

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

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The present anthology offers a comprehensive and balanced analysis of the challenges facing the European Union and the EU member states in their efforts to strengthen the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). The following chapters have been selected to provide the reader with a broader understanding of the central issues affecting the further development of the ESDP. Taken as a whole, the anthology offers an overview of the emerging ESDP and the central challenges facing it. Considered as a reader, the anthology comprises nine chapters offering updated and detailed analytical treatment of subjects ranging from security strategy, via military capabilities and intelligence cooperation, to the challenge of thinking about 'homeland security' in a European context.

The idea for this anthology was born out of a desire to bridge the gap between the highly specialised and updated policy reports that are regularly produced by think-tanks and the more academic volumes that are often stronger on theoretical analysis. The present anthology thus targets an audience that is fairly conversant with the background of European security and defence policy. A historical chapter offering a chronological account of European defence efforts from the European Defence Community onwards is not included, nor is the general process of European integration dealt with at any length. The anthology basically starts from the current state of play in the ESDP, offering a comprehensive analysis of the key challenges facing the EU and its member states today.

Chapter two includes a discussion of different analytical approaches to the study of the ESDP, but the anthology is not intended as a theoretical contribution to the

debate on European security. The original synopsis for the present anthology focused explicitly on the need to ‘ground’ the debate on the future of the ESDP in a more sober and realistic assessment of the practical challenges confronting Europe. Judging from the rhetoric of European security and defence policy, the EU has acquired the capabilities to make it more than just a ‘civilian superpower’, effectively adding hard military instruments to the all-round *tool-box* that has become a hallmark of the EU as an international actor. However, leaving aside the EU’s capacity to produce rhetoric, the ESDP remains a *project* rather than an actual *policy*. Europe is beginning to think strategically, but it lacks a common strategic culture, the efforts of Europeans in this regard still being hesitant and unconvincing. EU member states face a number of immense challenges on the road towards an effective and credible ESDP, and the present anthology can be seen as a sympathetic yet critical effort to highlight the gap between rhetoric and reality.

The different contributors to the anthology generally agree that stronger European cooperation in the fields of security and defence policy is a necessity. The present situation, where most European states are spreading their limited resources across national, European and transatlantic security arrangements, is inefficient and weakens the impact of European armed forces. Insufficient resources are being spread too thinly, reflecting the absence of a common strategic approach to security and defence policy. Only through collaborative efforts can Europeans hope to acquire the operational effectiveness that will permit them to play an active role in international security. Leaving aside the political question of the *desirability* of strengthening the ESDP, the contributors to the present volume mainly focus on current problems and the efforts that are being made to overcome them.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

In Chapter 2 Jess Pilegaard (DIIS) provides a thematic overview of key challenges facing the development of the ESDP and discusses a number of different analytical approaches to the study of European security and defence policy.

In Chapter 3, Jean-Yves Haine (ISS-EU) presents an analysis of the efforts to develop a 'security strategy' for the European Union, and more generally, of European efforts to become a 'strategic actor'. Haine emphasises the distinctively European character of the security strategy and the current efforts to develop the Union into something more than a 'soft power' in international relations.

In Chapter 4, Lisbet Zilmer-Johns (DIIS) presents an analysis of the ESDP debate in and around the Convention on the Future of Europe. This chapter provides a detailed analysis of the proposed changes to the Treaty, including the so-called 'solidarity clause' and the strengthened emphasis on the fight against international terrorism.

In Chapter 5, Major-General G. Messervy-Whiting (Centre for Studies in Security and Diplomacy, University of Birmingham) provides a detailed overview and analysis of European cooperation in the field of intelligence gathering and analysis. Messervy-Whiting presents an assessment of the operational capabilities achieved since 2000, stressing the difficulties of multilateral intelligence cooperation and the strengths as well as the limitations of the present system.

Chapter 6, by Daniel Keohane (Center for European Reform), presents an analysis of the challenges involved in equipping the ESDP with efficient and credible military capabilities. Keohane emphasises the tremendous gap between the political aspirations of the ESDP and the harsh realities on the ground, as few European states have managed to initiate fundamental reforms of their armed forces. Keohane also assesses the utility and realism of different measures designed to improve the cost-efficiency of military spending in Europe.

In Chapter 7, Andrzej Karkoszka (Centre for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces) presents an analysis of Poland's approach to the ESDP and the consequences of the Eastern enlargement for the future of the ESDP. Karkoszka provides an in-depth analysis of the political and military challenges facing not only Poland but also the EU itself from the need to integrate the new member states.

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A realistic assessment of the prospects of the ESDP must obviously take into account the political visions and policies of the United States. In Chapter 8, Daniel Hamilton (Center for Transatlantic Relations) presents an analysis of US views on the development of the European Security and Defence Policy, in which he stresses the political differences between the various US approaches to the European agenda, thus providing a more balanced assessment of US views.

In the penultimate chapter (Chapter 9), Anja Dalgaard-Nielsen (DIIS) provides a disturbingly provocative assessment of European security, stressing the need for Europeans to take the challenge of Homeland Security seriously. Prompted by the tragic events of September 11th, the US has taken the lead in this area, even though geography and demographics make Europe equally if not more vulnerable to terrorism than the US. This assessment of European efforts to combat international terrorism raises pertinent questions as to the balance between external security (ESDP) and 'homeland defence' (internal security).

In the final Chapter 10, Lisbet Zilmer-Johns and Jess Pilegaard present a theoretical discussion of the issues raised in the anthology in an effort to understand the dynamics of European security and defence policy.