

## *Transformations of the State*

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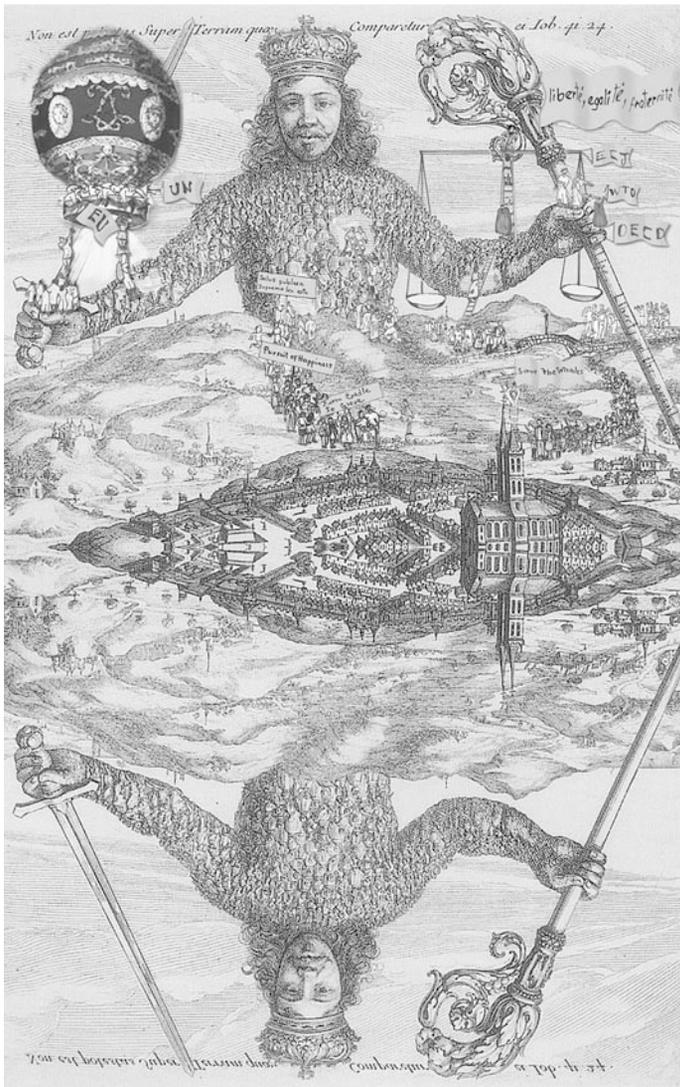
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This illustration is taken from the original etching in Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* of 1651. Palgrave Macmillan and the editors are grateful to Lucila Muñoz-Sanchez and Monika Sniegs for their help in redesigning the original to illustrate what "transformations of the state" might mean. The inscription at the top of the original frontispiece reads "non est potestas Super Terram quae Comparatur ei" (Job 41.33): "there is no power on earth which can be compared to him". In the Bible, this refers to the sea-monster, Leviathan. (Original Leviathan image reprinted courtesy of the British Library.)

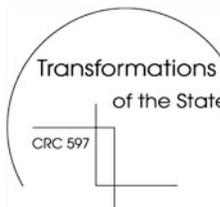
# Transaction Costs and Security Institutions

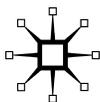
Unravelling the ESDP

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Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2011 978-0-230-28012-0

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First published 2011 by  
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

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ISBN 978-1-349-32727-0

ISBN 978-0-230-30198-6 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/9780230301986

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1  
20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11

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# Acronyms

A-400M	Airbus Military Transport Plane
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CoW	Correlates of War
CIMC	Composite Index of Material Capabilities
DG	Directorate General
ECAP	European Capabilities Action Plan
EDA	European Defence Agency
EP	European Parliament
ERRF	European Rapid Reaction Force
ESDP	EU's European Security and Defence Policy
ESDU	European Security and Defence Union
EU	European Union
EUMS	European Union Military Staff
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HQ	Headquarters
IGC	Intergovernmental Conference
IISS	International Institute for Strategic Studies (London)
IR	International Relations as a discipline
LI	Liberal Intergovernmentalism
MoD	Ministry of Defence
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NRF	NATO Response Force
NMD	National Missile Defence
OCCAR	Organisation for Joint Armament Cooperation
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PfP	NATO's 'Partnership for Peace'
PolSec	EU's Political and Security Committee
QMV	Qualified Majority Voting
R&D	Research and Development
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander Europe (NATO)
SHAPE	Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (NATO)
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UN	United Nations (Organisation)
US	United States of America
WEAO	Western European Armaments Organisation
9/11	Terrorist attacks of 11 September, 2001 in New York and Washington DC (USA)

# Series Editors' Preface

Over the past four centuries, the nation state has emerged as the world's most effective means of organizing society, but its current status and future are decidedly uncertain. Some scholars predict the total demise of the nation state as we know it, its powers eroded by a dynamic global economy on the one hand and, on the other, by the transfer of political decision-making to supranational bodies. Other analysts point out the remarkable resilience of the state's core institutions and assert that even in the age of global markets and politics, the state remains the ultimate guarantor of security, democracy, welfare and the rule of law. Do either of these interpretations describe the future of the OECD world's modern, liberal nation-state? Will the state soon be as obsolete and irrelevant as an outdated computer? Should it be scrapped for some new invention, or can it be overhauled and rejuvenated? Or, is the state actually thriving and still fit to serve, just in need of a few minor reforms?

In an attempt to address these questions, the analyses in the *Transformations of the State* series separate the complex tangle of tasks and functions that comprise the state into four manageable dimensions:

- the monopolization of the means of force,
- the rule of law, as prescribed and safeguarded by the constitution,
- the guarantee of democratic self-governance, and
- the provision of welfare and the assurance of social cohesion.

In the OECD world of the 1960s and 1970s, these four dimensions formed a synergetic constellation that emerged as the central, defining characteristic of the modern state. Books in the series report the results of both empirical and theoretical studies of the transformations experienced in each of these dimensions over the past few decades.

*Transformations of the State?* (Stephan Leibfried and Michael Zürn (eds), Cambridge 2005) and *Transforming the Golden-Age National State* (Achim Hurrelmann, Stephan Leibfried, Kerstin Martens and Peter Mayer (eds), Basingstoke 2007) define the basic concepts of state transformation employed in all of these studies and provide an overview of the issues addressed. Written by political scientists, lawyers, economists and sociologists, the series tracks the development of the post-World War II OECD state. Here, at last, is an up-to-date series of reports on the state of the state and a crystal-ball glimpse into its future.

ACHIM HURRELMANN, STEPHAN LEIBFRIED,  
KERSTIN MARTENS AND PETER MAYER

# Acknowledgements

Since the British sea change of St Malo, scholarship on European security and defence institutions has been *en vogue* from a variety of perspectives. Meanwhile, a community of European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) researchers has emerged, bringing together scholars from the distinct domains of Public Policy, European Studies and International Relations Theory. From my point of view, several factors came together to prompt this dramatically increased interest: (1) After the failure of the European Defence Community in the 1950s, the ESDP is the first serious attempt to deal with military issues within a European Union framework. The market has been established, the currency has been introduced, so military planning is one of the few functions that the EU has not provided so far. (2) The EU's defence pillar is a genuine security *institution*, rather than a classical alliance as the prototype of security cooperation in an anarchical world. As a result, the ESDP is also about the deliberate internationalisation of the use of force and, therefore, about the transformation of the modern state as a genuine form of political organization. (3) In some ways, the ESDP is an act of emancipation from the United States, partly even an opposition to US policies; in other ways, it represents the perennial desire of Washington that Europeans should invest in more and better military capabilities. In short, it is a highly ambivalent (and politically contested) institution.

Finally, when I began to work on this subject there were relatively few approaches that went beyond ad hoc explanations. This has changed. Today, more policy-oriented researchers like Robert Hunter or Jolyon Howorth and, increasingly, scholars in International Relations such as Christoph Meyer, Seth Jones, Adrian Hyde-Price, Frédéric Mérand and Dirk Peters have published important monographs on the subject. Fortunately, these debates still lack a contribution applying theories of political economy linked to historical-institutionalist thinking. In combination with the focus on preference formation, this will be precisely the analytical lens and, hopefully, the added value that this study provides.

This book started out as a completely different project. Being strongly influenced by my first International Relations professors, Friedrich Kratochwil and James Davis, my proposal set out to apply sociological notions of risk to the emergence of the ESDP. However, my plans, as originally envisaged, rapidly turned out to be premature. After changing my institutional affiliation to Jacobs University, Bremen, I gradually modified my research plans. Markus Jachtenfuchs strongly shaped my thinking on European integration and

how to approach the ESDP. He asked those pointed questions that obliged me to re-examine my ideas and evidence. He also 'forced' me to continuously submit parts of the eventual thesis and always reminded me to view it through the lens of the ultimate 'product'. Bernhard Zangl challenged me on numerous occasions to refine my argument and was the person with whom I had the hardest contests over my study. Despite my willingness to lose – without exception – all the squash matches I played against him, he frequently disagreed with important parts of my study. However, our arguments were – also without exception – constructive and, therefore, this study (and I personally) profited a great deal from his supervision. Finally, Philipp Genschel made a vital contribution to this book. He made numerous highly constructive comments, so the book has gained significantly from his perspective. This combination of intellectual and personal inputs substantially supported my personal work on this topic.

Before I thank my fellow colleagues, two 'grand seigneurs' must be mentioned. Max Kaase was extremely supportive in bringing me to Bremen in the first place and Stephan Leibfried helped me with the publication process. I owe a great debt to both of them. Like any such project, this study would have been very different without the contributions and support of many friends and colleagues: Michael Blauburger, Simon Dalferth, Marc DeVore, Julian Eckl, Katharina Kleinen-v.Königslöw, Sibylle Lang, Stephanie Rhinehart, Ingo Rohlfing and Margit Schreier. In addition, I would like to thank the ESDP unit of the German Ministry of Defence. The staff not only gave me the opportunity of several (iterated) interviews, they also helped me to contact their colleagues in France and the United Kingdom. Thanks also to several anonymous reviewers for their input and to Liz Blackmore and Alexandra Webster at Palgrave Macmillan for seeing through the publication process with great care and enthusiasm. Moreover, I am greatly indebted to two institutions. While Jacobs University generously supported me over the whole period of my Ph.D. work, the Centre for Security Economics and Technology (C SET) of the University of St Gallen provided me with a postdoctoral fellowship, which, among other things, allowed me to write this monograph.

Finally, my greatest thanks go to my family, a handful of very close friends and to Kaija Landsberg for their continuous support over the past years and decades. Writing the book would have been much more painful without their friendship and encouragement; and I promise not to repeat it too often in the future.

MORITZ WEISS, ST GALLEN  
October 2010