A SECURE EUROPE IN A BETTER WORLD

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Introduction

Europe has never been so prosperous, so secure nor so free. The violence of the first half of the 20th Century has given way to a period of peace and stability unprecedented in European history.

The creation of the European Union has been central to this development. It has transformed the relations between our states, and the lives of our citizens. European countries are committed to dealing peacefully with disputes and cooperating through common institutions. Over this period, authoritarian regimes have changed into secure, stable and dynamic democracies. Successive enlargements are making a reality of the vision of a united and peaceful continent.

As a union of 25 states with over 450 million people producing a quarter of the world's Gross National Product (GNP), the European Union is a global actor; it should be ready to share in the responsibility for global security.

The United States has played a critical role in this success through its support for European integration and its security commitment to Europe through NATO.

The end of the Cold War has not brought to an end the security threats and challenges for European countries. The outbreak of conflict in the Balkans was a reminder that war has not disappeared from our continent.

Over the last decade, no region of the world has been untouched by conflict. Most of these conflicts have been within rather than between states. In this period, European forces have been deployed abroad more often than in any previous decade, including to places as distant as Afghanistan, Congo or East Timor.

No single country is able to tackle today's complex problems entirely on its own.

The conclusion of the Cold War has left the United States in a dominant position as a military actor; no other country or group of countries comes close to its capability. Nevertheless, no single country is able to tackle today's complex problems entirely on its own.

As a union of 25 states with over 450 million people producing a quarter of the world's Gross National Product (GNP), the European Union is, like it or not, a global actor; it should be ready to share in the responsibility for global security.

I. NEW THREATS IN A NEW SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

The new environment

The post Cold War environment is one of increasingly open borders. Flows of trade and investment, the development of technology and the spread of democracy have brought growing freedom and prosperity to many people. These developments have increased the scope for non-state groups to play a part in international affairs. In spite of these encouraging trends, many problems remain unresolved and some have got worse.

Regional conflicts continue to foster instability, disrupt economic activity and reduce opportunities for the people concerned. Problems such as those in Kashmir and the Korean Peninsula impact on European interests directly and

indirectly, as do conflicts nearer to home, above all in the Middle East.

Almost 3 billion people, half the world's population, live on less than 2 Euros a day. 45 million continue to die every year out of hunger and malnutrition. Sub-Sahara Africa is poorer now than it was 10 years ago. In many cases, the failure of economic growth has been linked to political problems and violent conflict. In some parts of the world, notably sub-Sahara Africa, a cycle of insecurity has come into being.
Since 1990, almost 4 million people have died in wars, 90% of them civilians. Over 18 million people world-wide have left their homes or their countries as a result of conflict.

Three great global infectious diseases - Aids, Tuberculosis, Malaria - killed over 6 million people in 2002, the vast majority of them in Africa.

Bad governance is often at the heart of these problems. Corruption, abuse of power, weak institutions and lack of accountability corrode states from within and contribute to regional insecurity.
Security is a precondition of development. Conflict not only destroys infrastructure, including social infrastructure; it also encourages criminality, deters investment and makes normal economic activity impossible. A number of countries and regions risk becoming caught in a downward spiral of conflict, insecurity and poverty.

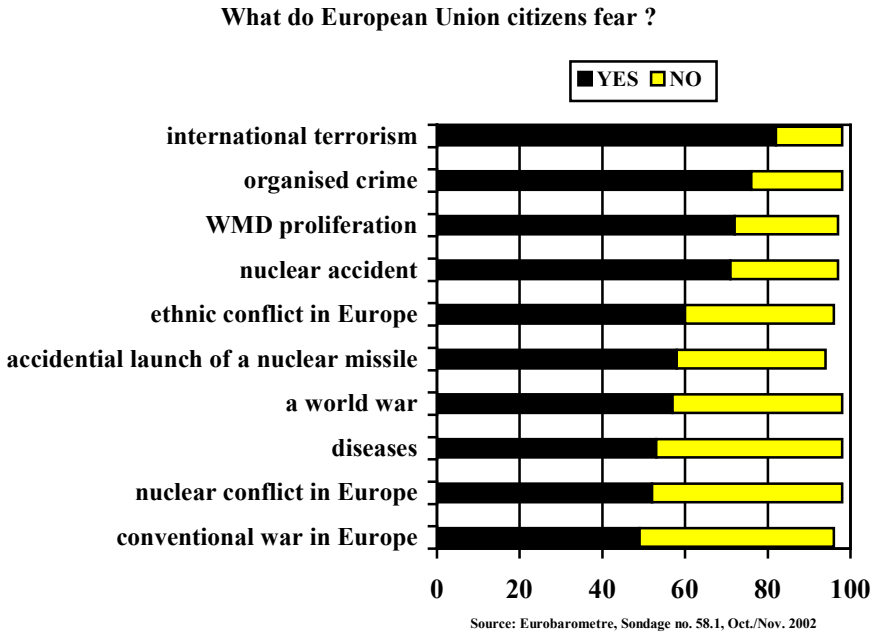
Although not a threat in the normal strategic sense, the rise in temperatures predicted by most scientists for the next decades is likely to create further turbulence and migratory movements in a number of regions of the world.

Energy dependence is also a concern. Europe is the world's largest importer of oil and gas. Imports account for about 50% of energy consumption today. This will be 70% in 2030. Most energy imports come from the Gulf, Russia and North Africa.

New threats

Large-scale aggression against any Member State is now improbable. Instead Europe faces new threats which are more diverse, less visible and less predictable. In particular, Europe faces three key threats.

Terrorism :



International terrorism is a strategic threat. It puts lives at risk; it imposes large costs; it threatens the openness and tolerance of our societies. The new terrorism is different from the organisations with which we are familiar. Not only is it international, connected by electronic networks, and well resourced, it also lacks the constraints of traditional terrorist organisations. These usually wish to win political support and therefore exercise some self-restraint; ultimately they may be ready to abandon violence for negotiation. The new terrorist movements seem willing to use unlimited violence and cause massive casualties. For this reason, the idea of obtaining weapons of mass destruction is attractive to them as it is not for traditional terrorist organisations.

Europe is both a target and a base for such terrorists. Logistical bases for Al Qaeda cells have been uncovered in the

UK, Italy, Germany, Spain and Belgium. Al Qaeda has named European countries as potential targets. Major attacks on our territory have been planned but thankfully thwarted.

The most recent wave of terrorism is linked to violent religious fundamentalism. This arises out of complex causes including the pressures of modernisation, cultural, social and political crises, and the alienation of young people living in foreign societies. This phenomenon is also a part of our own society.

Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction is the single most important threat to peace and security among nations. The international treaty regimes and export control arrangements have slowed the spread of WMD and delivery systems. We are now, however, entering a new and dangerous period that raises the possibility of a WMD arms race, especially in the Middle East. The spread of missile technology adds a further element of instability and will put Europe at increasing risk.

The last use of WMD was by the Aum terrorist sect in the Tokyo underground in 1995, using sarin gas. 12 people were killed and several thousand injured. Two years earlier, Aum had sprayed anthrax spores on a Tokyo street but killed only birds and animals.

The most frightening scenario is one in which terrorist groups acquire weapons of mass destruction. The more proliferation continues, the greater this risk will become.
In this event, a small group would be able to inflict damage on a scale previously possible only for states and armies. In such cases, deterrence would fail. Advances in the biological sciences may increase the potency of biological weapons in the next years; attacks through chemical and radiological materials are also a serious possibility.

Failed States and Organised Crime: In many parts of the world bad governance, civil conflict, and the easy availability of small arms have led to a weakening of state and social structures. In some cases, this has brought about something close to the collapse of state institutions. Somalia, Liberia and Afghanistan are the best known recent examples. The weakness of the state is often exploited (and sometimes caused) by criminal elements. Revenues from drugs have fuelled the weakening of state structures in several drug-producing countries; in Afghanistan, drug revenues kept the Taliban and several private armies in power. As states fail, organised crime takes over. Criminal activities in such states affect European security. Major illicit flows of drugs and migrants reach Europe through the Balkans, Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

Taking these different elements together – terrorism committed to maximum violence, the availability of weapons of mass destruction and the failure of state systems – we could be confronted with a very radical threat indeed.

II. STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

This new world offers both a brighter prospect than mankind has ever known and at the same time a more terrifying future. Which of these comes about will depend partly on our actions. This paper proposes three strategic objectives for the European Union. First, we can make a particular contribution to stability and good governance in our immediate neighbourhood. Second, more widely, we need to build an international order based on effective multilateralism. Finally, we must tackle the threats, new and old.

We need to build an international order based on effective multilateralism.

Extending the Zone of Security around Europe

Even in an era of globalisation, geography is still important. It is in the European interest that countries on our borders are well-governed. Neighbours who are engaged in violent conflict, weak states where organised crime flourishes, dysfunctional societies or exploding population growth on its borders all pose problems for Europe.

The reunification of Europe and the integration of acceding states will increase our security but they also bring Europe closer to troubled areas. Our task is to promote a ring of well governed countries to the East of the European Union and on the borders of the Mediterranean with whom we can enjoy close and cooperative relations.

The importance of this is best illustrated in the Balkans where the European Union, with NATO and other partners, is committed to achieving stability, good governance, and the closest possible integration of the region into Europe. This effort will have to be sustained for some years to come.

Following the failures of the nineties, the European Union, over the past years, has considerably strengthened its engagement in the still fragile Western Balkans. It has helped to stabilise the situation in Southern Serbia and FYROM and facilitated the constitutional arrangements between Serbia and Montenegro. The European Union took over the police mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the United Nations and the military operation in FYROM from NATO. With the Stabilisation and Association process the European Union has created an effective framework for reforms and for progress towards Europe.

It is not in our interest that enlargement should create new dividing lines in Europe. We need to extend the benefits of economic and political cooperation to our future neighbours in the East –

Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus - while resolving political problems there. We should take a stronger interest in the problems of the Southern Caucasus, which will in due course also be a neighbouring region.

Resolution of the Arab/Israeli conflict is a strategic priority for Europe. Without this, there will be little chance of dealing successfully with other problems in the Middle East. The European Union has been involved in this question for more than twenty years. It remains an essential interest, which is now being taken forward through the Quartet.

The Mediterranean area generally continues to undergo serious problems of economic stagnation, social unrest and unresolved conflicts. The European Union's interests require a continued engagement with Mediterranean partners, through more effective economic, security and cultural cooperation in the framework of the Barcelona Process.

Strengthening the international order

In a world of global threats, global markets and global media, our security and prosperity depend on an effective multilateral system. The development of a stronger international society, well functioning international institutions and a rule-based international order should be our objective.

It is welcome that since the end of the Cold War, key institutions in the international system, e.g. the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the International Financial Institutions, have extended their membership. China has joined the WTO and Russia has applied. It should be an objective for us to widen the membership of such bodies while maintaining their high standards.

One of the core elements of the international system is the transatlantic relationship. This is not only in our bilateral interest but strengthens the international community as a whole. NATO is an important expression of this relationship.

Regional organisations also strengthen global governance. For the European Union, the strength and effectiveness of the OSCE and the Council of Europe has a particular significance. Other regional organisations such as ASEAN, MERCOSUR and the African Union are important partners.

The fundamental framework for international relations is the United Nations Charter. Strengthening the United Nations, equipping it to fulfil its responsibilities and to act effectively, must be a European priority. If we want international organisations, regimes and treaties to be effective in confronting threats to international peace and security we should be ready to act when their rules are broken.

The fundamental framework for international relations is the United Nations Charter.

It is a condition of a rule-based international order that laws evolve in response to developments such as proliferation, terrorism and global warming. We have an interest in further developing existing institutions such as the World Trade Organisation and in supporting new ones such as the International Criminal Court.

The quality of international society depends on the quality of the governments that are its foundation. The best protection for our security is a world of well-governed democratic states. Spreading good governance, dealing with corruption and abuse of power, establishing the rule of law and protecting human rights are the best means of strengthening the international order.

Trade and development policies can be powerful tools for promoting reform. As the world's largest provider of official assistance, the European Union and its Member States are well placed to pursue these goals. Contributing to better governance through assistance programmes, conditionality and targeted trade measures should be an important element in a European Union security strategy. A world which is seen as offering justice and opportunity for everyone will be more secure for the European Union and its citizens. Pre-emptive engagement can avoid more serious problems in the future.

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A number of countries have placed themselves outside the bounds of international society. Some have sought isolation; others persistently violate international norms of domestic governance or of international behaviour. It is desirable that such countries should rejoin the international community. Those who are unwilling to do so should understand that there is a price to be paid, including in their relationship with the European Union.

Countering the Threats

The European Union has been active in tackling the threats presented by terrorism, proliferation and failed states/organised crime.

Today's threats are more distant, more dynamic, more complex.

- It responded to 11 September with a package that included the creation of a European Arrest Warrant, measures to attack terrorist financing and an agreement on mutual legal assistance with the U.S.A.

- It has pursued policies against proliferation over many years. The Union has just agreed a further programme of action which foresees steps to strengthen the International Atomic and Energy Agency, measures to tighten export controls and to deal with illegal shipments and illicit procurement.

- The European Union and Member States have intervened to help failed states back on their feet, including in the Balkans, Afghanistan, East Timor and in Africa (most recently in Congo).

It is worth underlining certain common points in these threats and in the way they need to be tackled.

The threats of the new era are often distant. In an era of globalisation, distant threats may be as much a concern as those that are near at hand. Nuclear activities in North Korea, nuclear risks in South Asia, and proliferation in the Middle East are all of concern to Europe. Terrorists are now able to operate world-wide: their activities in central or south-east Asia may be a threat to European countries or their citizens. Meanwhile, global communication means that the humanitarian tragedies in failed states anywhere in the world can cause acute concern in European opinion.

With the new threats the first line of defence will often be abroad.

Our traditional concept of self-defence – up to and including the Cold War – was based on the threat of invasion. With the new threats the first line of defence will often be abroad.

The new threats are dynamic. Left alone, they will become more dangerous. The risks of proliferation grow over time; left alone, terrorist networks will become ever more dangerous (we should have tackled Al Qaeda much earlier). State failure and organised crime

spread if they are neglected – as we have seen in West Africa.

This implies that we should be ready to act before a crisis occurs. Conflict prevention and threat prevention cannot start too early.

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In contrast to the massive visible threat in the Cold War, none of the new threats is purely military; nor can any be tackled by purely military means. Each requires a mixture of instruments. Proliferation may be contained through export controls and attacked through political, economic and other pressures while the underlying political causes are also tackled. Dealing with terrorism may require a mixture of intelligence, political, military and other means. In failed states, military instruments may be needed to restore order, humanitarian to tackle the immediate crisis. Economic instruments serve reconstruction, and civilian crisis management helps restore civil government. The European Union is particularly well equipped to respond to such multi-faceted situations.

III. POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR EUROPE

The European Union has made progress in developing a coherent foreign policy and effective crisis management in the last few years. We have instruments in place that can be used effectively, as we have demonstrated in the Balkans (and now more widely). But if we are to make a contribution that matches our potential, we need to be more active, more coherent and more capable.

More active in pursuing all our strategic objectives. In particular, more active policies are needed to counter the new, dynamic threats. As a Union of 25 members, spending a total of 160 billion Euros on defence, we should, if required, be able to sustain several operations simultaneously. We need to develop a strategic culture that fosters early, rapid, and when necessary, robust intervention. We should think particularly of operations involving both military and civilian capabilities. This is an area where we could add particular value. A European Union which is more active will be one which carries greater political weight in all situations, even where military or civilian intervention is not contemplated.

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More Coherent. The point of the Common Foreign and Security Policy and European Security and Defence Policy is that we are stronger when we act together. Over recent years we have created a number of different instruments, each of which has its own structure and rationale. The challenge now is to bring together the different instruments and capabilities: European assistance programmes, military and civilian capabilities from Member States and other instruments such as the European Development Fund. All of these can have an impact on our security and on that of third countries. Security is the first condition for development. Our objective should be to create synergy through a more coherent and comprehensive approach.

Diplomatic efforts, development, trade and environmental policies, should follow the same agenda. In a crisis there is no substitute for unity of command.

Greater coherence is needed not only among EU instruments but also embracing the external activities of the individual member states. The Union's external assistance amounts to some 7 billion Euros a year; member states spend about ten times that amount.

More Capable. A more capable Europe is within our grasp**,** though it will take time to realise our full potential. We need to look in particular at the following:

- More resources for defence. If we are serious about new threats and about creating more flexible mobile forces we need to increase defence resources.

- There is much duplication of defence assets across the European Union. Systematic use of pooled and shared assets would reduce overheads and, in the medium-term, increase capabilities.

- Greater capacity to bring civilian resources to bear in crisis and post crisis situations. In particular we should look at stronger arrangements for civilian planning and mission support. In almost every major intervention, military efficiency has been followed by civilian chaos.

- Stronger diplomatic capability. This is as important as civilian and military capacity, if we are to make the best political use of other resources. The threats we have to deal with are more distant and more foreign than during the Cold War. Greater understanding of foreign countries is needed. We have more than 45.000 diplomats. Here also pooling would increase capability. We need to develop a system that combines the resources of Member States with those available in EU institutions.

- Improved sharing of intelligence among Member States and partners: A common threat assesment is the best basis for common action.

- As we increase capabilities in the different areas, we should think in terms of a wider spectrum of missions. In addition to the Petersberg tasks this might include joint disarmament operations, support for third countries in combating terrorism and security sector refom. The last of these would be part of broader institution building.

Working with partners There are few if any problems we can deal with on our own. The threats described above are common threats, shared with all our closest partners. International cooperation is a necessity. We need to pursue our objectives both through multilateral cooperation in international organisations and through partnerships with other key actors or regions.

Acting together, the European Union and the United States can be a formidable force for good in the world.

Among the latter, the transatlantic relationship is irreplaceable. Acting together, the European Union and the United States can be a formidable force for good in the world. If we build up capabilities and increase coherence, we will be a more credible actor and a more influential partner.

We should continue to strengthen our ability to work with other key actors. The European Union has relationships throughout the world, but in the next years we should focus particularly on developing strategic partnerships with Russia, Japan, China, Canada and India. These partners play an increasingly important role in their respective regions and beyond. None of our relations will be exclusive. We stand ready to develop active partnership with any country which shares our goals and values and is prepared to act in their support.

Conclusion

This is a world in which there are new dangers but also new opportunities. If it can become a fully effective actor, the European Union has the potential to make a major contribution, both to dealing with the threats and to helping realise the opportunities. An active and capable European Union would make an impact on a global scale. In doing so, it would contribute to an effective multilateral system leading to a fairer and more secure world.