



The reform of ESDP and EU - NATO Cooperation in the larger EU

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Major theses and structure of the talk

- NATO will benefit by EU enlargement politically
- Military operations will keep NATO busy and useful
- ESDP will evolve in a bureaucratic way but without much political clout
- Decision-making realities in the EU stand against great plans
- There is a basis for consolidating EU/ESDP/NATO cooperation
- There is an opportunity to make the NATO-EU horse flying

1. NATO will benefit by EU enlargement politically

- New EU members slip into the former German role of balancing EU and NATO developments
- EU/ESDP will only work, if its evolution will not hurt NATO
- EU Enlargement contributes to a more realistic view of security challenges (see „European Security Strategy“)

2. Military operations will keep NATO busy and useful

- Engagements in Afghanistan, a (diminishing) presence in the Balkans and some involvement in the Iraq affair will keep NATO going
- NRF will be established and NATO's command structure reform completed
- NATO will support EU operations (Berlin plus) and the operations of certain member states

3. ESDP will evolve in a bureaucratic way but without much political clout

- Germany is no longer delivering a massive integrative pull; this happens mostly for structural reasons and not (so much) by the voluntaristic policy of the red-green government
- The Franco-German couple has a diminished role in the wider EU
- The whole bargaining structure of the EU has to be reinvented
- A formal core is no solution, a centralized structure not in sight, flexibility is the key word for the future

4. Decision-making realities in the EU stand against great EU plans

- The failure to agree on the constitutional treaty does't hurt ESDP much, but
 - E.g. France's multiple bi- and multilateralism as an example for the avoidance of taking the institutions in Brussels seriously
 - Intergovernmentalism and flexibility as a guiding principles
 - The idea of a European Army has gone
 - Dispute which operations can be regarded as a model for future ESDP operations: Artemis or Concordia („Berlin plus“ or „autonomy“) is to squabble over little things

5. There is a basis for consolidating EU/ESDP/NATO cooperation

- NATO/EU framework („Berlin plus“), March 17, 2003
- NATO-EU paper on cooperation in the Western Balkans – materializing „Berlin plus“
- NATO/EU Consultation, Planning and Operations paper (December 12, 2003) – NATO has first call
- The Solana paper has many weaknesses but it
 - sets the tone for a realistic threat assessment and
 - starts from the assumption that most security problems can only be solved by a transatlantic approach

6. There is the opportunity to make the NATO-EU horse flying

- *Stop further debates on architectural designs and institutional questions*
- *Disuss the real issues*
- *Work for a pragmatic, multifunctional cooperation and a certain division of labour*
- Taking-over of SFOR on the Balkans by ESDP in close cooperation with NATO
- EU Battle Groups in Africa?
- PCG-ECAP consolidation (single set of forces)
- Go back to a strategic dialogue on challenges in search for common approaches (exchange assessments and try to come to common approaches: WMD strategy, Georgia, Moldova, Afghanistan, Iraq)