

PARTY OF EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS

# ***EUROPE'S GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY***



## **Seven Theses on the Future Role of Europe**

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*A first "food for thought" paper*

This paper contains a number of theses on Europe's global responsibility. Attention is drawn to operational conclusions that ought to be discussed and then also decided upon in a second round of debate.

- I. Europe: a model of civilisation for the world**
  
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## **I. Europe: a model of civilisation for the world**

Europe is an unprecedented product of peace. The most significant renewal of a region in modern world history has taken just half a century.

After centuries of fragmentation, nationalist excesses, the outbreak of two world wars in Europe – which left millions dead, trust in politicians destroyed and the economy in ruin – and, finally, half a century of division across the continent, Europe is today an area of freedom and peace, democracy and prosperity quite unique in the world.

The integrated Europe was and is the response to war, nationalism and ideology. By establishing the European Union, the nations of Europe have for the first time succeeded in rendering peace among them irreversible.

What failed to be achieved by the Peace of Westphalia, the Congress of Vienna, Versailles and Yalta has been accomplished step by step by European integration: the creation of an area characterised by constitutional democracy, co-operative security and stability, economic prosperity, social responsibility and security, human and civil rights.

This Europe serves many as a model in a world confronted with radical changes, increasingly complex challenges and a host of different crises and conflicts. Whether in South America, in Africa or in Asia – Europe has for a long time no longer been seen merely as an economic project, but rightly so as a political, a cultural and a peacekeeping project.

The way in which Europe evolves is of eminent importance not only to the people of Europe, but also to the rest of the world. The enlargement of the EU, the deepening of integration, the strengthening of the democratic structures in Europe, the Common Foreign, Security and Defence Policy, and the EU's evolution into a political actor of international format concern everyone intent on enhancing world peace and global security.

Europe itself has no choice. It is compelled to responsibly assume its role as a global actor on account of its political and economic clout, its links with the rest of the world and its global interests.

It has a global responsibility that it cannot shirk. The question is not whether Europe should take on this responsibility, but simply how.

## **II. Europe: a global responsibility due to global interests**

Europe's role in the world is based on interests and responsibility. Historical and cultural links, resulting not least from the colonial pasts of European powers, have a substantial bearing on Europe's relations with many states in Asia, Africa and South America.

What is more, globalisation and increasing interdependence require us Europeans to correctly estimate Europe's weight and other regions' expectations of Europe in the one world and to stand up together for our interests.

In an age of transition, the EU numbers alongside the USA and Canada, both within NATO and on account of its own weight, among the few producers of stability. The common currency, the single market and the fascination of our integration model make the EU a major factor in world politics.

While just 6 per cent of the world's population live in the EU area, the EU accounts for just under 30 per cent of the gross world product, equivalent in this to the USA or to the rest of the world, excluding Japan. Europe is the most important trading partner in the world. It accounts for just under 20 per cent of world trade in imports and exports.

In the Euro-Atlantic community, that is to say, the USA and the EU, just under 11 per cent of the world's population produce almost 60 per cent of the gross world product and account for around 40 per cent of world trade.

The EU has close economic links with other regions of the world. Just under half of all Africa's exports, a good thirty per cent of Asia's exports, some twenty-five per cent of the USA's exports and twelve per cent of Oceania's exports go to the EU.

The EU is uniquely dependent on others in the energy sector. Just under half of the EU states' energy needs are at present met by means of imports – with the trend indicating that this share will even increase.

Europe's global weight is also revealed in the concrete contributions made to the United Nations, to international peacekeeping and development support.

The EU states account for almost 40 per cent of the UN's regular budget, likewise 40 per cent of the UN's budget for peacekeeping operations, and a total of 50 per cent of the UN's budget for programmes. As regards government aid for the Third World, the EU and its member states furnish more than double the sum paid by the USA and Japan together.

The EU states, however, do not only provide money. EU states provide around 17 per cent of all the UN troops, police forces and observers deployed. The EU states meanwhile provide around 60 per cent of the SFOR and KFOR troops and over 90 per cent of the troops in Macedonia.

### **III. Europe: contributing towards the resolution of the major issues facing mankind**

Europe's interests, political weight and economic clout, as well as our values and convictions oblige us to make a contribution towards resolving the major issues facing mankind in the globalised world. The degree to which the European Union masters the huge challenges of enlargement and of enhancing its capacity for action in the fields of foreign and security policy will determine its ability to create the conditions conducive for it to survive in the age of globalisation and play an active part in shaping developments in the world.

The major issues facing mankind – the securing of peace, the preservation of the foundations of life and the promotion of durable economic development, the fight against overpopulation, poverty and exploitation, the establishment of political democracy and attainment of respect for human rights, the assurance that people can live their lives in and enjoy social justice – cannot be solved without the contributions and resolute commitment of the EU and its members.

The fight against hunger, underdevelopment, repression, the population explosion, ecological impasses, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, international criminality and international terrorism cannot be won without Europe.

In a century in which interdependence will be the basic feature of international relations and the trend towards anarchy is spreading to many parts of the world, Europe is becoming less and less able to focus its attention on itself.

In the globalised world, commitment in Europe can no longer be separated from commitment for Europe. European resources, assets and possibilities must be put to use in other regions in order to limit destabilisation in Europe and the other regions of this world.

### **IV. Europe: speaking with one voice**

The EU must move forward quickly in its process of integration, despite having to cope simultaneously with enlargement and deepening, but take care to preserve its internal equilibrium. However, if it wishes to enhance its effectiveness in defending its interests in international politics, it must urgently increase its own capacity for making decisions and taking action.

This is the only way Europe can contribute towards supporting security and stability and honour its responsibility for peace in the world. The voice of Europe will only be heard in the world if all the European countries speak as one; otherwise, it will not be heard. The reverse is true: The challenges posed by the globalised world call for a common, and so effective, European response.

This requires Europe to solve two key tasks:

- One is to rigorously ensure the political and institutional development of the EU in the field of foreign and security policy.
- The other is to ensure the resolute and expedited establishment of effective civil and military instruments conducive to enhancing Europe's capacity for action.

These two tasks must be seen as being linked. Concrete evidence of their being accomplished must be provided progressively by 2004 at the latest; otherwise, the Union will decrease in importance as an international factor.

This requires a number of things to be done:

1. The European Security and Defence Policy – the key instrument in the CFSP package – must be rendered available for use as quickly as possible in EU civil and military crisis management activities, including the fight against terrorism.
2. The Treaty on European Union must be also reformed in such a way as to improve the institutional basis for combining the powers related to EU foreign and security policy, which are at present divided among several bodies.

The EU must agree on foreign, security and defence policy issues and have a full capacity for action for Europe to acquire the one effective and audible voice it needs to honour its global responsibility.

#### **V. Europe: regional co-operation and co-operation between regions**

Regional co-operation establishes security. This is one of the most important lessons learned from Europe's evolution. Global networking and interdependence form the very setting in which crisis provision, confidence-building, the political resolution of conflicts, and co-operative regional structures are of decisive significance for security and stability.

Whether South-East Europe, the Middle East, the Caspian area, South and East Asia or the regions in Africa or South America – crises and conflicts naturally pose a danger to security there, but they equally do elsewhere.

The Middle East is a particular region in which the EU has become a key actor in the effort to establish peace. The greatest donor of funds, it is making an indispensable contribution towards the Middle East peace process by engaging in refugee relief activities, by launching regional projects and by supporting Israel's neighbours. Now that its political weight is meeting with increasing acceptance, the EU must in future wield it even more, in agreement with the USA, to put an end to the escalation of violence and to improve the prospects for peace.

Even if their political, security, economic and cultural resources cannot be used in every corner of the world, we Europeans must have an interest in strengthening budding regional co-operative and confidence-building structures and in enabling others to benefit from the lessons we have learned.

Allow me to cite one example: The African Union established in May 2001 is clearly modelled on the EU. The AU is Africa's attempt to find an answer to the process of globalisation. The lessons learned on administration, organisation and law in the EU's process of integration can be used with specific intent in the expansion of this organisation.

The crucial point is this: The concern is not simply to enhance co-operation within regions; it must also be to enhance co-operation between regions – between Europe and Africa, Europe and South America, Europe and Asia.

This means more than dialogue and consultation. It means practical co-operation and commitment for the future.

What Europe does not invest in today in such unstable regions – in the development of the economy, in the securing of water supplies and natural conditions of life, in the establishment and consolidation of democratic structures, in political confidence-building – will have future repercussions on Europe in the form of negative economic and ecological developments, the pressure of migration, criminality, or indeed terrorism.

There are no longer any self-sufficient islands in today's world – neither national nor regional islands. Co-operation is therefore the order of the day for countering the dangers posed by instability and seizing the chances offered to the one world. A modern security policy must provide both for regional and inter-regional co-operation as well as for forward-looking and full co-operation. Europe can and must play a pioneer role in both dimensions.

The EU's Barcelona process is one example of this. More must be done to exploit its potential. The dialogue of cultures agreed upon by the EU, African and Middle East states is an important and encouraging signal.

Regional structures must be supplemented by global ones into which they are integrated. These should not only include "good governance" principles, global treaties and standards, but also institutions endowed with the power to enforce international law.

Strengthening the political and treaty-related instruments of disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation is a central issue and also concerns efforts to prevent non-governmental actors from obtaining weapons of mass destruction and know-how. Headway must be made at all levels to involve risk states in the global co-operative schemes designed to check the spread of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and substances.

Prevention and crisis management are two sides of the same coin. This is why Europe must also make a decisive contribution towards the fight against the dissolution of the global order and against international terrorism and towards the consolidation of global security and stability. This contribution should be comprehensive and durable, that is to say, cover economic and social, ecological and cultural dimensions of politics and – wherever necessary – even the cited spectrum of security and defence policy.

The EU not yet exhausted its political and material potential in this matter, although disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation are one of the central topics of its foreign policy. Considering the immense importance of the endeavours being made on the subject of non-proliferation and the stagnation observed at the Geneva Disarmament Conference, organising an EU non-proliferation conference in association the anti-terrorism efforts being launched around the world would be a wise move to enhance the multilateral policy on non-proliferation within and beyond the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

## **VI. Europe: international organisations and co-operation between them**

For a stability and peace policy to be inclusive, use must be made use of the complementary strengths of all the security organisations. This was never so apparent as it has been during the management of the crises in the Balkans. It was not until NATO, the EU, the OSCE and the UN became active and began to work together that peace was able to be restored in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Kosovo and in Macedonia. The Stability Pact for South-East Europe has got states, organisations and regional bodies working together in a manner hitherto unseen to give an entire crisis region a perspective.

The management of the global challenges on the one hand, which pay no heed to borders, and the increasingly complex demands on a policy for conflict prevention and crisis management on the other urgently require us to improve the capacity of the international organisations to take action and the way in which they co-operate.

The EU has become increasingly important with respect to this matter in recent years. The development of the ESDP rendered it necessary for it to redefine its relationship and co-operation with NATO. The outcome of this process is that, on the one hand, the EU has acquired a capacity of its own for taking action in the field of peacekeeping, while on the other, a basis has been established for the two Euro-Atlantic security institutions to work together in a co-ordinated and synergetic manner.

This will not only spread the task of ensuring security in Europe more evenly over American and European shoulders, but also means that the EU will acquire capabilities that allow it both to relieve the USA of some of the burden it has so far borne in European regions and to step up its own commitment outside Europe.

At its summit in Nice, the EU explicitly underlined its preparedness to conduct UN-mandated operations with EU reaction forces. The move will further enhance the contribution the EU and its members make in support of UN activities, which is quite significant as it is. This is a key way for Europe to in the future be able to honour its global responsibility.

## **VII. Europe: assuming an active role in the globalised world**

The globalised world places new demands on our foreign and security policy, but also provides it new chances. This has been underscored by the alliance that has been established to fight international terrorism. The international force constellations are shifting. This process is also forcing Europe to redefine its role and to seize the opportunities it offers.

The community of democratic European and American states is today perhaps the most important factor of stability in international politics. Europe and America need each other to enhance peace, democracy and prosperity in a world in which the majority of countries still do not have liberal societies, despite the huge progress that has been made.

Europe and America will remain the principal anchors of stability in a restless world, especially whenever crises and conflicts arise elsewhere around the globe.

It would be asking too much of the USA, the only remaining world power, to guarantee global security on its own. Europe is meanwhile strong enough to bring its potential to bear in global peacekeeping and to assume a major active role.

Relations with other key states, Russia in particular, are of key importance in this. It is essential for the dialogue and co-operation with the EU's largest European neighbours to be intensified – both in consideration of the enlargement of the Union and the development of the ESDP and in view of the great challenges to common security.

The Europeans and Americans, the EU and NATO, should base their relations with Russia and other European states that have emerged from the former Soviet Union on the interest they share in global peace and security.

The East-West conflict is on the rubbish heap of history. The North-South dimension of the global challenges for a multipolar world is becoming increasingly visible.

We can use our foreign and security policy to also help NATO and Russia further develop their relations. To start with, Russia could be more greatly involved in all of NATO's tasks that do not come under Article 5 of the NATO Treaty. Two other steps that ought to ultimately improve the NATO-Russia Founding Act as well as both intensify co-operation and place it on a durable political and institutional footing are the establishment of joint NATO-Russian analysis and planning elements and the adoption of joint approaches to decision-making.

The principle in the multipolar and globalised 21st-century world that is beginning to take shape is more than ever that the Europeans must be able to attend to their shared interests effectively and that they must link this with a policy enabling them to assume global responsibility and make sound provision for the future. Only then will Europe be a safer place; only then will the world be a safer place.

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