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## Leçons du Liban

Nicole Gnesotto

Directeur

**Q**ui aurait cru, un an après le marasme politique issu des « non » au référendum sur la Constitution, que l'Union allait devenir, en quelques mois, l'un des acteurs indispensables pour la stabilisation des crises, notamment au Moyen-Orient ?

Or tel est bien le cas : à l'égard de l'Iran et du risque de prolifération nucléaire, c'est Javier Solana qui assume le leadership diplomatique, au nom de l'Union et avec le soutien du Conseil de sécurité des Nations unies. Au Liban, c'est le Conseil des ministres des affaires étrangères des 25 qui a débloqué la situation, en décidant de soutenir l'action de Kofi Annan et la mise en œuvre de la résolution 1701. Que les quelque 6000 soldats européens déployés au Sud-Liban le soient à titre national et non pas dans le cadre de la PESD n'enlève rien au caractère historique de cette décision. A l'égard du conflit israélo-palestinien, c'est cette fois dans le cadre de la PESD que l'Union assume, depuis octobre 2005, le contrôle du point de passage de Rafah entre Israël et Gaza. Le tout, alors que l'Union est simultanément en première ligne pour la stabilisation du processus électoral entamé en République démocratique du Congo (RDC), et qu'elle se prépare, au-delà de la Bosnie déjà placée entièrement sous sa responsabilité, à assumer toujours plus de responsabilités dans l'ex-Yougoslavie, notamment au Kosovo.

Quelques leçons doivent être tirées de ce constat :

► Sans les Européens, la situation de bien des crises serait encore plus dramatique qu'elle ne l'est aujourd'hui. Qu'ils le veuillent ou non, les Européens sont en effet devenus le plus grand, voire le seul réservoir de forces disponibles pour

asseoir la crédibilité des opérations des Nations unies : en RDC, au Liban, peut-être un jour au Darfour. Alors que l'Amérique est empêtrée dans le dossier irakien, que l'OTAN concentre toute sa puissance sur la stabilisation de l'Afghanistan, l'Union est devenue désormais incontournable, tant sur le plan politique que militaire.

► Pour pouvoir répondre à ces attentes de la communauté internationale, l'Union doit donc s'organiser. Sur le plan des capacités militaires, sa marge de manœuvre restera étroite aussi longtemps qu'on ne retrouvera pas l'ambition initiale formulée par le Conseil européen d'Helsinki en 2001 : le Corps européen supposait en effet une capacité de 60 000 hommes à disposition de l'Union, soit bien davantage que ne l'implique aujourd'hui le concept des battlegroups. Sur le plan politique, l'Union se retrouve dans une situation paradoxale : l'absence de Constitution la prive des instruments de cohérence et d'efficacité qu'aurait du être, notamment, le Ministre des Affaires étrangères/Vice-Président de la Commission. Mais simultanément, la perspective d'une réouverture du chantier constitutionnel en 2007, avec l'espoir de sauver ce qui peut l'être de la Constitution, gèle toute initiative, voire toute réflexion nouvelle.

► L'Union se retrouve donc de plus en plus sollicitée par les crises extérieures, et de moins en moins préparée et structurée pour y faire face. Ce qui laisse tout pouvoir aux nations, selon leur disponibilité, leur volontarisme, leurs capacités. Il n'y a d'ailleurs rien d'étonnant au fait que l'action internationale de l'Union se construise sur celle



# Institute Activities

## The Institute and the Union

■ **The High Representative** — On 6 July Nicole Gnesotto took part in the working lunch organised by Javier Solana, SG/HR of the Council, with Claude Mandil, Executive Director of the International Energy Agency, in Paris.

■ **The Presidency** — On 4 July, the Institute organised in Paris an informal meeting of the 25 planning staff directors, in cooperation with the Finnish Presidency (Nicole Gnesotto). This is the first time that a brainstorming session of this kind was organised to discuss the future challenges facing the EU. Helga Schmid, Director of the Policy Planning Unit in the Council, also attended the meeting.

On 7 September, during his mission in Teheran, Walter Posch delivered a presentation at the brainstorming session on 'The future of EU-Iranian relations' attended by representatives of Member States and organised by the Austrian Embassy in cooperation with the Finnish presidency.

On 15 September, the Director received a representative of the forthcoming German presidency in Paris in order to discuss future cooperation with the Institute on ESDP.

■ **The Council** — On 6 July, Judy Batt went to Brussels to present the conclusions of the Gender Mainstreaming report to the Political-Military Group of the Council of the European Union.

■ **The European Parliament** — On 13 July, Nicole Gnesotto took part in a hearing of the European Parliament on ESDP. On 14 September, Walter Posch gave a presentation on 'The situation of ethnic minorities in Iran' at the Delegation for relations with Iran.

## The Institute and the Union

*continued*

■ **The future of the Institute** — On 13 July, the Director attended a meeting of the Board of the Institute in Brussels concerning the revision of the Joint Action of 20 July 2001 on the establishment of a European Union Institute for Security Studies.

■ **European Security and Defence College (ESDC)** — On 6 July, Nicole Gnesotto and Gustav Lindstrom took part in the ESDC Executive Academic Board meeting organised in Brussels under the chairmanship of the EUISS. On 12 September, Gustav Lindstrom went to Brussels to serve as faculty member during the ESDP High Level Course (Module 1), organised by the ESDC.

## Seminars

■ On 25 September, the Institute organised a conference in Paris on 'Implementing the BTWC: challenges and prospects' (Gustav Lindstrom). It was attended by high-level officials from national governments as well as from the UN and the EU. The first plenary session discussed challenges and prospects of implementing the BTWC. Then, three working groups examined national implementation of the BTWC, confidence-building measures and the intersessional work programme.

## Task Force

■ On 30 June, the EUISS organised a Task Force entitled 'Montenegro, Serbia, Kosovo – the State of Play' (Judy Batt). Discussion focussed on Montenegro after the independence referendum and relations with Serbia; domestic developments in Serbian politics, especially in the light of the possibility of parliamentary elections in the autumn; and the prospects for a viable settlement of Kosovo's 'final status' this year.

## Missions on the ground

■ From 22 June to 7 July, Pierre-Antoine Braud was in Kinshasa and Kivu (Eastern DRC) to carry out research in the context of the presidential campaign and the deployment of EUFOR.

■ From 1 to 2 September, Judy Batt was in Novi Sad at the invitation of the Vojvodina Assembly, to address their conference on 'The role of border regions in European integration'. On 3 September, she was in Podgorica to talk to local political analysts and party activists on the forthcoming parliamentary elections in Montenegro. On 4-6 September, she was in Belgrade, talking to local political analysts about current political developments in Serbia, and gave a lecture on 6 September at the French Cultural Institute on 'EU enlargement fatigue: myths and realities'.

■ From 3 to 10 September, Walter Posch went to Iran where he conducted interviews with journalists, policy analysts and political advisors.

## Briefings

■ On 28 July, Marcin Zaborowski and Giovanni Grevi briefed a group of Taiwanese Scholars from the Institute of European Studies (NanHua University of Taiwan) on ESDP and EU/East-Asia relations.

## On-line/http

All of the EUISS's publications and reports on seminars can be accessed on the Institute's website.

**Please take note of our new URL:**

[www.iss.europa.eu](http://www.iss.europa.eu)

## Institute publications

### Books

■ *The New Global Puzzle - What World for the EU in 2025?*, directed by Nicole Gnesotto and Giovanni Grevi, October 2006.

### Chaillot Papers

■ *No. 92: Turkey's foreign policy in turbulent times*, Kemal Kirisci, September 2006.

■ *No. 91: EU stakes in Central Asia*, Anna Matveeva, July 2006.



### Forthcoming

■ *Chaillot Paper: Facing China's rise*, edited by Marcin Zaborowski.

■ *Chaillot Paper: Enter the EU Battlegroups*, by Gustav Lindstrom.

■ *Chaillot Paper: Global governance: a European challenge*, by Martin Ortega.

■ *Chaillot Paper: The EU and the transition in DRC*, by Pierre-Antoine Braud.

■ *Occasional Paper: The evolution of the EU-China relationship: from constructive engagement to strategic partnership*, by Nicola Casarini.

■ *Brochure: EUISS – January 2002-December 2006: the first five years.*

## External publications

### Pierre-Antoine Braud

- 'Implementing ESDP Operations in Africa', in Anne Deighton (ed.) with Victor Mauer, 'Securing Europe? Implementing the European Security Strategy', *Zürcher Beiträge zur Sicherheitspolitik* no. 77, Centre for Security Studies (Zurich: ETH, 2006), pp. 71-81.

- 'Democratic Republic of Congo - Bringing entrepreneurs into the peace process in the Democratic Republic of Congo', in Jessica Banfield, Canan Gündüz and Nick Killick (eds.), *Local Business, Local Peace: the Peacebuilding Potential of the Domestic Private Sector* (London: International Alert, 2006), pp. 315-23.

- 'Disarmament, Demobilisation, Reintegration and the Private Sector: A Forgotten Player', in *Stockholm Initiative on Disarmament Demobilisation Reintegration: Background Studies* (Stockholm: Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sweden, 2006), pp. 97-146.

### Martin Ortega

- 'Abrochense los cinturones. Crisis de liderazgo global', in *Politica Exterior* (Madrid), July 2006.

- 'ESDP and the Mediterranean', in *European Security and Defence Policy: a European challenge*, Swedish National Defence College and Finnish National Defence College Strategic Yearbook 2006.

### Walter Posch

- 'Staying the Course: Permanent US Bases in Iraq?' in *Middle East Policy* XIII/3, Autumn 2006, pp. 109-120.

### Marcin Zaborowski

- 'More than simply expanding markets: Germany and EU enlargement', in Helene Sjurgen (ed.), *Questioning EU Enlargement: Europe in search of identity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 104-20.

- 'Pogodzeni przyjaciele? Przeformułowanie stosunków między Stanami Zjednoczonymi i UE w XXI wieku' (Reconciled Friends? New dynamics in the EU-US relationship), in *Analizy natolinskie* (Warsaw: European Centre Natolin, June 2006).

## Institute staff

■ On 30 June, Dov Lynch, Senior Research Fellow, left the EUISS to take up a new job as senior political advisor to the OSCE Secretary General in Vienna.

## Research awards

### Associate Research Fellows

– Stéphane Delory (French) and Vincent Vicard (French) worked at the Institute from 2 May and 10 May respectively to 10 July on The New Global Puzzle project.

### Visiting Fellows

– Irene Bernabeu Esteban (Spanish) joined the Institute on 15 June and will stay until mid-October. She is carrying out research on the EU contribution to security sector reform in the Mediterranean Arab states.

– Stefano Recchia (Italian) stayed at the Institute from 15 May to 28 July. His research topic was 'Beyond International Trusteeship: EU Peacebuilding in Bosnia-Herzegovina'.

– Vsevolod Samokhvalov (Ukrainian) joined the Institute on 4 September and will stay until the end of November. He is conducting research on the relationship between the EU, the Russian Federation and Ukraine.

– Andras Türke (Hungarian) joined the Institute on 4 September and will stay until the end of November. He is carrying out research on the first ESDP operations in Africa and the Balkans.

### Temporary Assistant for IT

– On 19 June, Nikolaos Chatzimichalakis (Greek) joined the Institute where he will work for the next few months as IT assistant.

## The New Global Puzzle

The ongoing debate on the future of Europe suffers from a lack of perspective on the global developments that are changing the context of European integration itself. While Europe ponders its own future, the future of the world is in the making. The risk is that the Union and its Member States will be increasingly subject to, rather than actors of, change. The debate on the reform of the Union, its policies and institutions, and on the division of tasks between the EU and its Member States, needs to be linked to a strategic assessment of the rapid transformation of the international system, and its implications for Europe.

■ The EUISS Report *'The New Global Puzzle. What World for the EU in 2025?'* provides a contribution in this direction. The purpose of this Report is to identify the long-term trends, actors and factors that concur in shaping the international system, and the position of the EU therein. The Report is divided into three main sections. Part I addresses some structural variables affecting change over the next two decades, with a focus on demography, the economy, energy, the environment and science and technology. The political dynamics and the strategic outlook of major international players and global regions are presented in Part II, while a final section highlights some key questions for the future of international relations, and outlines the implications of long-term developments for the EU.

■ The main findings of this Report suggest three main considerations. First, globalisation will remain a key factor shaping global politics, economics and also culture. Economic globalisation will bring considerable benefits to the populations of emerging economies, notably in Asia, but its gains will be un-

evenly distributed. In particular, lack of governance reforms in the Middle East and Africa, as well as the worsening environmental conditions and the



The team: Giovanni Grevi, Nicole Gnesotto, Vincent Vicard, Stéphane Delory

expected demographic explosion, may exclude many countries in these regions from the benefits of globalisation.

■ Second, twenty years down the line a multipolar international system is likely to have consolidated. In other words, after three centuries of Western hegemony, history is taking a somewhat more 'natural' course, with old/new powers such as China and India coming to the forefront and bringing with them their own distinctive sets of worldviews. The redistribution of power in its various political, economic, cultural and military dimensions will entail a redistribution of influence in setting the global agenda. In addition, the question is what type of multipolar system will emerge, whether this will be a relatively stable concert of powers or a system featuring aggressive competition for scarce resources and geopolitical influence.

■ Third, while the international system will be more heterogeneous, it will also be more interdependent. This will be the case not only from an economic standpoint, but also regarding global or regional challenges such as climate change, the progressive depletion of

energy resources, water scarcity, and new pandemics. Effective governance structures will be essential to foster international cooperation in addressing these matters, although it is as yet open to question whether there will be sufficient political will to reform existing international institutions.

■ By 2025, Europe will represent only 6% of the world population, and its relative share of global wealth and trade will have shrunk. Contentious economic and welfare reforms as well as the integration of a growing migrant population will be among the key internal challenges for many EU Member States. Based on current trends, the EU may also be surrounded by an increasingly turbulent neighbourhood, from Russia to the Mediterranean and Africa. Structural indicators of relative power, however, do not tell the whole story. The more diverse the international system, and the more pressing environmental, demographic and energy challenges become, the more international leadership will matter in building consensus towards effective multilateral solutions.

■ With its rich experience of continental integration and stabilisation, and intra-regional dialogue, the EU has the potential to be a front-runner in paving the way towards sustainable globalisation and effective multilateralism, thereby driving change as opposed to enduring it. The forward-looking global picture sketched out in *The New Global Puzzle* should enhance the debate on the future of Europe. By thinking strategically of its own future and of its position in the international system, the EU will be better equipped to reform itself in order to shape a more secure and better world.

## Multilateralism in the Middle East

This summer, war swept across the parched lands of the Middle East. Once more, and with a terrible feeling of *déjà vu*, we were contemplating a fully-fledged, conventional war in Israel and Lebanon. And then, almost unexpectedly, war gave way to a ceasefire and to a fragile peace. This rapid shift – a sign of our hasty times – was the product of several causes: Hezbollah's resistance, Israel's hesitant tactics, and international pressure linked to profound disapproval of the war in international public opinion. But let us leave the assessment of last month's events and the exact combination of causes that led to a sudden peace to future historians.

■ For us Europeans, what really matter are the lessons we can draw from the crisis. Without any doubt, UNSC Resolution 1701 and its subsequent implementation represent a triumph of multilateralism. As Javier Solana said on 13 August, 'by definition, a resolution seeking to solve a conflict cannot be perfect but it is important to find formulations that are accepted by the parties'. The resolution was the result of multilateral negotiations. An effective ceasefire and further stabilisation required a robust peacekeeping operation, which could only be mounted with key European contributions. Confronted with a serious international crisis, the Europeans stood ready to help to ensure the security of both Israel and Lebanon. The parties and the international community welcomed Europe's determination. In short, multilateralism, responsibility and commitment prevailed over unilateral quick fixes.

■ Now the question is whether and to what extent multilateralism can be applied to other Middle Eastern crises. In the last couple of years, it has become increasingly obvious that the Iranian challenge cannot be tackled

through unilateral action. Iran's nuclear ambitions must be curbed but, at the same time, Iran should be given a place in the international community. The Chatham House report 'Iran, its neighbours and the regional crises', published in August, clearly shows how important the strategic position of Iran is in western Asia. Even though targeted military strikes are still being considered in Washington, the European approach, which combines dialogue and firmness, should be preferred.

■ While the added value of multilateralism in the Iranian case is recognised by almost everyone, multilateralism is not a key element for the resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian dispute. Some time ago, the two parties abandoned the Road Map and, before this summer's war, it seemed that Israeli unilateralism was the only way out, something which was fatalistically accepted by the Quartet. Today Israel has at least five options: (a) maintaining the *status quo*, with continued military action in Gaza and the West Bank; (b) the 'Sharon plan plus', which would include permanent withdrawal from Gaza and parts of the West Bank; (c) bilateral negotiations with the Palestinians; (d) renewed contacts in the Quartet or any other analogous multilateral framework; or (e) wait for the next crisis and the drafting of a new '1701-type' resolution. Both political circumstances within Israel and American one-sided views of the conflict do not leave much room for multilateral initiatives. Nevertheless, the Europeans should insist that multilateralism is the only way forward for a durable peace.

■ Finally, putting 'Iraq' and 'multilateralism' in the same sentence is like trying to mix oil and water. Since May



Javier Solana and Kofi Annan (Source: EU Council)

2003 the US administration has led state-building in Iraq in an almost unilateral manner. However, despite the US's endeavours, the situation there is extremely worrying. As Kofi Annan put it after his diplomatic visit to the region, 'in a way, the US has found itself in a position where it cannot stay and it cannot leave'. Sooner or later, the Americans will have to realise that their efforts to stabilise and rebuild Iraq will not bear any significant fruit unless all political forces inside Iraq as well as all neighbours and the international community are directly involved in the search for a *modus vivendi*. In this respect, the idea of holding an international conference or conducting serious negotiations with a view to drafting a ground-breaking UNSC resolution should be encouraged.

■ In an interconnected and interdependent world, where any single important issue, from Iraq to the greenhouse effect, from drug trafficking to terrorism, has global implications, is there still anyone who believes that problems can be solved unilaterally? Is there anyone who really thinks that isolationism is a credible option? Multilateralism is back and is here to stay. It remains to be seen, though, if the huge long-term human and financial costs of such a policy have yet dawned on us.

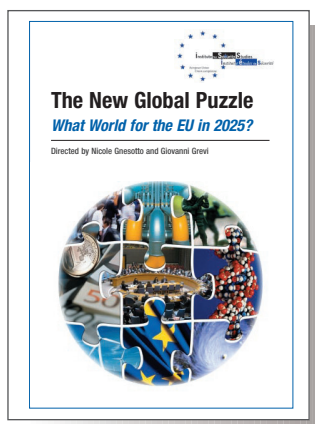
### Books

#### The New Global Puzzle – What World for the EU in 2025?

Directed by Nicole Gnesotto and Giovanni Grevi

#### Transatlantic book 2006: Friends again? EU-US relations after the crisis

Nicole Gnesotto, James Dobbins, Federico Romero, David Frum, William Wallace, Ronald D. Asmus, István Gyarmati, Walter B. Slocombe, Gilles Andréani, Philip H. Gordon, Werner Weidenfeld, Felix Neugart, Geoffrey Kemp, Dov Lynch, Fiona Hill, Baudoin Bollaert, Joseph Quinlan, Marcin Zaborowski; edited by Marcin Zaborowski



### Chaillot Papers

#### n°92 Turkey's foreign policy in turbulent times

Kemal Kirisci, September

#### n°91 EU stakes in Central Asia

Anna Matveeva, July

#### n°90 Civilian crisis management: the EU way

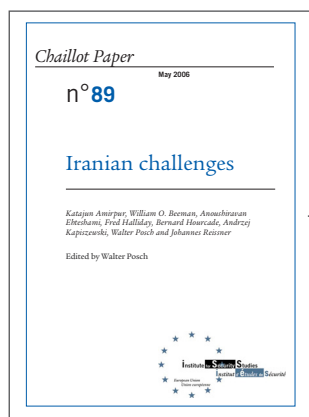
edited by Agnieszka Nowak, June

#### n°89 Iranian challenges

edited by Walter Posch, May

#### n°88 The OSCE in crisis

Pál Dunay, April



### Occasional Papers

#### n°63 Security by proxy? The EU and (sub-)regional organisations: the case of ECOWAS

Bastien Nivet, March

#### n°62 The Baltics: from nation states to member states

Kestutis Paulauskas, February



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des Etats membres. Mais cette différence des implications nationales dans la gestion opérationnelle des crises ouvre aussi de nouvelles questions pour la réforme des institutions : comment concilier le principe de solidarité commune et la pratique de la différenciation ? Comment décider à 25 et agir à quelques-uns ? Comment encadrer les volontarismes nationaux par une politique étrangère commune et, réciproquement, comment construire une PESC qui tienne compte de ces différences nationales ?

► Car la montée en responsabilité implique naturellement une montée des risques. Dans un monde aussi chaotique que celui de l'après Irak, l'un ne va pas sans l'autre. Si réforme il doit y avoir des institutions européennes, il faut donc qu'elles permettent à l'Union de relever non seulement les défis de l'élargissement, mais aussi et surtout les défis de ce monde-là. C'est cette prise de risque qui donne en effet à l'Union toute légitimité pour revendiquer un rôle politique accru au Moyen-Orient : c'est parce que les

Européens sont désormais physiquement présents au Liban que l'Union peut et doit agir sur le gouvernement israélien, comme sur son allié américain, pour la relance rapide d'un processus de négociation avec les Palestiniens.

► Autrement dit, l'Union n'est pas qu'un simple réservoir de forces à disposition de telle ou telle organisation ou de telle puissance. C'est donc leur propre politique étrangère, tout comme la spécificité de leur propre vision du monde et de l'évolution du Moyen-Orient, que les Européens doivent maintenant valoriser : sur les thèmes aussi complexes, et parfois aussi confus, que la lutte contre le terrorisme, le « clash des civilisations », la démocratisation du monde, le rôle de l'Iran, les effets de la guerre en Irak, le monde a besoin d'une réflexion et d'une analyse européennes spécifiques. La présence internationale de l'Europe ne fait plus aucun doute. Il lui reste à sortir de son silence. ■