

Klemens H. Fischer [ed.]

European Security Put to the Test

Perspectives and Challenges
for the Next Decade



Nomos

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When problems are noted before they occur, it is easy to remedy them. But if you wait until they approach, the medicine is too late because the illness has become incurable.

Niccolò Machiavelli, The Prince

Preface

Almost thirty years ago, the European Community had turned into a political union. In 1992, the Treaty of Maastricht had placed the European Union on three pillars. The already established supranational market policies had been joined by two intergovernmental elements. One comprising Justice and Home Affairs, the other reaching out for a Common Foreign and Security Policy. It took another fifteen years before the Member States moved forward on their integrational path in signing the Treaty of Lisbon. The main achievement of the 2007 treaty was the full integration of the until then intergovernmental columns into the realm of supranationality, thus establishing a true political Union.

The 1992 Maastricht Treaty, for the first time in the history of European integration, featured a set of values the Union shall be committed to. The Treaty of Lisbon enhanced and further strengthened that commitment.

Today, the European Union has a wide-ranging set of measures at its disposal to champion the Rule of Law, human rights, and fundamental values. The Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, introduced by the Lisbon Treaty, fundamentally and conceptually a policy confined to the territory of the EU, shall be mirrored by a Common Foreign and Security Policy that is equally based on the same setting. Both the intra-EU and the extra-EU demeanour shall be guided by protecting those values that are the basis of European integration.

The European Parliament, the European Council, and the European Commission have most recently decided not only to introduce but to rigorously enforce the principle of conditionality. Whoever fails to obey to the Rule of Law, human rights, and the fundamental values cannot fully enjoy the benefits the European Union offers.

Conditionality is the latest measure introduced to underline and ensure that European integration aims at a Union of Values not only by words. The Union's goal within the realm of the EU is to promote peace, its values and the well-being of its peoples. The European Common Foreign and Security Policy is more than signing international treaties, expressing one's disapproval in writing, or building Potemkin villages. It is the chosen instrument to uphold and promote the Union's values abroad. With its strong voice, the Union contributes to peace, security, the sustainable

Preface

development of the Earth, solidarity and mutual respect among peoples. It ensures free and fair trade, eradication of poverty and the protection of human rights, as well as to the strict observance and the development of international law, including respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The latest European and global developments have shown how fragile the political environment can be, how easy the international community deviates from its rightful course. Many a politics are based upon compromises but the Rule of Law, human rights, and fundamental values rule out any compromise. The EU must reinvent itself every day and adapt to change to maintain its leading role as a values-based community.

This book presents ideas and concepts for this necessary constant renewal.

Vienna, July 2021

Alexander Schallenberg

Federal Minister for European and International Affairs

Preface

Today's risks and threats and their effects do not know any borders – and neither should our responses. The past year mercilessly demonstrated this fact in the shape of a pandemic, of cyber-attacks, natural disasters, regional conflicts and terrorist attacks.

The last year, however, also produced a joint and holistic look at future challenges, an analysis that makes clear what threats the EU, and therefore Austria, will face in the coming years. This analysis is the basis for the ongoing political dialogue of the Strategic Compass. It is the task of the Compass to provide the European Common Security and Defence Policy with a shared strategic orientation. All Member States jointly define future EU capabilities in the fields of security and defence.

I am convinced that we need a strong Europe capable of action, especially in these two fields. Communication and cooperation are the keystones required for tackling the current security and defence challenges. We must be aware of how future pandemics may develop and what the new threats are that affect all Member States. Austria therefore fully supports the elaborations on the Strategic Compass. Important issues from our point of view are:

- first, that this will increase the effectiveness of EU operations and missions, and
- second, that the progress made in recent years in all key areas of military affairs is enhanced, and
- third, that the security and protection of the population are optimised.

For example, in the field of *PESCO* Projects or the *European Defence Fund* research funding programme. This stimulates the EU Member States to structure and coordinate their military capabilities permanently. What is particularly interesting in these key areas is that not only that the defence sectors of the individual states are involved, but that the input of industry, technology and small and medium-sized enterprises is also required.

The AIES publication on *European Security Put to the Test – Perspectives and Challenges for the next Decade* constitute a further step on the way to a progressing common European security culture and thus contribute to finding European solutions to future challenges.

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With this in mind, I would like to wish you an inspiring read and all of us a successful way forward in an increasingly strong European Union.

Vienna, July 2021

Mag. Klaudia Tanner

Federal Minister for Defence

Introduction

The pandemic, being in some way comparable to a biochemical attack, and recent cyber-attacks have ruthlessly exposed the EU's vulnerability and weak resilience. The European Union would not have been prepared in any way for a biochemical attack as it was the case with COVID-19. An identical diagnose was to be stated after the latest hacker attacks. Biochemical and cyber-attacks have some aspects in common: one does not see them, one does not smell them, one does not hear them, and one is caught unprepared and by surprise. In addition to manmade challenges, natural disasters draw an equally dark picture of the state of the Union. Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands had been hit by flash rains in mid-July 2021, all three countries are highly developed and usually thought to be able to handle extraordinary situations – in fact that natural disaster had caught them unaware.

The key words are preparedness and resilience. Preparedness and resilience in one sector are not enough, Europe must provide comprehensive protection for its Member States and citizens. The different articles of this volume, pooled in three chapters, span from (i) defence questions regarding the relation between the EU and NATO and, at the same time, the EU's quest for more autonomy, to (ii) foreign political questions, evaluating the EU's delicate position in a multipolar world where it advocates multilateralism and at the same time risks being ground between the US, Russia and China, to (iii) strategic questions by shedding light on economic issues such as the influence of monetary policy and the question of how to uphold the Rule of Law, human rights, and fundamental values in an ever disintegrating international environment.

The challenges facing the European Union are so diverse that some critics argue that the Union lacks the capacity to provide solutions and is therefore obsolete. My co-authors and I are strongly arguing in the opposite direction. The dangerous situation and the enormous number of challenges must neither be denied or dismissed nor can be dealt with by a single nation state. Together, we have to take up the gauntlet and meet the challenges by closely cooperating to find adequate and comprehensive solutions. It must not be the lowest common denominator that drives us

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forward. The answer must be that the European Union is more than the sum of its Member States.

This book is thought to be a contribution to the discussion on the future priorities of the European Union. The Community will have to set a course that enables it to act proactively in foreign, security and defence matters and to develop a comprehensive strategy. The book takes up these lines of argument and offers both stocktaking and evaluation of past and present practices, ultimately identifying concrete policy proposals. All authors who have contributed to this volume have dedicated themselves to this comprehensive exercise.

Brussels, July 2021

Prof. Dr. Klemens H. Fischer

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Finally, it is for the editor to take the blame for everything that went wrong and to ask for lenience – that is what I humbly ask for from my co-authors and every reader.

Brussels, July 2021

KHF

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