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Europe's Security in a Global Perspective

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Abstract

Two decades after the iron curtain was torn down Europe is stronger than ever. Europe matters in the world and the world matters to Europe. The European Union is the world's largest and richest marketplace. It stands for political stability, security, and prosperity. It has evolved into a recognised actor in international crisis management, with an increasing capacity for taking action on foreign and security policy matters.

The end of the cold war has produced a drastic change in Europe's security environment. It has also triggered a wave of inter- and intra-State armed conflicts in the vicinity of the EU and far beyond. Today, the European Union faces security challenges entirely different from those at the time of its inception. Some problems such as new forms of financial fraud or cyber-crime have simply grown beyond the ability of individual nation states to deal with them.

Obviously, the EU has security and stability interests beyond its own territory. "Asymmetry" has become a key word for many of these risks and threats and stands for the changing character of war, often including the total disregard of certain actors for international and humanitarian law. The EU's obligation to cope with these external risks and threats is reflected in the growing involvement of its Member States and their militaries, police forces and civil protection institutions in peacekeeping and nation-building across the world during the last decade.

Within the EU, over the years, a distinctive European approach to security has emerged, which is characterized by a broad, multidimensional or comprehensive notion of security, which starts from the interdependence between all dimensions of security – political, socio-economic, ecological, cultural and military – rather than just focusing on the latter. To this

end, the European Union's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) is supposed to better enable the European Union countries to take responsibility for security and stability on their continent as well as beyond its periphery.

In response to the changing security environment, a number of States and international organisations have sought new ways to deal with security – ways that go beyond the State-centric and the defence and politico-military approaches of the past. The emphasis clearly is on the comprehensive approach which is aimed at preventing crises, combating them once they have escalated, mitigating their impacts, and providing stabilisation in their aftermath.

The Comprehensive Approach requires developing a sense of common purpose and resolve, the clear definition of strategies and objectives before launching an operation, as well as enhanced planning to support nations' contributions to operations. Civilian and military capabilities need to be embedded into a grand strategy, an *"overall package"* of governmental and/or international measures. It requires knowledge, which is based on a holistic analysis of the challenges to be addressed. Shared situational awareness enables collaboration and self-synchronisation, and enhances sustainability and speed of command and these, in turn, dramatically increase mission effectiveness of security operations.

The time is ripe for Europe and Asia to partner in tackling regional and global challenges in a comprehensive manner. We need to meet the security challenges that affect us commonly. Leadership is required and partnerships as well. These may take the form of international organisations and regimes, joint task forces, confidence building measures, peacekeeping etc. The security threats of today's globalised world are too complex to be handled by any one nation, or even by a single international organization. They require closer cooperation and the application of a wide range of foreign, security, defence, and development policy instruments in order to identify, prevent, and resolve conflicts and crises before they occur, at least at an early stage.

My presentation will specifically discuss the benefits of

- A Comprehensive Approach to Security
- Shared Situational Awareness for cooperative Decision-Making and Acting in Crises
- Unmanned Aircraft Systems
- Global partnerships

1. Change

Observers from outside Europe may think that we Europeans are rather complicated. And in fact, I could easily confuse you – and myself – with Europe's institutional reforms, with European processes, architectures etc. Managing, directing, and engaging a community of 27 member countries is a complex challenge. That is true. But very likely this is would also be true here in Asia. Yet, the European continent has achieved something that for centuries was not possible. While the European nation states have for hundreds of years waged wars against each other, today the European Union guarantees that this will not happen again. My home country Germany - having been divided for almost half a century - now is united in peace.

Two decades after the iron curtain was torn down Europe is stronger than ever. Europe matters in the world and the world matters to Europe. The European Union is the world's

largest and richest marketplace. In 2010, it ranked as the world's largest economic entity, with an annual GDP of $15.1 trillion, slightly ahead of the United States at $14.6 trillion. Despite China's impressive double-digit growth rates and rapidly growing geopolitical clout, even at purchasing power parity, the People's Republic's $10.1 trillion GDP still lags far behind both the United States and the EU.

The European Union stands for political stability, security, and prosperity. It has evolved into a recognised actor in international crisis management, with an increasing capacity for taking action on foreign and security policy matters. As an integral part of the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy, the European Security and Defence Policy has defined military and civilian headline goals, established politico military structures for operations, created a European Defence Agency, and formulated its European Security Strategy. Thus, Europe now has the prerequisites to more effectively fulfil its share of responsibility for global security in the future and to contribute to making the world a safer place.

The end of the cold war produced a drastic change in Europe's security environment. But the end of the cold war also triggered a wave of inter- and intra-State armed conflicts in the vicinity of the EU and far beyond. In the absence of a major military threat, other factors that can constitute the underlying causes of terrorism or of armed conflict between or within third States, or that can intrinsically affect the values and interests of the EU, have come much more to the fore: organised crime, illegal immigration, social and economic underdevelopment, lack of democratic institutions and respect for human rights, failed States, ineffective multilateral institutions, ecological problems etc. These factors are much more difficult to grasp than the previous clearly identifiable threat.

Although they have not threatened the EU directly, they have produced negative spill-over effects. In these conflicts, the civilian population has been targeted more than ever before. Another element is the growing awareness of the importance of values in international relations, such as democracy and respect for human rights and an effective international legal order. The number of international players – State and non-State, legal and illegal – has increased too. The driving force of this shifting importance of security factors is globalisation. At the global level, interdependence has proven to be more than economic; it also has political, cultural and security aspects.

The international environment continues to change with enormous pace. Globalisation has opened up new opportunities. At the same time, the radical changes in the security environment have created new risks and threats that are not only having a destabilising effect on Europe's immediate neighbourhood but also impact on the security of the international community as a whole.

Europe's interests are clearly linked to the stability of its worldwide interaction with other players, and vice versa. This interdependency implies that events anywhere in the world can have an immediate impact on Europe – there no longer is a fixed correlation between the importance of developments for European security and their geographical distance from the EU. It further means that the security of one is dependent upon the security of the other, hence the need for multilateral cooperation. In effect therefore, the security of Europe nowadays is dependent on the stability of the international system as such. The global financial crisis has recently highlighted this very fact.

2. Security Trends

Today, the European Union faces security challenges entirely different from those at the time of its inception. Some problems such as new forms of financial fraud or cyber-crime have simply grown beyond the ability of individual nation states to deal with them. The European continent itself is a patchwork of languages and cultures, laws and habits that change at nearly every border. Europe risks falling prey to the vulnerability of its own diversity. Its problems include communications networks of similar technology but incompatible with each other, power grids whose linkages cause negative chain effects such as outages, divergent emergency response procedures and inadequate cross-border language skills and the vulnerability of critical infrastructure, particularly with regard to information systems.

Taken together, the multitude of Europe's problems with territorial, organisational and cultural non-interoperability along its member states' borders enables criminal, terrorist, and governmental organisations to exploit the patchwork's inherent weaknesses. Europe cannot ignore these risks and threats – or their potential impact – on its domestic security as it must secure its economy and its competitiveness against an increasing threat of disruption to its basic economic infrastructures, including industrial assets and transport, energy and information networks. Thus, for Europe to successfully deal with these threats investments in a seamless approach to security are essential. This includes the challenges posed by external and transnational risks and threats.

Obviously, the EU has security and stability interests beyond its own territory. There are threats and challenges from failed or failing states, the persistence of regional, national, ethnic and religious rivalries and conflicts at or beyond its periphery, competition for strategic resources and raw materials, international terrorism making use of modern technologies, the issue of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and means of delivery, threats to oil and gas transport infrastructure, threats to sea lines, particularly at choke points, and piracy. On top comes the link of some of these phenomena with organized international crime and money laundering, including trafficking in drugs and human beings as well as cumulative consequences of demographic trends and migration, food and water scarcity, environmental degradation and climate change. Many of these challenges are global. Some are regional or local. Most of them can lead to serious crises, conflicts and even make inter-state wars more probable again in the future.

"Asymmetry" has become a key word for many of these risks and threats and stands for the changing character of war, often including the total disregard of certain actors for international and humanitarian law. In the past decade, two new challenges have arisen in the arena of asymmetric warfare: the growth of global terrorist movements and the increase in piracy. Piracy affects the safe transit of goods across borders, a factor critical to the economic security of the European Union and its global partners. Most of these security challenges are not, or not mainly, of a military character, and can therefore not be countered by primarily military responses. In opposite, there is an ever increasing requirement for effective civilian contributions to crisis management and stability building.

The EU's obligation to cope with these external risk and threats is reflected in the growing involvement of its Member States and their militaries, police forces and civil protection institutions in peacekeeping and nation-building across the world during the last decade.

European security missions include police training in Afghanistan, in Kosovo, military and civilian assistance in Bosnia, training Palestinian police officers and fighting piracy off the Horn of Africa. Europe also helped to ensure a stable environment for the elections in the Congo.

Within the EU, over the years, a distinctive European approach to security has emerged, which is characterized by a broad, multidimensional or comprehensive notion of security, which starts from the interdependence between all dimensions of security – political, socio-economic, ecological, cultural and military – rather than just focusing on the latter. To this end, the European Union's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) is supposed to better enable the European Union countries to take responsibility for security and stability on their continent as well as beyond its periphery. With the ratification of the Treaty of Lisbon ESDP has been renamed to Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP).[1]

Defense and security have become available to enhanced co-operation. The personal union of the High Representative and the Commissioner for External Relations as well as the European External Action Service provided in the Lisbon Treaty will allow for the integration of the security, political, social and economic dimensions in all foreign policies, from the creation to the implementation and evaluation of policy. In line with the Lisbon Treaty, NATO supports the strengthening of the EU's military capabilities and command structures. The strategic partnership between NATO and the EU is one of the pillars of the European and transatlantic security architecture. The EU and NATO are not competitors. Both make vital contributions to European security.

3. Comprehensive

The ratification of the Lisbon Treaty in 2009 and the appointment of a President and Foreign Minister for Europe call attention to the EU's great promise of becoming a viable global security actor in cooperatively with other global partners meeting twenty-first century challenges. Obviously its up to José Manuel Barroso, the European Commission president, European Council President Herman Van Rompuy and Baroness Catherine Ashton, the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs, to lead the Common Security and Foreign Policy of the European Union into a new era.

In response to the changing security environment and based on a new assessment of security threats, a number of States and international organisations have sought new ways to deal with security – ways that go beyond the State-centric and the defence and politico-military approaches of the past. "9/11" has demonstrated that possession of the greatest military might on earth, including the most advanced technology, cannot itself guarantee security. The emphasis clearly is on the comprehensive approach, on putting to use the full spectrum of instruments available.

The Comprehensive Approach is aimed at preventing crises, combating them once they have escalated, mitigating their impact, and providing stability in their aftermath. The relevant security instruments include diplomacy, information, military, law enforcement, and economy.

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[1] Article 42 (ex Article 17 TEU) "1. The common security and defence policy shall be an integral part of the common foreign and security policy. It shall provide the Union with an operational capacity drawing on civilian and military assets. The Union may use them on missions outside the Union for peacekeeping, conflict prevention and strengthening international security in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter. The performance of these tasks shall be undertaken using capabilities provided by the Member States." CONSOLIDATED VERSION OF THE TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION, 9.5.2008 EN Official Journal of the European Union C 115/13, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri= OJ:C:2008:115:0013:0045:EN:PDF

The range of security tasks to be accomplished in this context include conflict prevention, crisis management, and post-conflict stabilisation. A systematic networking of all relevant security actors and levels of decision-making and implementation – from the international level within NATO, the EU and the United Nations to local levels of interaction – drastically improves situational awareness and understanding. It increases transparency, shortens decision-making cycles, and enhances the ability to employ instruments rapidly. It ensures a deliberate and superior exploitation of one's own possibilities and optimises – also in an interagency context – the cost-benefit equation through speed, precision, selectivity and parallel, integrated action.

The Comprehensive Approach requires developing a sense of common purpose and resolve, the clear definition of strategies and objectives before launching an operation, as well as enhanced planning to support nations' contributions to operations. Civilian and military capabilities need to be embedded into a grand strategy, an *"overall package"* of governmental and/or international measures. The civilian and military actors involved in such operations need to agree on the political end-state and engage in the joint planning, execution and evaluation of their operational activities in order to achieve it. A strategic framework provides a clear structure for operations conducted by all actors. The elements to be considered include common and updated documentation, multinational training, closing interoperability gaps, awareness in cultural sensitivities, and standard terminology.

A Comprehensive Approach would enable the collaborative engagement of all requisite civil and military elements of international power to end hostilities, restore order, commence reconstruction, and begin to address a conflict's root causes. Early engagement of non-military instruments of power is essential. Often civilian agencies have presence in crises regions prior to military engagement. They provide continuity during transitions and are focused on long-term solutions. Much expertise is resident within NGOs. These are particular valuable resources when it comes to design action and effects, methods for assessments and interpreting results.

4. Awareness

The Comprehensive Approach requires knowledge, which is to be based on a holistic analysis of the challenges to be addressed. As institutions, decision-making processes and command structures must be flexible and adaptable, it is quite obvious that better information is needed, as better processes and tools to design and conduct network enabled operations in an interagency context, including international and non-governmental partners. The core capability within the Comprehensive Approach is a superior, integrated command and control process which - based on a network of governmental and non-governmental expert knowledge and instruments of power - makes it possible to project all available instruments of power at an early stage and in an integrated fashion in order to achieve a maximum outcome. In order to get there, a system of systems analysis is required. The key actors need to be analyzed from various perspectives, with particular attention paid to political, military, economic and social, information and infrastructure aspects. Providing relevant insights requires intensified cooperation with academic disciplines in terms of social, cultural, and regional studies. In this context, it is essential to take account of the knowledge requirements of all stakeholders in the broadened spectrum and enabled them with role-based shared situational awareness.

Shared situational awareness - as a complex human, organizational and technological construct – enables collaboration and self-synchronisation, and enhances sustainability and

speed of command and these, in turn, dramatically increase mission effectiveness of security operations. It is an indispensable prerequisite to building superior knowledge, decision-making and effective mission accomplishment. It means less to integrate established, proven systems into a single new one, but rather to consolidate comprehensive data and information from sources and inventories of the joint & combined acting decision-makers and security related personnel. An Information turntable provides the information from multiple sources, inventories and databases, respectively provided by intelligence, surveillance and/or reconnaissance systems from systems, sensors and platforms, and public domains. Situational Awareness capabilities – communication, collaboration, coordination – will be generated via platforms, sensors, links, data &sensor fusion, change detection, decision support tools, OSINT, knowledge development and C4ISTAR facilities. A particular challenge is the collection, fusion and dissemination of enormous quantities of data drawn from military and civilian government agencies, international coalition partners and forces, and commercial entities. Eventually, the depth of information collected from these various sources will be weaved together to enrich a role-based comprehensive common operating picture that is to be role-based distributed among users with granted access.

To this end Unmanned Aircraft System (UAS) have gained particular relevance in the past decade. Their use – in various sizes - has led to a paradigm shift all over the world. In 2000, the U.S. Armed Forces only had about 50 UAS; in October 2009, they already had more than 6,800. UAS help decision-makers to gain a full situational understanding and to make quick, precise and sound decisions, both now and even more so in the future. With their help, not just military, but also many foreign and security policy issues can be monitored and prepared quickly and appropriately for the decision-making process independently and in their interactions, such as

- international and national armed conflicts as well as regional destabilization processes caused by state failures;
- nuclear non-proliferation, uncontrolled production and proliferation of weapons as well as destruction of weapons;
- help for people in dire need as a result of natural disasters, epidemics, armed conflicts or unrest;
- threats to trade routes as well as raw materials and energy supply,
- risks for the critical infrastructure, in particular for information and supply networks through cyber threats;
- national large-scale emergency situations, also against the background of social and ecological changes, climate change and environmental protection;
- risk of chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear (CBRN) incidents.

Above all, UAS change the perception of decision-makers. Their superior technology gives an overview of the situation even in difficult terrain and complex environments and facilitates the observation of crises and conflicts around the globe. UAS help enormously to sharpen the view and improve situational awareness. They enable a look behind the scenes and, if necessary, the intervention where danger arises and injustice occurs. UAS help decision-makers to gain a deep situational picture more quickly, which can be used as a basis to make better decisions and act faster.

5. Challenged Partners

The vision of Europe is the vision of a European Union that is decisive, united and thus convincing in pursuing its interests in the world. This European Union was founded on the values of freedom, responsibility and the dignity of the individual. Consequently, it needs to courageously tackle the great challenges of our century – respecting human rights, securing peace and stability, or protecting the climate and promoting sustainable energy supply. To this end the EU feels a global responsibility and will be working with partners both through multi-lateral cooperation in international organisations and through partnerships with key actors who share our goals and values, and are prepared to act in their support.

What is the vision of Asia? What could it be? The end of Cold War has been a blessing for mankind, not only with regard to the disappearance of long standing security threats; more than that it enabled a new era of global developments. Within the past two decades millions of people were lifted out of abject poverty. Also East Asia has profited from a second economic boom. However, security is precarious. The economic success of the past decades has also laid the foundation of today's and tomorrow's vulnerabilities in Europe and in East Asia as well. Climate change, scarcity of resources, migration, terrorism and environmental hazards for example affect Asia more than in the past, just because of the economic boom it enjoys.

The time is ripe for East Asia, Europe and North America to partner in tackling regional and global challenges in a comprehensive manner. We are challenged to meet the security challenges that affect us commonly. Modern technology allows us today to collaborate closely, to combine our knowledge and to synchronize our decision-making and action with regard to common security challenges even if we are separated by continents.

First of all, leadership is required and partnerships as well. These may take the form of international organisations and regimes, joint task forces, confidence building measures, peace-keeping etc. The security threats of today's globalised world are too complex to be handled by any one nation, or even by a single international organization. They require closer cooperation and the application of a wide range of foreign, security, defence, and development policy instruments in order to identify, prevent, and resolve conflicts and crises before they occur, at least at an early stage.

Global security in the 21st century will be established by a well-balanced relationship of different centers of economic growth. These centers will be able to project, either individually or together with partners, political stability. East Asia, Europe and North America are the regions where we find the highest concentration of G 20 countries. Korea and Germany are among them. If we work together, we will be able to contribute in a constructive way to a peaceful and prosperous world in the 21st century.

Naturally, at this conference on *European and Asian Perspectives on International Security Policies* I am very interested to hear and discuss your ideas on that very subject.

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