



WG 3 - TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY RELATIONS

1. Introduction

The transatlantic security relationship has been at the heart of cooperation since the onset of the Cold War and has been the foundation on which the stability of Europe has been built. But the post-Cold War period has raised major challenges for transatlantic relations as well as new security threats, such as terrorism, rogue states, weapons of mass destruction and organized crime. These are fresh concerns in the sense that they have not been previously regarded as matters for US-European cooperation. Recent events such as the 1999 war in Kosovo, the European Union's decision to create a Rapid Reaction Force and the US policy of proceeding with a ballistic missile defence capability and of course the Iraqi war have all contributed to tensions in transatlantic relations. The transatlantic relationship has entered a new and highly uncertain period, mainly due to different approaches in dealing with perceived threats. The transatlantic alliance needs to find new ways of reaching agreements to deal with those threats.

2. The United States is an unrivalled military strength by having superiority in nuclear armaments and possessing the world's dominant air force and navies. In 2003 it spent more on defence than the next 15-20 biggest spenders combined. The EU's defence expenditure of Euro 167 billion is just over half that of the United States. Despite this apparent unequal relationship Europe makes significant contributions to transatlantic security.
3. Since September 11th numerous European states have contributed greatly to combating international terrorism through the means of air and naval support and ground troops to the campaign against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.
4. More significant in combating terrorism have been the broad political measures of co-operation introduced by the EU. These include a Europe-wide search and arrest warrant, new extradition procedures, agreement on data sharing and more prominent roles for Europol and Eurojust. There has also been greater co-operation between the US and EU in relation to police and judicial co-operation.
5. The EU and its states also contribute the lion's share in crisis management in Europe. In 2003, in the Balkans EU member states

- contributed 16,700 of the approximately 22,700 military forces of KFOR. In Kosovo, EU countries contribute 832 out of 4,500 police officers. The EU also leads police missions in Bosnia-Herzegovina and has committed troops to FYR of Macedonia.
6. The EU also leads support for reconstruction and reform in Eastern and Southeastern European states and in international development. The EU contribute 40% of the costs of UN- led peace support operations in 2002. In international development the EU contributed 50.23% of the Official Development Assistance in 2001.
 7. The European Security Strategy identifies the irreplaceability of the transatlantic relationship and calls for a more balanced partnership with the US. To this end a strengthened ESDP is necessary. This requires an improvement in capability and policy coherence.
 8. It is however, unlikely that any drastic improvement in European military capability will occur in the short to medium term. Despite EU and NATO initiatives only marginal improvements have occurred in critical areas such as strategic airlift, logistics and C4ISR, which has significantly delayed the Rapid Reaction Force becoming fully operational. Moreover, it takes time to restructure and train armies which are locked in a conventional cold war mentality. Military spending increases are also unlikely to be significant in the current economic climate. Europe must examine how the quality of the output of military expenditure is increased rather than just the quantity of input. National procurement programmes are an inefficient means of improving collective military capacity. The pooling of resources under the European Capability Action Plan (ECAP) is a positive development but collaboration must be greatly enhanced if capabilities are to be significantly enhanced. Transatlantic co-operation must be improved in the development of the arms industry. A functioning European Arms Agency should be established for the co-ordination of EU member states and the US.
 9. The role of NATO in enhancing European security capability must be further developed. The "Berlin Plus" agreement of 2002 is significant in this regard but a separate EU military HQ is necessary to institutionalise relations between the two organisations and further develop a complementary approach to security.
 10. Perhaps a greater obstacle to an improved ESDP and transatlantic relationship is the lack of political cohesion in the EU. While most states agree on the aim of establishing a Common Foreign and Security policy (CFSP) this has proved difficult in practice especially where vital national interests are at stake. An effective CFSP is vital to transatlantic security.

In strengthening transatlantic security the CFSP should seek to be independent but complementary to NATO policy.

11. Europe must also further coordinate and improve the efforts of its legal, diplomatic, political and intelligence capacities. The establishment of a European Central Intelligence Agency to co-ordinate the work of national intelligence agencies would significantly enhance Europe's security capability and provide an a framework for transatlantic intelligence sharing. Further, the co-ordination of Europe's diplomatic services can provide a useful mechanism for ensuring transatlantic security through non-military means.

12. Conclusion:

The transatlantic security alliance represents a powerful force for peace and stability in the world. Europe and North America share the common values of freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law. European and North American security strategy perceive almost identical threats to world security namely terrorism, failed and "rogue" states, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and organised crime. While tensions may currently exist in the alliance Europe will continue to need American military strength while the US will continue to need the diplomatic effectiveness and military contribution of Europe. The establishment of a permanent Transatlantic Foundation of political, business and civic leaders will strengthen the alliance and help ease tensions which currently exist.

The development of European military capability and ESDP and CFSP cohesion will ensure a strengthened and more balanced alliance.