



[European Defence]

JAVIER SOLANA

15 EU Security and Defence Policy — the first five years and the future ahead

Of all the prerogatives of states, security and defence policy is probably the one which least lends itself to a collective European approach; however, after the single currency, it is in this dimension that the Union has made the most rapid and spectacular progress over the last five years.

JULIAN LINDLEY-FRENCH

25 In the shade of Locarno? Why European defence is failing

Europe's security architects should never have been given planning permission. The security framework of Europe today is not so much architecture as a decaying arcade of stately structures of varying designs reflective of a bygone era, somehow removed from the world around them.

PASCAL VENNESSON

63 Europe's Liberal Grand Strategy

How do European policymakers define European interests in the world? What threats do they perceive to those interests? What do they want Europe to accomplish in the light of those interests and threats? How do they justify their objectives and responses? To answer these questions, and get a better sense of Europe's international role, its characteristics and its limits, this article seeks to interpret the making and the content of Europe's grand strategy.

PRZEMYSŁAW ŻURAWSKI *vel* GRAJEWSKI

88 European Security and Intervention Policy? Status quo – perspectives – Poland’s interests

European conventional armed forces were conceived not as an instrument of the EU’s defence against a possible, although not very likely, military threat, but as a tool enabling the Union to conduct small and medium sized military operations outside its territory. The goal of such operations is aimed at imposing political solutions which are in the interests of the Union and of its most influential member states. Can the Union afford such costly instrument of defence policy?

OLAF OSICA

109 A security community or ‘coalitions of the willing’?

Membership of ‘the Atlantic security community’ – leaving the grey zone and becoming an intrinsic element of the geopolitics of the West constituted the main driving force behind Poland’s search for security. This very goal, regardless of the NATO’s expansion and accession to the EU, not only has not been achieved but looks less and less attainable. Why does Poland still face the security dilemma?





[Transatlantic relations]

ANDREW MORAVCSIK

130 Striking a New Transatlantic Bargain

The recent war in Iraq has triggered the most severe transatlantic tensions in a generation, dividing Europeans and Americans from each other and themselves. Pundits proclaim daily the imminent collapse of three vital pillars in the institutional architecture of world politics: NATO, the UN, and even the EU. And yet some form of transatlantic co-operation clearly remains essential, given the vast mutual interests at stake. Where, then, should the Western alliance go now?

JOLYON HOWORTH

149 European Security in the Coming Decade: Transatlantic, Regional and Global Perspectives

European security cannot be detached from the transatlantic context, but, in the future, it will not necessarily be constructed exclusively by that context. It cannot be detached from it because the values and interests that bind the Atlantic community are stronger and more durable than the forces which generate transatlantic friction. But the European security and defence policy project (ESDP) is also acquiring a life of its own and, as it grows in capacity and in confidence, the policy will become more autonomous – in the sense that reference back to Washington, while rarely absent, will no longer be the sole determining factor.

[Documents]

- 169** 1. Franco-German Summit – 40th Anniversary of the Elysee Treaty, Declaration by the Franco-German Defence and Security Council, Paris, 22 January 2003.
- 173** 2. Franco-British Summit, Le Touquet, Declaration on Strengthening European Cooperation in Security and Defence, 4 February 2003.
- 178** 3. European defence meeting – ‘Tervuren’, Meetings of the Heads of State and Government of Germany, France, Luxemburg and Belgium on European Defence, Brussels, 29 April 2003.
- 183** 4. Franco-British summit, Franco-British Declaration, Strengthening European Cooperation in Security and Defence, London, 24 November 2003
- 187** 5. Joint paper by France, Germany and the United Kingdom, Naples, 29 November 2003.
- 189** 6. The battlegroups concept UK/France/Germany food for thought paper.
- 196** 7. A Secure Europe In a Better World? – European Security Strategy, Brussels, 12 December 2003.
- 207** 8. Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, 16 December 2004.
- Article I-41: Specific provisions relating to the common security and defence policy.
 - Section 2, Common Security and Defence Policy, Articles from III-309 to III-312.
 - Protocol on Article I-41(2) of the Constitution.
 - Protocol on permanent structured co-operation established by Article I-41(6) and Article III-312 of the Constitution.





[An Essay on Europe]

KS. PIOTR MAZURKIEWICZ

215 John Paul II – Europe's memory

At a first glance it seems that John Paul's II teachings on Europe constitute a subject not only well documented, but a theme which does not call for any reinterpretation, especially that this very chapter has already been completed. The death of the Pope provoked many recollections of his thoughts. Many fragments of his work we had a tendency merely to gloss over, without pausing to think them through, gained a new, sometimes intriguing, significance. It is especially true about some of his reflections concerning Europe.

[Reviews]

KRZYSZTOF WOJDYŁO

229 Postmodernist realism

ROBERT COOPER, *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century*, Grove Press, December 2004.

JERZY UKLAŃSKI

233 Manifest for the West

TIMOTHY GARTON ASH, *Free Word: America, Europe, and the Surprising Future of the West*, (*Wolny Świat. Dlaczego kryzys Zachodu jest szansą naszych czasów*), Translated by: Dominika Chylińska, Wydawnictwo Znak, Kraków 2005.

OLAF OSICA

239 „The Rage and the Pride” á la Kraków

TADEUSZ A. KISIELEWSKI, *Imperium Americanum? International Conditions for Exercising Hegemony* (*Międzynarodowe uwarunkowania sprawowania hegemonii*), Wydawnictwo Trio, Seria z rekomendacją, Warszawa 2004.

MATEUSZ FAŁKOWSKI

242 The history of success written before the failure

GUY MILTON, JACQUES KELLER-NOËLLET (with Agnieszka Bartol-Saurel), *The European Constitution: its origins, negotiation and meaning*, John Harper Publishing, London 2005.

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