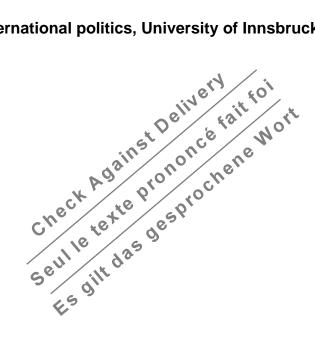EUROPEAN UNION

Delegation of the European Commission to Switzerland and to the Principality of Liechtenstein

European Security in a Global Context: Problems and Prospects

Dr. Michael Reiterer
Ambassador
Adjunct Professor for international politics, University of Innsbruck

Check Against Delivery
Seul le texte prononcé fait foi
Es gilt das gesprochene Wort

When preparing for this speech, an article in *The Economist*, titled "*Running the world*"[1] caught my attention. You might wonder what this has in common with the European Union and today's subject, **"European Security in a global context: Problems and Prospects?"**

This suspicion is justified at first sight, as the article talks about the US National Security Council (NSC) and the reform ideas of its new director, *James Jones*. In his judgement the NSC's role can no longer be limited to traditional defence and foreign policy, but has to deal with wider issues and threats like terrorism, proliferation, cyber-security, overdependence of fossil fuels, disease, poverty, corruption, climate change and the economic crisis. However, when reading his programme of expanding the NSC's role, – I was reminded of the European Union, its European Security Strategy (EES) of 2003[2],"*A Safer Europe in a Better World*", and its further development. The latter is documented in a "*Report on the Implementation of the European Security Policy – Providing Security in a Changing World*"[3], approved by the Council in December 2008.

Although you might think that it is overly ambitious to draw a parallel between the US and the EU, especially in the area of foreign, security and defence policies, I would like to make the point, that the approach of the European Union especially to foreign and security policies in attempting to coordinate the work of the institutions of the Union and that of its Member States is in principle in line with today's challenges. Challenges posed by the cross cutting nature of problems faced and the ensuing necessity to come up with comprehensive solutions. 'Comprehensive' means in this context a coordinated approach among the various institutions of the EU, the various directorates general of the Commission and the constituent elements of the Union, its Member States.

However, "**coordination**" does neither sound interesting nor sexy. Therefore it has been neglected for a long time as "low politics" not worth the attention of top politicians. I think this has changed or is changing – the Lisbon Agenda introduced the "**open method of coordination**" as a new tool and is used yearly by the European Council to analyse progress made. Another proof would be the European Council itself: the coordination body at the highest level will turn into an EU-institution according to the Treaty of Lisbon.

"Coordination" also is the key tool in all policy areas where the intergovernmental approach to policy making remains predominant, like in the areas of foreign, security and defence policy.

"Coordination" is also a key element in global governance. Without a global government, without an international authority, coordination remains one of the key tools for the sovereign and independent members of the international community to bundle energy and force in addition to the signing of international treaties.

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[1] The Economist (2009). "*Running the world*", February 14; p.50.
[2] http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf
[3] http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/104630.pdf

Last but not least, the very nature of the European Union, its special status as an international actor, confers on it a particular way of participating in international politics which reflects its inner workings. A Common - albeit not single - Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), a Common Trade Policy, the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), to name just a few, have become trademarks as well as expressions of the particular status of the Union.

Europe has come a long way during the last 'fifty plus' years in building up a foreign policy capacity: From external aspects of the common agricultural and trade policies, to a world wide development policy based on economic cooperation, the EU was rather driven to add a political dimension to its external relations dimension.

Following 1989 when the Berlin Wall and other fences fell, when a peace dividend was much talked about, but when war and genocide in former Yugoslavia surprised the international community in the nineties and when the new century saw 9/11 followed by the second Iraq war, the EU had to learn that foreign and security policy needs a military component to supplement its soft power. Otherwise the Union cannot become an effective international player[4].

Nevertheless, the EU's diplomacy is still different from diplomacy performed by nation states.

The CFSP is based on the historic experience of Europe to solve conflicts by non-military means, which lead to the so far most successful experiment in peace making and maintaining, secured by an elaborate institutional framework which is based on enforceable law. In the areas of community competence e.g. not in the area of CFSP, the *"community method"*, a balanced procedural and negotiating technique based on law is the backbone for the success of the Union which turned into a global player because of its civil and not military means and might.

The EU has developed from a "*civilian power by default*" into a civilian power by its own choosing[5]. This allows the Union to play a specific role in international politics whether foreign policy or security related. The Union has not only become a model for the organisation and institutionalisation of peaceful relations but also turned into an actor aiming at the peaceful resolution of global conflicts and tensions.

Developing alternative strategies such as favouring **arms control and disarmament**, the exhaustion of negotiating attempts *vis-à-vis* **Syria** and **Iran**, an even handed approach to the **Middle East**, the fight against the root cause of **terrorism** like exclusion, poverty, dominance and not only its symptoms, avoiding in this context **securisation** e.g.

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[4] Stelios Stavradis (2001), "*Why the militarising of the European Union is strengthening the concept of a civilian power Europe"*, http://www.iue.it/RSCAS/WP-Texts/01_17.pdf
[5] Michael Reiterer (2008). *"EU Foreign Policy: From Cooperation to Diplomacy"*. EU Studies in Japan, no.28; pp.27-44.

prioritising security in absolute terms as part of the 'war on terror'[6], the commitment to the **Kyoto-Agreement** and an effective **post-Kyoto** regime in form of the Copenhagen Conference this year to fight **climate change** effectively, the individual human being attracting the focus of politics and not the states (fight against the **death penalty)** e.g. **promoting human security,** exemplify the self understanding of the European Union as soft power. Use of political and diplomatic means to solve problems through legal means and procedures are the credentials of a civilian power.

Once the Treaty of Lisbon will be in force – hopefully in 2010 after a second successful referendum in Ireland - the challenge lying ahead for the incoming High Representative will be to formulate a coherent foreign policy, with the policy mix adequate for a unique institution like the European Union. Combining the tools available presently to the High Representative and the Commissioner for External Relations will allow to bundle efforts and to develop a **European diplomacy**:

Diplomacy[7] is not just another word for foreign policy but diplomacy is the technique providing the means to translate the goals of a foreign policy into action. Thus, European diplomacy will translate the goals of the CFSP and the ESDP into action, if steered by the High Representative who will be supported by the Delegations of the European Union worldwide. While this diplomacy will have some features of traditional diplomacy it will be mainly shaped by the ideas and means inherent in the *soft power concept* e.g. cooperative in nature.

European diplomacy is different from the diplomacy of a hegemon, because of the legal basis, the values to be transported and the political means at its disposal. Contrary to a nation state, the Union pursues a policy called **"effective multilateralism"** placing particular emphasis on the implementation and development of international law, the strengthening of the UN Charter, both at the regional and global level. [8]

'*Effective multilateralism*', '*use of civil instruments*' are not slogans, but the means at the EU's disposal. European diplomacy will also <u>exclude</u> some features reserved for nation states such as a standing army. It will consciously <u>renounce</u> others like military intervention to realise national goals, while <u>adding</u> others like fostering human rights in campaigning against death penalty world wide or favouring *interregionalism* as a new diplomatic tool[9]. The successful campaign to get the International Criminal Court off the ground is a good example. However, overcoming internal discrepancies, diverse interests and "profound philosophical and tactical differences"[10] will remain the main challenge for the EU 27.

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[6] de Alvaro de Vasconcelos (ed.) (2009). *The European Security Strategy 2003-2008 Building on Common Interests*. European Institute for Security Studies, ISS Report no.5; p.20.

[7] Brian Hocking (2004). „*Diplomacy*" in: Carlsnaes/Sjursen/White (eds.) *Contemporary Foreign Policy*. Sage Publishers; pp. 91-109.

[8] Reiterer (2008); p. 3.

[9] Michael Reiterer (2006). *"Interregionalism as a New Diplomatic Tool: The EU and East Asia"*. 11 EFA Rev.; pp.223-244.

[10] Trevor Salmon (2005). *"The European Security and Defence Policy: Built on Rocks or Sand?"*. 10 EFA Rev.; p. 371.

Are these just academic propositions void of any relevance as the EU is not only perceived as but is a paper tiger?

In trying to answer this question let us examine whether the EU has managed to build common interests since 2003[11] when the ESS was introduced.

Political and economic power is shifting. The EU has to act in an increasingly multipolar world – it is the enlarged G20, not the G7 or G8 or the transatlantic tandem which attempts to find solutions to the ongoing financial and economic crisis. In the context of the WTO it is no longer the old quad of the EU, US, Canada and Japan, like in the Uruguay Round, which stirs the process but rather the the new quartet, EU, US, Brazil and India, which constitutes a significant change, too. Although often challenged, multilateralism, a core concept of the EES, is confirmed as the guiding principle in international relations as evidenced by the new approach to international politics by the new Obama Administration.

The EU approach to international politics, in form of the above mentioned "soft" or "smart" or "transformative" power, has become a strong power of attraction which has turned the EU into a role model, in Africa in form of the Organisation of African Unity or in Asia, where ASEAN gave itself recently a Charter, clearly inspired by the EU.

Security issues

Let us recall the **key threats** to the security interests identified by the ESS in 2003
- terrorism,

- proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD),

- organised crime,

- regional conflicts and

- state failure.

Since then climate change whose implication for security were analysed in 2008[12] as well as cyber and energy security, the new life streams of modern societies were added.

This is another illustration that today's threats and root causes for conflicts are not solely of a military nature, an insight easily overlooked by some in the aftermaths of 9/11. Understood correctly, this event and these developments clearly show how important it is to adopt the mentioned *soft power strategy* in the context of a world fragmented by security-policy[13].

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[11] de Vasconcelos (ed.) (2009) as well as the above mentioned *Implementation Report* (2008), footnote 3.
[12] http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/reports/99387.pdf
[13] Ulrich Schneckener (2005). "Die Zivilmacht Europa und die prä-westfälische Herausforderung", http://web.uni-marburg.de/konfliktforschung/pdf/schneckener.pdf

Europe's means to tackle these threats are CFSP and ESDP, the collaboration in the fields of Justice Freedom and Security, focusing on the stabilization of the immediate surrounding area - Balkans, South-Eastern Europe, Mediterranean and Middle East-through an integrated energy and climate change policy adopted in December 2008 and through multilateral cooperation.

Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction

Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction was identified in 2003 as the potentially greatest threat to EU security. Instability augments the demand for WMD and so the danger of their proliferation and consequently a more insecure world. Non proliferation of weapons of mass destruction can only be dealt with through multilateral regimes. While Libya has dismantled its WMD programme, **North Korea** and **Iran** still pose a threat to international security. If these developments remain unopposed, they will challenge the non-proliferation safeguard. The European Union enhances its commitment to engage third countries in joining and implementing non proliferation regimes.[14] The **EU WMD Strategy**[15] adopted in 2003 emphasises the strategy of prevention by working through the UN and multilateral agreements. It is very important to have a successful outcome of the **Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference in 2010**, especially the strengthening of the non-proliferation regime. At the same time, the EU will continue to **address the root causes of instability** including through pursuing and enhancing its efforts in the areas of conflict resolution development assistance, reduction of poverty and promotion of human rights.

Furthermore, the nuclear fuel cycle, bio safety and bio security as well as possible fissile material for nuclear weapons are problems needing attention.

Terrorism

Terrorism seeks to undermine the openness and tolerance of our societies, threats lives and poses a growing strategic threat to the whole of Europe. Terrorist movements are well-equipped, connected by electronic networks throughout the world, and are willing to use unlimited violence to cause massive casualties. So far, Europe has been spared suicide bombers, but home grown terrorist groups indicate that European societies are not safe. Logistical bases for Al Qaeda cells have been uncovered in the UK, Italy, Germany, Spain and Belgium.

The most recent wave of terrorism arises out of complex causes. These include the pressures of modernisation, cultural, social and political crises, and the alienation of young people living in foreign societies. Europe is both a target and a base for such terrorism: think of London and Madrid in 2004. Concerted European action is indispensable. Since 9/11 and even more after the terrorist attacks in London and Madrid

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[14] http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/104630.pdf p.3 and http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf p.4
[15] http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/03/st15/st15708.en03.pdf

in 2004 Europe has intensified its fight against terrorism[16] by adopting the **Hague Programme[17]** in 2004 and a **new Strategy for the external Dimension of Justice and Home Affairs in 2005[18]**. Those instruments facilitate cross-border investigation and co-ordinated prosecution. However, th **EU Counter-Terrorism Strategy from 2005** is based on the respect for human rights and international law. The member states are mainly responsible for combating terrorism, but by appointing a **Counter-Terrorism Co-ordinator[19]** the European Union has made an important step forward at the European level.

The four main strategic aims of the Counter-Terrorism Strategy are:
- preventing radicalisation and recruitment and the factors behind them

- protecting potential targets

- pursuing terrorists and

- responding to the aftermath of an attack.[20]

Terrorism also has a cultural element which is often overlooked. Therefore, inter-cultural dialogue plays an important role for example in the form of the **Alliance of Civilisations[21].** I have already referred to the need to avoid total securisation which carries the danger of violating human rights and privacy.

Organised Crime

Europe is an important target for organised crime. This internal threat to our security has an important external dimension: cross-border trafficking in drugs, women, illegal migrants and weapons account for a large part of the activities of criminal gangs. Like proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, organised crime can only be tackled through multilateral collaboration. Organised criminal gangs can have links with

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[16] http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/104630.pdf p. 4

[17] The Union's attention must focus on different aspects of **prevention**, **preparedness** and **response:** http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/news/information_dossiers/the_hague_priorities/doc/02_terrorism_en.pdf

[18] http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=1412&lang=EN

[19] *Mr Gilles de Kerchove* was appointed EU Counter-terrorism Coordinator on 19 September 2007 by EU HR Javier Solana. In this new function, Mr de Kerchove will coordinate the work of the Council of the EU in the field of counter-terrorism, maintain an overview of all the instruments at the Union's disposal, closely monitor the implementation of the EU counter-terrorism strategy, and ensure that the Union plays an active role in the fight against terrorism.

[20] http://register.consilium.eu.int/pdf/en/05/st14/st14469-re04.en05.pdf

[21] The Alliance of Civilization (AoC) was established in 2005, at the initiative of the Governments of Spain and Turkey, under the auspices of the United Nations**.** A High-level Group of experts was formed by former Secretary-General *Kofi Annan* to explore the roots of polarization between societies and cultures today, and to recommend a practical programme of action to address this issue. The Report of the High-level Group provided analysis and put forward practical recommendations that form the basis for the implementation plan of the Alliance of Civilizations. The AoC Secretariat, which is based in New York, works in partnership with States, international and regional organizations, civil society groups, foundations, and the private sector to mobilize concerted efforts to promote cross-cultural relations among diverse nations and communities. http://www.unaoc.org/content/view/62/80/lang,english/

terrorism and they thrive in weak or failing states. The income from their illegal activities contributes to the weakening of state structures and feeds conflicts.

On organised crime, it is crucial to deepen existing partnerships within our neighbourhood and key partners, and within the UN, in addressing the problems of movement of people and the importance of police and judicial cooperation. **Implementation of existing UN instruments on crime** is essential. We should further strengthen our **counter-terrorism partnership with the United States,** including in the area of data sharing and protection. By strengthening the capacity of our partners in South Asia, Africa, and our southern neighbourhood, pressure on organised criminal gangs rises and the possibility to act secretly and hide from prosecution decreases. The EU will continue supporting multilateral efforts, principally in the UN.[22]

Cyber security

E-government, e-banking, e-voting, e-bay, e-booking, navigators in cars and planes – they all make life easier or safer. However, they are prone to be attacked, not only by amateur hackers who want to proof themselves, but by secret services and or the military. Thus, a Secure Information Society needs a comprehensive and coordinated EU approach.

State failure

Conflict is often caused by state fragility. Countries like Somalia are caught in a vicious cycle of weak governance and recurring conflict. Piracy, linked to organised crime as well as to state failure is gaining importance, not least because of the fact that 90% of world trade relies on sea routes. Therefore the problems merits not only attention but also action in the form of Atalanta.

State failure allows organised crime and terrorism to flourish and endangers regional security. We have sought to break this, both through development assistance and measures to ensure better security. Security Sector Reform and Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration are a key part of post-conflict stabilisation and reconstruction, and have been a focus of our missions in Guinea-Bissau or DR Congo. This is most successful when done in **partnership with the international community and local stakeholders**.[23]

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[22] http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/104630.pdf p.4
[23] http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf p.4 and
http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/104630.pdf p. 4

Regional conflicts[24]

Regional conflicts can lead on the one hand **to extremism, terrorism and state failure and** on the other hand create **regional insecurity** that leads to a **higher demand of weapons, either small arms or weapons of mass destruction**.

Through its **enlargement**[25], the European Union has contributed most to the peace project "Europe" confirming hereby its **soft power** position. In a more global sense, being the biggest development aid contributor of the world is an extension of the European peace project. I clearly see this enlargement process as a central characteristic of its soft or transformative power as defined by *Joseph Nye*[26] or *Mark Leonard*[27]: Each and every Member State joined voluntarily after a referendum.

The success of ESDP as an integral part of our Common Foreign and Security Policy is reflected by the fact that our assistance is increasingly in demand. The Georgia mission shows what we can achieve with political will and collective action. EULEX is the largest ESDP mission so far.

Although the Eastern enlargement is a very important instrument of Security Policy we have to make sure that we do not create new trenches by shifting the former Iron Curtain further eastwards. It is in our interest that the countries on our borders are well-governed. **The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP)**, launched in 2004, supports this process and has the task of preventing the creation of new dividing lines between the EU of 27 and our neighbours. ENP includes our relationship with Eastern Europe and the Caucasus States as well as the Mediterranean. It is about security through interconnectedness.

The **Eastern Partnership** which includes Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine and in a second step Belarus, foresees a real step change in relations with our Eastern neighbours, with a significant upgrading of political, economic and trade relations. The goal is to strengthen the prosperity and stability of these countries, and thus the security of the EU. The proposals cover a wide range of bilateral and multilateral areas of cooperation including energy security and mobility of people. On our eastern flank there are still a number of unresolved conflicts. The Russia/Georgia conflict of August last year left an open wound in the Caucasus, with Georgia's two separatist entities outside the control of the Tbilisi government.

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[24] http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/policy_en.htm.
http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/euromed/index_en.htm
http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/104630.pdf pp.6
[25] Michael Reiterer (2007). „*EU-Enlargement: How Far? How Fast?*". Oita University Economic Review, vol. 59, no.2, July; pp. 1-20.
[26] Joseph S Nye (2004), *Soft Power – The Means to Success in World Po*litics.
[27] Mark Leonard (2005), *Why Europe will run the 21ˢᵗ Century.*.

The **Union for the Mediterranean**[28] with 43 members was launched in July 2008 with our southern partners, and is based on a wide-ranging agenda, including maritime safety, energy, water and migration. Addressing security threats like energy security and fighting terrorism will be important elements. The search for peace in the Middle East remains a constant factor in the EU policy.

The ESS acknowledged that **Europe has security interests beyond its immediate neighbourhood**. In this respect, **Afghanistan** is a particular concern. EU Member States make a major contribution to the NATO mission, and the EU is engaged in governance and development at all levels. These efforts will not succeed without full Afghan ownership, and **support from neighbouring countries: in particular Pakistan, but also India, Central Asia and Iran.**

Lasting stability in our neighbourhood will require continued effort by the EU, together with UN, OSCE, the US and Russia. We need a sustained effort to address conflicts in the Southern Caucasus, Republic of Moldova and between Israel and the Arab states. Here, as elsewhere, **full engagement with the US** will be important[29]. In each case, a durable settlement must bring together all the regional players. Countries like Turkey, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Qatar have played an increasingly important role in the region, whereas this has not been the case with Iran. There is a particular opportunity to work with Turkey, including through the Alliance of Civilisations.

Energy[30]

When Russia cuts gas supplies to Ukraine in January, EU households suffered. The EU found its quality of life directly affected not just as a result of its own energy supplies, but by the political and commercial landscape in its eastern neighborhood. That is another reason why European Neighborhood Policy is so important. Energy security has become an important policy area fort he European Union. EU leaders adopted an **"Energy Policy for Europe"**[31] at their summit in March 2007. The strategy is focusing on the competitiveness, security of supply, and sustainability of energy. An efficient European gas and electricity market is a crucial element of Europe's energy security. **The EU imports about 50 percent of its overall energy needs.** Its imports dependency is expected to grow through 2030, from 80 to 93 per cent in the case of oil and from 57 to 84 per cent in the case of gas. While we can get our oil from global market, **we are dependent on regional market concerning gas**. We are mainly connected to 3

[28] http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/euromed/index_en.htm and Michael Reiterer (2009).
"The 'Union for the Mediterranean', the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Barcelona
Process: Old wine in new bottles?". *EU Studies in Japan*, no.29; pp.123-155.

[29] de Vasconcelos, Zaborowski (eds.) (2009) *European perspectives on the new American foreign policy agenda. ISS Report, no.4. January.*

[30] http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/104630.pdf p.5 and Stacy Closson (2008), "*Energy security of the European Union"*, CSS Analyses in Security Policy, vol.3, No.36, June, Center for Security Studies, ETH Zürich.

[31] http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/l27067.htm

countries: Russia, Algeria and Norway. Russia accounts for 27 per cent of the EU's total oil consumption and 30 per cent of its oil imports. On the other hand, over 60 per cent of Russia's gas and oil exports flow to Europe, so the dependence is mutual. Since Europe depends so heavily on imports, it is important to **develop an effective external energy policy**. We need to diversify our producers and provision and transit routes in Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia. Europe is relying on free market and Rules of law. A free market leads to diversification and interconnection.

Another tool to lower dependence is to **use an energy** mix with a higher share of alternative and renewable energies. This will also contribute to the fight against climate change.

Climate Change

In publishing in 2008 the joint paper by the Commission and the High Representative on **Climate Change and International Security**[32] the EU clearly established this important link and points out explicitly: "The impact of climate change on international security is not a problem of the future but already of today and one which will stay with us. Even if progress is made in reducing the emissions of greenhouse gases, weather patterns have already changed, global temperatures have already risen and, above all, climate change is already being felt around the globe."

Three trends can be identified for the next 20 to 30 years[33].

- Weak states and crisis regions will become more destabilized,

- developed countries will be confronted with more crisis management, disaster relief and domestic security due to the regional destabilization and

- extreme local weather patterns and the emerging nexus between climate change and energy security will affect developing countries and industrialised states alike.

The nexus between **security and development** was already highlighted by the EES, confirmed by the 2005 Consensus on Development but still needs more attention; finishing the DDA would be such a sign of attention.

Resource shortage can promote conflict, too. We can expect further destabilization in fragile states and aggravation of existing conflicts. Challenges to security policy in the European Union will therefore consist primarily of the indirect consequences of climate change. Another problem is that a number of oil and gas extracting countries are located in regions that will be particularly affected by global warming. **Nuclear energy will make a comeback** which bears the danger of being exploited for military purposes.

Internally the EU adopted an **integrated energy and climate change policy in December 2008**, including ambitious targets for 2020. It hopes to set Europe on the right track by:

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[32] http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/reports/99387.pdf

[33] Christiane Callsen (2008) **"***Climate Change and security policy"*, CSS Analyses in Security Policy, vol.3, No.26, December, Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich.

- cutting greenhouse gases by 20% (30% if international agreement is reached)
- reducing energy consumption by 20% through increased energy efficiency
- meeting 20% of our energy needs from renewable sources.

The EU is looking forward to achieve a new global climate agreement at the **next United Nations climate change conference** in December 2009 in Copenhagen.

In concluding and in attempting to answer whether the EU is a paper tiger or rather a unique actor in international politics let me offer you some **propositions of a more systemic nature**:

- **Soft power combined with a focus on human security** (responsibility to protect) by promoting global governance to implement common values of human rights, rule of law, social awareness based on the European social model and pursuing 'unity in diversity' are efficient poles of attraction and render the EU foreign policy actions more credible. Thereby the EU makes use of a specific niche in international politics in acting together with its Member States or in complementing their actions. On the other hand, the projection of soft power is more efficient, if there is a relationship of mutual interest or even attraction – the case of candidate countries – plus a certain element of geographical vicinity,
- **Conflict prevention** is the more important task than conflict management or peacemaking, although the latter may be necessary to allow peacekeeping;
- **ESDP translates these values into action** – more than twenty during the first ten years prove that actions are taken and not only papers written;
- **'Coherence'** or the lack of it remain the determining factor – coherence between actions of the EU, its Member States or other international organisations like the UN, NATO but also NGOs on the ground;
- **Coherence** also enhances credibility, if **actions are value driven** e.g. if you put the heart to your action and you do not adapt the action to the heart,
- '**Coherence' is also needed in devising policies with neighbouring countries**, before they reach the status of candidate countries but also if they will never be candidates although they are important economic and political partners of the Union. The labour around the integration of the Union for the Mediterranean into the mainstream of EU politics and its institutions proofs this proposition;
- The **EU** although not yet a post-national institution **offers** because of its unique structure **the coordination and combination of policy instruments** which are required in a globalized environment where compartmentalisation, nationalisation of politics and single handed actions are less and less effective;
- Although it might sound presumptuous, the US national security adviser *James Jones* might have a closer look at the idea of the European set-up attempting to integrate policy-responses, coordinate national responses and ideally turn them into European ones to increase their effectiveness, a process we call 'Europeanization'. The implementation could certainly be rendered more efficient and be improved – but an important step has been made.

- **Europe is not running the world, but without Europe the world cannot be run either.**
- However, all niceties aside, **renewing the multilateral order or preventing it from falling apart are the main challenges**. The litmus test is right in front of us – the present financial and economic crisis which endangers the European model of combining free markets with social security in a global context. European and world wide coordination is necessary to achieve a global stimulus instead of a series of national ones which could turn into a beggar-my-neighbour policy in disguise. The same applies to the effort to save and reform the international financial system. In recognition of the size and nature of the crisis and its global nature, we need to strengthen and up-date the crisis prevention tool box. Without a virtuous circle of stabilisation, refinancing, trust building, a vicious circle of social and political unrest, financial melt down, recession and beggar-my-neighbour policies may settle in, thereby endangering security in general, not only in Europe.
- **The shorthand for the EU is to be more capable, more coherent and more active**[34].

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[34] de Vasconcelos (ed.) (2009); p.63.