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Conclusions

Answers to the rapidly changing and, indeed, expanding challenges in foreign policy and international security can be grouped into three categories: the public sphere, institutional changes and further modernization of the military.

- Public sphere:

- Transatlantic relations will require a sustained effort on both sides of the Atlantic. The problems that obviously persist today will not disappear with a change of administration in the U.S. in 2009.

- There is an increasing overlap between policy areas that, up to now, tended to be defined as either "internal" or "external". This necessitates stronger efforts by EPP/ED parties to highlight the need for sacrifices (military losses, economic costs) in order to maintain our liberty and security.

- In the global effort to win hearts and minds, the West will not only have to compete with Islamism but increasingly with a second competitor: Authoritarian capitalism (as in China, Russia etc.

- In EU-Russia relations, "Schröderism" is on the wane, and a healthy firmness is gaining ground, as in energy policy. This trend needs to be developed further.

- Institutional changes:

- NATO/EU/US:

- Urgent need to keep working on firmer mechanisms for dialogue and consultation.

- Drawing up a common security strategy for both the EU and the US looks feasible and desirable today, but it will be more difficult to develop mechanisms to assure its implementation.

- NATO:

- The alliance will have to go "out of area" with its strategic partnerships (Japan, New Zealand, Australia), just below the level of formal membership.

- It needs to become more active in the Middle East, with peacekeeping and stabilizing missions.

- EU:

- After the Reform Treaty, the Union needs new projects. One of the most urgent ones is the need for a policy on energy security, including a mutual solidarity clause against outside threats in this field.

- The Union's neighbourhood policy needs constant development. In its Middle Eastern component, it should reach out more to the Gulf Cooperation Council.

- Stronger military integration, in full coordination with NATO, is another field in which more effort is needed.

- Military modernization:

- Iraq and Afghanistan have shown that the American-driven and largely technology-oriented "Revolution in Military Affairs" of the last couple of years has, in part, set the wrong priorities. Armed forces will have to "put more boots on the ground" in order to answer to the challenges of asymmetrical warfare against global terror networks. This will deeply affect new structures and equipment.

- Soldiers will have to engage more and more in nation-building (policing, construction), alongside warfighting. Training, structures and equipment will therefore have to be fundamentally changed.