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## Un an après

Nicole Gnesotto

Directeur

**P**rès d'un an après la crise politique ouverte par les « non » français et néerlandais au référendum sur la Constitution européenne, le bilan de l'Union en matière de sécurité et de défense témoigne toujours d'une dynamique ascendante. La PESD est même le seul dossier pour lequel un bilan positif peut être dressé. Alors que l'ensemble du chantier institutionnel reste dans l'impasse, les 25 ont continué de faire valoir leur présence dans les crises régionales et de peaufiner les outils censés conforter le rôle international de l'Union.

Ils ont tout d'abord élargi considérablement les zones géographiques d'intervention possible de l'Union : en Asie, avec la mission de surveillance de l'accord de paix à Aceh (AMM) ; au Moyen-Orient avec les missions de soutien à la police palestinienne d'une part (EUPOL COPPS) et d'assistance au contrôle du point de passage à Rafah d'autre part (EU BAM Rafah). Pour la première fois, le rôle politique de l'Union au sein du Quartet se double désormais d'une responsabilité concrète pour l'ouverture et la stabilisation de Gaza après le retrait israélien. En Afrique, les Européens ont lancé, à l'été 2005, une opération civilo-militaire de soutien à l'Union africaine au Darfour. Plus récemment, en mars 2006, la PESD a confirmé son engagement en Afrique et sa capacité d'action autonome, avec le lancement d'une nouvelle mission en République démocratique du Congo, afin de soutenir la force des Nations unies lors des élections prévues en juin. C'est toutefois le continent européen qui reste le terrain majeur des opérations européennes : une mission d'assistance à la frontière entre la Moldavie et l'Ukraine a été lancée en décembre 2005 ;

et alors que la PESD continue de déployer le gros de ses forces en Bosnie-Herzégovine (opération Althea), c'est, de façon encore très informelle, l'avenir de la stabilisation du Kosovo qui pourrait bientôt se profiler à l'horizon.

S'agissant des instruments de la PESD, on retiendra d'une part la mise en œuvre du Collège européen de sécurité et de défense (ESDC) : près de 380 élèves, officiers et diplomates issus des 25 et des pays tiers, ont participé à cette première année académique uniquement consacrée à la politique de sécurité et de défense de l'Union. Du côté des industries de défense, on retiendra surtout l'adoption d'un code de conduite sur le transfert des armements au sein de l'Union, la création d'un fonds commun pour la R&D militaire, le lancement enfin d'une étude à long terme (Long Term Vision), confiée à l'Agence européenne de défense, sur le contexte de la PESD à horizon 2025.

D'aucuns ne manqueront pas de se gausser de ces résultats, d'ironiser sur une PESD éparpillée en de multiples petites opérations, de dénoncer l'absence d'investissements massifs en matière de défense. C'est oublier que la PESD n'a que sept années d'existence et qu'elle se construit dans l'action : la somme des expériences accumulées ensemble sur des théâtres et des missions très différentes est sans doute la seule façon sérieuse, pour des Européens par ailleurs en désarroi, d'engranger des réserves d'avenir. Comparée au piétinement général de l'Union depuis un an, évaluée aussi à l'aune des divergences majeures qui subsistent entre les Etats membres sur d'autres dossiers, au premier rang

## The Institute and the Union

■ **The High Representative** — On 9 February, Director Nicole Gnesotto, Oliver Roy and Ghassan Salamé had lunch with Javier Solana, SG/HR of the EU Council.

■ **The Presidency** — On 11 January, Giovanni Grevi took part in Vienna in the International Workshop on ‘The role of the EU in civilian crisis management’ organised by the Austrian Presidency. On 13-14 February, a conference was organised by the EU Presidency, in association with the EUISS and DCAF in Vienna on ‘Security sector reform in the Western Balkans’. Judy Batt was the rapporteur.

■ **Relations with the European Parliament** — On 7 February, Giovanni Grevi took part in a roundtable on ‘The Aceh Peace Process: Challenges Ahead’, at the European Parliament, organised by Ana Gomes (MEP) and the ICG. On 23 February, Martin Ortega spoke before the Sub-Committee on Security and Defence at a hearing on ‘The EU and the use of force: criteria for intervention’.

■ **European Defence Agency** — As part of the cooperation of the Institute with the European Defence Agency on the ESDP Long Term Vision, Burkard Schmitt took part in several working group meetings in Brussels with the EDA and the EU Military Staff. On 23 February, Nicole Gnesotto took part in the meeting ‘Long Term Vision High Level Group’ held by the EDA in Brussels. On 2 March, Giovanni Grevi, Gustav Lindstrom and Burkard Schmitt delivered a presentation on **Strand One of the Long Term Vision Project** at the 2<sup>nd</sup> workshop on the Future Military Environment for the EU in Strasbourg. On 22 March, Nicole Gnesotto and Burkard Schmitt took part in the seminar ‘Long Term Vision’ held at the EDA in Brussels.

■ **European Security and Defence College (ESDC)** — On 15 January, Gustav Lindstrom went to Vienna and Buda-

## The Institute and the Union

*continued*

pest to take part in Module 4 on ‘ESDP in a regional context’ organised by the Austrian National Defence College.

On 27 February, the College’s Executive Academic Board met in Paris as Nicole Gnesotto had been named Chairperson of the Board for the 2006 academic year.

On 11 March, Gustav Lindstrom went to Stockholm to participate in the ESDC Module 5 on ‘The future of ESDP and its role in crisis management’ organised by the Swedish Defence College and the Finnish National Defence College. On 22 March, Gustav Lindstrom went to Vilnius to participate in the ESDC’s orientation course.

■ **Gender issues** — Following a request made by the EU Council to prepare a report on ‘Gender mainstreaming in ESDP missions’, Judy Batt went to Brussels on 8 February to discuss the ‘Gender Mainstreaming Project’ with Johanna Gårdmark (Council General Secretariat DG E VIII – defence aspects). On 29 March, Judy Batt and Johanna Valenius (Associate Research Fellow) went to Bosnia to conduct interviews in connection with this project.

## Seminars

■ On 13 January, the Institute organised a seminar on ‘The future of EU-US burdensharing’ (Gustav Lindstrom) aimed at defining burdensharing in light of today’s multifaceted menaces and the type of instruments required to facilitate such cooperation.

■ On 27 January, the Institute held a seminar in Brussels on ‘Federal aspects of the Iraqi Constitution: challenges and opportunities’ (Walter Posch). This seminar was attended by members of the Council, the Commission, and representatives of the UN and experts. The aim was to offer Member States a new perspective on political developments in Iraq and the constitutional process, and to analyse the prospects and pitfalls of the Iraqi Constitution.

■ On 6 February, the Institute organised a seminar on ‘The Future of ESDP’

## Seminars

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(Giovanni Grevi). It touched upon some of the key issues affecting the direction of the development of ESDP, and its long-term sustainability.

■ On 24 February, the Institute organised a seminar on ‘The EU and the Black Sea’ (Dov Lynch) to assess the main trends that affect the EU and its Member States in the region, considering that the EU never had a policy towards the Black Sea region. The keynote speech was given by former Georgian Foreign Minister, Salomé Zourabichvili.

■ On 3 March, the Institute organised a seminar on ‘Developing European Security Perspectives on China’ (Marcin Zaborowski) to promote independent EU thinking towards East Asia and China in particular.

■ On 17 March, the Institute organised a seminar on ‘Iraq 2006 – Taking stock’ (Walter Posch) which aimed at assessing whether Iraq was likely to become a federal state and what implications three years of war might have for regional security and the global economy.

### Seminars in cooperation

■ From 26 to 29 March, a joint seminar entitled ‘G17-ESDP training’ was organised with the ESPI Institute in Belgrade (Judy Batt).

## Briefings

■ On 18 January, Nicole Gnesotto, Pierre-Antoine Braud and Giovanni Grevi received General Nipat Thonglek, deputy head of the ESDP monitoring mission in Aceh.

■ On 16 February, Nicole Gnesotto and the research fellows briefed a group of diplomats and high-ranking officers from the Geneva Centre for Security Policy.

■ On 7 March, the Institute briefed a group of students from the US Air War College, Alabama.

■ On 14 March, Nicole Gnesotto met with Michel Barnier, former Commissioner for Regional Policy and Institutional Reform and former French Foreign Minister.

## Institute publications

### Books

■ *Transatlantic book 2006: Friends again? EU-US relations after the crisis*, Marcin Zaborowski (ed.), Nicole Gnesotto, James Dobbins, Federico Romero, David Frum, William Wallace, Ronald D. Asmus, István Gyarmati, Walter B. Slocombe, Gilles Andréani, Philip H. Gordon, Werner Weidenfeld, Felix Neugart, Geoffrey Kemp, Dov Lynch, Fiona Hill, Baudoin Bollaert, Joseph Quinlan, Marcin Zaborowski (January).

### Chaillot Papers

■ *No. 86: Chaillot Paper: Why Georgia matters*, by Dov Lynch (February).  
■ *No. 87: Chaillot Paper: EU security and defence – Core Documents 2005 Vol. VI (March) / Sécurité et défense de l'UE – Textes fondamentaux 2005 Vol. VI (mars)*.

### Occasional Papers

■ *No. 62: The Baltics: from nation states to member states*, by Kestutis Paulauskas (February).  
■ *No 63: Security by proxy? The EU and (sub) regional organisations, the case of ECOWAS*, by Bastien Nivet (March).

### Forthcoming

■ *Chaillot Paper: The OSCE in crisis*, by Pál Dunay (April).  
■ *Chaillot Paper: EU approach to civil crisis management*, edited by Agnieszka Nowak.  
■ *Chaillot Paper: Iranian Challenges*, by Walter Posch.

## Brainstorming

On 10 March, the Institute held a brainstorming session on 'Gender mainstreaming in ESDP missions' with members of the EU Council and experts (Judy Batt and Johanna Valenius).

## On-line/http

All of the Institute's publications and reports on seminars can be accessed on the Institute's website:

[www.iss-eu.org](http://www.iss-eu.org)

## External publications

### Nicole Gnesotto

- 'America, Europe and the Crescent of Crisis', in *Crescent of Crisis – U.S.-European Strategy for the Greater Middle East*, Brookings Institution Press and the EU Institute for Security Studies, 2006.

### Gustav Lindstrom

- 'The EU's Approach to Homeland Security: Balancing Safety and European Ideals' in Esther Brimmer (ed.) *Transforming Homeland Security* (Center for Transatlantic Relations, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University), Washington DC, 2006.

### Martin Ortega

- *Cosmocracia. Política global para el siglo XXI*, Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 2006.

## Institute staff

■ On 1 March, Albertino Dujardin joined the Institute as Deputy Head of Administration.

## Missions on the ground

■ On 9 March, Dov Lynch went to Tbilisi where he participated in a brainstorming session on 'The future of the Community of Democratic Choice (CDC)' organised by the Georgian Foundation for Strategic and International Studies and the German Marshall Fund of the US. Then, from 12 to 23 March he went to the separatist region of Abkhazia for a research mission. In Abkhazia, Dov Lynch conducted high-level interviews and gave a presentation on the EU at the local university and to local civil society.

■ As part of his on-going research on conflict management in Africa, Pierre-Antoine Braud went on a three-week mission in February to Khartoum and Darfur. This field research aimed at analysing recent developments within the Darfur context and how the African Union mission addresses them with the support of the EU.

■ From 19-26 March, Marcin Zaborowski was in Washington DC attending a conference on 'NATO-EU: improving practical cooperation' at the National Defense University. While there, he held meetings at the State Department, the US Congress and the Senate.

## Research awards

### Associate Research Fellows

– Stéphane Delory remained at the Institute until 31 March to work on Long Term Vision.

– Bastien Nivet left the Institute on 13 January to work on his thesis on 'L'Europe puissance' before spending three months in Africa (Botswana) next autumn.

– Johanna Valenius joined the Institute as an Associate Research Fellow on 1 March to work with Judy Batt on the 'Gender Mainstreaming' project for a period of three months.

### Visiting Fellows

– Christian Mölling joined the Institute on 16 January to work on 'Towards a European Defence Equipment Market - Prospects and Challenges for Enhanced Transfer and Export Regulations'.

– Daniel Steinvoth left the Institute on 28 February to work as a journalist for *Der Spiegel* in Hamburg.



## The Iraqi Quagmire

**It is no exaggeration to say that three** years after the US-led intervention, Iraq has become neither more secure nor more democratic. True, the Iraqis have faced down terror and mayhem to vote in two democratic elections for parliament and participate in a referendum on their new constitution. However, formal democratic procedures do not necessarily amount to democracy. National sovereignty, a non-negotiable prerequisite for democracy, exists on paper only and the country's nascent democracy needs a secure environment in order to be able to take root, let alone flourish, in Iraqi society.

■ Other basic requirements for a functioning state are missing too: political intransigencies have foiled attempts to form a new government for months. As a result, positions among political parties have become entrenched, leading to stalemate. Needless to say, with no operational government in place, any attempt to develop a long-term strategy to fight the insurgency militarily and to integrate Iraq's Sunnis politically will be difficult. What is more troubling, however, is that the lack of a functioning government seems to have a negative impact on the amendment process of the Iraqi Constitution, which is supported by the UN and the EU. On the legal level, the Constitution needs amendments in order to overcome its shortcomings and close loopholes concerning the distribution of power and competencies between the federal state, the regions and the governorates. On the political level, the amendment process should serve as the main instrument for the re-integration of Sunnite parties into the political mainstream: by addressing Sunni grievances, it was hoped to be able to gradually woo as many Sunnite groups as possible away from the insurgency and to isolate the most radical elements.

■ Sectarian hatred among Mesopotamian Arabs has reached an intensity hitherto unknown in history. Iraq's

Arabs have never been greatly affected by sectarianism – in this regard, in Iraq the fault lines reflected Muslim-Christian or Arab-Kurdish divides, but not divisions between the two great sects of Islam, the Sunnis and Shias. This has changed dramatically. Radical elements among the Sunni community – ex-Baathists and neo-Salafis, perhaps in cooperation with Al Qaeda – are trying to foment a civil war between the two religious communities. The rationale behind this is twofold: firstly, they are trying to create a situation that is so hostile that the US will finally be obliged to retreat, or at least any US attempt at rebuilding Iraq will be gravely undermined. Secondly, these groups seem to be confident of winning against the Shiite militias in a civil war and returning to a situation where Shiites would play only a marginal political role, if they were to play a role at all.

■ The bombing of the Shrine in Samarra – and a foiled attack on the holiest place in Shiite Islam, the mosque of Imam Ali in Najaf – show that sectarian strife has reached a new pitch and that it is likely to spread throughout the region. It has already had an impact on regions such as Afghanistan and Pakistan where sectarianism among Muslims is rife. But it has also embittered the Arab Shiites elsewhere in the Gulf Region. Shiites respect Iran and the Islamic Republic lends support to Shiite groups throughout the world, although it is only influential with a handful of political parties which follow a political agenda independently set by themselves. However, by now even Iran's nuclear issue has taken on an ethno-confessional dimension because most Arab states – all of them Sunnis – support the West in this confrontation. Therefore, Shiites throughout the region perceive pressure against the Islamic Republic as ultimately directed against their own communities.

■ Elsewhere, the Iraqi situation has not only unified the Shiites but also the

Sunni extremists. The neo-Taliban have already sent militants to Iraq for training, and terrorist tactics first applied in Iraq have been used during recent operations in Afghanistan. The neo-Taliban are trying to pass on their newly acquired expertise to extremists in Central Asia and India. But they are not the only ones to do so: militants from throughout the Arab world, especially from Sudan and Saudi Arabia, and opponents of the Syrian regime, are in Iraq and are exploiting the situation to their own advantage. Their numbers are limited but this is no assurance at all as they will train and inspire a new generation of terrorists. There are also a very small number of European Muslims participating in the Iraqi insurgency. They are by no means representative of their communities and their numbers are in the dozens rather than in the hundreds. But modern terrorism is based on small cells and loose networks and does not need mass movements. A single individual would easily be able to inspire or train others in Europe. In short, the Iraqi quagmire is a net contributor to European insecurity.

■ In spite of the deplorable situation that currently prevails in the country, the EU maintains its firm commitment towards Iraq. For instance, the European Commission is the second biggest donor in the International Reconstruction Fund Facility for Iraq (IRFFI) and is present in Baghdad. The EU focuses on supporting Iraqi capacity building, through initiatives like EUJUST LEX, an operation to train senior Iraqi officials in the police forces, the judiciary and the penal system. The EU is also supporting other actors like the Arab League to help foster the Iraqi reconciliation process and is also engaged in various other fields to integrate Iraq into the international community. However, all these efforts will remain fruitless until a stable and secure Iraqi government emerges.

## Long Term Vision

Last November, EU Defence Ministers mandated the European Defence Agency (EDA) to develop a Long Term Vision (LTV) for European Military Capability Needs, with the horizon of 2025. The EUISS provided a central contribution to this project, bearing on the global context in which ESDP would be set twenty years down the line. This exercise, known as the LTV's Strand One, was developed alongside two parallel and interconnected strands of work, addressing the Future Military Environment and Technological Trends. These have been conducted, respectively, by the EU Military Committee and by the EDA in association with European aerospace and defence industries. The three strands will eventually be merged into one single document, which will provide the basis for an initial LTV to be submitted to the EDA Steering Board.

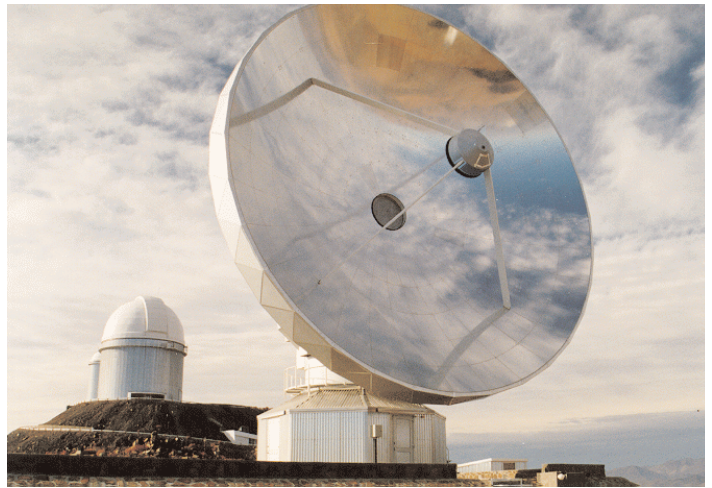
■ The Institute's team in charge of Strand One consulted over the past three months more than 650 studies, reports and documents to identify future developments in seven key areas: Demography, Environment, Economy, Energy, Science & Technology, Society & Culture and Global Governance. For each of these areas, major long-term trends have been identified and analysed. Based on this work, the team developed a comprehensive, while not all-inclusive, vision of the state of the world by 2025 and drew conclusions on the security implications for the European Union.

■ This exercise is not about making predictions, particularly given the range of the variables to be taken into account, and the potential for unforeseeable major disruptive events. The global vision presented by the ISS, however, shows where developments could lead to and where risks lie. As such, the output of Strand One of the LTV is not only of interest for the iden-

tification of the future ESDP capability requirements, but also relevant to foreign policy making and to EU external action at large.

■ Based on the broad outlook produced by the EUISS, the evolution of the international system over the next two decades will be marked by a mix of continuity and discontinuity. Some fundamental tendencies, such as the globalisation of the economy, will continue and even intensify. Energy and technology will act as driving forces. The world will become more inter-dependent not only at the economic level, but also from a political and cultural standpoint. The impact of globalisation on countries and societies will magnify their strengths and weaknesses, leading to growing tensions between the winners and the losers of globalisation, and potentially generating a backlash against it. The world will be highly interdependent, but equally diverse, more unequal and contradictory.

■ The balance of power in the world will undergo a considerable shift to the advantage of emerging actors such as China and India, which will put global governance to serious test. It is unclear who will set the global agenda twenty years from now. The scope for consensus on how to address shared challenges, from environmental degradation to poverty reduction and good governance, may shrink. The future international system will therefore conceivably be more unstable and



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more competitive. In such an environment, the strategic position of the EU itself will not be comfortable: surrounded by and dependent on an increasingly unstable neighbourhood, and facing important demographic, economic and political challenges at the domestic level, the Union will have to keep the pace of change to preserve its status in the world.

■ The breadth of the LTV exercise is such that the report submitted by the ISS should be regarded only as a first step. By consulting a wide range of experts, the EUISS will take this project forward and formulate a fully-fledged vision of the shape of the world to come, including its key political, economic, and natural (environment, energy) features, and its security implications.

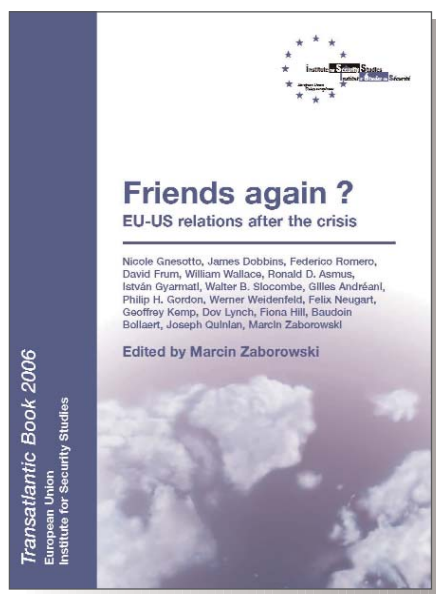
■ This is the first time that such an exercise has been undertaken at EU level. The joint analysis of the long-term global environment is an important factor to enable the EU to behave more strategically. This, in turn, is indispensable for the Union to face up to its growing responsibilities as a global actor in a globalised world.

*Giovanni Grevi and Burkard Schmitt*

### Book

#### **Transatlantic book 2006: Friends again? EU-US relations after the crisis**

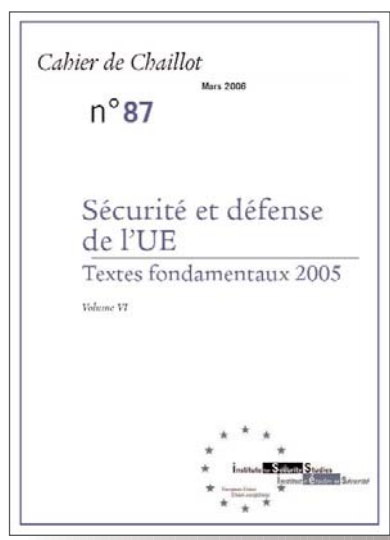
Nicole Gnesotto, James Dobbins, Federico Romero, David Frum, William Wallace, Ronald D. Asmus, István Gyarmati, Walter B. Slocombe, Gilles Andréani, Philip H. Gordon, Werner Weidenfeld, Felix Neugart, Geoffrey Kemp, Dov Lynch, Fiona Hill, Baudoin Bollaert, Joseph Quinlan, Marcin Zaborowski. Edited by Marcin Zaborowski



### Chaillot Papers

**n°87 EU security and defence —Core documents 2005 / Sécurité et défense de l'UE — Textes fondamentaux 2005**  
Volume VI, March / mars

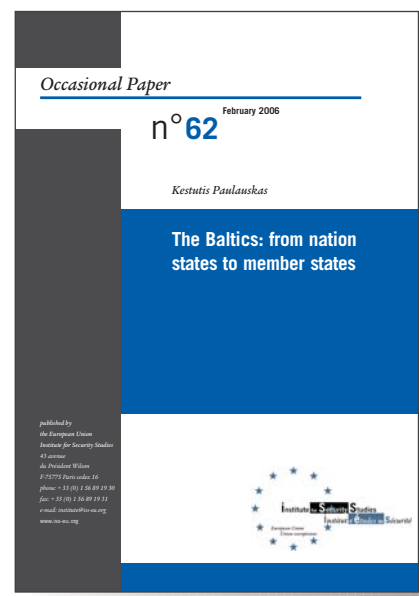
**n°86 Why Georgia matters**  
Dov Lynch, February



### Occasional Papers

**n°63 Security by proxy? The EU and (sub-)regional organisations: the case of ECOWAS**  
Bastien Nivet, March

**n°62 The Baltics: from nation states to member states**  
Kestutis Paulauskas, February



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desquels l'élargissement et la réforme des institutions, la PESD reste bel et bien une affaire qui marche.

Toutefois, ce clivage frappant entre la crise politique intérieure de l'Union et l'activisme renouvelé en politique extérieure conduit à une conclusion ambivalente : d'un côté, parce qu'elle est très peu intégrée et régie sur un mode essentiellement intergouvernemental, la PESD se retrouve de facto protégée des crises institutionnelles et politiques internes à l'Union. Elle peut donc continuer de progresser au gré des urgences régionales (Congo), des pressions et des demandes extérieures (Aceh), ou des propres contraintes économiques de l'Union (marché de l'armement) : seule compte en ces matières la

volonté consensuelle des Etats, à l'initiative de quelques-uns ou avec l'assentiment de tous. D'un autre côté, parce qu'elle ne dépend justement que du bon vouloir des Etats, la politique de sécurité de l'Union reste fragile parce qu'en permanence réversible : que la disponibilité des Etats s'essouffle pour telle ou telle raison (absence de moyens budgétaires ou humains, pressions extérieures diverses, priorités de politique intérieure, alternances électorales) et c'est l'ensemble de la PESD qui perdrait ainsi son moteur majeur. Pour contraignant et difficile soit-il, le chantier institutionnel reste donc une priorité, ne serait-ce que pour sa capacité à limiter la versatilité naturelle des Etats. ■