

The United Nations and the European Union: An Ever Stronger Partnership

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SESSION 1: Towards a Structural Cooperation between the UN and the EU

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Let me first make some introductory remarks. The first one is that if you listen to Omar Bakhet you realize that there has been a sea change in our relationship with the UN over the last 3, 4 or 5 years. This sea change is illustrated by the visit of Kofi Annan to the three institutions, a hugely successful visit, where Omar Bakhet played a major role in its preparation. You also see it in the very regular visits which have been carried out by Louise Fréchette in Brussels, and those visits have become far more focused and operational than before. Initially they were more like diplomatic exchanges, to be honest, we also had some trouble sorting out who should talk about what to them: the Commission, the Council Secretariat, the Presidency, all the usual problems. I think we have gone a long way getting over that and presenting to the UN what we should present: a broad vision of the European Integration. That is why I am very pleased that Prof. De Kuijper is here as well, and we will talk about the Commission aspect because the relationship with the UN covers all the various aspects: the first, second or third pillar. A good illustration also of the near automaticity of our continuous relationship with the UN, is the fact that the new Counter Terrorism Coordinator, who many of you know, I think, had the reflex that the first trip outside of the EU area was to Washington and to New York. He went to New York last week in order to meet the Chairman of the CTC, and he talked to the Chair of the Sanctions Committee of the Security Council Resolution 1267. So, I really think that things have improved, that we are developing a very fundamental relationship with the UN.

Now, let me look at our relationship mainly from the angle of crisis management because that is the area where things have changed most. I have seen on the programme that my good friend Patrick Namer will talk to you about it later on, so take it that I am talking theory, he is talking practice. He actually knows what he is talking about. I only know from reading about it.

I would look at the problem of our relationship from three angles, first of all, the general EU philosophy. I will be brief on that, but I think it is important. Secondly, the EU record so far, but more importantly, the third part, is the way forward in our relationship.

First of all, a quick reminder of the EU strategy. The EU itself is a structure for peace and unity and the EU itself is in a way a documentation of what you can do when you adopt a multilateral approach and an approach based on rules and law. Enlargement is a way of extending this zone and I think it is hugely successful. We have always proclaimed that we were in favour of multilateralism. We have always said that the UN was very important, but very often, to be fair, this has remained a rather theoretical approach, it has been, not really lip service, but it wasn't operationally followed. What we are in the process of doing now, is to actually implement what we've been saying. And this centres around the whole concept of effective multilateralism as defined in the European Security Strategy, adopted in December last year. The philosophy behind it is to further multilateral solutions, but the emphasis is very much on the effectiveness: if you just say that you're in favour of multilateralism, of international law, if you don't give yourself the means to implement it, than you are going to get stuck, and you are not going to get very far. That means, of course, that we and our member states, who are UN member

states, have to do everything possible. They have a responsibility to help the UN reform itself, to help the UN become more and more efficient. That is the first leg of it, and in that respect we have just worked out a contribution to the panel set up by Kofi Annan, thinking about future challenges, threats and changes. This panel will come up, I hope, with interesting solutions by the end of this year.

The second part, is the part I would like to dwell on a bit further. Our own contribution to it as a EU. What can we do to provide services to the UN? What can we do, mainly in crisis management, for the enormous task that falls on DPKO. If you look at the various peace-keeping operations now, you see that there will be a real inflation on them, mainly in Africa. What can we do to help the UN deal with all those problems? This is very important because the EU has been adamant about the primacy of the UN Security Council for maintenance of Peace and Security in accordance with the UN Charter. And that is incidentally why our member countries contribute about 40 percent to the peace-keeping budget. As I said, if we want multilateralism to be effective, we have to give multilateralism teeth. And we also have to be able to cover the whole range of conflict prevention and crisis management. The EU, like I think the UN, favours a very broad definition of security, which implies that you not only attack the symptoms, but also the roots. And it is one of the mayor debates we have with our American friends. As far as crisis management is concerned, I would maybe start with a *boutade* and say that we have been doing crisis management *comme Monsieur Jourdan faisait de la prose*, for a long time. Because what we do, certainly in terms of enlargement, is crisis management and is security enhancement. What we do with the Cottono agreements is crisis management and enhancement of peace and security in the world. What we do in our numerous agreements with third world countries goes in the same direction. I see this as part of the overall furthering of peace and security in the world. We also know that for a long time the Commission or, I should say, the European Community, has financed more than 1000 specialists from member countries in civilian missions in the world, and more than 2500 experts from member countries in public administration projects. Those are quite important figures and that also is crisis management.

What is new, I think, is the political priority we are now giving to building our own capacity for direct management of large-scale operations. This implies of course that we have to get the development of our own ESDP right. And I won't go into the details but over the last European Council, starting from Cologne in 1999 we have consistently built up our internal structures and capabilities. We could do better but I think it is already relatively impressive. And what is really important is that we have started proceeding from theory to practice. We have launched 4 EUPM operations in Bosnia, Concordia, Proxima in the former Republic of Macedonia, Artemis of course in the Congo and very soon we'll take over U-FOR. What is interesting about those operations is that two of them have a direct link to the UN because the European police mission in Bosnia is a follow-up to the UN IPTF mission. Artemis was a bridging operation allowing the UN peace keeping force in Congo to beef up its strength, to get more troops in, with better equipment. So, in all those operations we have really acquired direct and operational knowledge of how the UN works and they have acquired knowledge of how we work and we're in constant contact.

How are we going to take this further? First of all, I think I may already have mentioned this, in terms of crisis management we adopted quite an important declaration on the 24th of September last year, which spelt out in rather un-bureaucratic terms the various things we should be doing together. And those various things are planning, communication, lessons learnt and training for which we have created a steering mechanism.

We had our last meeting a number of weeks ago, a whole day meeting, where we really went into all the missions in detail. What we are doing now is that we've exchanged contact points for all of these various issues and we are organising follow-up missions, we are shortly going to have a follow-up mission meeting of experts on African peace and security. And I am sure that Patrick Namer can talk in greater detail about the idea we have for African peace-keeping and maybe Prof. De Kuijper can say something about the

African peace facilities of the 250 million which will come from the European Community budget in order to prop up African peace keeping capabilities. I think it is a hugely important thing. We are also going to organize expert meetings on planning and on training. You have to train peace-keepers, you have to train soldiers who go to missions, you have to give them training in international law, human rights, humanitarian law, how to behave with civilian populations and all that, it is hugely important. The UN has a need for this, and we too, why not put our heads together and try to create synergies. Or planning, it is very important. The UN wants to know what we can offer. We have to think about various possible ways of helping in crisis management. One is like Artemis, a bridging operation: we say, you have a problem on the ground and can't mobilize UN troops quick enough for various reasons, we are there, we send in troops, we stabilize the situation, but then we go out again and you take over. This is what happened with Artemis. The UN is very interested in another concept as well, which we are looking at, but we haven't really decided yet how to tackle exactly. That is the question of providing over-the-horizon-forces. There is a UN mission, and some member countries would be ready to provide over-the-horizon forces, which is another possibility of doing things. Then, of course, you have different issues to be discussed, e.g. who provides the capabilities. I could see the EU, in the longer term, becoming a kind of clearing house, whenever the UN needs troops, but also for national capabilities, because don't forget, we don't have troops, our member countries have them. And they have to provide them. If there is a UN operation as such and there is no ESDP operation, then our member countries will be invited to provide troops. We could have some kind of clearing house mechanism within the EU, it is something we could develop, but then we also have the possibility to take over an operation, or part of it as an EU operation. We are working on all those things, and I think they are very concrete.

I will not go into the conflict prevention debate, I think Omar has mentioned it: we, the Council Secretariat and the Commission, are in constant contact with our UN friends, with DPA, we look at early warning, we exchange information on our watch-list exercise in the EU because it is immensely important that not only you fight a crisis but that you try to foresee and prevent it, and you try to bring to bear all of the instruments that are to your disposal in order to prevent crises from happening. In that context the exchange of information is important and very tricky because of classification and because of the different nature of our organisations. We are working to find a way of doing this, but we have to be careful because as far as our citizens are concerned, the classified information is member countries' property. And some of that information cannot be given outside of the union. But we are working on this, there is an exchange going on between Javier Solana and the UN about this, we have constant contacts between the two sides and I think we'll take this further as well. I think I will stop there to leave time for discussions, I know there are many other things to be said but I wouldn't like to monopolize the floor for two hours.
