To
my wife Katrin Merx-Ifestos
and
my recently born daughter, Elladha, in the hope
that her generation will never experience the
potential horrors herein analysed
and
my mother Eleni and father Theophanis

Nuclear Strategy and European Security Dilemmas

Towards an Autonomous European Defence System?

Dr Panayiotis IFESTOS

Preface by Alfred Cahen

Avebury

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About the author

Dr Panayiotis IFESTOS was attached to his country's permanent diplomatic representation to the EEC from 1979 to 1988. He studied Economics and Law at the University of Athens. He received an MA (ecs) from the Victoria University of Manchester, and Ph.D. in Political Sciences, International Relations, from the University of Political Cooperation, Towards a framework of supranational diplomacy? (Gower Publishing Co., Aldershot, UK, 1987). From 1979 to 1986, he was a Research Fellow ('Chercheur Libre') with the Institut d'Etudes Européennes. Brussels (ULB). The present book is the outgrowth of the research project which produced the author's latest work in the field: European

Acronyms and abbreviations

EP	EMS	EEC	ECSC	EC	EDC	EAD	DoD	CV	CSCE	COREPER	CMLR	C31	Bull. EC	BMD	ATBM	ASW	ASAT	ABM
European Parliament	European Monetary System	European Economic Community	European Coal and Steel Community	European Community	European Defence Community	Euro-Arab Dialogue	Department of Defence	Countervalue (targeting of people and cities)	Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe	Committee of Permanent Representatives	Common Market Law Review	Command, Control, Communications and michiganic	Bulletin of the European Communities	Ballistic Missile Defence(s)	Anti-Tactical Ballistic Missiles	Anti-Submarine Warfare	Anti-Satellite (weapons)	Anti-Ballistic Missile

10	A12 (7 (1) (4)																											
	WEU	UN	U/I	START	SSBM	SRINF	SLBM	SIOP	SDI	SALT	SACEUR	R & D	PD-59	OPEC	OECD	NPT	NATO	MX	MLF	MIRV	MAD	JCMS	INF	IEPG	IEA	ICBM	FY	EPC
	Western European Union	United Nations	Urban and Industrial	Strategic Arms Reduction Talks	Ballistic Missile Nuclear Submarine(s)	Short-Range INF	Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missile	Single Integrated Operational Plan	Strategic Defence Initiative	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks	Supreme Allied Commander Europe	Research and Development	Presidential Directive 59	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Developme	Non-Proliferation Treaty	North Atlantic Treaty Organization	Developmental American ICBM	Multilateral Force	Multiple Independently Targeted Re-entry Vehicle	Mutual Assured Destruction	Journal of Common Market Studies	Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces	Independent European Planning Group	International Energy Agency	Intercontinental Ballistic Missile	Fiscal Year	European Political Co-operation

Foreword

my nine years' stay in Brussels. During this period (1979-88), I was fortunate enough to have been both accredited to the EEC institutions to the EEC - and associated with such Belgian academic institutions The present book is part of a larger research project completed during operation (EPC); second, the prospects for an autonomous European as the University of Brussels (ULB) and the Institut d'Etudes Euroyears covered three post-Treaty topics: first, European Political Copéennes. The research project on which I worked for almost eight - attached as a member of my country's diplomatic representation defence system in the contemporary geopolitical and geostrategic designed to form a single book, I was eventually obliged - mainly co-operation and the defence and security issues were originally context; third, economic and monetary questions. Although political operation was published by Gower Publishing Co. in 1987). for reasons of space - to split them and publish the part dealing with European Political Co-operation separately (European Political Co-

grounds, while I myself am not writing in my mother tongue. Linguistic shortcomings are therefore by definition inevitable, and I beg the My sources are of three different linguistic and academic back-

understanding of the reader.

states of the Atlantic Alliance and the European Communities. 'EC', of European integration. In most cases, I conform to common practice 'Europeans' are commonly accepted to mean the Western European 'EEC', 'EPC' and Community refer to the institutions and procedures In the literature on European politics, the words 'Europe' and

> explanation. many cases where there is ground for confusion, I insert a suitable Community, depending on the context of the analysis, and I am by using 'Europe' and 'Europeans' as a shorthand for the European

P.If.

Preface Alfred Cahen

For all those states which are party to the Atlantic Alliance, that Alliance constitutes the framework of Western European defence. But this defence has long been regarded as having its own peculiar characteristics. Does not the Ottawa Declaration, which, in 1974, enunciated the principle of Alliance unity against the threat facing all the member countries, also stress the particular vulnerability of the Western part of the European continent? This vulnerability of Europe within the framework of Atlantic solidarity always has been, and will continue to be one of the essential factors of its security. But it has recently come to assume greater importance not only in the counsels of governments but also in the eyes of political and public opinion in Western European nations.

Is this surprising? Certainly not. Changes, on an ever more rapid scale, are indeed taking place in transatlantic relations, East—West relations and on a global level. Examples of this are:

• The spectacular progress of technology, particularly in the field of defence, which cannot fail to have an impact on the Alliance's

• The policy changes on the part of the Soviet leadership which, having emerged from its state of inertia, seems to wish to make apparently substantial changes to its relationship with the West, though the true extent of these changes is not, so far, absolutely clear. At present this change is particularly evident in the field of arms control.

• The growing global dispersion of power which has turned our exclusively bipolar world (East—West relations) of 1945—65 into an increasingly multipolar one in which local and regional changes are assuming ever greater importance with repercussions on the political, economic and security situation of the West.

and fairly comfortable - status quo which characterized the Alliance's essential context of Atlantic solidarity. results of which are to be submitted to Ministers in October 1987 - on of Western European Union and the work currently being done under structure of the Atlantic Alliance; the achievement of the reactivation pean forces of the Alliance to be linked in some way to the integrated include theatre weapons) under a single command and overseen by a of the Twelve to discuss European security and the creation of a in July 1987; the appeal launched in mid-March by M. Jacques Delors, intensification of Franco-Norwegian military co-operation agreed upon France and attracted a positive response from many of their allies; the or his plan for a Franco-German brigade which was so well received in Kohl before the Bundestag on 4 June 1987 in a speech on disarmament, Consider the appeal for Franco-German solidarity made by Chancellor the Western world. Initiatives abound, ideas and proposals proliferate. the Atlantic. This debate is particularly lively on the European side of by the intensification of the politico-strategic debate on both sides of to the test. Awareness of this situation is steadily growing, as is shown determination of the Allies, especially the Europeans, is likely to be put more than probable that we have just entered a period in which the existence at the end of the 1970s and in the early 1980s. It is therefore the specific requirements of European security, as construed in the its aegis in which its member states are continuing the study - the political institution; ideas about a European command for the Euro-European defence 'instrument' in the wider conventional field (to President of the European Commission, calling for a summit meeting These circumstances appear to mark the end of a period of relative -

The work of Mr Panayiotis Ifestos makes a very valuable, informative and thoughtful contribution to this great debate. Writing from a strictly objective standpoint, he covers the very broad terrain he has chosen to survey with such remarkable thoroughness that no vestige of it is overlooked.

At the end of Chapter 1 of Part I of his major work, he tells us:

In short, my aim in this book is to contribute to the debate on the future of the defence of Western Europe. The analysis attempts to identify determinant underlying patterns established as a result of developments in the transatlantic security relationship, strategic relations and Western European regional politics . . . Lastly, it should be stressed that I abstained deliberately from taking normative positions. A sincere effort was made to free the analysis from emotional influences and normative perceptions, hoping that by doing so I would help the reader to arrive at his own conclusions.

egic debate which arises out of concern about Western European gratulations. All who have any responsibility in the current politicodoubt that those who read this important work - and I hope they r full value is lost, but also with ample food for thought. There is only with the essential facts, presented in such a way that none of rity, like those who take an active cr even a passive interest in it, lieve his ambitions have been fully realized and he deserves our him a debt of gratitude. Indeed, his masterly study provides them be many - will find it thought-provoking, whether or not they

ce all the author's views.

1 respond. Mr Ifestos provides them with much of the essential nsatlantic relationship which, though likely to change, must be serve the coupling with North America in the framework of a I as to the common defence of the Alliance, and, secondly, to ure the strengthening of their contribution to their own defence as ormation for this vital and urgent exercise. served. Europeans should already be asking themselves how they h a challenge. What is that challenge? In my view, it is, firstly, to he way international events are developing faces Western Europeans

Secretary-General of the WEU Alfred CAHEN 23 July 1987

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valuable insightful opinions from a wide range of officials in the Commission of the EEC, the Council and the Foreign Ministries of the I have also been fortunate in receiving additional information and most grateful for the assistance and patience of the staffs of the Central and foremost, I am indebted to the University of Brussels (ULB) and member states. the Central Library of the ULB and the American Library in Brussels. Royal des Relations Internationales, the Institut d'Etudes Européennes, Library of the Commission of the EEC, the libraries of the Institut Prof. Alfred Cahen, Prof. Jean-Jacques Rey and Prof. Peter Pract. I am Prof. Stephan Bernard, Prof. Jean-Victor Louis, Prof. Georges Goriely, the Institut d'Etudes Européennes. My gratitude goes particularly to have incurred a lifetime of debt to many persons and institutions. First In almost nine years of research on European integration in Brussels, l

discussions on foreign policy matters concerning their respective operation officials who agreed to be interviewed, providing me with insightful comments, and who sometimes have had with me lengthy I am most particularly appreciative of the European Political Co-

emotional encouragement and logistical support throughout the various stages of my research. There are no words to express my thanks to my wife Katrin for her

book does not necessarily represent the views of my employer. are my sole responsibility. Moreover, any opinion expressed in this the above-mentioned persons and institutions, but errors and omissions Any merit these chapters have may to a great extent be attributed to