; however, the Union's security guarantees would fall significantly below the current level.

In Washington, there are questions about the disproportionate US contributions to NATO. As American politician Dana Rohrabacher declared: Why should we support and help the Union's structural development when it not only fails to reciprocate but directly damages US interests in Iraq?³⁷⁰ It would be sensible for Europe to display steps not to deteriorate the American goodwill.

It is uncertain, how the Union plans to handle the challenges beyond the Petersberg tasks and how it could separate European defense structures from NATO assets. The EU

³⁶⁹ Edward G. GUNNING, The European Security and Defense Policy, USAF Institute for National Security Studies, USAF Academy, Colorado, INSS, Occasional Papers, July 2001, p. vii-ix., Online: <http://www.usafa.af.mil/inss/OCP/ocp41f.pdf> (February 19, 2004)

³⁷⁰ Dana ROHRABACHER, Speech, US House Meeting, May 6, 2003., C-Span, (May 6, 2003, 19.30 [Pacific Time])

emphasizes, forming an EU-military force separate from the US and NATO. Based on EU rationale, this would be the clearest way to base the Atlantic structure on two pillars and the ESDI-projected more equal burden sharing.³⁷¹ Since ESDP independence-building takes place with significant determination this means the ESDI-defined European independence and common burden-sharing must be redefined. Considering Washington does not feel assured of true motivation behind the political rhetoric, it would be beneficial to place EU-US security relationships on a clearer, more transparent foundation.

The philosophical importance of NATO and EU expansions defines the future relationship of the two organizations. Since the Prague and Thessaloniki Summits opted for significant expansions, the expectation to promptly resolve the ESDP-NATO integration-related security paradox issue became urgent.³⁷² For this reason, certain old and new members or the membership-aspirants may opt for the more potent defense guarantees; thus, the stronger may further erode the weaker. If NATO remains the strongest defense organization on the continent, the effects of its current problems will affect the ESDP-NATO relationship. In the event ESDP will have the necessary military capability at its disposal and the European military potential will favorably compare with US potential, NATO may become secondary in Europe. To diminish these risks factors, the developments of a security architecture standing on a common, independent but integrated pillar will be necessary in Europe, one that will really minimize the distance between the continents.

The NATO and EU security picture forced a “mandatory choice” on the NATO and EU aspirants. The aspirants wanted to avoid the requirement dictated by the two organizations by urging – in unison – structural transparency. The motivation behind this attempt was the desire not to pursue two non-congruent systems of norms in order to be offered simultaneous memberships. On the other side, because the aspirant’s integration goals are the primary elements of their national security strategies – their interest assertions could be characterized foremost by their shifting policies in order to accommodate both organizations. The future of NATO and EU integration is most difficult to project unequivocally as the aspirants will always enliven the arguments while consolidating the relationship between the two organizations.

The qualitative system of expectation created a new geo-strategic environment on the continent. The organizations resigned from the “unity could not be weakened by an additional member” theory, and a broader cooperation was emphasized expanding the circle by a larger step enabling the possibility of mobilizing assets from the now available resources in the event of a conflict. What makes this very interesting is the unpredictability brought about by the large-scale expansion and how the interior structural balance will be affected in the future. The decisions affecting the expansion diminished membership exclusivity but increased the number of members and that is an unequivocal indicator of the new trends of European security and the relevant desire for cooperation.

The ESDP-ESDI relationship and its future remain uncertain. The Alliance placed increased emphasis on practical ESDI enhancements; however, the ability to show actual

³⁷¹ Daniel VERNET, The European Security and Defence Policy : is Peacekeeping Enough?, The Cicero Foundation, Paris, December 14, 2001, Online: http://www.cicerofoundation.org/lectures/vernet_dec01.html (February 20, 2004)

³⁷² Antonio MISSIROLI, Bigger EU, wider CFSP, stronger ESDP? The view from Central Europe, Occasional Paper 34, April 2002, Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/occasion/occ34.html> (February 20, 2004)

progress is complicated by the direct connection with ESDP vitality.³⁷³ Although the Union does not deny the similarity between the two initiatives, it completely rejects this analogy. The EU views the ESDP as a much broader, yet comprehensive and more specific plan. In reality, ESDI is an element of ESDP. The aphorism resulting from the difference between NATO and EU membership appears to be a little artificial. ESDP covers Austria, Finland, Malta and Sweden; ESDI includes Norway and Turkey. The plan by the Union and the Alliance for further expansions makes this issue even more complex. Since neither the current nor projected memberships are expected to be identical, the future is likely to be characterized by independence with closer cooperation.

In the enhancements of initiatives by both organizations, a difference in terminology brought about significant complications.³⁷⁴ Both entities approached identical areas with the same logic and methodology; however, the terminology between the two organizations is different. As a result, the NATO abbreviations and acronyms such as ESDI and DCI often confronted EU terms within ESDP and HG and vice versa. In their content, these initiatives are similar; however, their goals are different. They confront, not complement, each other. Long-term cooperation between the two organizations is very difficult without resolving differences between terms and eliminating multiple meanings.

In the forming of the European defense dimension, a realistic option would be for the European nations directly or indirectly to realign their NATO-oriented contributions in favor of ESDP. This move would lead to shortages within NATO; thus, the US opposes it. Pursuing this option despite US objections would weaken the Transatlantic cooperation and NATO. As a result of this shift in European strategy, the US and Canada would not be interested in assuming NATO responsibilities even if the North Atlantic security net is significantly more potent than its European counterpart. Since the Union cannot allow the development of this unfavorable situation for its security and other reasons, it is extremely important for the ESDP enhancement process to keep the ESDP-NATO, EU-US and EU-Canada relationships at the center of attention.

Clarifying ESDP-NATO tasks and responsibilities is necessary since it is not clear what occurs in cases when "NATO does not want to be involved". Numerous situations may occur when neither the US, nor NATO nor the EU intend to get involved.³⁷⁵ Additionally, the 2003 Iraqi conflict placed this dilemma in another light. It was clearly manifested, the EU is not willing to relinquish the initiative to the US or NATO unconditionally. Although the Union de facto did not hinder the military operations, the EU placed significant diplomatic pressure on the US. In the event a clear area of responsibility could be defined within the EU-US-NATO triad, the roles could be clarified, decreasing political rhetoric and moving operational tasks to the foreground.

As it works on ESDP, Europe is often accused of pursuing power in its own interests through military means and not common Atlantic interests. The most obvious example is

³⁷³ Bernard JENKIN, *Missile Defense and European Politics*, First Defence, November 18, 2002, p. 4-5, Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/occasion/occ34.html> (February 20, 2004)

³⁷⁴ Rainer SCHUWIRTH: *Military Dimension of the ESDP*, Opening remarks, XVIIIth International Workshop on Political-Military Decision Making in the Atlantic Alliance, Kronborg Castle, Copenhagen, Denmark, May 24-27, 2001, Online: http://www.csdrr.org/2001Book/2001_chap6.htm (November 15, 2003)

³⁷⁵ *EU force takes over peace role*, The Guardian, March 31, 2003, Online: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/macedonia/story/0,7369,926210,00.html> (March 7, 2004)

developing parallel systems within ESDP which duplicates NATO resources. And, worse, doing all this during times of limited resources, while covered by the Alliance. As it builds ESDP, it is not yet as strong as the Alliance but through its own existence, weakens NATO. The vitality of the EU-transatlantic security is diminished now due to ESDP. The EU duplications would represent squandering only if the US and Europe faced identical risks. Since this is not the case, and there is no guarantee for Washington to give its approval to handle a Europe-specific conflict, such independence is natural and justified. As the international situation suggests, the possibility exists for a military conflict in two or more locations, the problems may escalate or multiply deteriorating to the nuclear dimension and one crisis zone is more likely to endanger European while the other may affect American stability. Since the aforementioned scenario would necessitate the division of military resources, significant complications would result in the process of deciding who has access and control over assets. This and similar scenarios seem to justify the development of an independent European military capability.

. The competition between the two organizations manifests itself through member states and their relationships within the given organizations. The various states – depending on whether they are members or actively pursuing membership – represent significantly mixed and changing views. Through bilateral or multilateral relationships, these sudden and lively political moves give especially dynamic impetus to both organizations. Coupled with a lack of maturity, this pluralism worsens the scenarios for possible consensus and contributes to an increase in bureaucracy restricting forward movement.

Complicating the solidification of European security are the two opposing processes. The Alliance pursues the rationalization of the available resources, as the EU started to build a new system.³⁷⁶ This is best illustrated by the difference between the defense planning systems and mechanisms utilized by the two organizations. The Alliance's DCI and the Union's HG do not match and have contradictory effects on one another. The primary source of the insecurity is the way both systems is dependence on the same pool of resources.³⁷⁷ To strengthen the Transatlantic relationship, integrating military planning for NATO and ESDP is a necessity.

Uncertainty is evident in the real and future capabilities of the two organizations. With the awareness of up-to-date theories of crisis management, neither ESDP nor NATO has the resources to resolve the conflicts of our era alone.³⁷⁸ On one side, a logical assumption implies the reliance on independent resources and capabilities. On the other side, it remains unclear how the Union undertakings could be accomplished based on available capabilities by activating ESDP resources for incidents where NATO opts not to get involved. The weakest and definable links – as also identified during the 1999 WEU review – are reconnaissance, C³ and strategic airlift shortcomings. Just as with NATO, ESDP is absolutely dependent on US intelligence, C³ and airlift support. As long as EU and NATO fail to secure these three essential resources, operational limitations will remain and thoughts

³⁷⁶ George ROBERTSON, *Speech*, At the Winston Churchill Lecture, Luxembourg, September 29, 2003, Online: <http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2003/s030929a.htm> (March 7, 2004)

³⁷⁷ Frank KRAMER, *NATO-EU Defense Planning*, United States Mission to the European Union, Brussels, October 18, 2000, Online: <http://www.useu.be/ISSUES/kram1018.html> (February 21, 2004)

³⁷⁸ Alan GOROWITZ, *The EU & NATO: Harmonizing Efforts in Southeast Europe*, George C. Marshall Center for Security Studies and the German Foreign Office, April 7-10, 2003, Berlin, Online: http://www.marshallcenter.org/site-graphic/lang-en/page-pubs-index-1/static/xdocs/conf/static/conf-report_8.pdf (February 20, 2004)

of independence will be self-delusional. Since the completion of these initiatives is the most expensive joint Transatlantic and European project, the Union and NATO, in all likelihood, will be relegated to a subordinated diplomatic position vis-à-vis the US.

Effective and potent crisis management is essential for complex economic, political, military, financial and humanitarian assistance possibilities. In these areas, the US is the only entity with such capabilities at its disposal. The EU has the ability to resolve economic crises, however, ESDP capability limitations keep it from applying potent military and political pressure. Conversely, NATO has the military capability to become involved immediately, but lacks the assets to resolve the economic aspects. The Union continues to pursue the benchmark established by the US – the ability to handle all aspects of crisis management alone.

The most significant difference of opinion between EU-NATO and EU-US remains the issue of specific military operations capability. Here, the Alliance's DCI confronts the Union's HG. In 1999, the US-prepared DCI identified the increasing technological differences between the US and its allies. The DCI also pointed out decreasing European contributions and the resulting weakened strategic ties between the two continents.³⁷⁹ The differences surfacing today stem from the decades-long preparation by the US to project its forces across the oceans.³⁸⁰ On the other hand, the leading concept of the Union's HG was to comply with the Petersberg tasks defined in 1992: accomplish humanitarian, civil defense, SAR and peace-building missions.³⁸¹ The majority of the American and European initiatives of the past decade was the result of mutual confrontations and often based on distrust.³⁸² Today, the primary goal of the HG is to establish a quick response force even if this will only indirectly strengthen the general defense capabilities. The DCI-initiated NATO Response Force (NRF) was established to accomplish the Alliance's long-term goal to do the same.

Today's dialectics between the European Security and Defense Policy and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization are affected by limitations on European activities and the increasing European desire to maximize its autonomy. Since these forces are quite varied, changing direction, timing and intensity can produce counter-reactions and they may nullify instead of strengthen each other. This also combines with globalization and modernization, leading to unpredictability. Such a complex situation could only be held in check through an organized international system based on cooperation. It is encouraging to note how Brussels and Washington – despite the different views – manage to continue political cooperation. During the preparation of the new European defense system, the extent of the transatlantic cooperation and willingness to retain transparency through continued dialogue must be a top priority. In terms of specific relationships, NATO assets and rationalization of their access for ESDP is essential. By expanding cooperation, the bureaucracy to access the required resources could be significantly decreased. Without tightening the security policy consultation process, significant fault lines are likely to develop not only in the Transatlantic relationship but also on the European continent.

³⁷⁹ Hans-Christian HAGMAN, European Crisis Management and Defense: The Search for Capabilities, Adelphi Paper 353, The International Institute for Strategic Studies, Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 15.

³⁸⁰ David YOST, The NATO Capabilities Gap and the European Union, *Survival*, vol. 42, No. 4, Winter 2002-01, The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2001, p. 99.

³⁸¹ Europa, The EU Online, The EU at a glance, Glossary,
Online: <http://europa.eu.int/scadplus/leg/en/cig/g4000p.htm#p1> (November 8, 2003)

³⁸² Robert E. HUNTER, The European Security and Defense Policy: NATO's Companion or competitor?, RAND Corporation, 2002, p. 3.

The changes brought about by the ESDP ambitions will have long-term influences on ESDP and NATO. Since ESDP evolution will follow the guidelines of the Alliance, the relationship of the two organizations will be based on mutual interdependence.³⁸³ This is supported by the fact the issue of security in Europe and its perimeters could only be solved through EU and NATO cooperation, and not by either organization alone. In future EU-NATO relationship, mutual interests will be resolved by the most appropriate and cost-effective solution. As a result, the developing ESDP will rely on NATO capabilities and, in the long term, will become independent as one of the elements of the Alliance.

4.6. Transatlantic Perspectives

The quality of the transatlantic relationship is determined by differences among the foreign interests of the two central powers. Their focus on issues is the most noticeable difference. The Union's focus remains on the continent and the adjacent regions while the US places emphasis on security issues in Iraq, Afghanistan, North Korea, China and Russia. If the EU would adjust its global political role to equal its economic stature, it would approach the US on defense planning tasks. However, this process cannot be successful through rejecting NATO and excluding the US. Western Europe must not forget, the US proved its allegiance toward Western Europe numerous times since the end of World War II. The strong ties also remain the case today when the majority of actual guarantees for European security, directly or indirectly are provided by the US military.

The US must tolerate the contradiction-laced EU development process, realizing that integration is a fundamental issue in the evolution process. Washington's diplomacy must display increased activity in Europe. This is also justified by the past since the US always played a key role balancing the European nation's fight for supremacy. Although the EU is called a unified power center, its founding elements and dynamic coalition modifications carry significant uncertainty.³⁸⁴

During the development of a unified European defense capability, the most important question is to determine which alternative contributes the most toward ESDP development with the least complication and investment, significantly strengthening transatlantic security. In the event Europe would expand on the US experience in armed forces developments and would approach the qualitative and quantitative goals pursued by the US, it would significantly decrease the current major asymmetry. Minimizing the differences, it would also increase its ability to take on challenging tasks on the global scale. In all likelihood, Washington would welcome such steps since they would enable the US to remain in the European theater, could control the processes and could be absolved from taking an excessive role in European security. Thus, one of the requirements for the success of ESDP is for the EU, US and NATO to clarify unresolved questions about the relationship of the two organizations and to concentrate the resources necessary to establish a truly separate defense capability.

³⁸³ François HEISBOURG, European Security: The Impact of the European Union's Security and Defence Policy, 4th international security forum Geneva Centre for Security Policy Foundation Council, Geneva, November 15, 2000, Online: <http://diplomizard.diplomacy.edu/tara/getxDoc.asp?IDconv=2492> (February 19, 2004)

³⁸⁴ Dan GOURE: Memorandum, Alliance Project Seminar, Lexington Institute, July 3, 2003, Online: <http://www.lexingtoninstitute.org/alliances/030703.asp> (February 21, 2004)

The widespread utilization of cliques on both continents must cease. The examples of the past few years confirmed that political rhetoric influenced by emotions can worsen economic and political cooperation and could easily erode the transatlantic relationship. It would be sensible to clearly define the areas where one or the other party has concerns and recommend specific political solution alternatives.

The necessity to take sides between Europe and (North) America or ESDP and NATO cannot continue during the building of transatlantic security. The requirement to choose is generated by separatist forces and they not only split the two continents but also weaken the currently still unified security dimension. The unnecessary creation of tension is not only dangerous, it could be fatal.³⁸⁵

The increasingly hectic ESDP-NATO relationship must not continue. In order to minimize these variations, a pragmatic approach and the de-politicization of the development of the security capabilities is essential. Defense capability mobilization for idealistic, long-range political goals remain far from resolving today's real crisis situations, require unrealistic changes and – what would produce negative consequences for the Transatlantic relationship – the opposing nature of the two organizations would confront the other even more.³⁸⁶ The establishment of relevant operational response forces within the crisis management capability is the most pressing task for both organizations.

From the defense policy response acceptance, the EU must meet two expectations. It must establish its defense capability in a way to enable EU members to handle crisis situations independently thereby contributing to the Alliance's strategic concept defined as unified capability. The expectation is to recruit assets to the European force with multi-function capability enabling the completion of Petersberg tasks while member nations are also capable of ensuring their own defense. This would accomplish the optimization of European security development combining the European defense with the Atlantic dimension and would also meet future development goals.

The requirement to revise the current security architecture surfaces with the strengthening of the ESDP. This means the insertion of ESDP into the community of current organizations and the redefining of the tasks and responsibilities of the European security establishment. One of the specific tasks is to build current forces offered by NATO members in defining the military capabilities of ESDP.³⁸⁷ This would establish the Union in the midst of nations and would combine NATO and Union assets. Although the Alliance's strength would not be diminished and, with competition, the NATO-ESDP relationship would be resolved, Europe would remain under a two-dimensional security umbrella. The non-EU member allies, non-NATO member EU nations and countries outside of both organizations would not enjoy identical security guarantees. From the establishment of systems, the lengthy duplication and operation of parallel sub-systems would be certainties. Despite the mentioned negative factors, this proposed solution would represent the best opportunity for the involvement vice the possibility of isolation or the open competition in pursuit of security guarantees.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ Bernard JENKIN, *Missile Defense and European Politics*, First Defence, November 18, 2002, p. 4-5, Online: <http://www.iss-eu.org/occasion/occ34.html> (February 20, 2004)

³⁸⁷ Karsten VOIGT, *A German Perspective on ESDP and NATO*, EuroForum, Volume 3, No. 1, CSIS, January 31 2001, Online: <http://www.csis.org/europe/euroforum/v3n1.pdf> (February 20, 2004)

ESDP must serve the strengthening of European military capability and not weaken the Transatlantic relationship. The Union's initiatives do not exclude nor replace NATO and this must be considered as a sensible and dominating view. With the realization of this leading thought, the spirit of independence and unity could materialize simultaneously with European acceptance of responsibility and the Transatlantic obligation.³⁸⁸

A central connection is to bridge the technological gap between the US and its European allies. The current situation could move in either of three basic directions. The first option is for the gap to increase to the point of fatally endangering the Alliance's joint military involvement. Ultimately, this would result in a long-term situation where the doctrinal separation of military operations could follow between the two shores of the Atlantic. In the event the EU does not quickly take steps to diminish the imbalance, it will grow exponentially and losing additional ground due to the procrastination is not likely to be made up in the foreseeable future. The second avenue – recognizing the untenable situation – the EU allies could increase their military cooperation and through a more effective utilization of resources enable cooperating initiatives and attempt to close the gap and approach the American levels. With the absence of relevant resources and real political backing, this is almost impossible since the American developmental expenditures are multi-fold larger than the relevant European budgets and the American economic indicators are even better than their European counterparts. The third option is to initially pursue elements of the ESDP with relatively low requirement for resources in areas where the US is weak or lacks capabilities; thus, complementing the US. This could create a long-term interdependence and would solidify a basis of cooperation. Nevertheless, even in this final option, the EU would not be absolved from the responsibility to establish minimum self-defense capabilities.

One alternative to resolve this situation could be to harmonize, divide and integrate development initiatives within ESDP, EU-US and ESDP-NATO. If the European and Atlantic forces would utilize identical tools and weapons and other military technology would be standardized, than they could be produced en-masse for larger markets decreasing production cost and lowering prices.³⁸⁹ Simultaneously, the long sought after military compatibility could be the result and would produce better cooperation in multi-national operations and would allow ESDP to decrease the Transatlantic gap.

The geo-strategic and functional task distribution is of fundamental importance. Where and how certain organizations will handle roles must be defined. During NATO strategy developments and numerous EU presidencies, the emphasis to handle Petersberg tasks was identified and elevated; however, the issue of which organization has responsibility in which region and how functional tasks would be divided in a specific crisis remained unresolved. Understanding these tasks requires planning and cooperation of operational units in order to live communication and consultation in the decision-making mechanisms. Adopting the Alliance's planning and operational procedures, ESDP could significantly expedite its pace of development and NATO could benefit from a more balanced handling of responsibilities in Europe. With the preparation of the projected NATO and EU task lists, the

³⁸⁸ Gareth HARDING, Analysis: EU defense plans cause stink, UPI, The Washington Times, Online: <http://washingtontimes.com/upi-breaking/20031202-120729-5479r.htm> (January 22, 2004)

³⁸⁹ Roxana TIRON, European Firms Energizing U.S. Defense Market, Industry executives predict EADS will in time win more Pentagon contracts, December 2002, online: <http://www.nationaldefensemagazine.org/article.cfm?Id=997> (February 20, 2004)

criteria of military cooperation would become visible and the two organizations could become transparent without forcing a marginal role on nations without membership in both organizations.³⁹⁰

The deepening of the strategic partnership, ability to act and maintain interoperability would significantly assist in jointly led missions. Toward this goal, the political norms viewing of crisis situations should become closer and a common action plan addressing quantitative and qualitative distribution and improved cooperation would also be beneficial. These steps could significantly assist in the elimination of misunderstandings and would steer force projection toward the common goal.

A coordinated viewpoint is necessary to ascertain the integration strategy pursued by the two organizations. Specific coordination is needed to support the result-oriented military reform in aspirant nations even if entry would be granted to only one of the organizations.³⁹¹ Increased emphasis and tightly coordinated advice is necessary to provide the integration-oriented assistance to nations not yet identified for future membership. The assumption is the harmonized subvention tailored for certain nations and the constant progress review is essential not only for the given organization but also for Transatlantic communication and the mutual interdependence.³⁹²

We can conclude a stabile Europe cannot be imagined without a balanced Transatlantic relationship in terms of military capability and international politics. It is advisable to identify the appropriate ratio that enables the balanced growth of certain elements, maintains stability and allows the readiness of defense capability. With high probability, we can anticipate major changes in EU-US and ESDP-NATO relationships as the EU becomes a force center and the US loses its relative global superpower status.

For the EU, three strategic dimensions would allow relative prosperity:

1. Reform and rationalize its internal institution
2. Simplify and make the decision-making process more effective
3. (Re)evaluate expansion-related concepts

For the Alliance, the biggest challenge is the NATO transformation declared to improve military capabilities and efficiency. The differences of opinions between the EU and the US along with ESDP-NATO are likely to remain for a long time due to the contradicting priorities. The dynamics of the Transatlantic relationships will depend on the US willingness to politically tolerate the European economic and subsequent gains and whether the US can accept the EU-desired partnership even if we can already see this is likely to produce a decreasing European relevance for the US. Furthermore, an EU ambition is to assert its own interests independently without relying on US domestic and foreign policy developments. To avoid this paradox, the realization of foreign policy goals and closer cooperation is necessary and the security, defense and military elements will play a key role.

³⁹⁰ Ahto LOBJAKAS, NATO: Defense Ministers Meeting Overshadowed by EU Military Plans, Radio Free Europe, Online: <http://www.rferl.org/features/2003/12/02122003172958.asp> (January 22, 2004)

³⁹¹ Three New Books, NATO and Central Europe, Staff-prepared summary of the EES non discussion with Jeffrey SIMON, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University, January 14, 2004, Online: http://wwics.si.edu/index.cfm?topic_id=1422&fuseaction=topics.event_summary&event_id=53211 (January 22, 2004)

³⁹² Louis R. GOLINO, For Europeans, A Force Of Their Own, New York University, September 28, 1999, Online: <http://www.nyu.edu/globalbeat/syndicate/Golino092899.html> (January 22, 2004)

4.7. Atlantic Balance

Although the future of the Transatlantic relationship is not easy to predict, the answers provided to the questions identified in the beginning of this chapter help us gain a momentary picture for a comprehensive view. Accordingly, today, the Transatlantic relationship can be evaluated in the following way:

First and foremost, we can declare neither side is doing everything possible or even enough to let the Transatlantic arguments subside. The primary reason is over our era's relative absence of potentially fatal challenges and the way this preferred absence affords the luxury to both sides to ignore the building of a common security pillar. It seems, the desire for independence is coupled not with cooperation but more so with competition. Perhaps the most worrisome issue beyond the economic and market-oriented competition is the more and more evident political and even the military rivalry. In this process, while the two organizations distance themselves from the other, the question of whom they will approach, with whom will either organization form new alliances and how long will these new alliances remain are impossible to predict. The hitherto-relationships between the European Union and the United States continued to contribute to the Transatlantic regional security and did not create instability; however, in pursuing new paths, the danger remains for the accustomed security comfort level to decrease. The issue of which of these proverbs "he who dares, wins" or "don't leave the security of the known for the unknown" will have more followers is another issue for the future. On the other hand, we can have no doubts, the potentially possible, perhaps fatal danger resulting from upsetting the fragile security balance would have negative consequences.

The answer to the question whether both sides must take action to maintain the Transatlantic dialogue, is an unequivocally simple YES! Foremost, we cannot be certain the future will continue to afford the luxury to both sides to invest energy toward pursuing independence from the other instead of pursuing common responsibilities. The uncontrolled confrontations could lead to consequences by taking away energy from important areas and the current differing opinions could evolve into serious confrontations making it progressively more difficult to return to the previous equilibrium. A downward spiral could begin irreversibly eroding the EU-US relationship until the two become completely opposed. That would be a most welcome outcome for various forces outside of the North Atlantic region.

Considering the combined security and strength of the EU and the US is much stronger than it would be independently, there is no reason for freelance politics on either side to be at the detriment of the other as the combined effect on Europe and the North Atlantic region would be to weaken the security and make it more fragile. Historical examples support the possibility of an international situation when the democratic world order is attacked and just as the case was on numerous previous occasions, democratic nations will have to rely on each other. For this reason, EU and US foreign policies must be more tolerant of the other.

In the interest of decreasing current constraints, the connection points must be located to redirect the entities toward common goals by placing mutual interests in the foreground and diminishing today's emotionally charged differing viewpoints. These common points

could certainly be found tackling responsibilities in unison in traditional economic, trade, industrial and cultural areas.

In terms of the transatlantic aspect's security dimension, we can conclude ESDP development is not helping improve the EU-US relationship. The primary reason is the ESDP evolution as it opposes the currently better, more effective organization providing security, and, making matters worse, a number of ESDP enhancements actually oppose NATO. All in all, this process, although indirectly, endangers American security. It is not easy to answer the American question asking why a newer security institution must be established when our era carries numerous increased dangers and additionally – for this reason – allowing the erosion of the Alliance is more than irresponsible. The EU opines since transatlantic and European security is US-dependent and we can consider the possibility of simultaneous attacks against the EU and US, defending Europe would not be the primary US priority, so the Union must be prepared to guarantee its own security. However, this does not mean the EU defense development must confront the US or NATO. It is especially important for the ESDP development never to erode the transatlantic and/or the European security's actual status. Perhaps, the most result-oriented option is to utilize the “divisible but not independent” concept meaning ESDP should strengthen within the EU the same way the European pillar is in NATO.

Conclusively, we can state the Transatlantic relationship follows the “not with you and not without you” paradox and provides the dynamics to the relationship. To reach a positive outcome, this chapter supports the “we have much more in common to unite us than to separate us” theory.³⁹³ The fact is the EU and US could overcome our era's conflicts and security challenges but only when they face them together with their combined strength. In this same process, independently, perhaps exerting energy opposing each other would definitely have a negative effect on the success the two communities. The effect on regional security would be the same. If we can justifiably state today, much more economic and political similarities bond than split the two continents, we can also state as evident, rejection of the other requires more energy than staying united.³⁹⁴ Promoting antagonistic behaviors between the two force centers is not justified. Any effort directed to negatively affect the Transatlantic relationship is not only unjustified and irresponsible today but is also extremely dangerous since it endangers the security not only in the European and Atlantic region, but could also have fatal consequences on the global security balance.

³⁹³ Christopher PATTEN, America and Europe: An Essential Partnership, Chicago, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, European Union in the US, October 3, 2002, Online: <http://www.eurunion.org/news/speeches/2002/021003cp.htm> (March 7, 2004)

³⁹⁴ Ronald ASMUS, Christoph BERTRAM, Carl BILDT, Richard BURT, Ivo DAALDER, Marta DASSU, Thérèse DELPECH, James DOBBINS, Steven EVERTS, Lawrence FREEDMAN, Philip GORDON, Charles GRANT, Ulrike GUEROT, Karl KAISER, Charles KUPCHAN, Christopher MAKINS, Dominique MOÏSI, Simon SERFATY, James STEINBERG, Fred van STADEN, Declaration On Transatlantic Relations: How To Overcome The Divisions, Online: http://www.cer.org.uk/pdf/TransatlanticTransatlantic_%20Declaration.pdf (February 20, 2004)

Chapter 5

“EU-Function”³⁹⁵: European Integration Center of Gravity

Storms bear new worlds.
Conrad Ferdinand Meyer

5.1. Introduction

The historically significant events of today’s Europe are the collapse of the Soviet Union, Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, German reunification and the subsequent democratization along with the consolidation of dynamic integration and disintegration processes. In the early 1990s, disintegration attempts appeared to be far more intensive and cathartic. The latter half of the decade was more integration-oriented and became a serious issue in Eastern and Western Europe and in the US. Partially accepting the concept “integration is not only a process but is also an end state”³⁹⁶, this chapter asserts while we review the changes in European security, we should view integration to be more of a process not an end state. This is true not only in the case of international organizations but also for some nations. The sources urging European integration are the European Union and NATO integration strategies and the dialectics of the aspirant nation’s interests.

Today’s European disintegration processes occur in a Europe free from artificial borders with the EU and NATO as the basic dimensions. Considering the former is a Europe-specific economic, social, political and security union and the latter is more of a political, security and military organization encompassing the Northern hemisphere, the nucleus of the two – based on their nature – cannot be united. Naturally, since political, economic and social areas dominate over security and defense, in the European integration process, EU membership is the primary goal. The Union’s primacy is also supported by the way its development processes, the supra- and super-national advancement phase’s implementation not only changes EU-member’s legal status in NATO but simultaneously establishes new value systems and security circumstances on the continent. In other words, the Alliance’s future depends more on the EU than vice versa. From the Union’s standpoint, NATO remains important but is degraded to a subordinate role while it confronts the Union on numerous functional areas. In the midst of these circumstances, “EU function” is a fundamental concept.

5.2. European Integration Effects

For international relationships, the European integration was one of the most defining processes in the 20th century. Who would have thought just 50 years ago, Europe – with the two ancient enemies (France and Germany) in the center – would mobilize its forces in the interest of developing the most successful international entity. Before May 2004, the EU had 380 million residents and with the expansion its population increased by 20% approaching

³⁹⁵ EU-function - lat el., societal activities or institutional steps with beneficial effects on others’s activities in BAKOS Ferenc: *Idegen szavak és kifejezések kézikönyvtára*, Akadémiai Kiadó (Akadémiai Publishing), Budapest 1999, p. 228.

³⁹⁶ Graham EVANS, Jeffrey NEWNHAM, *The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations*, Penguin Books, London, 1998, p. 253.

half billion and all this with a unified and integrated market.³⁹⁷ With its 25 members, the Union is perhaps the world's most dominant legal, economic and social entity. The EU activities starting with collective market liberalization and financial stabilization, common environmental protection, research and technological development, immigration directive implementation, common foreign and security policy development cover every factor of the socio-political and economic life.³⁹⁸ These successes did not occur overnight but manifested themselves during the post-World War II decades gradually evolving through integration waves.

During the 1950s, the Soviet Union and the Eastern Block was characterized by continuous crises while the Western European unity and integration movement showed tremendous dynamics. The European Common Market, the Union's predecessor was established on March 25, 1957 when the original six members (Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxemburg and Netherlands) signed the Rome Agreement.



The first expansion occurred in 1973 affecting the Northern European region as Denmark, Ireland and United Kingdom were admitted. In 1981, the Southeastern European region was included with Greece's entry.



The Iberian Peninsula's 1986 integration with Spain and Portugal's inclusion meant not only the southwestern sector of the continent siding with European unity but also signified the new readiness of the now 12-member Union for a new step exceeding every hitherto measure.

³⁹⁷ [The European Union Embarks on Expansion](http://edition.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2000/eurounion/story/enlarge/), The Changing Face of Europe, CNN Specials, Online: <http://edition.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2000/eurounion/story/enlarge/> (February 21, 2004)

³⁹⁸ Andrew MORAVCSIK, [European Integration: What Future for Europe and the U.S.?](#), New York, Foreign Policy Association, Great Decisions, 1997, p. 47.

³⁹⁹ [1952-58, The Founding Members](#), Enlargement of the European Union, Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, Online: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enlargement_of_the_European_Union (December 11, 2006)

⁴⁰⁰ [1973 First Enlargement](#), Enlargement of the European Union, Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, Online: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enlargement_of_the_European_Union (December 11, 2006)

⁴⁰¹ [1981– Second "southern \(part I\)" Enlargement](#), Enlargement of the European Union, Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, Online: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enlargement_of_the_European_Union (December 11, 2006)



The next milestone in the history of modern European integration occurred in 1988. At the Hanover Summit, the European Council accepted the French-German initiative about an Economic and Financial Union initially addressing the possibility of a common currency.⁴⁰³ Two years later, the Dublin Summit confirmed the start of a series of IGCs about a possible European Political Union (EPU). In 1991, the EU was established in Maastricht. This event could be identified as the closing accord of establishing one of the strongest power centers of the current multi-polar world order in our post-bipolar world. The post-Cold War European era was dominated by exclusion and acceptance dilemmas. Whom and which regions should be accepted in the “Club” formed primarily in Western Europe? As a result, who should be excluded and on what basis?⁴⁰⁴

The EU is not only an economic project. Its founders realized, in a modern world, European nations must join forces in order to handle problems surpassing our national borders.⁴⁰⁵ The European Community’s Maastricht Summit grouped the integration goals around these areas: creation of a political, economic, financial union, development of common social norms, initiation of regional governments, establish the European Union. Forming the EU was based on three pillars:

1. Entire institutional practices
2. Foreign, security and military
3. Domestic (intra-governmental) and legal

The entry of Austria and the northern region’s Sweden and Finland in 1995 was an indicator of changing times in the post-Cold War Europe and the impending new times facing us.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰² 1986 – Third "southern (part II)" Enlargement, Enlargement of the European Union, Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, Online http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enlargement_of_the_European_Union (December 11, 2006)

⁴⁰³ Erik JONES, The Politics of EMU, Ronald TIERSKY, Europe Today, National Politics, European Integration, and European Security, Oxford, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, INC., 1999, pp. 285-287.

⁴⁰⁴ Stuart CROFT, John G. REDMOND, Wyn REES, Mark WEBBER: The Enlargement of Europe, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1999, p. 1.

⁴⁰⁵ Christopher PATTEN, America and Europe: An Essential Partnership, (Chiago, Chicago Council of Foreign Relations, October 3, 2002), Online:

<http://www.eurunion.org/news/speeches/2002/021003cp.htm> (June 2, 2003)

⁴⁰⁶ BABOS Tibor, „EU: körkérdés”, Budapest, Népszabadság, November 10, 1998



In March 1998, the Union started integration talks with Austria and a number of former Communist Block nation's governments: Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia. Two years later, talks were expanded and included Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Romania and Slovakia.⁴⁰⁸ In December 2002, the European Council based on the Copenhagen Agreement decided to admit ten new members in 2004 and to allow another two nations to join in 2007.⁴⁰⁹ The decision was reinforced in Thessaloniki in 2003 when the three Baltic States, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia received their "membership papers".



The Union's heads of government ratified their June 18, 2004 Thessaloniki decision to allow Bulgarian and Romania to join the EU on January 1, 2007.



Although not much is said about the Union's seventh expansion, strategically this was a significant decision. Attaching the three Caribbean islands (Bonaire, Saba and Sint

⁴⁰⁷ 1995 Fourth Enlargement, Enlargement of the European Union, Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, Online http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enlargement_of_the_European_Union (December 11, 2006)

⁴⁰⁸ The European Union Embarks on Expansion, The Changing Face of Europe, CNN Specials, Online: <http://edition.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2000/eurounion/story/enlarge/> (February 21, 2004)

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ 2004 – Fifth "Eastern (Part I)" Enlargement, Enlargement of the European Union, Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, Online http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enlargement_of_the_European_Union (December 11, 2006)

⁴¹¹ 2007 – Sixth "Eastern (Part II)" Enlargement, Enlargement of the European Union, Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, Online http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enlargement_of_the_European_Union (December 11, 2006)

Eustatius) under the Dutch Kingdom's reign, the Union, for the first time exceeded its often self-defined geographical boundary.

The subsequent and eight expansion is likely to include aspirants from the group where talks are currently on-going (Croatia, Macedonia and Turkey) – provided they meet the prescribed criteria.



In a looser meaning, as potential members, we can also mention Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and Ukraine since the EU already maintains intensive trade and political dialogue with these nations.

Last but not least, the Union's two largest aspirants deserve some attention: Turkey and Ukraine. Although talks with Turkey started in 1999, to date, they produced no favorable decision. The nation's legal system, especially Ankara's Kurd-oriented minority policy caused Brussels to wait until December 2004 to review the indicators. Although the majority of the European nations is divided on the issue of the Turkish entry, a number of dominant and influential nations opine against Turkey. For this reason, extending an invitation to Turkey is likely to take some time. Ukraine's membership has even more hurdles. The relatively low life standard of its 50 million citizens, the Communist heritage, Russian influence and delays on President Kuchma's promised reforms keep delaying the likelihood of Ukraine integration's real probabilities. Nevertheless, the EU forwarded \$3.72 billion in direct financial assistance to Ukraine between 1991 and 1999.⁴¹³

5.3. Euro-Atlantic Integration Waves

The Alliance's integration differs from EU integration on economic, political and historical basis. The Alliance was established in 1949 when the original 12 members, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom and the United States signed the Washington Agreement. The first three expansions were based specifically on military factors.⁴¹⁴ During the escalating Cold War, NATO invited Greece and Turkey to join in 1952, followed by West Germany in 1955 and Spain in 1982.⁴¹⁵

After the disappearance of the Warsaw Pact, the Alliance's politics changed significantly. The military factor was forced into the background as NATO took a political

⁴¹² Future – Possible Expansion Enlargement, Enlargement of the European Union, Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, Online http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enlargement_of_the_European_Union (December 11, 2006)

⁴¹³ Ibid.

⁴¹⁴ NATO Handbook, (Brussels, NATO Office of Information and Press, 2001), p. 29.

⁴¹⁵ BABOS Tibor, "NATO: körös kérdés", (Budapest, Magyar Hírlap, July 8, 1997)

stance, more specifically, to urge the strengthening and deepening of democratic values. Toward this goal, the Alliance initiated the PfP program. On the Alliance's 50th anniversary in 1999, for their active and successful participation, membership was offered to the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland, the fourth NATO expansion. The subsequent expansion of the then 19-member Alliance was declared at the Prague Summit when the three Baltic states, Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia – seven Eastern European former Communist Block nations received invitations.⁴¹⁶

The 1999 expansion was based on four rationales: NATO will be stronger; the democratization of Eastern Europe would continue; the region would be more stable; and, the Stalin-created dividing line splitting Europe would disappear once and for all.⁴¹⁷ The 2004 expansion was more simplified: unity in the war against terrorism and the solidification of European stability.⁴¹⁸



The group of potentially future NATO members includes nations who already began talks with the Alliance and are members of the Membership Action Plan (MAP) initiative: Albania, Croatia and Macedonia.

5.4. Integration Results

The fact is, without the positive integration process, Europe, EU, NATO or none of the states on the continent would be able to prosper on the “world class” level. A leading reason is, partially, the current European national and federal economies are unable to secure the excess energy provided by regional and, on a wider scale, European cooperation. Additionally, if the event the aforementioned continental cooperation does not become second nature – or may even grind to a stop – then naturally new economic, political, social, cultural and other unstable regions, fault lines might surface in Europe requiring newer and modified artificial stabilizing actions. As a result, since the stabilization or crisis management requires more resources than development or prevention, the EU, NATO and the aspirant nations should invest in stabilization, development and generally spend on their future. This

⁴¹⁶ Road to Membership, Prague Summit, Brussels, November 21-22, 2002, Online:

http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/2002/0211-prague/more_info/membership.htm, (March 22, 2003)

⁴¹⁷ Four Reasons why NATO Enlargement is in the U.S. National Interest, NATO Enlargement In the U.S. National Interest, Online: <http://www.state.gov/www/regions/eur/natoindex.html> (February 11, 2004)

⁴¹⁸ Philip H. GORDON, James B. STEINBERG, NATO Enlargement: Moving Forward; Expanding the Alliance and Completing Europe's Integration, The Brookings Institution, Global Politics, November 2001, Online: <http://www.brookings.edu/comm/policybriefs/pb90.htm> (February 23, 2004)

⁴¹⁹ Map of NATO Countries, Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, Online http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Map_of_NATO_countries.png (December 11, 2006)

could be the guarantee to decrease or avoid the destabilization tendencies that may occur during the absence of proper developmental pace and to encourage positive trends.

In this changing world and changing Europe, the two organizations could retain their global competitiveness only if united and with a harmonious balance of certain national values. In light of the large-scale expansion by the EU and NATO in 2004, a fundamental question is the extent of success for the two organizations in their desire to establish a Europe in the 21st century that will be competitive world-wide and with economic, political and security symbiosis will be able to strengthen its influence in the world on the long term.

Analyzing the EU integration characteristics, it is essential to realize, none of the integration's "permanent" rules is constant. In other words, the common element for all participants is the change or the tendency to change. The Union's and the Alliance's expansions and the aspirant nation's integration are taking place in a changing world's changing Europe, so naturally numerous assumptions follow previous and future EU and NATO discussion strategies as well as the range of movement available to aspirant nations. European integration's primary direction is indicated by these continuous dialectic effect-mechanism dynamics and the qualitative indicators identify the structure-changing trends of the continent.

In the EU and NATO chronology, up to now, the expansions were viewed as Western European domestic issues. In the previous decades of a bipolar Europe, the wealthier Western Europeans gradually and consistently integrated the Western, Eastern and Southeastern nations they viewed as partners on the same side of the economic, political, social and military dividing lines and with alike beliefs on democracy and market economy. The ongoing integration waves in European history are the first such process although they are Pan-European, the effects are not restricted to continental mechanisms.

Neither the integration processes of the post-Cold War Europe nor the aspirants standing at the doorway toward further Eastern European expansion could be viewed as real examples of institutional integration. Not only because no two expansions are identical and because Western Europe and the aspirant nations are much different than during the Cold War confrontations, but more so since in terms of the political, economic, social, military, cultural and geographic aspects, numerous nations on the European peripheral regions and from beyond are orienting themselves toward the Western "Clubs".

The Eastern expansion process means – especially because just like it was up to now, it materializes in multiple steps – Europe and every nation involved must make long-term reparations to provide the proper responses to the exhausting challenges. This really means the integration must be handled as a process and gaining membership does not mean the end state without subsequent responsibilities for the new members.

As an additional rule, Turkey's 1952 membership, 1987 EU membership "application" and the 1990 acceptance of Malta and Cyprus, the expansion strategy unequivocally reached Europe's geographic borders for specific European interests. However, in terms of their assertions, by the end of the 1980s, Europe already extended far into the Eurasia and North African regions whose borders are extremely difficult to define.⁴²⁰

⁴²⁰ John Van OUDENAREN, *EU Enlargement, The Return to Europe*, TIERSKY Ronald, Europe Today, National Politics, European Integration, and European Security, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., Oxford, p. 409.

The Alliance-sponsored 1994 PfP program, subsequent Mediterranean Dialogue (MD) and the Union's Euro-Mediterranean initiatives also indicate the orientations of the Alliance and the Union toward Eurasia, Near East and North Africa.

Pursuing that line of thought unquestionably follows, the countries joining the EU in May 2004 and January 2007 will not be the EU organization's geographical end points; thus, in the development of their strategies, they must concentrate on "transient roles". With this knowledge, it is especially significant and clear: the integration could be delayed. This may project the relationship between members and aspirants to be based on membership status; nevertheless, it is possible for the perspective relationship, market building and interest expansion attempts to motivate current members to cooperate closely with the aspirants. This strengthens the importance on both sides to place long-range national and EU-processes ahead of short term (integration) goals.

For the members and the aspirants, this could provide numerous opportunities: labor utilization, redefining the effectiveness of optimal acquisitions, review foreign investment potentials of their nations, develop fundamental market research plans, plan the extent and distribution of infrastructure investments or the national- and region-specific interpretation of the European foreign and security policy's actual dilemmas. It is in the best interest of current and "next wave" members to prepare for transit tasks in all areas and to maintain the flexibility since beyond the objective circumstances, additional advantages could be derived from the geo-strategic location of their region.

5.5. Status Quo Revisions

Based on their activities, the EU and NATO can be rated as positive. The previous successes are supported by the way numerous nations pursue enrollment from the external borders and show orientation not rejection of Brussels even after the 2004 Big Bang.

Undoubtedly, Western Europe handled the various economic, political and social challenges without serious complications. The EU and NATO certainly have outstanding experience and crisis management capabilities in these areas. However, it is also a fact, the current issues waiting for resolutions are convoluted and combined problems. Furthermore, to date, the two organizations did not have to face such challenges. Based on today's circumstances, the future we can anticipate cannot guarantee this trend to remain unbroken as it may bring about drastic changes.

The eastern expansion really adds fuel to the fire. This step covers the entire spectrum of organizations as it touches vertical and horizontal structures, defines their interface and future development. Perhaps it is not an exaggeration to state the newest expansions of the Union and the Alliance are the capstones of a European – also global – process that started in the 1990s and with or without the expansion, it would have take place and who knows when the progression will end. In this progression, not only the continent's interior but also the geo-strategic balance of our world will change.

In Europe, power shifts and losses of balance always occurred and this will remain in the future. The Brit-French-German triad as founding EU and NATO members dictated the balance of power theory. Staggers and shifts occurred in both organizations during each wave of expansion; however, in every case, the French political interest drove them and the

German economic policies tolerated or financed them through compromises. For subsequent European Union and NATO expansions, this status receives a different interpretation.

Departing from traditional evaluation methods, the aforementioned expansion(s) could be demonstrated through a new-type of geometric presentation mode. Accordingly, the previous integration waves occurred along imaginary West-East and North-South axle balance shifts and changes could be modeled. Upon the first expansion, the European center located in southwestern Germany initially shifted toward the west-northwest in 1973 with the new members (Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom) then toward the southeast with Greece's acceptance. The next change took place in 1986 when the center moved toward southwest integrating the Mediterranean region with Portugal and Spain.⁴²¹ In 1995, as Austria, Sweden and Finland joined, the shift was easterly or more toward Europe's geographic center since the Union was rounded out by the northern states.

In 2004, the Union expanded by approximately 20% on the eastern wing. Continuing with the logic of the geometric view, we see the following: remaining in Northern Europe – the EU was expanded by the nations on the shores of the Baltic Sea (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland), all of Central Europe by three new NATO members (Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia), Southern Europe and the Mediterranean region (Cyprus, Malta and Slovenia). In 2007, Bulgaria and Romania also joined. These 12 former aspirants provided a significant eastern balance shift the West will have to counter. This could be capped by the outcome of membership talks with Croatia and Turkey.

In the event we connect the previous and potential EU expansions, the Balkan and Hellenic Peninsulas, the Iberian Peninsula, with the Baltic and Scandinavian regions, the axles will cross in Germany's western region. With the anticipated Eastern European integration, the initial shift is toward the East; nevertheless, the geographic center will remain in Germany for a long time. This line of thought might seem somewhat presumptuous but it started with the German reunification when the geo-strategic center of the EU became German territory. With the additional 16 million citizens, Germany became by far the largest nation in the EU.⁴²² The symbolic capstone for this view occurred at the end of previous century when the German capital moved from the western Bonn to the eastern Berlin and with this step – not just symbolically – the new German capital became the real economic and political center of Europe.

Viewing NATO, we see a somewhat different picture. Initially, NATO opened toward the southeast in 1952 as membership was extended to Greece and Turkey. Three years later, taking its place in the western political environment, Germany joined and adjusted into the military alliance. When France backed out in 1966, a geo-strategic vacuum formed but the 1982 integration (Portugal and Spain) compensated the European front on the southwestern wing somewhat. The Cold War Europe's southeast, then east and southwest-oriented NATO expansion was capped by the German reunification in 1991 when East Germany availed "new" territory for NATO shifting the center of balance toward the East again.⁴²³

⁴²¹ HORVÁTH Zoltán, *Kézikönyv az Európai Unióról*, (Budapest, Magyar Országgyűlés, 2002), p.36.

⁴²² Ronald TIERSKY, *Europe Today, National Politics, European Integration, and European Security*, Van John OUDENAREN, *EU Enlargement, The Return to Europe*, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., Oxford, p. 404.

⁴²³ BABOS Tibor, "NATO: körös kérdés", *Magyar Hírlap*, July 8, 1997.

For the first time, the 1999 expansion meant the Alliance's fifth expansion, from the western point of view included Central European, former Communist Block nations. The perspective expansion was standardized for the intermediate term at the Prague Summit. From ten aspirants identified on the Membership Action Plan, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Romania and Bulgaria received invitations to join in 2004 and Albania, Macedonia and Croatia were promised a subsequent evaluation to determine the issue on a case-by-case basis.⁴²⁴

Comparing the two organizations, we can see, the Alliance-provided defense zone expands beyond the area covered with the Union's economic, political, and social influence. While the US maintains a significant counter-force on the Western wing, the Union's westernmost states (France, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom) do not represent a united stand to counter the easterly expansion or even within their own clique. As a result, the status quo appears to be changing not only because of the new forces representing eastern nations, but because the new members with relatively different economic productivity force a new face upon the EU.

The two organizations must execute their strategies and integration goals under tremendous pressure and various circumstances. The pressure and the challenges appeared simultaneously on global, regional, national and institutional level. While the Union's primary goal is to establish the foundation for a federation, as the EU is capable to represent a central force on a global scale, the Alliance's aim – amongst others – is to provide security and defense guarantees. This constant interdependence is regularly manifested by both organizations. In spite of the divaricated challenges, both organizations face various internal problems caused by the surfacing political, economic and structural antiquities since they hinder the Union's further development.

Meeting the global challenges, strengthening the central role and simultaneously carrying out the expansion in a smooth manner appear as a paradox projecting the future. Since the previous goals are the precursors of the latter's integration, Brussels had no choice but to assume the responsibilities and accept the consequences of further expansions. Preparing for the future, the foremost task now is to resize the current government to a larger, stronger, more dynamic and flexible system since handling the consequences of further expansions and the global changes could not be accomplished with the current system.

The combined effects are not unknown for the West since during the existence of both organizations (EU and NATO) numerous political clashes and economic hurdles surfaced with varying intensity primarily affecting the fiscal base and their distribution along with the harmonization of security policy, the cooperation of the two organizations or the concepts relative to new memberships. These areas are worthy of attention not only because of their significance and natures are extremely sensitive issues but also because they often split the member's nationalities possibly leading to their isolation. The increased attention is also important because the positive and negative effects could be analyzed only years hence.

The domestic problems appear not only on an institutional level but also surface on national level complicating questions further with the serious effects reverting to the institutional level. The independent ESDP capability financing is one such example. This

⁴²⁴ [Enlarging the Alliance](http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/2002/0211-prague/in_focus/enlargement/index.htm), NATO Homepage, Prague Summit, September 16, 2002, Online: http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/2002/0211-prague/in_focus/enlargement/index.htm (May 2, 2003)

issue could be considered as a national problem; nevertheless, it surfaces and unites at institutional level and in the in-house relationships. National values and interests differ, member's various foreign and economic policies, different economic potentials and cultures, and the resulting contradictions are unsolved issues that surface as potential risk factors affecting European development and security.

5.6. Anti-Integration Circumstances

The expansion prospects raised a number of acute problems in the Union and the Alliance already creating complications and interior erosion as the issues were initially ignored.⁴²⁵ The eastern expansion has proponents but a number of antagonists also. The new expansion-related dilemmas received attention from a different angle; today's process, unlike the case was in the past, occurs under increased public scrutiny. Previously, the integration took place in a tightly closed, national, political, economic and diplomatic sphere. Today – we could state – down to the citizens, everybody is concerned with the relevant questions. Of course, this openness is a positive circumstance; nevertheless, a noteworthy issue is evident, the surfacing of opinions often lacking knowledge along with extreme concepts occasionally inducing hysteria. The root cause is the lack of confidence and concerns as both are evident at the EU and NATO settings hindering the integration process.

The most significant concern is the security issue. We can often hear views crediting the Eastern European expansion with “diluting the community”, weakening western democracies and their public safety, lowering the standard of life or jeopardizing the previous job security. The appearance of these tendencies could not be unequivocally blamed on the expansion but are more the outcome of the liberalization of the 1990s, the world economy became self-governing and globalization. In all likelihood, these security factors would have surfaced without the expansions and without the integration of the Eastern states – as a result of the known effects of the periphery versus centric mechanism – the risks would have been significantly more evident due to the displayed contrasts between the European nations.

The restlessness is evident in the repeatedly delayed institutional reforms. Although the elements were continuously problem areas, neither organization realigned its own structure to live up to its own promises. Since the current circumstances are not adequate and are unable to properly handle the external and internal challenges, we could safely project; the institutional reforms will be an unavoidable necessity in the very near future.⁴²⁶ The institutional systems of both organizations operate in extremely delicate, multiple-layer oriented, interdependent systems, kept in balance by heterogenous and large memberships with their opposing interests. The current symbiosis rests on the complicated harmony and even more on the give-and-take basis driven by the economically stronger versus the weaker, agricultural vs. industrial nations, tourism vs. financial center's interests and on their factors. During expansion(s), this harmony is broken and is subsequently redefined.

⁴²⁵ James SPERLING, *Two tiers or two speeds? Constructing a stable European security order*, James SPERLING, *Europe in Change, Two tiers or two speeds? The European security order and the enlargement of the European Union and NATO*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1999, p. 187.

⁴²⁶ John van OUDENAREN, *EU Enlargement*, Ronald TIERSKY, *Europe Today, National Politics, European Integration and European Security*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, INC, Oxford, 1999, pp. 415-417.

Based on economic capabilities, the eastern expansion included nations lacking any type of national homogeneity as they joined the Union. This means, if the current institutional structure and the resulting mechanisms remain, without timely changes, Brussels must face a most complicated scenario.⁴²⁷ Accordingly, the current “strong” states will not be interested in allowing others to join as their relative strength and influence will be diminished – something they established through compromises over a long time and subsequently retained to control smaller nations and maintain a reasonable balance with alike-sized nations. Poland already caused a number of difficulties for the EU especially in December 2003 when it projected the possibility of vetoing the EU constitution unless it receives the appropriate voting basis.⁴²⁸ This is also likely to affect Turkey. In the case of smaller nations, the issue changes. As beneficiaries, they are opposed to extending memberships to other small nations until the expansion actually occurs. After the expansion, they will be motivated to cooperate with the new members in order to present a unified front against the large economic centers to urge a more equitable distribution of wealth and maximum support.

A cause for concern is the Western European monetary basis, the utilization of and distribution of assets and the increasing difficulties to complete these tasks. In reality, this dilemma occurs in every nation and the consequences surface at the institutional level where they are divided again. The economic powerhouses as contributors fear the possibility of having to make larger contributions to the EU budget while the recipients are worried about having to share the available resources with more nations from Eastern Europe. Interestingly, these concerns appear – primarily in political rhetoric – even though the countries fare relatively well after the expansions. Potentially, the radical reform and rationalization of financial support could be the only reasonable solution.

An unexpected result was the way Eastern European economic growth far exceeded previous analysis and the significantly moderated beliefs occasionally laced with demagoguery. The West expected the realignment of economic structures in the former CMEA nations to require a long time and for the closing of the gap between the two blocks not to start for many decades. Such was not the case as barely a decade after the CMEA collapse, this theory came under scrutiny. Today, we can see, it is the EU defending its market from the Eastern European products not vice versa.⁴²⁹ As the outcome, Eastern European economies in nearly all sectors can produce competitively specially the food industry, information technology, communication sector and automotive industry production as these areas occasionally produce indicators above EU norms.⁴³⁰

Last but not least, the most delicate dilemma is generated by the Union’s CESDP capability. The EU evolution reached the stage when resolving EU security related issues could not be delayed any longer. The security of the Union is neither equivalent nor the same as EU or Transatlantic security, although it is one of the significant and independent elements of both. Thus, EU expansion causes friction with NATO and with Russia, as the latter is not a

⁴²⁷ Stuart CROFT, John REDMOND, G. Wyn REES, Mark WEBER, The enlargement of Europe, Manchester University Press, p. 73.

⁴²⁸ Poland Threatens Veto in EU Row, London, BBC, December 11, 2003, Online: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3308917.stm> (February 24, 2004)

⁴²⁹ Aurora TRIGO, Trade competition in the borders of European Union: An intra-industry trade approach, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Madrid, November 2002, Online: <http://www.contropiano.org/Document%20in%20English/2002/Europe%20in%20the%20Global%20Competition.htm> (March 5, 2004)

⁴³⁰ Global Economy, 4/23 (12), 29 October 2003, Case, Online: <http://www.case.com.pl/dyn/plik--1438082.pdf> (February 10, 2004)

member of either organization.⁴³¹ In terms of European security, relativity is an indicator; the European security organizations, EU, NATO and OSCE independence could be evaluated only when their significance based on their activities are weighed. This is complicated by the large overlap in various organization's memberships and aspirants as they all display typical, organization-specific and often contradictory interest assertion policies. Accepting the thesis of the EU security as indivisible, the EU defense capability improvements could be accomplished only through the integration of Transatlantic security architecture at the detriment of the other entity. The common security policy the Union will have to prepare and implement must adjust qualitatively to an unbelievable complex set of circumstances, especially the imbedded quantitative military capabilities. This complicated adjustment process is most likely to last for years and will present long-range problems for the future of the Union and the Alliance along with aspirant nations directly involved with further integration.

Defending against potentially unknown factors introduced when the new members join the organizations, the integration entities place increased emphasis on tightening the criteria and placing themselves in the forefront. The changes beyond the objective conditions generally greatly influenced but occasionally worsened the opportunities available to aspirant nations. Regardless, we can state, in the event radical change will not take place, the democratization of these nations and the market-economy will naturally strengthen their competitiveness and domestic political conditions will improve; thus, their entry into the new European markets will stabilize them.

5.7. Integration Balance

Considering the aforementioned points, it is absolutely essential for every involved nation – members and aspirants – and the EU itself to have a comprehensive and clear integration process strategy. The national and federal dimensions are connected in a number of areas, and overlap is certain. Over the long term, the latter (federal) will be the determining factor. In other words, it would be sensible to include the basic concepts of integration into development strategies at the national level and in Brussels. For potential EU members, this would be sensible since the integration and assimilation is likely to last for decades after gaining membership. For current members, it would also be sensible to be adaptive toward revised political interests. From the view of the Union's success, the need for openness, tolerance and acceptance of common responsibility is fundamentally important.

In the next decade, Central and Eastern Europe has to face two basic problems. Initially, the new members and aspirants must meet the criteria to join either or both organizations. These nations must handle the painful but unavoidable economic transformation and ensure the necessary domestic political support along with the backing of EU and NATO member public opinions and the government's sympathy. Secondly, the Central and Eastern European states must make significant strides with their western counterparts to avoid the forming of internal dividing lines with future expansions. Also important is to ensure aspirant nations do not fall further behind jeopardizing their eventual membership in EU organizations. Although both organizations made significant strides to

⁴³¹ Emil J. KIRCHNER, Second Pillar and the Eastern Enlargement, The Prospects for a European Security and Defence Identity, James SPERLING, *Europe in Change, Two tiers or two speeds? The European security order and the enlargement of the European Union and NATO*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1999, p. 54.

exclude such negative factors, no guarantees exist to preclude interference with these integration processes.⁴³²

We must declare the membership talks conducted with the two organizations with identical legal status but with different economic and political influence. In the EU, the ratio is 25+1 and in the Alliance it is 26+1. This does not mean the aspirants have no freedom of movement. Undoubtedly, on debatable issues, the delegations representing potential members are more compromise-oriented and accept the prescribed criteria instead of showing opposition. They are not mandated to accept the demands and cannot be forced to relinquish certain national interests or values. The hitherto membership talks clearly demonstrated, both organizations are capable of showing a very high level of tolerance with some states.

It would behoove new members not to lose sight of national strengths and to emphasize them as they identify their demands since they may contribute to the common good and future enhancements. The aspirants could only become full members with the 25-member EU or the 26-member NATO when they demonstrate their willingness for active, creative but compromise-ready stance.

It is necessary to identify the remaining conditions and other challenges along with the interest assertion mechanisms of recent members. This system of questions simplified into three groups: areas where the new members or aspirants already reached EU expectations; areas where assurances were provided to meet the criteria by a provided date; and, areas where “special consideration” is expected even after full membership. Of the aforementioned, the last one is the most sensitive since new members and aspirants intend to identify more special areas while the integration organizations intend to minimize them.

For this reason, a definition of the exact areas for the second and third groups must be based on strategic decisions. The two organizations constantly and emphatically demand the completion of expected tasks and deviations from prescribed and agreed upon standards are not allowed. In the event a new member or aspirant is unable to meet the contractual obligations on-time, financial, legal and mostly ethical consequences are likely to follow. Contrarily, if areas are identified for delayed completion and subsequently the possibility of early completion becomes evident, the negotiation talks could be delayed meaning discussion could involve elements already completed. Additionally, the integrating organization could be enticed to establish compensatory steps with earlier completion of expected standards in other areas requiring additional resources and placing pressure on the given nation. Realigning resources could have negative consequences on the entire integration process.

The various views by members and aspirants as they relate to the areas and timetables of derogate states show large disparities and affect domestic national policies and may polarize the given society. In some nations, keeping national interests in the forefront, mostly conservative powers take the position that every area where national interests might be degraded, the status quo must be defended even if the negotiations will be delayed. According to the more progressive and liberal view, gaining quick entry is paramount and experimenting with deviations to risk delayed entry into the given organization is frowned upon. With a willingness to compromise and handle the additional burden, the entry is faster and after the membership and integration, correction to the relative situation is more feasible.

⁴³² John van OUDENAREN, *EU Enlargement*, Ronald TIERSKY, Europe Today, National Politics, European Integration and European Security, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, INC, Oxford, 1999, p. 424.

Although conducting expeditious talks is the optimal strategy, beside the most feasible national interest assertion, the changes of the internal situation could force nations to continuously (re)define priorities based on the given circumstances. Considering the integration tendencies, dynamics of the integration could deteriorate, so it is in the best national interest of every potential member state to join as soon as possible.

In harmony with the previous concepts, answering yet one more question is unavoidable: what are the advantages of timely entry or whose interests are served by entry at various times.⁴³³ The answer seems to be readily available: a prompt membership is likely to produce benefits reserved for members, organized work methods and experiences and could sooner establish the foundation of other member-only benefits. Gaining membership and belonging to the stable community of the integration organization earlier with the benefit of the protection its umbrella is more advantageous than the continuous pursuit of the stringent and occasionally revised criteria in order to gain eligibility to join. A longer transition process could provide for better harmonization opportunities and a more solid integration; thus, it would benefit the organization. The latter would be more appropriate for both entities, in normal circumstances; however, today's extremely dynamic and rhapsodically changing world politics could easily create gaps between the nations already in an organization and the ones still looking in from the outside. This demands a more cautious approach from the organizations but also justifies an increased desire for a more expeditious integration by the aspirants.

Conclusively, not only for the aspirants but the new and old members along with the integration organizations, the issue is a matter of survival. Will they be able to integrate economically, politically and militarily into the continental and worldwide processes to defend their own interests and strengthen their position in the world? Asserting their interests in the midst of globalization and regionalization, the European integration organizations, their members and aspirants face the dilemma and using Churchill's adage may be paraphrased this way: can they handle the challenges before they are taken over by them? Do they realize forces much stronger than their own strength determine their fate? Of the two roads ahead of them, one is based on integration and cooperation and the other is impassable, a dead end. And finally, the costs every player incurs – one way or another – through today's integration will be returned later through "EU-function".

⁴³³ Stuart CROFT, John REDMOND, G. Wyn REES, Mark WEBER, The enlargement of Europe, Manchester University Press, pp. 81-82.

Conclusion

*This is not the end,
not even the beginning of the end;
however, this could be the end of the beginning.*
Winston Churchill

This study provided answers to three questions:

1. What are the central pillars of European security today?
2. What is the number of minimal but essential central connections to understand European security?
3. What do these contain?

Utilizing the broad technical literature and the European security-relevant factors, analyzing and evaluating their processes, the purpose of this research was – with scientific standard – to attempt to simplify, consolidate and systematize the evaluating mechanisms of European security, define its most essential elements and to understand them.

To reach the research goal, the thesis was developed to understand European security's – minimal but essential – five central factors, circumstances, processes and their correlations. In other words, the most important relationships of European security could be grouped into five central pillars. Considering the five pillars reliably encompasses the complexity of European security. This concept is sufficient to present the topic.

Supporting the thesis was accomplished by taking the elements apart, providing explanations and detailed analysis of the individual elements. Through this process, the explanation was provided to define why these five relationships and processes represent the central pillars of European security. Addressing the five mentioned areas in independent chapters is not meant to imply independence, as they are interrelated and occasionally overlap and display interdependence.

Summarizing the first chapter, we can declare, European security policy is the outcome of the prevailing power center's interest assertions. They are defining but independent factors. The European powerhouse's ambitions and interactions are the chronological cornerstones of European imperial relationships. Reviewing historical and political effects, and the resulting codified characteristics, the Cold War, and 9/11, we can clearly state that the five dominant players of European security are Germany, United Kingdom, France, United States and Russia. Based on their significant political, economic, and military potentials, all of these nations are leading participants on the world stage. With the exception of Germany, they are founding and permanent members of the United Nation's Security Council and are nuclear powers. All are members of the G-8, representing the leading industrial nations and they take part in NATO, OSCE and other regional security initiatives. They have significant influence on regional and international organizations and directly or indirectly affect the various international processes.

Based on the information contained in Chapter 2, we can state the security challenges, risk factors and their changes fundamentally and constantly influence security levels in Europe. For this reason, they appear as five independent pillars of the continental security structure. This chapter identified global security challenges and relevant international

processes that define, characterize and influence European security today and in the future. Discussing the most important danger factors and the actual characteristics of the changes, this chapter examined the elements starting with the generic and moving toward specifics, and assessed the global and European security dimension.

We can conclude that the denser European economic, financial and cultural center fundamentally affects European security. It was demonstrated that the European Union and the military capabilities aimed to support it, with their qualitative and quantitative indicators, bring about not only the revision of European security but also significantly influence the EU-US, EU-NATO and EU-Russia relationships and modify the significance of the Union on the world stage. The analysis of the initiation, chronology, developmental changes, prospects and the relevant resonance of CFSP, ESDP and ESDU enable us to anticipate the European defense capabilities – despite their developmental stage – already afford the EU significant global prestige, influence and additional expansion prospects.

Summarizing the fourth chapter, since the Union's most important external partner is the US, we can conclude, the dialectics and quality of the transatlantic cooperation fundamentally define today's European security. Beyond the historical, cultural, economic, trade and security ties, the EU-US relationship is also a defining one because these are the world's two strongest political and economic power centers. For this reason, the effects of the relationship and the misunderstandings are not limited to Europe and America, but have wide-ranging ramifications in world security. The three most important elements of the Transatlantic relationship are:

1. ESDP development and the generated rules
2. US foreign policy and as a subset its Europe-oriented policies
3. ESDP-NATO confrontations

Reviewing these three elements it becomes evident that the European integration aided the expansion of the “unified” European power center modifies the long-standing status quo and receives different interpretation in the US and Europe. In view of these issues and looking at the EU expansions, enhancement of the common European security, defense policy and US foreign policy, we can safely state the existence of a number of ambiguous issues and visualize the unpredictable alternatives and contradictions for the future.

In Chapter 5, integration is identified as the most defining element of European security, with the EU and NATO as the primary agents. Reviewing the integration “rules”, we notice, while in the early 1990s – primarily in Eastern Europe – the disintegration initiatives surfaced much more intensively and cathartically. This evolved into a desire for integration in the latter part of the decade and this process, in Eastern and Western Europe and in the US, became an issue of vital importance by the beginning of the 21st century. The waves of EU expansion, the integration-effect mechanisms, interests of the members and aspirants along with the “must situations” resulting from the integration, all pointed in the direction to define the integration more as a process vice an end state. This progression is based on two sources: the integration strategies of the Union and the Alliance and the dialectics stemming from the interests of the aspirant nations where the EU function becomes a basic element.

In conclusion, this study defined and evaluated the five most important factors and their elements to better understand European security. Until now there was no technical literature scientifically addressing the most important elements of European security. This

study also simplified and rationalized the complex issue of analyzing European security. Finally, it also made an attempt to recommend a new system of norms to restructure and refocus academic research on security studies.

*There are two things we will never completely understand:
the universe and ourselves.
All the attainable science rests between the two and
that is the reason why we cannot find complete peace in science.
Because every serious thought leads us to a question,
leading us to ponder about ourselves.
Naturally, we can conclude with doubts or belief.*
Loránt Eötvös

APPENDIX A

Abbreviations

9/11	Terror attacks against the United States on September 11, 2001
AgitProp	Agitational Propaganda
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
Al-Qa'ida	Maktab al-Khidamat (International Islamic Front for Jihad Against the Jews and Crusaders)
AWACS	Airborne Warning and Control System
BPI	Berlin-Plus Initiative
C ³	Command, Control and Communication
CAFJO	Concepts for Allied Future (Joint) Operations
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union (Christian Democratic Union – German political party)
CEP	Civil Emergency Planning
CESDP	Common European Security and Defense Policy
CFE	Conventional Forces in Europe agreement
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIMIC	Civil-Military Cooperation
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CJTF	Combined Joint Task Forces
CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
CSAR	Combat Research and Rescue
CSCE	Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)
CSU	Christlich Soziale Union (Christian Socialist Union – German political party)
DCI	Defense Capability Initiative
GDR	German Democratic Republic (East Germany)
EAPC	Euro-Atlantic Cooperation Council
EBAO	Effect Based Approach to Operations
EC	European Council
ECAP	European Capability Action Plan
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDC	European Defense Community
EDP	European Defense Policy
EEC	European Economic Community
EMS	European Monetary System
EMU	European Economic and Monetary Union
EPU	European Political Union
ESDI	European Security and Defense Identity
ESDP	European Security and Defense Policy
ESDU	European Security and Defense Union
ETA	Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Bask Separatist Movement - Spain)
EU	European Union
EUMS	European Union Military Staff organization
EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Agency
EUROPOL	European Police Office
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany (Germany – formerly West Germany)
GWOT	Global War on Terrorism

HFC	Helsinki Force Catalogue
HGs	Headline Goals
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IGC	Inter-governmental Conference
IPSC	Interim Political and Security Committee
IRA	Óglaigh na hÉireann ("dissident" Irish Republican Army)
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
JSTARS	Joint Surveillance and Target Attack Radar System
KFOR	Kosovo Forces
MAP	Membership Action Plan
MD	Mediterranean Dialogue
NAC	North Atlantic Council
NACC	North Atlantic Cooperation Council
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NRF	NATO Response Force
NVA	Nationale Volksarmee (East German military)
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PARP	Planning and Review Process
PCC	Prague Capabilities Commitment
PfP	Partnership for Peace Programme
PPVC	Programme for the Prevention of Violent Conflicts
PSC	Political and Security Committee
SAR	Search and Rescue
SED	Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Political party in the former East Germany)
SFOR	Stabilization Forces
SHAPE	Supreme Headquarters of Allied Powers in Europe
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party - Germany)
SPP	State Partnership Program
TBMD	Theatre Ballistic Missile Defense
TEU	Treaty of European Union
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
US	United States of America
WEAG	Western European Armaments Group
WEU	Western European Union

APPENDIX B

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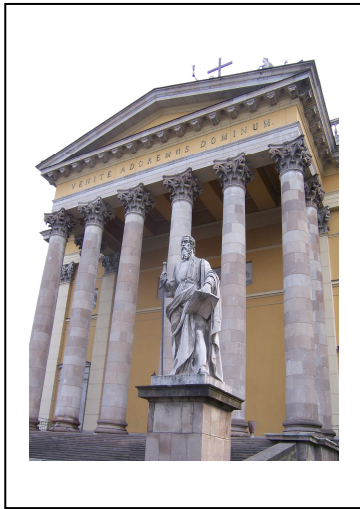
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