

# EUROPE DIPLOMACY & DEFENCE

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## **TACKLING THE DARK SIDE OF GLOBALIZATION: WHY ONLY A UNITED EUROPE CAN PROJECT AND PROTECT ITS INTERESTS**

*by Javier Solana*

We are living in a world which is changing rapidly. New players are moving into the centres of power and decision-making, major economic flows are shifting, and scientific and technological know-how is spreading to regions of the world where, only a few years ago, it was inconceivable. Globalisation has offered millions a chance to live longer and better lives. But it has also unleashed forces that governments can neither stop nor control: terrorism, proliferation, climate change, pandemics, failing states. None can be solved by a single government acting alone. What happens half-way round the world, in Afghanistan, Gaza, Kosovo or the Democratic Republic of Congo, affects our own security and prosperity. So the question is: how do we organise this globalized world? And especially how do we tackle the dark side of globalisation? The answer from Europe's point of view should be obvious: by being active, determined and united. Last year, the European Union conducted 10 operations with around 10 000 men and women serving in them. The global reach and the scope of these different operations is striking. And their impact is significant. From the Palestinian territories to Kabul, and from Kinshasa to Sarajevo, the EU has been and is providing the "key enablers" for peace and stability. The demands placed on the EU are increasing. To these responsibilities, we will add the conduct of a police and rule-of-law mission in Kosovo, pending a sustainable status settlement solution. It is essential for Europe to stay united on this issue, in defence of Europe's interests, notably the stability, prosperity and European future of the Balkans. It is right that we take on greater operational responsibilities in the Balkans and our planning for this mission is well under way.

Europe needs a genuine common foreign policy because of a simple reality: interdependence. After 1945, the international system was based on inter-state relations. At the same time, the world saw the first real attempt to build an international system based on rules and multilateral institutions. This was new, and revolutionary. But today, that multilateral system is in trouble. Globalization means that power is shifting within our political systems to the media, to markets, and, above all, to individuals. Gone are the days when governments and political elites could set the agenda and deliver the solutions by themselves. Power is also shifting between political systems, from the West to new powers like China, India, Brazil, and South Africa. In response, we will have to mobilise all our resources (diplomacy, trade, aid and crisis management tools) in support of our objectives. And we have to do so together, as Europeans. There is no future in playing the national card in the face of complex and growing challenges. Nowadays, international politics can only be conducted from continental platforms. When I travel around the world, the demand for greater European engagement in the world's brewing crises is clear. People in Africa, the Balkans, the Middle East count on us to promote peace and protect the vulnerable. It would be both callous and against our own interests not to heed that call for action. One of the assets that we should draw on is that we are seen as an active player but not as a threat. For this we have to thank the legacy of the ideas on which we originally founded our project: solid laws and institutions, the tireless pursuit of consensus and a spirit of compromise. We should bear this in mind, as we develop Europe's global role. In recent years, we have made enormous progress in developing an innovative and comprehensive approach to tackle today's diffuse security threats. From traditional peacekeeping, to police and security sector reform, from border management to judicial training: the EU is helping countries to end conflicts and get back on their feet. But beyond crisis-management, we also have to devote time, energy and resources to address longer-term challenges. The global non-proliferation regime is suffering from growing distrust among the parties. Relations between the Islamic world and the West require new and more intense forms of dialogue. Energy and climate change are other good examples of longer-term problems we have to address together. There is some irony in the situation: energy has allowed us to build the modern world we inhabit; but in the twenty-first century it is also becoming a costly burden in both political and environmental terms. Secure access to energy supplies has become a fundamental ingredient of any country's survival and success, and therefore a key component of national security. How countries pursue the

struggle for finite energy resources will affect the political and diplomatic course of this century. In many instances, the access to energy or the proceeds of its exploration are creating or fuelling political conflicts. So when we talk about energy, we must consider it more than a strategic good to one country. The global energy community must forge feasible strategies, not only to secure supply but also to make our world more stable. In the same spirit, we must also take on the environmental responsibilities that are connected with securing energy supplies, notably climate change. We need a global agreement on a successor regime to the Kyoto Treaty and we need to define its contours soon.

So, in the months ahead, we should obviously focus on the immediate political priorities: Kosovo, Israel-Palestine, Iran, Sudan/Darfur, Afghanistan etc. But we should also lift our eyes from the crises of today and look at the medium and longer-term challenges ahead. By far the biggest challenge will be to protect and develop a system of strong institutions capable of tackling the problems of our globalised world to build an international order with the rules that will help us navigate the choppy waters ahead. We will have to do this as the world moves to a system of continents. In this new strategic landscape, Europeans will only be able to project and protect their interests if they are united.

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