



EUROPEAN
COUNCIL
ON FOREIGN
RELATIONS
ecfr.eu

POLICY
BRIEF

EUROPE'S STRATEGIC CACOPHONY

Olivier de France and Nick Witney

SUMMARY

Europe's defence ambitions are crippled by the lack of a common strategic outlook. Most EU member states have a national security strategy; but most of these documents are incoherent, derivative, devoid of the sense of a common European geostrategic situation, and often long out-of-date. Yet Brussels continues to shun any elaboration or revision of the ten-year-old European Security Strategy. So the essential conceptual framework that should guide priorities in foreign and security policy, and the allocation of defence resources, is missing at both the European and, with some few honourable exceptions, the national levels. As a result of this strategic myopia and cacophony, defence budget cuts are being taken in an uncoordinated way that will have far-reaching consequences for European defence capabilities.

When the European Council discusses defence in December, President Herman Van Rompuy should recommend some bold steps to help make "pooling and sharing" a reality: a European "defence semester" and integrative projects such as common policing of Europe's airspace. Ultimately, however, the European defence project is not going to work unless the 27 member states, or at any rate the bulk of them, can get themselves onto the same geostrategic page. The European Council should therefore build on the growing intellectual momentum that is developing and launch a shared EU exercise to define a new strategy for Europe in the world.

The crisis in Mali once again exposed the hollowness of Europe's military pretensions. The crisis might almost have been designed as the long-sought opportunity for the EU to deploy one of its battle groups – which occupy a place of honour in the Lisbon Treaty as the epitome and acid test of European defence co-operation. The French/German/Polish battle group was on stand-by. The United Nations and the broader international community were unanimous on the need for military intervention. Yet so divorced has talk of European defence become from any practical application in the real world that the option of despatching the battle group seems to have been discounted without any real consideration, and the job was left to France. Part of the reason for this divorce is simply the lack of a shared strategic culture in Europe.

This brief is based on an examination of all 27 national security strategies carried out for the Institut de recherche stratégique de l'École militaire (IRSEM), a department of the French defence ministry. The initial product of this investigation is available in a report entitled *Étude comparative des livres blancs des 27 États membres de l'UE*, published in 2012.¹ It took stock of the main principles of the countries' defence policies, established the key documents they rely on, and assessed their viability. It found that,

¹ Olivier de France and Nick Witney, *Étude comparative des livres blancs des 27 États membres de l'UE : pour la définition d'un cadre européen*, Institut de recherche stratégique de l'École militaire, available at <http://www.defense.gouv.fr/content/download/185008/2037037/file/Etude%2018-2012.pdf>.

though there are some honourable exceptions, most member states' national defence and security strategies are not fit for purpose – that is, to ensure that specific national security decisions, and especially decisions about the allocation of defence resources, are taken in the light of a coherent strategic vision.

The brief focuses on the implications for Europe of this strategic deficit and lack of common vision. As a result of strategic myopia and cacophony, defence budget cuts are being taken in an uncoordinated way that could have disastrous long-term consequences for European defence capabilities. When the European Council discusses defence in December, President Herman Van Rompuy should recommend some bold steps to help make a reality out of “pooling and sharing”, such as a European “defence semester” and integrative projects such as common policing of Europe’s airspace. But because greater coherence and interdependence on defence among European states ultimately depend upon a closer alignment of their strategic world views, Europe must also define a global strategy – that is, to decide what it wants to be in the world and work out ways to match the means at its disposal (including its defence capabilities) to those ends.

A loss of common purpose and shared ambition

In the last ten years, the EU has lost the sense of common purpose and shared ambition that marked the start of the European defence enterprise. In 2003, Britain and France jointly proposed “a new initiative for the EU to focus on the development of its rapid reaction capabilities”.² Within days of this Franco-British summit, which launched the idea of battle groups, EU heads of state met in Brussels to endorse the very first European Security Strategy (ESS) – a document that announced that “Europe should be ready to share in the responsibility for global security”, and declared that “We need to develop a strategic culture that fosters early, rapid, and when necessary, robust intervention”.³ Ten years on, with “Germany’s refusal to join foreign deployments [...] undermining faith in Berlin’s reliability”, as *Spiegel* put it, and the UK eyeing the EU exit, such declarations now do more to embarrass than inspire.⁴

Europe’s failure to develop a shared strategic culture has not just undermined its ambition to be a more credible and effective actor, and therefore one that carries greater political weight, on the international scene – it has also hamstrung its efforts to maintain its defence capabilities in the wake of the financial crisis gripping the continent.

European leaders solemnly aver that they will compensate for falling defence budgets by “pooling and sharing” – and then shape their forward plans without cross-reference or consultation. They underline the need to protect the continent’s defence technological and industrial base – and then block the mergers that industry needs to survive, and eviscerate spending on research.⁵ Manifestly, most European governments are simply not serious about defence, or about doing more together.

Things are unlikely to get better without a renewed effort by Europe’s leaders to work out a joint strategy: a shared reassessment of what is going on in the world around them, and where and how Europeans should be acting together if they want a continued role in shaping global developments. The European Parliament has repeatedly insisted on the need for a “White Book” on European defence and there have been various academic appeals for a European “grand strategy”.⁶ In 2010, Felipe Gonzalez’s Reflection Group on the Future of the EU also argued for such a strategic stocktake.⁷ But although the Lisbon Treaty was meant to make the EU a more effective global player, Brussels continues to display a rooted aversion to formulating the strategy by which such a player might operate.

The EU has resisted such efforts with the assertion that it already has a perfectly good strategy in place in the form of the ESS, which was widely and rightly praised in its day. But even the document’s authors were uncomfortable with the title of “strategy” for what was mainly a set of operating principles for addressing the security threats of the post-Soviet world. And the ESS’s day was a decade ago – a bygone era in which the West still ran the world, the Chinese economy was less than half the size it is today, liberal interventionism had not yet learned lessons from Iraq and Afghanistan, financial and economic crisis in Europe seemed not so much improbable as inconceivable, and the US had not yet “pivoted” to Asia.

It is not just Brussels that has remained obdurate. Certainly, the EU institutions reacted with a predictable “not invented here” when, in 2008, Paris pushed to revisit the ESS. But the decisive opposition came from the British, who correctly sensed that a European strategic exercise would require them to talk about Europe, and the Germans, who equally correctly sensed a requirement to talk about Russia. Since London and Berlin were allergic to these topics, the project was dead on arrival – and was buried in the shroud of an eminently forgettable review of ESS “implementation”. Put Europeans

⁵ During a decade punctuated by repeated ministerial declarations of the importance of defence research and development (R&D), the “seed-corn of the future”, European governments, in practice, more than halved their R&D spending between 2001 and 2011 – a bigger reduction than in any other category of defence expenditure. See David J Berteau and Guy Ben-Ari et al, “European Defense Trends 2012”, Center for Strategic & International Studies, December 2012, available at <http://csis.org/publication/european-defense-trends-2012>.

⁶ Perhaps most prominent is Jolyon Howorth, in, for example, “What Europe badly needs is a ‘Grand Strategy’”, *Europe’s World*, Autumn 2009, available at http://www.europeworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/ArticleView/ArticleID/21474/language/en-US/Default.aspx.

⁷ “Project Europe 2030: Challenges and Opportunities. A report to the European Council by the Reflection Group on the Future of the EU 2030”, May 2010, available at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/librairie/PDF/QC3210249ENC.pdf.

² Joint Communique, Franco-British Summit, London, 24 November 2003, available at <http://www.ambafrance-uk.org/Franco-British-summit-Joint.4685>.

³ “A Secure Europe in a Better World: European Security Strategy”, Brussels, 12 December 2003, available at <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>.

⁴ “Merkel’s Caution: Berlin Reverts to Old Timidity on Military Missions”, *Spiegel Online*, 26 March 2013; available at <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/germany-becoming-more-cautious-on-military-missions-a-890931.html>.

together in a Brussels conference room and invite them to think about Europe's place in the world and how to make the best of it, and the consensus seems to be: "never again".

Fortunately, this conclusion has been rejected by an increasing number of academics and other authorities around Europe who, fed up with waiting for Brussels to initiate the necessary debate, have decided to do it themselves. The most prominent effort is that sponsored by the foreign ministers of Italy, Poland, Spain, and Sweden, whereby four national think tanks are collaborating (with a dozen other associated institutions across Europe) to come up with a "European Global Strategy", due for publication in early summer 2013.⁸ Another group of think tanks mobilised by Notre Europe are similarly addressing the need for the EU "to equip itself with a more integrated global strategy" under the "Think Global, Act European" banner.⁹ Other comparable efforts are also underway.

And there may even be some restored official appetite for strategic ideas in 2013. France is completing a new "Livre Blanc" exercise and, though burned by its 2008 experience, is again keen to see if some new momentum can subsequently be given to the European defence enterprise. Potentially most significant of all, the European Council has put defence on its agenda for December 2013. Though the terms in which it has done so are cautiously conservative, the dog has been shown the rabbit, and 2013 will surely see a rash of activity by those anxious to "prepare" the Council's discussion.¹⁰ All such efforts are welcome – indeed, it will take no less to address both the strategic myopia and cacophony that our study into European defence policies made so painfully clear.

Europe's 27 strategies

The EU's 27 national security strategies are a motley collection of documents. They even have a variety of names: white paper, security strategy, defence strategy, national security resolution, statement of strategy, defence policy guidelines, military doctrine, and national defence law, to name but a few. This diverse nomenclature hints at the range of issues EU states engage with in their documentation – from high-level strategy to capability development, force planning and administration – and the variety of ways in which they "do" strategy.

For us it seems axiomatic that a "livre blanc", "national security strategy", or any functionally equivalent piece of documentation should have an essentially prescriptive purpose. It should serve to establish a tighter link between the "ends" of more deliberately formulated external policies and the "means" of defence capabilities. It should guide national decisions on budgeting, investment and force planning, and enable governments to determine the

optimum future size and shape of their armed forces, all within the level of resources that the country is prepared to allocate to its defence. To do this effectively, it needs to assess the future strategic environment, identifying both threats and opportunities; sketch the role the country will seek to play in it, with whom; derive from this the missions of its future armed forces; define these in terms of capabilities and levels of ambition; and finally, pin all this down to specific force structures, numbers, and equipment.

Of course, in the real world elegantly deductive processes of this kind are subverted by having to start from the wrong place, by a lack of money, and by the intrusion of myriad vested interests. But that does not alter the fundamentals: there is little point in writing interesting essays about the international scene unless you deduce actionable conclusions from them; and you are unlikely to make sensible decisions about the nuts and bolts of national security unless you properly assess the strategic context. In short, a good national security analysis needs to address the full spectrum, from geostrategy to resources.

Judged by this criterion, most of the documentation we reviewed falls short. Much of it is simply out of date. Little of it shows an interest in the rapidly evolving geostrategic situation – including the changing nature of the transatlantic security relationship. Though analysis of security risks and threats is a near-universal feature, little effort is made to relate this to defining the roles and missions of the national armed forces. (Thus it is not much use emphasising the problem of cyber-security whilst leaving unresolved the question of whether the military, or some other national authority, should have the lead responsibility for dealing with it.)

In particular, the mutualisation of capabilities is everywhere supported but without any attempt to resolve the inescapable conundrum of how much mutualisation is possible, and in what areas, without unacceptable prejudice to national autonomy. Co-operation with neighbours is often endorsed – though seldom with any clarity about scope and purpose – but commitment to pursue this on a European scale is weak or non-existent. Equally absent, except in a handful of cases, is any sense of continental interdependence – that is, of Europeans being in the same strategic boat.

Of course, not all of these deficiencies are present in all national strategy efforts. Indeed, a handful of them are very good – to the extent that they deserve the title "strategists". But the rest fall short in different ways. "Globalists" tend to concentrate more readily on shifting balances of power and general policy objectives, without, however, unpacking the operational consequences they entail. "Localists", on the other hand, are states for whom operational considerations tend to crowd out broader strategic preoccupations: they look to their borders and focus on the operational means of preserving their territorial integrity. Some states address neither means nor ends systematically. Among these, "abstentionists" might be said to have forgone strategy in security matters altogether, by culture or by conviction.

⁸ "On the European Global Strategy project, see <http://www.euglobalstrategy.eu/>.

⁹ On this project, see <http://www.eng.notre-europe.eu/011015-103-Think-Global-Act-European.html>.

¹⁰ European Council Conclusions, December 2012, §20-25, available at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/134353.pdf.

“Drifters”, on the other hand, are circumstantial non-strategists: past strategists whose portfolio is outdated and at odds with current realities.

Strategists

Full-out “strategists” in Europe are few and far between. Unsurprisingly perhaps, the best are France and the UK, but Finland, Sweden, and the Czech Republic might also fit this description. The 2008 French white paper provides a helpful model insofar as it establishes a clear link between high-level guidance and the allocation of defence resources further down the line. The document opens with a broad assessment of recent geostrategic trends – the decline of Western actors, the power shift to the east, strategic uncertainty, and the growing role of non-state actors. It takes stock of the shifting strategic context, identifies risks, threats and opportunities, and attempts to infer the requisite foreign policy aims and determine how the country’s armed forces are likely to best fulfil them. Such a process allows high-level aims to follow through to operational recommendations. The big question mark over France’s 2008 strategy, however, is whether it remains affordable – an issue with which the 2012/2013 revision is grappling.

The UK’s strategic thinking runs along the same lines, although the link between ends and means appears perhaps less clearly. Britain’s defence review was praised for identifying cyber security and terrorism as the two main threats to national security, but criticised for prescribing aircraft carriers as the remedy.¹¹ Nonetheless, the document lays out the country’s sense of its role on the global stage and articulates a foreign policy vision it seeks to implement. The UK’s national security strategy speaks of the country’s “distinctive role in the world” and assumes it will “continue to play an active and engaged role in shaping global change.”¹² Britain will therefore strive to promote its values and its strategic interests on the international scene when and where it can: “we should look to our existing areas of comparative advantage [...]. We can and will invest in all those areas where we are relatively stronger than other countries.”¹³

As the distinction between domestic and external security progressively fades, so also does the necessity of protecting and promoting strategic interests “in the round” become more pressing.¹⁴ As the French document puts it, “The traditional

distinction between internal and external security is no longer relevant. This continuity has now acquired a strategic dimension and France and Europe must [...] define overarching strategies integrating all the different dimensions of security into a single approach.”¹⁵ Britain and France’s keen idea of their role in the world comes with a sharper sense of how their armed forces might sustain it. Both states still aim to retain a capacity for autonomous action, a full gamut of defence capabilities, and an ability to project force outside national borders where necessary.

Other European states are also equipped with thorough security strategies – albeit not necessarily underpinned by a full panoply of military means and a grand strategy in the round. The Czech document undertakes a detailed assessment of the wider strategic context, formulates national strategic objectives, and tailors the roles and missions of the armed forces accordingly.¹⁶ It goes on to address capability development, industrial policy, defence markets, budget projections, human resources, and force planning in systematic fashion.

Despite (or perhaps because of) a tradition of political neutrality, Sweden and Finland are likewise endowed with consistent and extensive strategies. The Finnish document broadens the lens to include an assessment of the EU’s relationship with international players, such as NATO, the UN, the African Union, the Balkans, Turkey, Ukraine, and the Eastern neighbourhood.¹⁷ It conceives of the EU as a strategic actor in its own right and assesses its role in the world accordingly. It mentions EU enlargement and neighbourhood policy, the Barcelona process and the Union for the Mediterranean, as well as the so-called Northern Dimension – “common policy involving the European Union, Russia, Norway and Iceland [...] aims to promote economic well-being and security in Northern Europe.”¹⁸

The Swedish strategy is notable for its candid assessment of the regional context and of Russia’s role within it: “The political developments in Russia are taking on increasingly clear authoritarian traits, with elements of corruption, curtailment of civil society independence and rising nationalism. [...] It is nationalism that characterises decision-making in Moscow. Russia has in recent years made every effort to regain its superpower role in the global geopolitical scene [...] and with all available means, including military”.¹⁹ Beyond this, both Nordic documents address the two ends of the strategic spectrum – from geostrategy to capability systems, procurement, industry and markets, and research and development (R&D) – in such a way that high-level guidance is allowed to trickle down to specific decisions about means.

11 *Securing Britain in an Age of Uncertainty, The Strategic Defence and Security Review*, 2010, p. 41, available at http://www.direct.gov.uk/prod_consum_dg/groups/dg_digitalassets/@dg/@en/documents/digitalasset/dg_191634.pdf.

12 *A Strong Britain in an Age of Uncertainty, The National Security Strategy*, 2010, p. 21, available at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/61936/national-security-strategy.pdf (hereafter, British National Security Strategy, 2010).

13 British National Security Strategy, 2010, pp. 21–22.

14 “Terrorism targets the territories of European countries from many points around the world while seeking to infiltrate French and European society. Organised crime exploits the benefits of globalisation and the weakening of frontiers. Energy security is no longer conceivable other than on a global scale. The vulnerability of information systems knows neither territories nor frontiers. The same goes for natural and health risks”, *The White Paper on Defence and National Security*, 2008, p. 55, available at http://merln.ndu.edu/whitepapers/france_english2008.pdf (hereafter, French White Paper on Defence and National Security, 2008).

15 French White Paper on Defence and National Security, 2008.

16 Czech White Paper on Defence, 2011, available at <http://www.army.cz/ministry-of-defence/newsroom/news/the-white-paper-on-defence-2011-63155/>.

17 Security and Defence Policy, 2009, p.35, available at <http://vnk.fi/julkaisukansio/2009/j11-turvallisuus-j12-sakerhets-j13-finnish/pdf/en.pdf> (hereafter, Finnish Security and Defence Policy, 2009).

18 Finnish Security and Defence Policy, 2009, p. 28.

19 A Functional Defence, Swedish Government Bill, 2009, pp. 23–24, available at <http://www.government.se/content/1/c6/12/31/54/0002c3f6.pdf>.

Globalists

As the Spanish strategy illustrates, the “globalist” approach tends to lay the emphasis on the higher end of the strategic spectrum.²⁰ Spain’s document very much focuses on geostrategic issues, as opposed to operational ones. It breaks down the main international trends by means of an elaborate conceptual toolbox that identifies “risk multipliers” (globalisation, demographic asymmetry, poverty, inequality, climate change, technology, and extremism) and separates out threats into “domains”: sea, air, land, space, cyberspace, and the information space. It then proceeds to tailor external policy objectives to each of these domains. The Dutch strategy likewise uses a sophisticated method to assess the shifts in the geostrategic environment: its multifactor approach separates out strategic foresight, mid-term analysis, risk assessment, short-term horizon scanning, and strategic planning.²¹

Both Dutch and Spanish strategies launch in places into wholly theoretical discussions about concepts and values. The Spanish strategy affirms it “supports the principle of Responsibility to Protect, approved at the UN World Summit in 2005, which establishes the collective responsibility of the international community to protect populations whose own States fail to do so in extreme cases of genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing or crimes against humanity.”²² The Dutch strategy discusses the democratic ethos: “Equal treatment and the prohibition of discrimination; freedom of religion and belief; freedom of expression; freedom of association, meeting and demonstration; respect for privacy; integrity of the person. A number of social values that are necessary for a properly functioning democratic state also fall under the core values. Think of, *inter alia*, truthfulness, empathy and sympathy for others, respect for the opinion of others, and willingness to modify one’s own opinion, but think also of social skills such as flexibility, responsiveness and sense of responsibility, a certain pragmatism, and being able to bear uncertainty and ambivalences.”²³

It would not be outlandish to assume that such lofty considerations played little part in recent operational decisions by the Dutch to renounce main battle tanks entirely – a sign that, for all its sophistication, the Dutch strategy remains altogether descriptive. Pointedly bypassing topics like armament programmes or force planning hardly allows

high-level analysis to follow through to actual decisions about the armed forces. In consequence, the Dutch tank decision took their allies by surprise.

While the Spanish and Dutch documents at least feature a measure of innovative analysis, strategic thinking amongst other “globalists” is less original and more derivative. The assessment of the international environment, for example, tends to fall back onto the stock list of risks and threats that features in extant EU, NATO and UN documents. Germany’s policy document accordingly opens with the following inventory: “Today, risks and threats are emerging above all from failing and failed states, acts of international terrorism, terrorist regimes and dictatorships, turmoil when these break up, criminal networks, climatic and natural disasters, from migration developments, from the scarcity of or shortages in the supply of natural resources and raw materials, from epidemics and pandemics, as well as from possible threats to critical infrastructure such as information technology.”²⁴ The remainder of Germany’s document, though clear and well written, altogether sidesteps the issue of how to apply national armed forces to the threats it identifies upfront.

The Hungarian and Slovenian strategies as a whole also revolve around this staple catalogue of risks and threats.²⁵ When it comes to how exactly to respond to them however, the analysis becomes more formulaic. The Hungarian document, having identified cyber security as a vital national security concern, goes on to give an entirely evasive account of the response required: “It is a primary task to systematically identify and prioritise actual or potential threats and risks in cyberspace, to strengthen governmental coordination, to increase societal awareness, and to capitalise on opportunities provided by international cooperation. In addition to strengthening the protection of the critical national information infrastructure, Hungary strives to enhance the security of information systems and to participate in the development of appropriate levels of cyber defence.”²⁶ There appears to be little point in emphasising how crippling such threats might be without going on to establish how to address them in organisational terms. And yet, virtually nowhere in the European compendium of documents is there a discussion of the required division of labour between armed forces and other relevant national authorities to respond to such threats. Referring back to abstract concepts or toothless EU guidance is one way of

²⁰ Spanish Security Strategy, 2011, available at <http://www.lamoncloa.gob.es/nr/rdonlyres/ef784340-ab29-4dfc-8a4b-206339a29bed/o/spanishsecuritystrategy.pdf> (hereafter, Spanish Security Strategy 2011).

²¹ *National Security: Strategy and Work Programme*, 2007, available at <http://merln.ndu.edu/whitepapers/Netherlands-2007-2008.pdf>, (hereafter, Dutch National Security: Strategy and Work Programme, 2007). See also, *Future Policy Survey*, Dutch Ministry of Defence, 2010, available at <http://www.derijter.net/uk/?p=1495>. The Defence White Paper dates back to 2000 and the country’s military doctrine, entitled *Defence Doctrine*, to 2005. The Dutch strategy goes on to distinguish between strategic scenarios (multipolarity, fragmentation, multilateral, network) and strategic shocks (demography, economy, technology, social, ecology, political, security). It breaks down the national response according to a number of strategic functions (anticipation, protection, deterrence, normalisation, prevention, stabilisation, intervention).

²² Spanish Security Strategy, 2011, p. 20.

²³ Dutch National Security: Strategy and Work Programme, 2007, p. 17.

²⁴ Germany, Defence Policy Guidelines, 2010, p. 1.

²⁵ Hungary’s National Security Strategy, 2012, available at <http://www.kormany.hu/download/4/32/b0000/National%20Security%20Strategy.pdf> (hereafter, Hungary’s National Security Strategy, 2012). Resolution on the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Slovenia, 2010, available at <http://sova.gov.si/en/media/resolution.pdf>. The Hungarian strategy discusses the following risks and threats: Regional conflicts (§27), Proliferation (§28), Terrorism (§29), Financial security (§30), Cyber security (§31), Energy security (§32), Climate change (§33), Natural and industrial disasters (§34), Organised crime (§35), Drug trafficking (§36), and Migration (§37). The Slovenian strategy discusses the following risks and threats: Climate change, Financial risks, Regional conflicts (§4.1.), Terrorism, Proliferation, Organised crime, Illegal immigration, Cyber threats (§4.2.), Public safety, Natural and other disasters, Scarcity of natural resources and degradation of environment, and Medical and epidemiological threats (§4.3.).

²⁶ Hungary’s National Security Strategy, 2012, p. 13.

steering clear of these thornier issues.²⁷ In short, globalists are more inclined to describe things as they are than stipulate why and how things should be changed to reflect strategic objectives.

Localists

“Localists”, not unlike globalists, adopt a piecemeal approach to strategy that concentrates chiefly on one end of the strategic spectrum. But where globalists look to broader ends, localists focus on means. Their main concern is with preserving territorial integrity in the face of a shifting regional environment, within which Russia is cited alternatively as a threat and a potential partner. For example, the Latvian strategy states: “Promotion of cooperation with the Russian Federation is a security and stability strengthening aspect of the Baltic Sea region. It is within the interests of Latvia to promote the principle of openness and mutual trust in the dialogue with the Russian Federation in bilateral contacts, and at the levels of the OSCE, EU and NATO.”²⁸

The apparent insistence on the lack of conventional military threat is offset by repeated references to the subversion of state stability.²⁹ The Bulgarian document goes to great lengths to stress the “absence of immediate military threats” to national sovereignty and says that the probability of being drawn into a conflict is “negligible” – and then proceeds in the main to extensively discuss security on its eastern and southern flanks.³⁰ Likewise, strategic thinking in the Danish document revolves around the regional context – mainly the situation in the Arctic and its potential consequences for the Danish forces.³¹ But there is otherwise little place for geostrategy; indeed, the remainder of the Danish strategy focuses most thoroughly on operational issues. Perhaps surprisingly, Poland’s defence strategy also forgoes high-level strategy. Perhaps surprisingly, Poland’s defence strategy also forgoes high-level strategy. Despite a rapid foray into most recent strategic trends and risks, it deals mostly with the organisation of the state’s defence system and the issue of territorial invasion.³² Indeed it brings up matters that may seem altogether peripheral to national defence, such as compulsory training in citizen martial arts for the Polish population.³³

Where localists’ strategy goes beyond the parochial or the regional, it remains derivative. Many documents contain token or stilted pieces of analysis. The Romanian document is entitled *The National Security of Romania: The European Romania, the Euro-Atlantic Romania. For a Better Life in a Democratic, Safer and More Prosperous Country*. As this suggests, it is not inclined to delve into particulars and makes for fairly soporific reading. The emphasis it puts on a community of shared values and on Romania’s place inside the “euro-Atlantic” space sounds arch: “To achieve its rightful interests, in its position as an integral part of the Euro-Atlantic civilization and an active participant in the process of building the new Europe, Romania [is] [...] firmly committed to the process of moral reconstruction, institutional modernization and civic awareness, in full agreement with its own fundamental values and with the European and Euro-Atlantic values”.³⁴

In effect, most Baltic and Eastern European countries simply resort to recycling accepted NATO or EU wisdom. Slovakian, Bulgarian, or Polish strategies start off by dutifully ticking off a standard list of “new” risks and threats. For example, the Slovakian strategy mentions “the threat of terrorist attacks, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, organized crime, the growing potential for the misuse of cybernetic space, [...] and an increasing potential for the development of unexpected crisis situations.”³⁵ They then pointedly shift to matters of territorial defence implications for the state defence system and wholly different concerns such as conscription, pastoral care, defence sustainability and health services.

Any broader strategic thinking amongst localists usually refers back to NATO or the United States. Latvia’s strategy declares that the US is “the most important strategic partner for Latvia, is essential in providing security for Latvia and the entire region [...] and will remain the key strategic partner of Latvia in the field of defence and military matters.”³⁶ Denmark’s strategy says that “in a strategic perspective Denmark’s sovereignty is secured through NATO’s Article 5 commitment to collective defence of Alliance territory. At the same time, NATO provides a framework for the participation of the Danish Armed Forces in international missions.”³⁷ Most military planning is undertaken in strict accordance with NATO defence planning cycles. Estonia’s strategy says that “NATO methodologies are used to

²⁷ “Respect for cultural diversity is also seen by Hungary as a security policy consideration. Successfully ensuring the traditional coexistence of different cultures and the preservation of diversity and the identity of the communities – as the recognition and protection of common values – is one of the key elements of creating long-term stability both in the world and in Hungary’s immediate neighbourhood.” See Hungary’s National Security Strategy, 2012, p. 9.

²⁸ Latvia’s State Defence Concept, 2012, p. 17, available at http://www.mod.gov.lv/Par_aizsardzibas_nozari/Politikas_planosana/Koncepcijas/~media/AM/Par_aizsardzibas_nozari/Plani,%20koncepcijas/2012_va_EN.ashx (hereafter, Latvia’s State Defence Concept, 2012).

²⁹ See Estonia’s National Defence Strategy, 2011, p. 10, available at http://www.kaitseministeerium.ee/files/kmin/img/files/KM_riigikaitse_strateegia_eng%282%29.pdf (hereafter, Estonia’s National Defence Strategy, 2011). Latvia’s State Defence Concept, 2012, p. 7; the Defense Strategy of the Republic of Poland, 2009, p. 5, available at http://www.wp.mil.pl/pliki/File/English/strategia_obronnosci_eng.pdf (hereafter, Defense Strategy of the Republic of Poland, 2009).

³⁰ White Paper on Defence and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bulgaria, 2010, p. 13, available at http://www.mod.bg/en/doc/misc/20101130_WP_EN.pdf (hereafter, White Paper on Defence and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bulgaria, 2010).

³¹ Danish Defence Agreement 2010-2014, 2009, p. 2, available at <http://www.fmn.dk/nyheder/Documents/20090716%20Samlede%20Forligstekst%202010-2014%20inkl%20bilag%20-%20english.pdf> (hereafter, Danish Defence Agreement 2010-2014, 2009).

³² Defense Strategy of the Republic of Poland, 2009, p. 4.

³³ Defense Strategy of the Republic of Poland, 2009, p. 27.

³⁴ National Security Strategy of Romania, 2007, p. 4, available at http://merln.ndu.edu/whitepapers/Romania2007_English.pdf.

³⁵ Defence Strategy of the Slovak Republic, 2005, p. 3, available at http://merln.ndu.edu/whitepapers/SlovakiaDefence_English2005.pdf.

³⁶ Latvia’s State Defence Concept, 2012, p. 6.

³⁷ Danish Defence Agreement 2010-2014, 2009, p. 1.

determine defence expenditures.”³⁸ This tends to cause inflation in strategic reviews and sub-strategies.³⁹

Meanwhile, references to the EU are few and far between. Where the EU features, it is either as a complement or a subordinate to NATO. For example, the Latvian strategy says that “the strengthening of the European military capabilities must contribute to NATO’s military capacity” – a trait that is shared by most of the strategic corpus.⁴⁰

Collective undertakings are found wanting where they fail to tie in with local concerns (mainly territorial). The EU’s Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) efforts come up short in this respect. According to the Latvian strategy, “The Lisbon Treaty’s mutual assistance clause (Article 42.7 of the Treaty) specifies that in the event of an armed aggression, the EU Member States are obliged to provide the victim state with aid and assistance by all means at their disposal. This clause has the role of promoting political solidarity, but the Lisbon Treaty does not provide a mechanism for its implementation. Therefore, it is important for Latvia to maintain a maximum degree of national competence in the decision-making regarding the EU security and defence policy issues.”⁴¹

The EU’s pooling and sharing efforts are dismissed on the same count: “The most effective solutions for maintaining and developing military capabilities are being sought in NATO. In view of the Allies’ cooperation on pooling and sharing of military capabilities, the capabilities needed for the Alliance become more cost-efficient and available.”⁴² The geostrategic outlook often comes across as more decidedly pragmatic: “the immediate objective is a sharp and visible increase of efficiency and effectiveness in spending Bulgarian taxpayers’ money, for example by taking advantage of our membership in NATO and the European Union, which provide opportunities for sharing defence costs as well as significantly improving their effectiveness.”⁴³

³⁸ “Estonia’s National Defence Strategy, 2011, p. 10.

³⁹ Formulation of Latvia’s national strategy spans a dozen publications; each fulfils a different purpose in a scrupulously organised portfolio. It relies on two high-level strategy documents: The State Defence Concept (2012), which stems from an annual Military Threat Analysis, and the National Security Concept (2011), which stems from the annual State Risk Analysis. These two high-level documents beget a number of sub-strategies, “sectoral” strategies, operational guidance and military programming documents: The National Security Plan, The National Defence Plan, The National Defence Operational Plan, The National Armed Forces Development Plan and The National Armed Forces Annual Plan. In the same way, Hungary possesses a multiplicity of sectoral strategies that branch out from its national security strategy. They deal with criminality, financial security, human resources, cybersecurity, natural disasters, environmental security, and the fighting terrorism. See Hungary’s National Security Strategy, 2012, p. 23.

⁴⁰ Latvia’s State Defence Concept, 2012, p. 14. Dutch, British, Czech, Hungarian, Slovenian, and German documents also feature such a preference in some way or another.

⁴¹ Latvia’s State Defence Concept, 2012, p. 14.

⁴² Latvia’s State Defence Concept, 2012, p. 14.

⁴³ White Paper on Defence and the Armed forces of the Republic of Bulgaria, 2010, p. 56.

Abstentionists

Whether out of conviction (“abstentionists”) or circumstance (“drifters”), some European states appear to have largely forgone strategic thinking in matters of security. It is first worth noting that not all countries feel the need to commit their defence and security policies to one solemn, overarching document. A number of papers, in fact, bear very little resemblance to security strategies at all. Belgian and Luxembourgian official documentation boils down to a body of statements made by defence ministers over the years and a number of defence laws.⁴⁴ Strategic defence planning will therefore be carried out on the basis of an assortment of disparate documents. Where there is one official, synthetic document, it is often informal or exceedingly parochial. For example, while the Irish security strategy addresses the question of fisheries at length, it fails to touch upon more fundamental matters like defence planning.⁴⁵

The issue is compounded by the different institutional setups that exist at the national level. Not all EU states possess fully-fledged defence administrations: Austria, Malta, and Luxembourg do not have ministries whose sole official remit is defence. A lack of consensus, therefore, extends not merely to what form national strategies should take, but also to how they sit with the country’s defence planning system. These national setups also affect the weight and function of a country’s strategic portfolio.⁴⁶

Austria, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Portugal do not even deem their strategic documents of sufficient significance to merit translation into English.⁴⁷ This obviously hinders dissemination and precludes debate amongst Europeans.

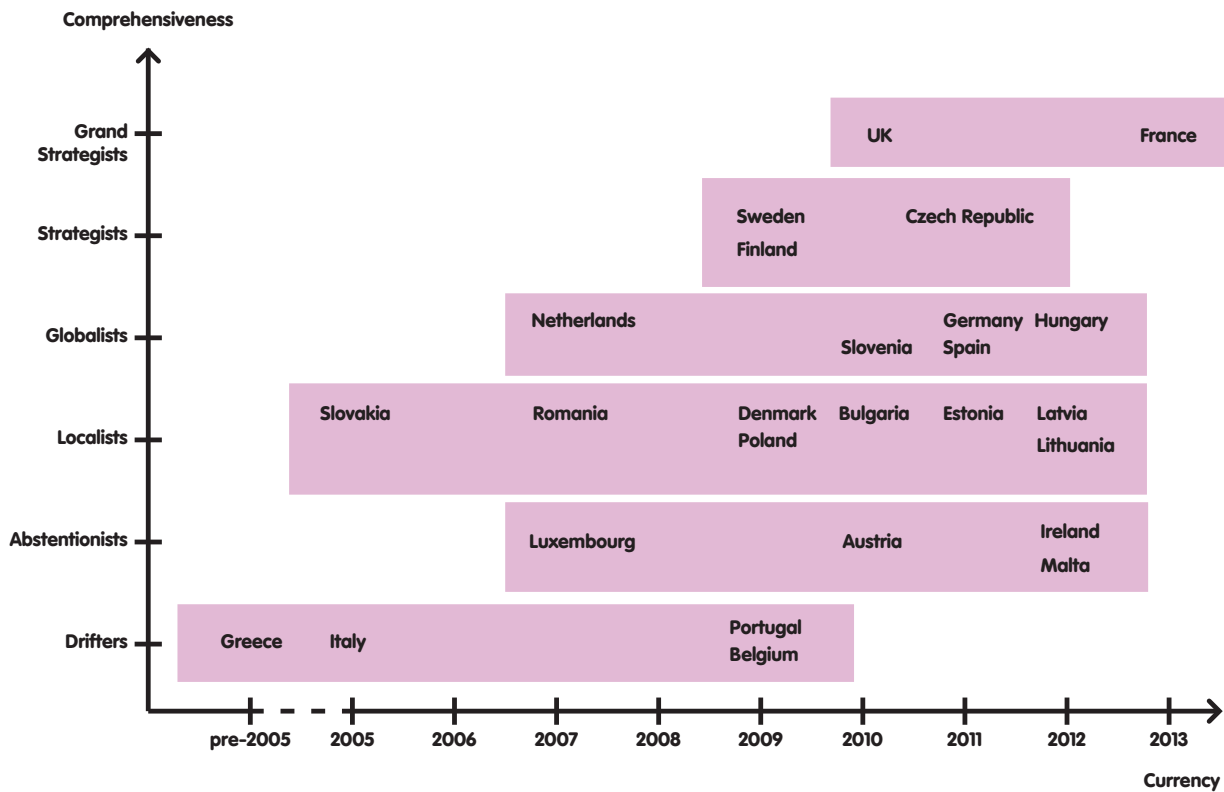
⁴⁴ The Belgian white paper dates back to 1994. An operational document entitled *Modernisation Plan of the Belgian Armed Forces 2000-2015* was published in 2000. The main strategic documents today however are ministerial statements: *Vision future de la Défense* (2003), *Plan directeur de la Défense – Plan de transition* (2003), *Finalisation de la Transformation* (2009), *Note d’Orientation Politique* (2008), and *Déclaration de Politique Générale* (2011). Luxembourg’s national strategy relies on the annual *Rapport d’activité* and *Déclaration de Politique Etrangère* from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the following laws: *Loi du 16 décembre 1997 concernant la programmation financière militaire*, *Loi du 21 décembre 2007 portant autorisation de dépenses d’investissement dans des capacités et moyens militaires*, *Loi du 21 décembre 2007 concernant l’organisation militaire*.

⁴⁵ Ireland’s Statement of Strategy 2011-2014, 2012, p. 7, available at <http://www.dfa.ie/uploads/documents/dfat%20statement%20of%20strategy%202011-2014.pdf>.

⁴⁶ Germany, which boasts a comparatively well-organised portfolio of strategic documents, provides a good illustration of this. The German white paper dates back to 2006. It is complemented by a strategic document entitled *Defence Policy Guidelines* (2011) and a military doctrine from 2004. Yet the import of these documents varies considerably. The white paper was drawn up under the aegis of the federal government. The policy guidelines, by contrast, were elaborated by the defence ministry for the use of the armed forces. Such guidelines naturally do not enjoy the same force as, say, the French white paper, drawn up only after extensive consultation with public and private defence actors, civil society and parliament – and setting out a number of binding conclusions.

⁴⁷ Austria, *Weißbuch des Bundesheere*, 2010; Portugal, *Lei de Defesa Nacional - Lei Orgânica n.º 1-B/2009*, 2009. The Portuguese White Paper and National Defence Strategic Concept date back respectively to 2001 and 2003.

Figure 1
European security strategies by
comprehensiveness and currency



Drifters

Nor does it help, of course, that many of these strategies are woefully out of date. Any document published before the start of the financial crisis in 2007 must safely be deemed an incoherent basis for defence planning – yet nearly half of the security strategies were in this position in 2012. Encouragingly, however, a number of documents have been updated since, in an attempt to factor in latest economic and strategic shifts – and more are on the way.⁴⁸ In fact, 2013 might yet prove something of a watershed: Cyprus, the only remaining country not yet equipped with a security strategy, is expected to complete its own in the course of the year.

Yet some countries continue to pose difficulties: in one extreme case, Greece, the last public strategy paper runs back to the twentieth century, effectively rendering the document all but useless.⁴⁹ Italy is another prime – and telling – example of strategic drifting. The most recent

Italian white paper was published in 2002 in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks and exists alongside a set of equally antiquated documents.⁵⁰ Official strategic thought is currently contained only in an annual report on defence geared toward short-term allocation of defence resources.⁵¹ Italy is therefore quite simply not equipped with a document that addresses its national defence needs systematically. Its strategic portfolio leaves it without a view of the road ahead at a time of dire budget restrictions and unprecedented global change. Coming from a state that is by no means a military minnow in Europe, such a dearth of strategic vision is certainly disquieting.

Overall, then, few of the national strategies we have reviewed pass the test of comprehensiveness – that is, of linking strategic aims to operational means. And too many fail the test of currency – they are simply out of date. Such documents may still have their uses: they may prove helpful merely by dint of the democratic accountability they provide or the national

⁴⁸ Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Portugal, Ireland, Romania, France, Luxemburg, and Cyprus are expected to produce documents this year.
⁴⁹ Greece, White Paper for the Armed Forces, 1997, available at <http://www.resdal.org/Archivo/do00007e.htm>. Although updated, unclassified parts of it have been made available since.

⁵⁰ Italy: The Chief of the Italian Defence Staff Strategic Concept, 2005, available at <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?lng=en&id=156795>. Report 2020, Choices of Foreign Policy, 2008.
⁵¹ Italy, Nota Aggiuntiva allo Stato di Previsione della Difesa.

visibility they give to security and defence matters. But they cannot be said to provide a sound basis for deployment of defence resources. Figure 1 illustrates the relative standings of European national security strategies against these important criteria of comprehensiveness and currency.

If a strategic vision amounts to a view of the road ahead, then most European defence and security establishments are driving with their eyes fixed on the rear-view mirror – which makes effective changes of speed and direction almost impossible to implement. Little wonder that most national defence planning in Europe consists of simply trying to keep the show on the road, with the smallest possible touches on the steering wheel. So, instead of moving to “pool and share” as everyone now promises, all EU member states have responded to fiscal crisis by trying to hang on to what they have always had, but less of it – and/or by chopping out particular chunks of capability, with no consultation or regard for the impact of such unilateral cuts on the European whole.

The consequences of this myopia are now well known. The inefficiency with which Europe converts its resource input (collective spending that still approaches €200 billion annually – comfortably more than Russia and China combined) into useful defence output has become a byword. Hugely over-manned military structures (substantially more men and women in uniform than in the entire US armed forces) are starved of modern equipment; in contradiction of repeated declarations of intent, investment in research and technology has been slashed. The consequences for Europe’s ability to mount and sustain a relatively modest air campaign were exposed for all to see in Libya in 2011 and again in Mali this year.

How to increase European coherence

The European Council’s plan to discuss defence at their December 2013 meeting comes not a moment too soon. The preview contained in the December 2012 Conclusions offers little hint of fresh thinking (there is the usual tired talk of the “comprehensive approach” and of “facilitating synergies”), or of an agenda worth the engagement of national leaders.⁵² But President Van Rompuy has at least reserved to himself the right to offer “recommendations”. Here are some suggestions.

A European “defence semester”

First, if 17 European governments can put their national budget planning up for scrutiny by their eurozone partners – the “European semester” – then they can certainly agree to some more systematic “mutual accounting” about

their national defence plans. Indeed, the December 2012 Conclusions suggest at least the beginnings of wisdom in this regard when they talk of “systematically considering cooperation from the outset in national defence planning by Member States”.

It takes a lot to change the direction of the ponderous defence juggernaut. Certainly, if you are serious about switching from a predominantly national to a more collaborative track, such changes will have to be planned well in advance. As the experience of recent years has confirmed, if you simply say “who has some spare money which they would be happy to put into a joint project later this year?”, the answer will invariably be a lemon. So what is needed is first of all to “share” national defence plans – that is, for each member state to tell the others how much it plans to spend on defence in coming years and where it sees the money going.

Such a process of reciprocal “show and tell” (which the European Defence Agency would be well placed to manage) would not involve putting sovereign decisions on defence “into commission” with partners, international bodies, or anyone else. But it would highlight as no other process could the extent of the waste and duplication in European defence expenditure; the size and nature of the capability gaps, present and future; the incoherence of national programmes when summed together; and, crucially, the opportunities for getting more from less by pooling efforts and resources in new co-operative projects.

Exemplary integrative projects

A “European semester” for defence would still, however, encounter the ingrained conservatism and risk-aversion of defence. So the European Council needs to shake up the system by itself demanding that blueprints be produced for one or two major, exemplary, integrative projects. Common air policing of European airspace is an obvious candidate – and something that could save hundreds of millions of euros by culling redundant combat aircraft and infrastructure across Europe. The savings could then be redeployed into a joint European Strike Force – the collective capability Europe should have had at its disposal two years ago to wage the Libyan air campaign without having to fall back on the Americans for air-tanking, reconnaissance, smart munitions and so on.

To be clear, we are not suggesting here some sort of “standing force”, funded in common and under supranational command. Rather, we propose a co-operative effort to

⁵² European Council, 13/14 December 2012, Conclusions, available at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/134353.pdf.

⁵³ Fleet “programmes” have to be planned years in advance to accommodate maintenance and refit; periods in home ports to allow crews to get reacquainted with loved ones; training and exercising; and of course the deployments – for example, maintaining a presence in the Gulf or the West Indies – which are the *raison d’être* of a peacetime navy. As navies shrink, so different nations will have to plan to share (take turn and turn about) on such deployments – or give some of them up altogether. In other words, if Europeans are to keep on “showing the flag” in distant waters they will increasingly have to do it co-operatively – maintaining a “European” as much as a national presence.

determine what components in what quantities (how many cruise missiles? how many reconnaissance drones?) would need to be available for Europe to “do another Libya”; to assign responsibility for the provision of the different components to different member states; and to plan a migration path from today’s unbalanced and often unusable inventories and force structures to a set of national parts that add up to an effective capability when brought together. Navies too could benefit from this approach – indeed, as they struggle to fulfil their national fleet programmes with diminishing hull numbers, European admirals are already talking about how they might better cover for each other by closer co-ordination.⁵³

“Pooling and sharing” has thus far failed because national leaders have contented themselves with blessing the principle, and then asking “the staff” for ideas. The need now is to challenge the staff by demanding not suggestions but specific plans to bring about specified changes. If there are killer objections, they must be set out and properly evaluated. For example, there is a widespread tacit assumption that a European Strike Force could never work because the Germans would have to be assigned a significant role – but could not be relied upon to turn up on the day. Certainly, there is a real confidence issue here – but rather than despairing, ways around it need to be explored. Perhaps the Bundestag might offer pre-emptive reassurance on the point. Or Germany could be assigned a non-lethal role in the force (responsibility for air tanking, say). Failing all else, some redundancy could be built back into the force’s design.

Time for a strategy

Mutual accountability over defence planning and serious exploration of a couple of major integrative projects would be important steps for the December 2013 European Council to take. Ultimately, however, the European defence “project” is not going to work unless the 27 member states, or at any rate the bulk of them, can get themselves onto the same geostrategic page. This will mean converging on some key propositions: that if Europeans are to continue to count for something in the world, then they are condemned to co-operate; that effective armed forces are among the assets they will need to deploy, as instruments of power and influence as much as for “war-fighting” purposes; and that maintaining effective armed forces will require biting the bullet of significantly greater mutual dependence.

This consensus will not materialise out of thin air. It will require a process of working through the arguments, testing the assumptions, and exploring the alternatives. A joint effort is required, in other words, to take stock of how the strategic environment has changed, and may change in future; what assets Europeans can bring to bear (not just armed forces of course) to protect their interests and values and to safeguard the security and prosperity of future generations; and how and where those assets will be best applied. In sum, the time has come for Europe to define a strategy – to decide what

it wants to be in the world and work out ways to match the means at its disposal to those ends.

By the time of this December’s European Council meeting, a good deal of material on just these themes will have been offered up by a range of European institutions and analysts. So the key trick for President Van Rompuy to take will be to exploit his right of “recommendation” to channel this intellectual momentum and ensure that it leads to a formally adopted Global Strategy for Europe. The modalities will need thought – the “group of sages” device may be needed to counteract the smothering effect of the Brussels institutions. But the essential point is simply that defence enterprises do not succeed without a strategy – and it is past time for Europe to equip itself with one.

About the authors

Nick Witney joined the European Council on Foreign Relations from the European Defence Agency, where he was the first Chief Executive. His earlier career was divided between the UK diplomatic service and the UK Ministry of Defence. As a diplomat, he learned Arabic in Lebanon and Jordan, and served in Baghdad and then Washington. Nick's publications at ECFR include *Re-energising Europe's Security and Defence Policy* (2008), *Towards a Post-American Europe: A Power Audit of EU-US Relations* (with Jeremy Shapiro, 2009) and *How to Stop the Demilitarisation of Europe* (2011).

Olivier de France works on European foreign, security and defence policy at the European Council on Foreign Relations. He recently authored with Nick Witney a report on Europe's 27 security strategies for the French Ministry of Defence, and co-authors an upcoming book on security in the Sahel. Educated at France's Ecole Normale Supérieure, he was Fontenay scholar at Balliol College, Oxford and Corpus Christi scholar at Cambridge University, where he taught.

Acknowledgements

The authors are indebted to the Institut de recherche strategique de l'Ecole militaire for providing the frame and support for the initial research; in particular to Professor Charillon, General Perruche and General de Langlois. Within ECFR, they would like to extend their particular thanks to Thomas Klau and Richard Gowan for invaluable help. Finally, this paper owes a lot to the national military attaches in Paris who gave their time most generously, thus making it possible for us to collect and verify much of the data this research is based on.

ABOUT ECFR

The **European Council on Foreign Relations** (ECFR) is the first pan-European think-tank. Launched in October 2007, its objective is to conduct research and promote informed debate across Europe on the development of coherent, effective and values-based European foreign policy.

ECFR has developed a strategy with three distinctive elements that define its activities:

- **A pan-European Council.** ECFR has brought together a distinguished Council of over two hundred Members – politicians, decision makers, thinkers and business people from the EU's member states and candidate countries – which meets once a year as a full body. Through geographical and thematic task forces, members provide ECFR staff with advice and feedback on policy ideas and help with ECFR's activities within their own countries. The Council is chaired by Martti Ahtisaari, Joschka Fischer and Mabel van Oranje.
- **A physical presence in the main EU member states.** ECFR, uniquely among European think-tanks, has offices in Berlin, London, Madrid, Paris, Rome, Sofia and Warsaw. In the future ECFR plans to open an office in Brussels. Our offices are platforms for research, debate, advocacy and communications.
- **A distinctive research and policy development process.** ECFR has brought together a team of distinguished researchers and practitioners from all over Europe to advance its objectives through innovative projects with a pan-European focus. ECFR's activities include primary research, publication of policy reports, private meetings and public debates, 'friends of ECFR' gatherings in EU capitals and outreach to strategic media outlets.

ECFR is a registered charity funded by the Open Society Foundations and other generous foundations, individuals and corporate entities. These donors allow us to publish our ideas and advocate for a values-based EU foreign policy. ECFR works in partnership with other think tanks and organisations but does not make grants to individuals or institutions.

www.ecfr.eu

ALSO AVAILABLE FROM ECFR

New World Order: The Balance of Soft Power and the Rise of Herbivorous Powers

Ivan Krastev and Mark Leonard, October 2007 (ECFR/01)

A Power Audit of EU-Russia Relations

Mark Leonard and Nicu Popescu, November 2007 (ECFR/02)

Poland's second return to Europe?

Pawel Swieboda, December 2007 (ECFR/03)

Afghanistan: Europe's forgotten war

Daniel Korski, January 2008 (ECFR/04)

Meeting Medvedev: The Politics of the Putin Succession

Andrew Wilson, February 2008 (ECFR/05)

Re-energising Europe's Security and Defence Policy

Nick Witney, July 2008 (ECFR/06)

Can the EU win the Peace in Georgia?

Nicu Popescu, Mark Leonard and Andrew Wilson, August 2008 (ECFR/07)

A Global Force for Human Rights? An Audit of European Power at the UN

Richard Gowan and Franziska Brantner, September 2008 (ECFR/08)

Beyond Dependence: How to deal with Russian Gas

Pierre Noel, November 2008 (ECFR/09)

Re-wiring the US-EU relationship

Daniel Korski, Ulrike Guerot and Mark Leonard, December 2008 (ECFR/10)

Shaping Europe's Afghan Surge

Daniel Korski, March 2009 (ECFR/11)

A Power Audit of EU-China Relations

John Fox and Francois Godement, April 2009 (ECFR/12)

Beyond the "War on Terror": Towards a New Transatlantic Framework for Counterterrorism

Anthony Dworkin, May 2009 (ECFR/13)

The Limits of Enlargement-lite: European and Russian Power in the Troubled Neighbourhood

Nicu Popescu and Andrew Wilson, June 2009 (ECFR/14)

The EU and human rights at the UN: 2009 annual review

Richard Gowan and Franziska Brantner, September 2009 (ECFR/15)

What does Russia think?

edited by Ivan Krastev, Mark Leonard and Andrew Wilson, September 2009 (ECFR/16)

Supporting Moldova's Democratic Transition

Nicu Popescu, October 2009 (ECFR/17)

Can the EU rebuild failing states? A review of Europe's Civilian Capacities

Daniel Korski and Richard Gowan, October 2009 (ECFR/18)

Towards a Post-American Europe: A Power Audit of EU-US Relations

Jeremy Shapiro and Nick Witney, October 2009 (ECFR/19)

Dealing with Yanukovich's Ukraine

Andrew Wilson, March 2010 (ECFR/20)

Beyond Wait-and-See: The Way Forward for EU Balkan Policy

Heather Grabbe, Gerald Knaus and Daniel Korski, May 2010 (ECFR/21)

A Global China Policy

François Godement, June 2010 (ECFR/22)

Towards an EU Human Rights Strategy for a Post-Western World

Susi Dennison and Anthony Dworkin, September 2010 (ECFR/23)

The EU and Human Rights at the UN: 2010 Review

Richard Gowan and Franziska Brantner, September 2010 (ECFR/24)

The Spectre of a Multipolar Europe

Ivan Krastev & Mark Leonard with Dimitar Bechev, Jana Kobzova & Andrew Wilson, October 2010 (ECFR/25)

Beyond Maastricht: a New Deal for the Eurozone

Thomas Klau and François Godement, December 2010 (ECFR/26)

The EU and Belarus after the Election

Balázs Jarábik, Jana Kobzova and Andrew Wilson, January 2011 (ECFR/27)

After the Revolution: Europe and the Transition in Tunisia

Susi Dennison, Anthony Dworkin, Nicu Popescu and Nick Witney, March 2011 (ECFR/28)

European Foreign Policy Scorecard 2010

March 2011 (ECFR/29)

The New German Question: How Europe can get the Germany it needs

Ulrike Guerot and Mark Leonard, April 2011 (ECFR/30)

Turning Presence into Power: Lessons from the Eastern Neighbourhood

Nicu Popescu and Andrew Wilson, May 2011 (ECFR/31)

Egypt's Hybrid Revolution: a Bolder EU Approach

Anthony Dworkin, Daniel Korski and Nick Witney, May 2011 (ECFR/32)

A Chance to Reform: How the EU can support Democratic Evolution in Morocco

Susi Dennison, Nicu Popescu and José Ignacio Torreblanca, May 2011 (ECFR/33)

China's Janus-faced Response to the Arab Revolutions

Jonas Parello-Plesner and Raffaello Pantucci, June 2011 (ECFR/34)

What does Turkey think?

Edited by Dimitar Bechev, June 2011 (ECFR/35)

What does Germany think about Europe?

Edited by Ulrike Guerot and Jacqueline Hénard, June 2011 (ECFR/36)

The Scramble for Europe

François Godement and Jonas Parello-Plesner with Alice Richard, July 2011 (ECFR/37)

Palestinian Statehood at the UN: Why Europeans Should Vote "Yes"

Daniel Levy and Nick Witney, September 2011 (ECFR/38)

The EU and Human Rights at the UN: 2011 Review

Richard Gowan and Franziska Brantner, September 2011 (ECFR/39)

How to Stop the Demilitarisation of Europe

Nick Witney, November 2011 (ECFR/40)

Europe and the Arab Revolutions: A New Vision for Democracy and Human Rights

Susi Dennison and Anthony Dworkin, November 2011 (ECFR/41)

Spain after the Elections: the "Germany of the South"?

José Ignacio Torreblanca and Mark Leonard, November 2011 (ECFR/42)

Four Scenarios for the Reinvention of Europe

Mark Leonard, November 2011 (ECFR/43)

Dealing with a Post-Bric Russia

Ben Judah, Jana Kobzova and Nicu Popescu, November 2011 (ECFR/44)

Rescuing the euro: what is China's price?

François Godement, November 2011 (ECFR/45)

A "Reset" with Algeria: the Russia to the EU's South

Hakim Darbouche and Susi Dennison, December 2011 (ECFR/46)

Ukraine after the Tymoshenko verdict

Andrew Wilson, December 2011 (ECFR/47)

European Foreign Policy Scorecard 2012

February 2012 (ECFR/48)

The Long Shadow of Ordoliberalism: Germany's Approach to the Euro Crisis

Sebastian Dullien and Ulrike Guerot, February 2012 (ECFR/49)

The End of the Putin Consensus

Ben Judah and Andrew Wilson, March 2012 (ECFR/50)

Syria: Towards a Political Solution

Julien Barnes-Dacey, March 2012 (ECFR/51)

How the EU Can Support Reform in Burma

Jonas Parello-Plesner, March 2012 (ECFR/52)

China at the crossroads

François Godement, April 2012 (ECFR/53)

Europe and Jordan: Reform before it's too late

Julien Barnes-Dacey, April 2012 (ECFR/54)

China and Germany: Why the Emerging Special Relationship Matters for Europe

Hans Kundnani and Jonas Parello-Plesner, May 2012 (ECFR/55)

After Merkozy: How France and Germany Can Make Europe Work

Ulrike Guerot and Thomas Klau, May 2012 (ECFR/56)

The EU and Azerbaijan: Beyond Oil

Jana Kobzova and Leila Alieva, May 2012 (ECFR/57)

A Europe of Incentives: How to Regain the Trust of Citizens and Markets

Mark Leonard and Jan Zielonka, June 2012 (ECFR/58)

The Case for Co-operation in Crisis Management

Richard Gowan, June 2012 (ECFR/59)

The Periphery of the Periphery: The Western Balkans and the Euro Crisis

Dimitar Bechev, August 2012 (ECFR/60)

Lebanon: Containing Spillover from Syria

Julien Barnes-Dacey, September 2012 (ECFR/61)

A Power Audit of EU-North Africa Relations

Nick Witney and Anthony Dworkin, September 2012 (ECFR/62)

Transnistria: A Bottom-up Solution

Nicu Popescu and Leonid Litra, September 2012 (ECFR/63)

Why the Euro Crisis Threatens the European Single Market

Sebastian Dullien, October 2012 (ECFR/64)

The EU and Ukraine after the 2012 Elections

Andrew Wilson, November 2012 (ECFR/65)

China 3.0

Edited by Mark Leonard, November 2012 (ECFR/66)

Time to grow up: what Obama's re-election means for Europe

Dimitar Bechev, Anthony Dworkin, François Godement, Richard Gowan, Hans Kundnani, Mark Leonard, Daniel Levy, Kadri Liik and Nick Witney, November 2012 (ECFR/67)

Jordan Tremors: Elusive consensus, deepening discontent

Julien Barnes-Dacey, November 2012 (ECFR/68)

The EU, Algeria and the Northern Mali Question

Susi Dennison, December 2012 (ECFR/69)

What is Political Union?

Sebastian Dullien and José Ignacio Torreblanca, December 2012 (ECFR/70)

Shooting In The Dark? EU Sanctions Policies

Konstanty Gebert, January 2013 (ECFR/71)

The New Political Geography of Europe

edited by Nicholas Walton and Jan Zielonka, January 2013 (ECFR/72)

European Foreign Policy Scorecard 2013

February 2013 (ECFR/73)

The Struggle for Pluralism after the North African Revolutions

Anthony Dworkin, March 2013 (ECFR/74)

Georgia's bumpy transition: How the EU can help

Jana Kobzova, April 2013 (ECFR/75)

Egypt, the IMF and European Economic Assistance

Farah Halime, April 2013 (ECFR/76)

The European Council on Foreign Relations is a unique strategic community composed of over two hundred members – including serving foreign ministers, members of parliament, former NATO secretary generals, intellectuals and business leaders – from across Europe

Asger Aamund (Denmark)
President and CEO, A. J. Aamund A/S and Chairman of Bavarian Nordic A/S

Valdas Adamkus (Lithuania)
Former President

Urban Ahlin (Sweden)
Deputy Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee and foreign policy spokesperson for the Social Democratic Party

Martti Ahtisaari (Finland)
Chairman of the Board, Crisis Management Initiative; former President

Douglas Alexander (United Kingdom)
Member of Parliament

Ekim Alptekin (Turkey/The Netherlands)
President, Turkish American Business Association

Luis Amado (Portugal)
Chairman, Banco Internacional do Funchal (Banif)

Giuliano Amato (Italy)
Former Prime Minister; Chairman, Scuola Superiore San'Anna; Chairman, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani; Chairman, Centro Studi Americani

José M. de Areilza Carvajal (Spain)
Professor of Law, ESADE; Secretary General, Aspen Institute (Spain)

Gustavo de Aristegui (Spain)
Ambassador of Spain to India; former Member of Parliament

Giampiero Auletta Armenise (Italy)
Chairman, Rothschild Bank, Italy

Viveca Ax:son Johnson (Sweden)
Chairman of Nordstjernan AB

Gordon Bajnai (Hungary)
Former Prime Minister

Dora Bakoyannis (Greece)
Member of Parliament; former Foreign Minister

Leszek Balcerowicz (Poland)
Professor of Economics at the Warsaw School of Economics; former Deputy Prime Minister

Lluís Bassets (Spain)
Deputy Director, El País

Marek Belka (Poland)
Governor, National Bank of Poland; former Prime Minister

Roland Berger (Germany)
Founder and Honorary Chairman, Roland Berger Strategy Consultants GmbH

Erik Berglöf (Sweden)
Chief Economist, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Jan Krzysztof Bielecki (Poland)
Chairman, Prime Minister's Economic Council; former Prime Minister

Carl Bildt (Sweden)
Foreign Minister

Henryka Bochniarz (Poland)
President, Polish Confederation of Private Employers – Lewiatan

Svetoslav Bojilov (Bulgaria)
Founder, Communitas Foundation and President of Venture Equity Bulgaria Ltd.

Ingrid Bonde (Sweden)
CFO & Deputy CEO, Vattenfall AB

Emma Bonino (Italy)
Former Vice President of the Senate; former EU Commissioner

Stine Bosse (Denmark)
Chairman & Non-Executive Board Member

Franziska Brantner (Germany)
Member of the European Parliament

Han ten Broeke (The Netherlands)
Member of Parliament and spokesperson for foreign affairs and defence

John Bruton (Ireland)
Former European Commission Ambassador to the USA; former Prime Minister (Taoiseach)

François Burgat (France)
Senior Research Fellow at the French National Centre for Scientific Research; Director, French Institute of the Near East

Ian Buruma (The Netherlands)
Writer and academic

Erhard Busek (Austria)
Chairman of the Institute for the Danube and Central Europe

Jerzy Buzek (Poland)
Member of the European Parliament; former President of the European Parliament; former Prime Minister

Gunilla Carlsson (Sweden)
Minister for International Development Cooperation

Maria Livanos Cattavi (Switzerland)
Former Secretary General of the International Chamber of Commerce

Ipek Cem Taha (Turkey)
Director of Melak Investments/ Journalist

Sonsoles Centeno Huerta (Spain)
State Attorney, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Carmen Chacón (Spain)
Former Minister of Defence

Charles Clarke (United Kingdom)
Visiting Professor of Politics, University of East Anglia; former Home Secretary

Nicola Clase (Sweden)
Ambassador to the United Kingdom; former State Secretary

Daniel Cohn-Bendit (Germany)
Member of the European Parliament

Robert Cooper (United Kingdom)
Former Counsellor of the European External Action Service

Gerhard Cromme (Germany)
Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Siemens

Maria Cuffaro (Italy)
Anchorwoman, TG3, RAI

Daniel Daianu (Romania)
Professor of Economics, National School of Political and Administrative Studies (SNSPA); former Finance Minister

Massimo D'Alema (Italy)
President, Italianeuropei Foundation; President, Foundation for European Progressive Studies; former Prime Minister and Foreign Minister

Marta Dassù (Italy)
Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

Ahmet Davutoglu (Turkey)
Foreign Minister

Aleš Debeljak (Slovenia)
Poet and Cultural Critic

Jean-Luc Dehaene (Belgium)
Member of the European Parliament; former Prime Minister

Gianfranco Dell'Alba (Italy)
Director, Confindustria Delegation to Brussels; former Member of the European Parliament

Pavol Demeš (Slovakia)
Senior Transatlantic Fellow, German Marshall Fund of the United States (Batislava)

Kemal Dervis (Turkey)
Vice-President and Director of Global Economy and Development, Brookings Institution.

Tibor Dessewffy (Hungary)
President, DEMOS Hungary

Hanzada Doğan Boyner (Turkey)
Chair, Doğan Gazetecilik and Doğan On-line

Andrew Duff (United Kingdom)
Member of the European Parliament

Mikuláš Dzurinda (Slovakia)
Former Foreign Minister

Hans Eichel (Germany)
Former Finance Minister

Rolf Ekeus (Sweden)
Former Executive Chairman, United Nations Special Commission on Iraq; former OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities; former Chairman Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, SIPRI

Uffe Ellemann-Jensen (Denmark)
Chairman, Baltic Development Forum; former Foreign Minister

Ine Eriksen Søreide (Norway)
Member of Parliament; Chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee

Steven Everts (The Netherlands)
Adviser to the Vice President of the European Commission and EU High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy

Tanja Fajon (Slovenia)
Member of the European Parliament

Gianfranco Fini (Italy)
Former President, Chamber of Deputies; former Foreign Minister

Joschka Fischer (Germany)
Former Foreign Minister and vice-Chancellor

Karin Forseke (Sweden/USA)
Chairman, Alliance Trust Plc

Lykke Friis (Denmark)
Member of Parliament; former Minister for Climate, Energy and Gender Equality

Jaime Gama (Portugal)
Former Speaker of the Parliament; former Foreign Minister

Timothy Garton Ash (United Kingdom)
Professor of European Studies, Oxford University

Carlos Gaspar (Portugal)
Chairman of the Portuguese Institute of International Relations (IPRI)

Sylvie Goulard (France)
Member of the European Parliament

Teresa Patrício Gouveia (Portugal)
Trustee to the Board of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation; former Foreign Minister

Heather Grabbe (United Kingdom)
Executive Director, Open Society Institute – Brussels

Charles Grant (United Kingdom)
Director, Centre for European Reform

Jean-Marie Guéhenno (France)
Director of the Center for International Conflict Resolution, Columbia University; former Deputy Joint Special Envoy of the United Nations and the League of Arab States on Syria

Elisabeth Guigou (France)
Member of Parliament and President of the Foreign Affairs Committee

Fernando Andresen Guimarães (Portugal)
Head of the US and Canada Division, European External Action Service

Jytte Gutland (Sweden)
Project Manager, Global Challenge

Karl-Theodor zu Guttenberg (Germany)
Former Defence Minister

István Gyarmati (Hungary)
President and CEO, International Centre for Democratic Transition

Hans Hækkerup (Denmark)
Former Chairman, Defence Commission; former Defence Minister

Heidi Hautala (Finland)
Minister for International Development

Sasha Havlicek (United Kingdom)
Executive Director, Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD)

Connie Hedegaard (Denmark)
Commissioner for Climate Action

Steven Heinz (Austria)
Co-Founder & Co-Chairman, Lansdowne Partners Ltd

Annette Heuser (Germany)
Executive Director, Bertelsmann Foundation Washington DC

Diego Hidalgo (Spain)
Co-founder of Spanish newspaper El País; Founder and Honorary President, FRIDE

Jaap de Hoop Scheffer (The Netherlands)
Former NATO Secretary General

Danuta Hübner (Poland)
Member of the European Parliament; former European Commissioner

Anna Ibrisagic (Sweden)
Member of the European Parliament

Jaakko Itoniemi (Finland)
Former Ambassador; former Executive Director, Crisis Management Initiative

Toomas Iivess (Estonia)
President

Wolfgang Ischinger (Germany)
Chairman, Munich Security Conference; Global Head of Government Affairs Allianz SE

Minna Järvenpää (Finland/US)
Former International Advocacy Director, Open Society Foundation

Jo Johnson (United Kingdom)
Member of Parliament

Mary Kaldor (United Kingdom)
Professor, London School of Economics

Ibrahim Kalin (Turkey)
Senior Advisor to the Prime Minister of Turkey on foreign policy and public diplomacy

Sylvie Kauffmann (France)
Editorial Director, Le Monde

Suat Kiniklioglu (Turkey)
Executive Director, Centre for Strategic Communication (Stratim)

Olli Kivinen (Finland)
Writer and columnist

- Ben Knapen (The Netherlands)**
Permanent Representative, European Investment Bank; former Minister for European Affairs and International Cooperation
- Gerald Knaus (Austria)**
Chairman, European Stability Initiative; Carr Center Fellow
- Caio Koch-Weser (Germany)**
Vice Chairman, Deutsche Bank Group; former State Secretary
- Bassma Kodmani (France)**
Executive Director, Arab Reform Initiative
- Rem Koolhaas (The Netherlands)**
Architect and urbanist; Professor at the Graduate School of Design, Harvard University
- David Koranyi (Hungary)**
Deputy Director, Dinu Patriciu Eurasia Center of the Atlantic Council of the United States
- Bernard Kouchner (France)**
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs
- Ivan Krastev (Bulgaria)**
Chair of Board, Centre for Liberal Strategies
- Meglana Kuneva (Bulgaria)**
President of 'Bulgaria of the Citizens' movement
- Aleksander Kwaśniewski (Poland)**
Former President
- Mart Laar (Estonia)**
Minister of Defence; former Prime Minister
- Brigid Laffan (Ireland)**
Principal, College of Human Sciences, University College Dublin; Jean Monnet Professor of European Politics, University College Dublin.
- Miroslav Lajčák (Slovakia)**
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign and European Affairs
- Alexander Graf Lambsdorff (Germany)**
Member of the European Parliament
- Pascal Lamy (France)**
Honorary President, Notre Europe and Director-General of WTO; former EU Commissioner
- Thomas Leysen (Belgium)**
Chairman, Umicore
- Bruno Le Maire (France)**
Former Minister for Food, Agriculture & Fishing
- Mark Leonard (United Kingdom)**
Director, European Council on Foreign Relations
- Jean-David Lévy (France)**
Former Senior Diplomatic Advisor and former Sherpa to the President of the French Republic; former Ambassador to the United States
- Sonia Licht (Serbia)**
President, Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence
- Juan Fernando López Aguilar (Spain)**
Member of the European Parliament; former Minister of Justice
- Adam Lury (United Kingdom)**
CEO, Menemsha Ltd
- Monica Macovei (Romania)**
Member of the European Parliament
- Emma Marcegaglia (Italy)**
CEO of Marcegaglia S.p.A; former President, Confindustria
- Marco Margheri (Italy)**
Senior Vice President Public and EU Affairs, Edison S.p.A
- Katharina Mathernova (Slovakia)**
Senior Advisor, World Bank
- Íñigo Méndez de Vigo (Spain)**
Secretary of State for the European Union
- David Miliband (United Kingdom)**
Member of Parliament; Former Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
- Alain Minc (France)**
President of AM Conseil; former chairman, Le Monde
- Nickolay Mladenov (Bulgaria)**
Former Foreign Minister; former Member of the European Parliament
- Dominique Moïsi (France)**
Senior Adviser, IFRI
- Pierre Moscovici (France)**
Finance Minister; former Minister for European Affairs
- Nils Muiznieks (Latvia)**
Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights
- Hildegard Müller (Germany)**
Chairwoman, BDEW Bundesverband der Energie- und Wasserwirtschaft
- Wolfgang Münchau (Germany)**
President, Eurointelligence ASBL
- Alina Mungiu-Pippidi (Romania)**
Professor of Democracy Studies, Hertie School of Governance
- Kalypto Nicolaidis (Greece/France)**
Professor of International Relations, University of Oxford
- Dietmar Nietan (Germany)**
Member of Parliament
- Daithí O'Ceallaigh (Ireland)**
Director-General, Institute of International and European Affairs
- Christine Ockrent (Belgium)**
Editorialist
- Andrzej Olechowski (Poland)**
Former Foreign Minister
- Dick Oosting (The Netherlands)**
CEO, European Council on Foreign Relations; former Europe Director, Amnesty International
- Mabel van Oranje (The Netherlands)**
Senior Advisor, The Elders
- Anita Orbán (Hungary)**
Ambassador-at-Large for Energy Security, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Marcelino Oreja Aguirre (Spain)**
Member of the Board, Fomento de Construcciones y Contratas; former EU Commissioner
- Monica Oriol (Spain)**
CEO, Seguriber
- Andrés Ortega (Spain)**
Writer & journalist; former Director of Policy Planning, Office of the Spanish Prime Minister.
- Cem Özdemir (Germany)**
Leader, Bündnis90/Die Grünen (Green Party); Member of Parliament
- Ana Palacio (Spain)**
Member of the Council of State; former Foreign Minister; former Senior Vice President and General Counsel of the World Bank Group
- Simon Panek (Czech Republic)**
Chairman, People in Need Foundation
- Chris Patten (United Kingdom)**
Chair, BBC Trust; Chancellor of Oxford University; former EU Commissioner
- Diana Pinto (France)**
Historian and author
- Georgi Pirinski (Bulgaria)**
Former Deputy Speaker of the Bulgarian Parliament
- Jean Pisani-Ferry (France)**
Director, Bruegel; Professor, Université Paris-Dauphine
- Lapo Pistelli (Italy)**
Member of Parliament
- Ruprecht Polenz (Germany)**
Member of Parliament; Chairman of the Bundestag Foreign Affairs Committee
- Lydie Polfer (Luxembourg)**
Member of Parliament; former Foreign Minister
- Charles Powell (Spain/United Kingdom)**
Director, Real Instituto Elcano
- Andrew Puddphatt (United Kingdom)**
Director, Global Partners & Associated Ltd.
- Vesna Pusić (Croatia)**
Foreign Minister
- Robert Reibestein (The Netherlands)**
Director, McKinsey & Company
- George Robertson (United Kingdom)**
Former Secretary General of NATO
- Albert Rohan (Austria)**
Former Secretary General for Foreign Affairs
- Adam D. Rotfeld (Poland)**
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Co-Chairman of Polish-Russian Group on Difficult Matters, Commissioner of Euro-Atlantic Security Initiative
- Norbert Röttgen (Germany)**
Former Minister for the Environment, Conservation and Nuclear Safety
- Olivier Roy (France)**
Professor, European University Institute, Florence
- Daniel Sachs (Sweden)**
CEO, Proventus
- Ghassan Salamé (Lebanon/France)**
Dean, Paris School of International Affairs; Professor of International Relations at Sciences Po and Columbia University
- Pasquale Salzano (Italy)**
Vice President for International Governmental Affairs, ENI
- Stefano Sannino (Italy)**
Director General for Enlargement, European Commission
- Javier Santiso (Spain)**
Director, Office of the CEO of Telefónica Europe
- Marietje Schaake (The Netherlands)**
Member of the European Parliament
- Klaus Scharioth (Germany)**
Dean of the Mercator Fellowship on International Affairs; former Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the US
- Pierre Schori (Sweden)**
Chair, Olof Palme Memorial Fund; former Director General, FRIDE; former SRSG to Cote d'Ivoire
- Wolfgang Schüssel (Austria)**
Former Federal Chancellor
- Karel Schwarzenberg (Czech Republic)**
Foreign Minister
- Giuseppe Scognamiglio (Italy)**
Executive Vice President, Head of Public Affairs Department, UniCredit S.p.A
- Piotr Serafin (Poland)**
Secretary of State for European Affairs
- Narcís Serra (Spain)**
Chair of CIDOB Foundation; former Vice President of the Spanish Government
- Radosław Sikorski (Poland)**
Foreign Minister
- Aleksander Smolar (Poland)**
Chairman of the Board, Stefan Batory Foundation
- Javier Solana (Spain)**
Former EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy & Secretary-General of the Council of the EU; former Secretary General of NATO
- George Soros (Hungary/USA)**
Founder and Chairman, Open Society Foundations
- Teresa de Sousa (Portugal)**
Journalist
- Rory Stewart (United Kingdom)**
Member of Parliament
- Alexander Stubb (Finland)**
Minister for Foreign Trade and European Affairs; former Foreign Minister
- Michael Stürmer (Germany)**
Chief Correspondent, Die Welt
- Ion Sturza (Romania)**
President, GreenLight Invest; former Prime Minister of the Republic of Moldova
- Christos Stylianides (Cyprus)**
Spokesperson, Government of the Republic of Cyprus
- Paweł Świeboda (Poland)**
President, Demos EUROPA - Centre for European Strategy
- Vessela Tcherneva (Bulgaria)**
Programme Director, Centre for Liberal Strategies
- Teija Tiilikainen (Finland)**
Director, Finnish Institute for International Relations
- Nathalie Tocci (Italy)**
Deputy Director, Istituto Affari Internazionali
- Luisa Todini (Italy)**
Chair, Todini Finanziaria S.p.A; Member of the Board of Directors, RAI
- Loukas Tsoukalis (Greece)**
Professor, University of Athens and President, ELIAMEP
- Erkki Tuomioja (Finland)**
Foreign Minister
- Daniel Valtchev (Bulgaria)**
Former Deputy PM and Minister of Education
- Jordi Vaquer (Spain)**
Director, Open Society Initiative for Europe
- Vaira Vīke-Freiberga (Latvia)**
Former President
- Antonio Vitorino (Portugal)**
Lawyer; former EU Commissioner
- Andre Wilkens (Germany)**
Director Mercator Centre Berlin & Director Strategy, Stiftung Mercator
- Karla Wursterová**
Director, International Visegrad Fund
- Carlos Alonso Zaldívar (Spain)**
Former Ambassador to Brazil
- Stelios Zavvos (Greece)**
CEO, Zeus Capital Managers Ltd
- Samuel Žbogar (Slovenia)**
EU Representative to Kosovo; former Foreign Minister

The European Council on Foreign Relations does not take collective positions. This paper, like all publications of the European Council on Foreign Relations, represents only the views of its authors.

Copyright of this publication is held by the European Council on Foreign Relations. You may not copy, reproduce, republish or circulate in any way the content from this publication except for your own personal and non-commercial use. Any other use requires the prior written permission of the European Council on Foreign Relations

© ECFR April 2013.

ISBN: 978-1-906538-77-4

Published by the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR),
35 Old Queen Street, London,
SW1H 9JA, United Kingdom

london@ecfr.eu