

Fragility, Security and Development

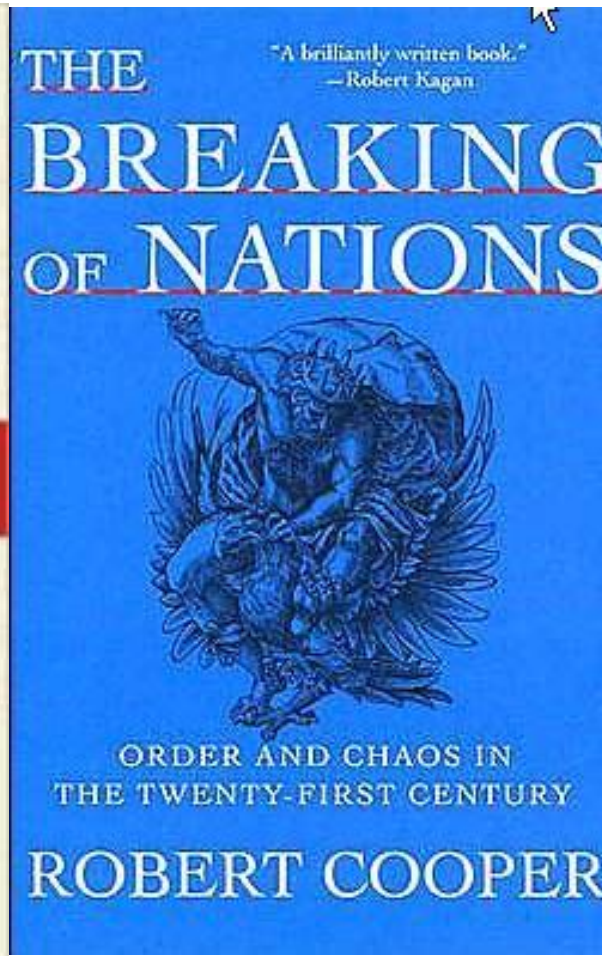
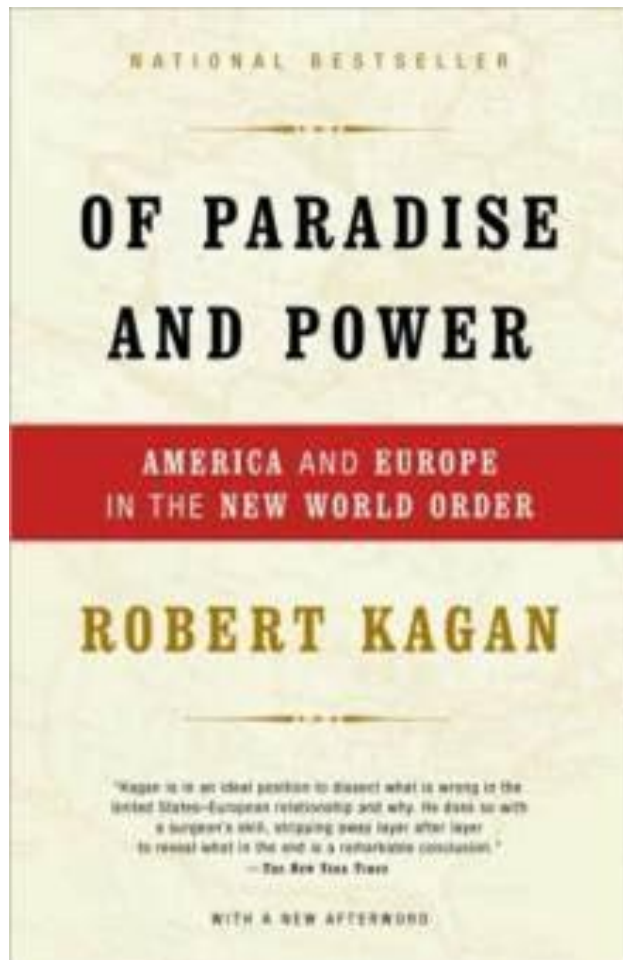


Europe in a changing world

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Out with the old ...



... and in with the new?



The contested international system

- **Unipolar** (Krauthammer, Jervis)
- **Bipolar** (Bergsten)
- **Interpolarity** (Grevi)
- **Multi-hub** (Wolfers)
- **New regionalism** (Björn, Preusse)
- **No one's world** (Kupchan, Haas)
- **G-0** (Bremmer, Roubini)

Factors shaping the international system

Growth of the global middle class	Huge expansion in numbers and percentages
Wider access to lethal and disruptive technologies	Individuals – not only states – have ability to perpetrate large scale violence and disruption
Shift of economic power to east and south	US, European and Japanese share of global income falls from 56% to well under half by 2030
Unprecedented & widespread aging	Most European countries, South Korea and Taiwan enter post-mature age by 2030 and workforce shortages ensue
Urbanization	Urban population climbs from 50% to 60% in 2030 (Africa with highest urbanization growth)
Food and water pressures	Demand for food increases 35% by 2030 and water 40%, while 50% of worlds population live with water shortages
US energy independence	Shale gas meets domestic needs for decades to come, global spare capacity exceeds 8 million barrels (oil prices collapse)

Source: *Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds* (National Intelligence Council, December 2012)

The EU's role in a contested international system

- Emergence of a new type of 'superpower'
- Political ambivalence, empty rhetoric and mythology
- A marginal 'civilian power' deploying normative instruments
- Aspirations to play a global and proactive role (CSDP)

Time for grand ideas?

‘A strategy founded on promoting an idea outside the EU cannot be credible if the idea is no longer adhered to within it: that would kick the feet from under the EU’s strategic narrative’.

[Sven Biscop: ‘EU Grand Strategy: Optimism is Mandatory’, Egmont, *Security Brief*, 2012]

... Grand strategy requires the sort of intuitive overview which rarely occurs in EU settings. It runs counter to the specialization logic which underpins much of the activity of EU officials and institutions – the ever greater mastery of highly focused dossiers.

[Jolyon Howorth, *Europe at a Historical Crossroads: Grand Strategy or Resignation?*, Institute for European Integration Research, Vienna, January 2011]

Grand strategy?

- Lack of meta-narrative
- Explaining the EU's relevance and purpose
- Ambiguous sense of 'actorness'
- Values vs interests
- Double standards
- External perceptions

But, are we ready for grand strategy?

Europe's strategic environment today is marked by increased regional and global volatility, emerging security challenges, the US rebalancing towards the Asia-Pacific and the impact of the financial crisis ...these developments warrant a strategic debate among Heads of State and Government.

[Final report by the High Representative/Head of EDA on the Common Security and Defence Policy, Brussels, 15 October 2013]

Ashton's successor's mandate

The European Council invites the High Representative, in close cooperation with the Commission, to assess the impact of changes in the global environment, and to report to the Council in the course of 2015 on the challenges and opportunities arising for the Union, following consultations with the Member States.

[European Council: 19/20 December 2013, p.5]

... it's called the ESS isn't it?

- **ESS not a strategy** (linkages, priorities, benchmarks etc)
- **ESS dated** (although updated in 2008) **but a good basis for development**
- **Context for 140 country, 16 regional, 3 continental and 90+ thematic strategies**
- **Role of the European Council** (TEU, Art. 15.1)
- **Long-term perspective** (MFF max?)

... or is it the comprehensive approach (aka policy coherence for security)?

- the EU has both the increased potential and the ambition ... to make its external action more consistent, more effective and more strategic**
- Comprehensiveness refers not only to the joined-up deployment of EU instruments and resources, but also to the shared responsibility of EU-level actors and Member States**
- Shared analysis should set out the EU's understanding about the causes of a potential conflict or crisis**
- EU should work across institutions and with Member States to develop a single, common strategic vision ... for future EU engagement across policy areas. This should then set the overall directions for EU engagement**
- EU needs to ... apply the comprehensive approach as a guiding principle to EU external action**

Linkages to F,S & D

‘... insufficient analysis of the root causes of fragility, ineffective early warning systems, and inadequate integration of conflict-prevention and peacebuilding approaches into programming at country level’

‘.... EU lacks a coherent approach to mainstreaming LRRD into its programming in fragile and conflict-affected states and has not ensured that its various financial instruments are able to support the post-emergency transition from humanitarian to development assistance in a systematic way’.

‘... the EU has not coordinated sufficiently with other international actors engaged in fragile and conflict-affected states’

EU Development Cooperation in Fragile States, European Parliament, DEVE, 2013

The decline of the failing state narrative

‘The practical challenges of state-building missions are now widely appreciated. They tend to be long, difficult, and expensive, with success demanding open-ended commitment to messy, violent and confusing endeavour – something unlikely to be sustained in an era of budgetary austerity...

The threat posed by weak and fragile states turned out to be both less urgent and more complex and diffuse than was originally suggested’.

[Michael Mazarr, ‘The Rise and Fall of the Failed-State Paradigm’, *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb. 2014]



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