



# Initiative for A Renewed Transatlantic Partnership

August 1, 2004

Vol. 1, No. 4

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## Steering Committee Forming

Over the past six months, CSIS has been forming the political membership of the Steering Committee of the *CSIS Initiative for a Renewed Transatlantic Partnership*. Former senior policymakers from the United States and Europe have been invited to take part in the committee, which is co-chaired by former Italian Prime Minister and current Senator **Giuliano Amato**, former U.S. Secretary of Defense **Dr. Harold Brown**, former USTR Ambassador **Carla Hills**, and former NATO Secretary General **Lord George Robertson**. The role of the Steering Committee will be to review the work of the Initiative, suggest new areas for research, and promote the Initiative's recommendations and conclusions. In addition, individual Steering Committee members will be invited to fill leadership roles in specific projects of the Initiative. As we await further responses, we are pleased to announce that the members of the Steering Committee now include:

**Carl Bildt**, prime minister of Sweden from 1991 to 1994 and the UN Secretary General's Special Envoy for the Balkans from 1999 to 2001. He is the Chairman of Kreab AB.

**Zbigniew Brzezinski**, National Security Advisor in the Carter administration, 1977 to 1981, and a CSIS Trustee and Counselor.

**Bertrand Collomb**, Chairman of Lafarge. He was Chairman and CEO of Lafarge from 1989 to 2003.

**Stuart Eizenstat**, U.S. ambassador to the EU from 1993 to 1996 and a former Deputy Treasury Secretary, Under Secretary of State, and Under Secretary of Commerce. He is currently Head of International Practice at Covington & Burling.

**Admiral Jacques Lanxade**, Head of the French Armed Services General Staff from 1991 to 1995. He served as France's Ambassador to Tunisia from 1995 to 1999.

**Sam Nunn**, United States Senator from 1972 to 1996, former chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. He is currently Chairman of the CSIS Board of Trustees and Co-Chairman and CEO of the Nuclear Threat Initiative.

**Ana Palacio**, Spain's Minister of Foreign Affairs from 2002 to 2004. She is currently a Partner at Palacio y Asociados and a Member of the Spanish Parliament.

**General Joseph Ralston**, Supreme Allied Commander Europe from 2000 to 2003 and Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1996 to 2000. He is a CSIS Distinguished Senior Advisor.

**Charles Robb**, United States Senator from 1989 to 2000, served on the Armed Services, Intelligence, and Foreign Relations committees. He was the Governor of Virginia from 1982 to 1986 and is currently Co-Chair of the Commission on Intelligence Operations.

**Felix Rohatyn**, U.S. ambassador to France from 1997 to 2000. He was previously managing director of Lazard Frères & Company, and currently serves as a CSIS Trustee and President of Rohatyn Associates LLC.

**Brent Scowcroft**, National Security Advisor in the Ford and George H.W. Bush administrations, Founder and President of the Forum for International Policy, and a CSIS Trustee and Counselor.

**Recommended Reading**

“Reorienting Transatlantic Defense,” by Rep. Doug Bereuter and John Lis. *The National Interest*, Number 76, Summer 2004. pp. 75–83.

**Quotes of the Month**

“I would like you to please hurry...the Afghan people have trust in the security that you are going to provide for us, but the Afghan people need that security today and not tomorrow.”

–Afghan President Hamid Karzai at the NATO Summit, Istanbul, June 29, 2004.

“When the U.S. and the EU have the same opinion on a problem in the world then the probability of solving that problem becomes much larger.”–Javier Solana, EU High Representative for Foreign Policy, Budapest, July 27, 2004.

**CSIS on the Hill: Assessing the Transatlantic Summits**

**C** SIS Europe Program Senior Advisor Simon Serfaty testified before the Subcommittee on Europe of the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on International Relations on July 15. Titled “Transatlantic Relations: A Post Summit Assessment,” his testimony outlined both the achievements of the transatlantic partnership and the unfulfilled challenges facing NATO, the European Union, and the EU–U.S. relationship in the wake of the summits of June — the G-8 Summit at Sea Island, the EU Summit in Brussels, the U.S.–EU Summit in Ireland, and the NATO Summit in Istanbul.

According to Serfaty, the crisis of 2003 “was, and remains a structural crisis resulting from Europe’s unfinished transformation and America’s preponderant power,” and thus could not be fully resolved at one or more summits. Serfaty puts forward an institutional road map for the structural renewal of the alliance, including:

- ♦ The states of Europe and their Union need to assume a larger role commensurate with their current capabilities, interests, and influence.
- ♦ A NATO that has gone global must be ready and able to act locally if it is to remain the security institution of choice for its members.
- ♦ A strategic dialogue is needed to develop a comprehensive approach to the post-Cold War, post-9/11 security agenda.
- ♦ The Greater Middle East should be the central concern of the Euro-Atlantic strategic dialogue for the coming decades.

The testimony can be accessed at [www.csis.org/hill](http://www.csis.org/hill). See also the recently released Initiative paper by Dr. Serfaty, “A New Deal in U.S.–EU–NATO Relations.”

**Joint Declaration on Defense Integration**

**O**n June 30, CSIS hosted twelve former European military chiefs of staff for a day-long seminar in Paris to discuss *Defense Integration in Europe*, an Initiative project directed by CSIS Senior Advisor Michèle Flournoy. The project takes as its starting premise the fact that, post-9/11, confronting the threats posed by failed or failing states around world requires a fundamental reorganization of the military assets of European nations whose militaries are still largely configured for the static defense of Europe. Of the roughly 1.9 million military personnel in Europe, only some 10 percent are readily deployable today, despite the fact that most threats now lie outside Europe’s borders.

The participants in the Paris meeting discussed with project co-chairs General Klaus Naumann and General Joseph Ralston the new security challenges facing Europe, current European capabilities and defense spending, and ways for European nations to enhance their military capabilities through coordinated defense planning and investment strategies. In addition, seminar participants heard a luncheon presentation from EADS Executive Vice President Jean-Louis Gergorin on the role that a more integrated European and transatlantic defense industrial base could play in support of such reform.

As a first step, the *Defense Integration in Europe* project will release a Joint Declaration this month endorsed by the twelve former military officials that lays out the principles needed for a comprehensive reform strategy. A full report will be published next year.

### The Transatlantic Dialogue on Global Terrorism

Cooperation and coordination in the realm of counterterrorism will be a fundamentally important pillar of a renewed transatlantic partnership. Complementary policies and procedures, combined with effective acquisition and sharing of intelligence, will be crucial in preventing future terrorist attacks, such as those that occurred on September 11, 2001 in New York and Washington, DC and on March 11, 2004 in Madrid.

In order to help both sides develop complementary counter-terrorism strategies, policies, and procedures, CSIS established earlier this year a *Transatlantic Dialogue on Global Terrorism*, co-funded by the Initiative and by a one-year grant from the European Commission. The Dialogue is directed by CSIS Senior Fellow Dan Benjamin, co-author of *The Age of Sacred Terror: Radical Islam's War against America*, which recently won the 2004 Arthur Ross Book Award Gold Medal. The objective of the dialogue is to bring together U.S. and European experts on terrorism, counter-terrorism, and related disciplines who can share their views of the nature of the new terrorist threat, its possible causes and goals, and, through this work, develop a common transatlantic strategy to defeat it.

Following on meetings at the German Marshall Fund's Transatlantic Center in Brussels in January and at the Real Instituto Elcano in Madrid in June, CSIS hosted a third meeting of the dialogue at its offices in Washington on July 26-27, focusing on the theme "Identifying and Addressing the Root Causes of Terrorism." The meeting covered a broad range of topics, including development assistance; demographic trends and societal implications in North Africa and the Middle East; linkages between authoritarianism and the rise of terrorism; U.S. and European public perceptions of how to deal with terrorism; the linkages between education and radicalization; the role of multilateral organizations; and the role of public diplomacy.

In addition to a broad range of academic and policy experts, the meeting heard from Mitchell Reiss, Director of Policy Planning at the Department of State, and Ambassador Edward Djerejian, Director of the James A. Baker Institute for Public Policy at Rice University and former chairman of the recent congressionally-mandated Advisory Group on Public Diplomacy in the Arab and Muslim World.

Key themes that emerged during the meeting included:

- U.S. and European approaches to development assistance contain significant differences in the post-9/11 environment; with European national agencies still driven by long-term goals of poverty reduction, and U.S. agencies making more explicit efforts to tackle underlying drivers of radicalization in parts of the Muslim world;
- Historically, countries with rapid population growth and significant "youth bulges" are more prone to conflict. Many of the countries with this demographic profile are now in what is known as the "Broader Middle East" from Morocco to Pakistan. Conflict need not be the only outcome, however, as developing countries in East Asia proved during the 1980s. The United States and the European Union need to focus, therefore, on how to help countries in the region integrate their growing populations into productive economic and social structures;
- U.S. and EU leaders need to appreciate that democracy and liberalism may not be synonymous concepts for majorities in some countries in the broader Middle East;
- Broad popular skepticism throughout Europe of U.S. objectives in the Middle East and in the fight against terrorism will limit the scope for transatlantic initiatives in the near term.

The Initiative will release a report detailing the conclusions of the Dialogue later in the summer.

**THE CSIS INITIATIVE FOR A RENEWED TRANSATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP** aims to bring together politicians, business leaders, and key individuals in the Atlantic community to reflect on emerging strategic priorities for the United States and Europe, define the dimensions of common interests and shared values, and identify the complementary actions needed for a Euro-Atlantic community of action in the twenty-first century.

Key *Initiative* activities include:

- Joint Transatlantic Declarations—formulating consensus statements by political, business, and military leaders to define and describe shared strategic challenges;
- Transatlantic Policy Dialogues—initiating timely policy dialogues and reviews on significant security and business issues and providing the necessary background information and analysis;
- Legislative Dialogues—strengthening the linkages between the U.S. Congress and European Parliamentary leaders to develop common perspectives and complementary legislative approaches to issues of shared concern;
- Institutional Partnership—improving cooperation with European partner institutions to encourage parallel thinking on current or emerging issues of interest.

#### **Niblett Named Europe Program Director; Serfaty to be Senior Advisor**

**C** SIS executive vice president Robin Niblett has been named director of the Europe Program. Niblett replaces Simon Serfaty, who has led the program for the past ten years.

Serfaty, the first holder of the CSIS Zbigniew Brzezinski Chair in Global Security and Geostrategy, will concentrate on developing the policy and intellectual agenda for the Chair. He will remain involved as a Senior Advisor to the Europe Program.

As CSIS executive vice president, Niblett is responsible for overseeing the Center's management and performance and for developing strategies and programs to sustain its position as a primary source of strategic insights and solutions. Niblett, who holds a PhD from Oxford University and has contributed to a large number of CSIS reports and publications on transatlantic relations, specializes in U.S.-European security and economic relations and in the ongoing process of European political and economic integration.

See the complete News Release at [www.csis.org](http://www.csis.org).

#### **Transatlantic Legislative Dialogues**

**E** ncouraging greater dialogue between European parliamentarians and staffers and their U.S. counterparts is a primary aim of the Initiative. A program of legislative exchange was initiated in late April with the visit of U.S. Congressional staffers to Brussels.

On June 21, CSIS hosted a delegation of European Parliament (EP) staff members visiting Washington, DC as part of a Transatlantic Legislative Dialogue organized by the International Visitor Program at the U.S. Department of State. The EP staffers participated in briefings on trade policy, the Balkans, and Iraq and the Greater Middle East before being joined by U.S. Congressional staffers for a discussion of global opportunities and challenges for U.S.-EU cooperation.

On July 28, two members of the German *Bundestag*, Jürgen Herrmann and Harald Leibrecht, visited CSIS for a series of briefings led by Pierre Chao, Director of Defense Industrial Initiatives at CSIS, David Heyman, Director of the CSIS Homeland Security Program, and Dan Benjamin, Senior Fellow in the CSIS International Security Program.

*The CSIS Initiative for a Renewed Transatlantic Partnership was launched at a dinner honoring John Warner, Harold Brown, and Sam Nunn held on September 16, 2003. The Initiative follows a dialogue begun in May 2003 with the release of the CSIS Joint Declaration on "Renewing the Transatlantic Partnership," endorsed by a high-level, bipartisan group of former U.S. officials. The Initiative is supported through generous grants from EADS North America and others, and is managed by the CSIS Europe Program, which is the recipient of a key institutional grant from the German Marshall Fund of the United States.*