



Be Patterns, Be Examples

Reflecting on 350 years of working for peace in Europe

The Quaker Council for European Affairs

Produced by the Quaker Council for European Affairs (QCEA)

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The Quaker Council for European Affairs (QCEA) was founded in 1979 to promote the values of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in the European context. Our purpose is to express a Quaker vision in matters of peace, human rights, and economic justice. QCEA is based in Brussels and is an international, not-for-profit organisation under Belgian Law.

The title of this publication is the beginning of a quotation from George Fox which reads in full:

Be patterns, be examples in all countries, places, islands, nations wherever you come; that your carriage and life may preach among all sorts of people, and to them; then you will come to walk cheerfully over the world, answering that of God in everyone; whereby in them you may be a blessing, and make the witness of God in them to bless you. (Statement of 1656, from 'The Works of George Fox (1831)')

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List of Acronyms

ABC Weapons	Atomic, Biological and Chemical Weapons
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
EEAS	European External Action Service
ESS	European Security Strategy
EU	European Union
EUSR	European Union Special Representative
HR	High Representative (for Foreign Policy)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PBC	Peace Building Commission
QCEA	Quaker Council for European Affairs
UN	United Nations
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Introduction

2010 is the year in which Quakers reflect on the 350-year history of our Peace Testimony. This volume, published to mark that occasion, brings together a number of documents which provide an insight into the thinking which supports the Peace Testimony.

The word **testimony**, for Quakers has a very specific meaning:

‘The experience of Friends was that the Light led them into an understanding of the Christian life and the way it was to be lived. We express the principles they discovered in terms such as Truth, Equality, Simplicity, and Peace. However, these are not abstract qualities, but vital principles of life. Early Friends expressed them in the ways of action which they called the testimonies, and for which they were prepared to suffer and to die.’¹

What is important to Quakers is both to try faithfully to live these testimonies and to keep them relevant in the context of our lives where and when we live. It is therefore not surprising that there are different ways in which Quakers express their testimony in words at different times in history.

We begin with the document which is seen as the original statement of the Peace Testimony; a declaration made by Quakers in 1660 to King Charles II of England. This is the statement whose 350-year history we mark in 2010.

There have been many statements by Quakers since 1660 on peace and it is difficult to choose which ones to include here. We have selected a few relatively recent ones to show the approach Quakers have taken to writing on contemporary peace issues and questions.

The first of these is a statement made by Quakers in New Zealand. The Statement, issued at the beginning of 1987, ‘has as its general context the Cold War and the Nuclear Threat. Its specific context was the big debate then raging in New Zealand about our (then) military alliance with the USA and specifically about whether New Zealand should accept visits by US warships carrying nuclear weapons. Friends agreed with our PM David Lange that “we don’t wish to be defended by these abominations”, and were part of the strong popular movement which eventually excluded and banned nuclear arms here, by legislation later in 1987. (The movement was also appalled by French nuclear testing in the Pacific). As a statement addressed to our fellow-citizens, then, it clearly supports the anti-nuclear position of the Lange government, while trying to make various deeper points of much more general applicability. Concerned to avoid the label of “passive pacifism”, the statement speaks also of active work for a better world, of struggling “to remove the causes of impasse and confrontation”, of developing “the skills of being sensitive to oppression and grievances, sharing power in decision-making, creating consensus, and making reparation”, and of learning “to avoid or to resolve conflicts in our own homes, our personal relationships, our schools, our workplaces, and wherever decisions are made.” I think this emphasis on building peace shows how the old Peace Testimony evolved in the 20th century, a period when Quaker peacebuilding included work within international institutions, work on mediation and reconciliation, work on nonviolent alternatives, peace education and peace research. To oppose war, and to seek to heal the wounds of war, is only part of our mission. In *Peace is a Process* (1993), British Friend Sydney Bailey puts it this way: “If we say ‘no’ to all war, we have an obligation to do our utmost to prevent it ever

¹ Britain Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), Quaker Faith and Practice, section 19.32, accessed 18 June 2010, available at <http://qfp.quakerweb.org.uk/qfp19-33.html>

happening... The strategic aim is to build a world in which outward weapons are not needed to ensure justice." ²

The second is a statement made by Quakers in Switzerland reflecting on the Doctrine of the Responsibility to Protect. This statement was made after significant discussions among Swiss Quakers which began in 2007 when the Representatives at the Quaker Council for European Affairs presented the dilemmas which this doctrine holds for Quakers at an annual meeting of Quakers in Switzerland. This sparked a discussion and led to the adoption of the statement at the following annual meeting in 2008.

The third is a very new document, prepared by Quakers in the Netherlands in response to the World Council of Churches. The process which this statement feeds into is still ongoing.

What these three documents have in common is that Quakers continue to address key questions that are relevant at the time and to find ways of expressing what a Quaker and pacifist response could be to those issues.

The second section is the republication of an essay written by the 17th century Quaker William Penn. He applied his concern for peace and his Quaker stance to the question of how Europe (or the Europe of his day) could be governed in a peaceful way. The essay is of particular interest in a European context as it points to many of the solutions to the governance of Europe which finally became a reality in the European Union and the Council of Europe.

The final section is a paper written for this publication. It looks at the European Security Strategy and the security strategies of Member States and analyses them in detail. The reason for undertaking the research for this paper is our ongoing work on trying to identify what drives European foreign policy.

The European Union, established as it was as a peace project, has the potential for contributing significantly to peace in the world; indeed, this is one of its aims as set out in the Lisbon Treaty:

In its relations with the wider world, the Union shall uphold and promote its values and interests and contribute to the protection of its citizens. **It shall contribute to peace**, security, the sustainable development of the Earth, solidarity and mutual respect among peoples, free and fair trade, eradication of poverty and the protection of human rights, in particular the rights of the child, as well as the strict observance and the development of international law, including respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter. ³

As such, the European Union has the potential to contribute to security for the common good globally, provided the Member States have the political will to engage in peace policy rather than pursuing policies which are based on unsustainable national interests. This paper is intended to be a contribution to that debate and tries to show that the underlying thinking about what security is has to be changed to bring about such peace policy. This depends, too, on the willingness of citizens to engage and to show decision-makers that they are willing for such policies to be implemented. Not an 'eat or be eaten' policy, but one that understands security to be indivisible and only possible if it is based on justice and an understanding of global interdependence.

² Peter Low, New Zealand YM, e-mail to QCEA 27 Jan 2010

³ European Union, Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union, Article 3 paragraph 5, accessed on 18 June 2010 and available at <http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2010:083:0013:0046:EN:PDF>, emphasis added 3

The Peace Testimony

1660 - A Declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God, called Quakers

A Declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God, called Quakers, against all plotters and fighters in the world, for the removing the ground of jealousy and suspicion from both magistrates and people in the kingdom, concerning wars and fightings. And also something in answer to that clause of the King's late proclamation which mentions the Quakers, to clear them from the plot and fighting which therein is mentioned, and for the clearing their innocency.

Our principle is, and our Practice have always been, to seek peace and ensue it and to follow after righteousness and the knowledge of God, seeking the good and welfare and doing that which tends to the peace of all. We know that wars and fightings proceed from the lusts of men (as Jas. iv. 1-3), out of which lusts the Lord hath redeemed us, and so out of the occasion of war. The occasion of which war, and war itself (wherein envious men, who are lovers of themselves more than lovers of God, lust, kill, and desire to have men's lives or estates) ariseth from the lust. All bloody principles and practices, we, as to our own particulars, do utterly deny, with all outward wars and strife and fightings with outward weapons, for any end or under any pretence whatsoever. And this is our testimony to the whole world.

And whereas it is objected:

'But although you now say that you cannot fight nor take up arms at all, yet if the spirit do move you, then you will change your principle, and then you will sell your coat and buy a sword and fight for the kingdom of Christ.'

Answer:

As for this we say to you that Christ said to Peter, 'Put up thy sword in his place'; though he had said before that he that had no sword might sell his coat and buy one (to the fulfilling of the scripture), yet after, when he had bid him put it up, he said, 'He that taketh the sword shall perish with the sword.' And further, Christ said to Peter, 'Thinkest thou, that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?' And this might satisfy Peter, after he had put up his sword, when he said to him that he took it, should perish by it, which satisfieth us. (Luke xxii,36; Matt. xxvi.51- 53). And in the Revelation it's said, 'He that kills with the sword shall perish with the sword: and here is the faith and the patience of the saints.' (Rev. xiii.10). And so Christ's kingdom is not of this world, therefore do not his servants fight, as he told Pilate, the magistrate who crucified him. And did they not look upon Christ as a raiser of sedition? And did not he say, 'Forgive them'? But thus it is that we are numbered amongst fighters, that the Scriptures might be fulfilled.

That the spirit of Christ, by which we are guided, is not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing as evil and again to move unto it; and we do certainly know, and so testify to the world, that the spirit of Christ, which leads us into all Truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdoms of this world.

First:

Because the kingdom of Christ God will exalt, according to the promise, and cause it to grow and flourish in righteousness. 'Not by might, nor by power [of outward sword], but by my spirit, said the

Lord.' (Zech.iv.6) SO those that use any weapon to fight for Christ, or for the establishing of his kingdom or government, both the spirit, principle and practice in that we deny.

Secondly:

And as for the kingdoms of this world, we cannot covet them, much less can we fight for them, but we do earnestly desire and wait, that by the Word of God's power and its effectual operation in the hearts of men, the kingdoms of this world may become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ, that he may rule and reign in men by his spirit and truth, that thereby all people, out of all different judgements and professions may be brought into love and unity with God, and one with another, and that they may all come to witness the prophet's words who said, 'Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.' (Isa.ii.4; Mic.iv.3)

So, we whom the Lord hath called into the obedience of his Truth have denied wars and fightings and cannot again any more learn it. This is a certain testimony unto all the world of the truth of our hearts in this particular, that as God persuadeth every man's heart to believe, so they may receive it. For we have not, as some others, gone about cunningly with devised fables, nor have we ever denied in practice what we have professed in principle, but in sincerity and truth and by the word of God have we laboured to be made manifest unto all men, that both we and our ways might be witnessed in the hearts of all people.

And whereas all manner of evil hath been falsely spoken of us, we hereby speak forth the plain truth of our hearts, to take away the occasion of that offence, that so we being innocent may not suffer for other men's offences, nor be made a prey upon by the wills of men for that of which we were never guilty; but in the uprightness of our hearts we may, under the power ordained of God for the punishment of evildoers and for the praise of them that do well, live a peaceable and godly life in all godliness and honesty. For although we have always suffered. and do now more abundantly suffer, yet we know that it's for righteousness' sake; 'for all our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our consciences, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world' (2 Cor.i.12), which for us is a witness for the convincing of our enemies. For this we can say to the whole world, we have wronged no man's person or possessions, we have used no force nor violence against any man, we have been found in no plots, nor guilty of sedition. When we have been wronged, we have not sought to revenge ourselves, we have not made resistance against authority, but wherein we could not obey for conscience' sake, we have suffered even the most of any people in the nation. We have been accounted as sheep for the slaughter, persecuted and despised, beaten, stoned, wounded, stocked, whipped, imprisoned, haled out of synagogues, cast into dungeons and noisome vaults where many have died in bonds, shut up from our friends, denied needful sustenance for many days together, with other like cruelties.

And the cause of all this our sufferings is not for any evil, but for things relating to the worship of our God in obedience to his requirings of us. For which cause we shall freely give up our bodies a sacrifice, rather than disobey the Lord. For we know, as the Lord hath kept us innocent, so he will plead our cause, when there is none in the earth to plead it. So we, in obedience to his truth, do not love our lives unto the death, that we may do his will, and wrong no man in our generation, but seek the good and peace of all men. And he that hath commanded us that we shall not swear at all (Matt. v.34), hath also commanded us that we shall not kill (Matt. v.21), so that we can neither kill men, nor swear for or against them. And this is both our principle and practice, and hath been from the beginning, so that if we suffer, as suspected to take up arms or make war against any, it is without ground from us; for it neither is, nor ever was in our hearts, since we owned the truth of God; neither shall we ever do it, because it is contrary to the spirit of Christ, his doctrine, and the practice of his apostles, even contrary to him for whom we suffer all things, and endure all things.

And whereas men come against us with clubs, staves, drawn swords, pistols cocked, and do beat, cut, and abuse us, yet we never resisted them, but to them our hair, backs and cheeks have been ready. It is not an honour to manhood nor to nobility to run upon harmless people who lift not up a hand against them, with arms and weapons.

Therefore consider these things ye men of understanding; for plotters, raisers of insurrections, tumultuous ones, and fighters, running with swords, clubs, staves and pistols one against another, we say, these are of the world and hath its foundation from this unrighteous world, from the foundation of which the Lamb hath been slain, which Lamb hath redeemed us from the unrighteous world, and we are not of it, but are heirs of a world in which there is no end and of a kingdom where no corruptible thing enters. And our weapons are spiritual and not carnal, yet mighty through God to the plucking down of the strongholds of Satan, who is author of wars, fighting, murder, and plots. And our swords are broken until ploughshares and spears into pruning; hooks, as prophesied of in Micah iv. Therefore we cannot learn war any more, neither rise up against nation or kingdom with outward weapons, though you have numbered us among the transgressors and plotters. The Lord knows our innocency herein, and will plead our cause with all men and people upon earth at the day of their judgement, when all men shall have a reward according to their works ...

O friends offend not the Lord and his little ones, neither afflict his people, but consider and be moderate, and do not run hastily into things, but mind and consider mercy, justice, and judgement; that is the way for you to prosper and get the favour of the Lord. Our meetings were stopped and broken up in the days of Oliver, in pretence of plotting against him; and in the days of the Parliament and Committee of Safety we were looked upon as plotters to bring in King Charles, and now we are called plotters against King Charles. Oh, that men should lose their reason and go contrary to their own conscience, knowing that we have suffered all things and have been accounted plotters all along, though we have declared against them both by word of mouth and printing, and are clear from any such things. We have suffered all along because we would not take up carnal weapons to fight withal against any, and are thus made a prey upon because we are the innocent lambs of Christ and cannot avenge ourselves. These things are left upon your hearts to consider, but we are out of all those things in the patience of the saints, and we know that as Christ said, 'He that takes the sword, shall perish with the sword.' (Matt. xxvi.52; Rev.xiii.10)

This is given forth from the people called Quakers to satisfy the King and his Council, and all those that have any jealousy concerning us, that all occasion of suspicion may be taken away and our innocency cleared.

Given forth under our names, and in behalf of the whole body of the Elect People of God who are called Quakers.

George Fox	Gerald Roberts	Henry Fell
Richard Hubberthorn	John Boulton	John Hinde
John Stubbs	Leonard Fell	John Furley Jnr
Francis Howgill	Samuel Fisher	Thomas Moore

God. It calls on us to object to everything which leads in the direction of war, preparation for it, or supporting it. Our faith challenges us as to whether we allow ourselves to become a divided people swept along by the stream of mistrust and fear, arrogance and hatred which produces tensions in the world; or whether by our own decisions, confidence and courage, we can become a bridge linking those elements which promote truth, justice and peace.

Statement on Peace by Aotearoa-New Zealand Yearly Meeting in 1987

We the Friends in Aotearoa-New Zealand send loving greetings to all the people in this country, and ask you to consider this statement, addressed to you, to which we all agree as one. The time has come for us to take an unequivocal public stand on the question of violence.

We totally oppose all wars, all preparation for war, all use of weapons and coercion by force, and all military alliances; no end could ever justify such means.

We equally and actively oppose all that leads to violence among people and nations, and violence to other species and to our planet. This has been our testimony to the whole world for over three centuries.

We are not naive or ignorant about the complexity of our modern world and the impact of sophisticated technologies - but we see no reason whatsoever to change or weaken our vision of the peace that everyone needs in order to survive and flourish on a healthy, abundant earth.

The primary reason for this stand is our conviction that there is that of God in every one which makes each person too precious to damage or destroy.

While someone lives there is always the hope of reaching that of God within them: such hope motivates our search to find non-violent resolution of conflict.

Peacemakers are also empowered by that of God in them. Our individual human skills, courage, endurance, and wisdom are vastly augmented by the power of the loving Spirit that connects all people.

Refusal to fight with weapons is not surrender. We are not passive when threatened by the greedy, the cruel, the tyrant, the unjust.

We will struggle to remove the causes of impasse and confrontation by every means of nonviolent resistance available. There is no guarantee that our resistance will be any more successful or any less risky than military tactics. At least our means will be suited to our end.

If we seemed to fail finally, we would still rather suffer and die than inflict evil in order to save ourselves and what we hold dear. If we succeed, there is no loser or winner, for the problem that led to conflict will have been resolved in a spirit of justice and tolerance.

Such a resolution is the only guarantee that there will be no further outbreak of war when each side has regained strength. The context in which we take this stand at this time is the increasing level of violence around us: child abuse; rape; wife battering; street assaults; riots; video and television sadism; silent economic and institutional violence; the prevalence of torture; the loss of freedoms; sexism; racism and colonialism; the terrorism of both guerrillas and government soldiers; and the diversion of vast resources of funds and labour from food and welfare to military purposes.

But above and beyond all this, is the insane stockpiling of nuclear weapons which could in a matter of hours destroy everyone and everything that we value on our planet.

To contemplate such horror can leave us feeling despairing or apathetic, hardened or blasé.

We urge all New Zealanders to have the courage to face up to the mess humans are making of our world and to have the faith and diligence to cleanse it and restore the order intended by God. We must start with our own hearts and minds. Wars will stop only when each of us is convinced that war is never the way.

The places to begin acquiring the skills and maturity and generosity to avoid or to resolve conflicts are in our own homes, our personal relationships, our schools, our workplaces, and wherever decisions are made.

We must relinquish the desire to own other people, to have power over them, and to force our views on them. We must own up to our own negative side and not look for scapegoats to blame, punish, or exclude. We must resist the urge towards waste and the accumulation of possessions.

Conflicts are inevitable and must not be repressed or ignored but worked through painfully and carefully. We must develop the skills of being sensitive to oppression and grievances, sharing power in decision-making, creating consensus, and making reparation.

In speaking out, we acknowledge that we ourselves are as limited and as erring as anyone else. When put to the test, we each may fall short.

We do not have a blueprint for peace that spells out every stepping stone towards the goal that we share. In any particular situation, a variety of personal decisions could be made with integrity.

We may disagree with the views and actions of the politician or the soldier who opts for a military solution, but we still respect and cherish the person.

What we call for in this statement is a commitment to make the building of peace a priority and to make opposition to war absolute.

What we advocate is not uniquely Quaker but human and, we believe, the will of God. Our stand does not belong to Friends alone - it is yours by birthright.

We challenge New Zealanders to stand up and be counted on what is no less than the affirmation of life and the destiny of humankind.

Together, let us reject the clamour of fear and listen to the whisperings of hope.

Statement by Switzerland Yearly Meeting on the Responsibility to Protect - 2008

The statement below is the response of Switzerland Yearly Meeting to an invitation of QCEA to consider a report of the "International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty". Our position is intended to help QCEA to reflect the Quaker opinion on this important matter at the level of the European Union.

The Responsibility to Protect

Humanitarian crises fit into a long process of which three stages are identified by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty: the events leading up to and preparing the crisis, the crisis itself and the social reconstruction which follows. For us as Quakers, the heart of the matter throughout the whole process lies in the **spirit** in which action is undertaken. It is essential at all stages to eschew any bullying spirit. Our starting point is "the virtue of that life and power that takes away the occasion of all wars" (George Fox, 1651).

The responsibility to react during the crisis

We agree that where internal conflict is causing serious suffering to the population and the State in question is unable to halt it, then intervention by outside bodies, as a last resort after preventive actions, overrides the principle of national sovereignty.

We are opposed to any military intervention, which can only undermine non-military, non-violent approaches and which runs the risk of provoking further violence rather than preventing it. We are concerned about the "military drift" creeping into thinking on this subject.

We believe that the types of non-military action outlined below bring less harmful and more long-lasting results. Whatever type of non-military action is used, it should only be to protect the population and not with the intention of changing the regime or bringing in a new order.

1. International police intervention

We favour police intervention which is limited to protection of the civilian population from harm. It requires professional police forces specially trained in the techniques of conflict resolution, mediation, dialogue, conciliation. We are not all opposed to the police using arms, if necessary to protect life, depending on the immediate situation.

2. International law and order provision

Containing a conflict situation and preventing escalation of violence requires a system of law and order where those suspected of contributing to the violence are brought to justice. In this, the role of the police force mentioned above is fundamental, as is also the presence of prosecutors, lawyers, law courts, judges, prisons and laws in conformity with international norms. Intervention of this sort needs to be rapidly provided internationally where the local system is inadequate to see that justice is done.

3. Non-violent techniques

We urge that the way of non-violence - neither passivity nor violence - be recognised as a legitimate approach in extreme situations. The examples of Gandhi and Martin Luther King, of resistance movements in Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Philippines and elsewhere, of Latvia's official non-violent

defence against Russian tanks, as well as of individual mediation efforts such as Will Warren's in Northern Ireland - all these and many others demonstrate the value of non-violent action. This method can fail as can military intervention, but it has the merit of not provoking further conflict. Support for non-violent intervention by NGOs as by official bodies, should form part of the panoply of action which the international community stands ready to provide or support.

The responsibility to prevent

We strongly agree with the International Commission's Priority 4A: "Prevention is the single most important dimension of the responsibility to protect".

The first responsibility is to consider our co-responsibility for human suffering in unstable countries. We need to recognise that we in the developed world are part of the problem. Much should be done in our own countries to modify lifestyles and to influence those policies of our governments which directly or indirectly contribute to conflicts elsewhere.

It is our firm conviction that neither standing armies nor ready-made solutions imposed from outside can prevent internal conflicts. We believe that the many bodies practising and teaching the use of dialogue and mediation in decision-making hold out the best hope of preventing conflicts flaring into violence.

We urge that such conflict-solving actions be undertaken, whether by governments or NGOs, much earlier in situations of potential conflict in a country - the dramatic situations of suffering we see in many countries have been openly simmering for years, with little or no official international intervention. NGOs can move faster, but lack of financial means limits their action.

We plead therefore for increased support from governments and international organisations to these bodies.

The responsibility to reconstruct

Crises should be handled by all concerned in the perspective of rebuilding a society which can live in peace, bearing in mind that as Gandhi said "there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree."

Statement adopted by Switzerland Yearly Meeting at its yearly meeting May 10, 2008

Response to the Initial Statement towards an Ecumenical Declaration of Just Peace⁴

Neither for the Kingdoms of this world, nor for the Kingdom of God will we fight and war with outward weapons⁵

As one of the representatives of the so-called historical peace churches believing that non-violence is an integral part of following Jesus we are grateful that the World Council of Churches has placed the issue of the use of deadly force in conflict situations high on the agenda by its endeavour to develop a 'declaration of just peace'. In the draft document questions are raised we are requested to respond to from our living tradition.

The concept of Just Peace is being introduced as a synthesis of the former antithesis between those churches that embraced the Just War doctrine and those churches that opted for a radical pacifist position. Although we applaud that the churches of the former category, which are in the majority in the WCC, have become much more cautious in condoning the use of violence, the antithesis mentioned cannot yet be said to be overtaken. In our view this antithesis is incorrectly being presented as a gradual rather than a principal difference, particularly in chapter 3. Although adherents to the just war doctrine became so-called 'nuclear pacifists' and -as is stated- 'stood side by side' with Christian pacifists in the struggle against the deployment of cruise missiles in Europe, this does not mean that profound differences in vision have been overcome. These differences come to light when one asks what the political consequences of the gospel message and the task of the church in today's world are.

As far as we are concerned the Initial Statement has been written whilst still accepting the age-old concept of the *Corpus Christianum*, in the context of which the church allies itself somehow with the worldly powers. The traditional peace churches however have always opted to form a countermovement, thus making it possible to render a prophetic witness over and against the worldly powers. In our Quaker tradition this is referred to as 'speaking Truth to Power'. Because these are the most important issues at stake from our perspective we begin by responding to the questions raised in chapter 3.

In '*On the way towards Just Peace: the scope of the Churches' engagement*' we are asked whether the approaches outlined correspond to our tradition. Unfortunately we have to answer this question negatively. The reason is that under the heading of Just Peace the possibility

to use deadly violence in conflict situations -albeit under strict conditions- is still kept open, just as was done in accepting the UN resolution on Responsibility to Protect. We cannot agree to this. Moreover the World Council contradicts itself when it is stated in paragraph 56 that 'refusing to condone violence, and following the way of non-violence indicate how Christians are to respond to a world replete with violence. Jesus met his own violent death with non-violence and this remains the model for Christians to follow in overcoming violence'. This is why we join the response to the position taken by the World Council sent in by Church and Peace last year. This response declared amongst else: "*We invite all churches to resist -together with us- the temptation to use deadly violence, even as a last resort*".

⁴ This is a response of Netherlands Yearly Meeting to the initial statement towards an Ecumenical Declaration of Just Peace of the World Council of Churches

⁵ Summary of the declaration of Quakers to King Charles II in 1660 which is still regarded as the basis of the Quaker Peace Testimony

Moreover it must be observed that the consequent application of the just war doctrine in today's world should turn its adherents really into radical Christian pacifists for at least two reasons. First of all many weapon systems available for warfare today -not just ABC weapons- can neither be characterised as proportional, nor make the required distinction between soldiers and civilians. Secondly, the Just War theory was developed to limit conflicts between nation states. In today's world most armed conflicts are no longer conflicts between nation states. Very often these are internal conflicts, conflicts within states. During the attack on Iraq even the United Nations denied that one could speak of the required 'just authority', there was serious doubt whether there was the required 'just cause' or the listed 'right intentions', whilst proportionality and correct behaviour (respecting human- and international rights) clearly left much to be desired. It becomes even more complicated if we become aware of the fact that many armed conflicts today are asymmetrical. These are no longer conflicts between states. Examples in case: Afghanistan and Sudan, or violent resistance and wars of independence, as in Sri Lanka and Palestine. Here all of a sudden the states involved no longer speak of uniformed soldiers confronting one another, but of 'enemy combatants' confronting the military. This leads us to be convinced that the criteria of the Just War theory can no longer be applied to the armed conflicts we are witnessing in today's world.

We can therefore agree with the World Council if it likes to state that the just war theory has been superseded, but not when this implies at the same time that the differences between those churches that adhere to the just war doctrine and those that are dedicated to radical Christian pacifism has also been overcome. From our perspective this antithesis still persists, even when the just war theory is replaced by that of 'just peace' as presented in the Initial Statement. An additional objection against the concept of 'just peace' is that sometimes the move from micro- to macro-level is made far too easily, taking e.g. the existing power structures and the structural economic injustice involved insufficiently into account. Similarly we note in paragraph 95 that the position of a police force operating under strict national legislation is being juxtaposed against the destructive powers of the military in international conflict situations.

Grounded in our deep conviction as Quakers we therefore continue to reject the use of deadly violence in all circumstances and choose a different path. Thus we opt for the non-violent (civil) interventions in conflict situations following the model of the Christian Peacemaker Teams and Peace Brigades International; for the transformation of the international system, both in the economic arena and that of international cooperation on peace and security: the World Council should support the United Nations more vigorously in realising the Millennium Goals, the reform of the Security Council and strengthening the newly formed Peace Building Commission (PBC).

We are also asked whether we can agree with the way in which the first chapter entitled '*The God of Peace and the Peace of God*' reflects on Biblical sources, human sin and the nature of violence and develops a Trinitarian approach to the God of Peace. As a first response to this question we noted that you stated in the covering letter accompanying the Initial Statement that specialised theological language was to be avoided as much as possible. However, we have to admit that - certainly in the first chapter- this is not the case. It is- particularly for the laity- a largely inaccessible text that may be characterised theologically rather orthodox.

We assume you do know that in our tradition we are extremely careful using systematic theological language. So you will not be surprised to learn that -although we appreciate that you have grounded your statement in the Biblical message- we have some difficulty with those parts of chapter 1 that are very theological and Trinitarian in nature.

Moreover we feel that a dogmatic foundation of our testimonies is not essential. In our tradition we would rather ground an ecumenical declaration of Just Peace on the message of peace that Jesus preached, amongst else in the Sermon on the Mount and his own non-violent way of life, maintained

consistently until the cross, thereby breaking the vicious cycle of violence. The peace that he has left his disciples, the world cannot give us (John 14: 27)

As far as the second part of the question at the end of chapter 1 is concerned we agree that committing violence -in whatever form- is a trespass, a sin. However we need to keep in mind that this does not just refer to manifest, but also to structural violence. The worldly institutions and structures - e.g. the dominant economic model- cause inequalities and offers unequal opportunities that may in turn result in violent resistance. Likewise the climate crisis mainly caused by the so-called 'developed' nations is a serious threat to world peace.

Climate change should be unanimously combated. In this respect the *mitigation* deemed necessary in your document (paragraph 110) is definitely insufficient! Our economic system and our lifestyle need to be urgently transformed. The challenge to do this should be central when building Just Peace, because it is not just (only) peace, in the sense that violence is absent- but is *Just Peace* because it involves an encompassing just and sustainable global society in accordance with the Biblical notion of *Shalom*. A precondition for this kind of peace is also the Biblical notion of justice. We note therefore with gratitude that in several paragraphs of your document this is witnessed to. These are paragraphs where you note that it is necessary to expose the inequality and injustice in the world, where you argue that the earth and fellow creatures are exposed to violence, exploitation and indeed extinction caused by us humans! We therefore agree with your conclusion that Just Peace is not just about 'peace on earth but also about peace with earth'! However in our view this also implies that we have not completed the conciliatory process Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation at all, we have only begun!

In the second chapter '*In the name of Christ: churches as communities and agents of peace building*' questions are asked about our involvement in peace work and peace education, as well as our commitment to sustainability. Based upon the conviction that the peace testimony is an integral part our faith, Quakers have, since the inception of the Religious Society of Friends in the seventeenth century, worked for peace and reconciliation. Quakers conscientiously objected to military service and fulfilled alternative civil service instead.

Quakers engaged themselves in reconciliation after a war by for example rendering emergency aid in Germany after the Second World War and organising work camps between youngsters from France, Germany and the United Kingdom. Thus we were also co-founders of the work camp movement *Service Civil International* and peace movements such as *Church and Peace* and *Eirene*, as well human rights movements as *Amnesty International* and environmental movements like *Greenpeace*.

In conflict situations efforts were undertaken to mediate behind the scenes, to win the confidence of both parties involved and get negotiations under way, for example during the war of secession of Biafra in Nigeria, the war between North and South Vietnam and the conflict in Northern Ireland. Moreover the Quakers have been recognised as an accredited NGO by the United Nations and 'Quaker diplomats' are active at the UN-offices at New York and Geneva. Here the focus is especially on fostering economic justice, human rights and disarmament. Diplomats from various countries are invited to jointly develop e.g. a first draft treaty against certain types of armaments, like cluster bombs or landmines. This activity by the Quakers also resulted in the Nobel Peace Prize being awarded to the Religious Society of Friends some 40 years ago.

At the European headquarters of the European Union and the Council of Europe, Quakers are similarly engaged: more than 25 years now the Quaker council for European Affairs has been active in the fields of economic justice, reform of the judicial and prison systems, human rights and peace. Already in the early 1980's high-ranking diplomats and officers in the military from both

Western- and Eastern-Europe were invited to enter into dialogue at Quaker House Brussels by the Quaker-Mennonite Working group on True Peace. Lately Quakers stimulated the NGO's working for peace at Brussels to unite forces and coordinate their efforts by establishing the *European Peace Liaison Office*.

However, Quakers, be it in their own way, are also a worldwide church. In this chapter the World Council also addresses the work for peace before, during and after a violent conflict.

For many Quakers in the southern hemisphere, particularly Africa, living out the peace witness undoubtedly is not as easy as it is for Friends in the northern hemisphere. As conscientious objectors - a human right- in many of these countries they are still being excluded from studying at Universities or jobs in the civil service. On the other hand they are often actively involved in peace and reconciliation in countries that suffer(ed) from civil war and armed conflict, especially in Eastern and Central Africa.

Concerning peace education Quakers developed whilst working with inmates in prisons the *Alternatives to Violence Project* which is now an effective peace education and training programme applied in well over 60 countries worldwide. In the Netherlands one of our members offers an 'quarrel school' for pupils and youngsters to learn creative ways to solve conflict.

Next to the 'peace testimony' Friends have a 'simplicity testimony': live as simply as possible so that others may simply live. In recent years this is being related more and more to a sustainability testimony. Groups of Quakers all over the world are increasingly concerned and undertake action, as individuals and as a community. This will also be reflected in the work programme of the Quaker United Nations Offices and the Quaker Council for European Affairs. During the recent UN Climate negotiations at Copenhagen a joint statement by European Quakers has been presented calling on the participants to develop effective and just policies to combat climate change.

Finally the question whether we have any concrete recommendations on the route towards the planned Ecumenical Peace Convocation at Kingston, Jamaica. We would like to offer following suggestions:

To consider the meeting in Jamaica no longer as the completion of a campaign (Decade to Overcome Violence) but to save from the seeds presented there some for a *new planting season*: finally starting the campaign that Bonhoeffer envisioned: towards a worldwide ecumenical Council of Peace in 2021 where we evaluate how far we have come with the target: to finally ban war during this 21st century!

Working towards an ecumenical declaration of Just Peace that actually calls us to follow Jesus' example of practising non-violence and will be an inspiring starting-document for the above mentioned campaign.

To implement a WCC-policy that is clearly aiming at abolishing war and the use of deadly violence as means of settling conflict.

To engage the WCC seriously in campaigning for the abolishment of ABC- and other categories of weapons, as well as the termination of arms production and arms trade, in close cooperation with other world religions.

To stimulate the churches to contribute to non-violent conflict resolution (also financially!) and to actively commit themselves to working for peace and reconciliation at home and elsewhere.

To inspire the members of our churches to adopt a lifestyle that enables all citizens of this one world to live a sustainable, just and peaceful life.

The world wide church could serve as an 'early warning system' when and where conflicting interests threaten to develop into armed conflict, so that non-violent intervention will be made possible at an early stage by the local and the (inter)national authorities, as well as the churches themselves. The World Council of Churches is well placed to facilitate the effective development of such an 'early warning system'.

In conclusion we wish you an inspiring and fruitful journey towards a truly Ecumenical Declaration of Just Peace that may contribute to building the Kingdom of God and the peace of Christ here and now in our one world!

On behalf of Netherlands Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), Kees Nieuwerth, Clerk.

An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe

By the Establishment of an European Diet, Parliament, or Estates

Beati Pacifici. Cedant Arma Togæ

Written by the Quaker, William Penn, in 1693

TO THE READER, - I have undertaken a subject that I am very sensible requires one of more sufficiency than I am master of to treat it as, in truth, it deserves and the groaning state of Europe calls for; but since bunglers may stumble upon the game as well as masters, though it belongs to the skilful to hunt and catch it, I hope this essay will not be charged upon me for a fault if it appear to be neither chimerical nor injurious, and may provoke abler pens to improve and perform the design with better judgement and success. I will say no more in excuse of myself for this undertaking but that it is the fruit of my solicitous thoughts for the peace of Europe, and they must want charity as much as the world needs quiet to be offended with me for so pacific a proposal. Let them censure my management, so they prosecute the advantage of the design; for until the millenary doctrine be accomplished, there is nothing appears to me so beneficial an expedient to the peace and happiness of this quarter of the world.

I OF PEACE AND ITS ADVANTAGES

He must not be a man but a statue of brass or stone whose bowels do not melt when he beholds the bloody tragedies of this war, in Hungary, Germany, Flanders, Ireland, and at sea, the mortality of sickly and languishing camps and navies, and the mighty prey the devouring winds and waves have made upon ships and men since '88. And as this with reason ought to affect human nature, and deeply kindred, so there is something very moving that becomes prudent men to consider, and that is the vast charge that has accompanied that blood, and which makes no mean part of these tragedies; especially if they deliberate upon the uncertainty of the war, that they know not how or when it will end, and that the expense cannot be les, and the hazard is as great as before. So that in the contraries of peace we see the beauties and benefits of it; which under it, such is the unhappiness of mankind, we are too apt to nauseate, as the full stomach loathes the honeycomb; and like that unfortunate gentleman, that having a fine and a good woman to his wife, and searching his pleasure in forbidden and less agreeable company, said, when reproached with his neglect of better enjoyments, that he could love his wife of all women if she were not his wife, though that increased his obligation to prefer her. It is a great mark of the corruption of our natures, and what ought to humble us extremely, and excite the exercise of our reason to a nobler and juster sense, that we cannot see the use and pleasure of our comforts but by the want of them. As if we could not taste the benefit of health but by the help of sickness; nor understand the satisfaction of fullness without the instruction of want; nor, finally, know the comfort of peace but by the smart and penance of the vices of war: and without dispute that is to the least reason that God is pleased to chastise us so frequently with it. What can we desire better than peace but the grace to use it? Peace preserves our possessions; we are in no danger of invasions: our trade is free and safe, and we rise and lie down without anxiety. The rich bring out their hoards, and employ the poor manufacturers; buildings and divers projections for profit and pleasure go on; it excites industry, which brings wealth, as that gives the means of charity and hospitality, not the lowest ornaments of a kingdom or commonwealth. But war, like the frost of '83, seizes all these comforts at once, and stops the civil channel of society. The rich draw in their stock, the poor turn soldiers,

or thieves, or starve: no industry, no building, no manufactory, little hospitality or charity; but what the peace gave, the war devours. I need say no more upon this head, when the advantages of peace, and mischiefs of war, are so many and sensible to every capacity under all governments, as either of them prevails. I shall proceed to the next point. What is the best means of Peace? which will conduce much to open my way to what I have to propose.

II OF THE MEANS OF PEACE, WHICH IS JUSTICE RATHER THAN WAR

As justice is a preserver, so it is a better procurer of peace than war. Though *Pax quaeritur bello* be a usual saying, *Peace is the end of war*, and as such was taken up by O.C. for his motto; yet the use generally made of that expression shows us that, properly and truly speaking, men seek their wills by war rather than peace, and that as they will violate it to obtain them, so they will hardly be brought to think of peace unless their appetites be some way gratified. If we look over the stories of all times, we shall find the aggressors generally moved by ambition; the pride and conquest and greatness of dominion more than right. But as those leviathans appear rarely in the world, so I shall anon endeavour to make it evident they had never been able to devour the peace of the world, and engross whole countries as they have done, if the proposal I have to make for the benefit of our present age had been then in practice. The advantage that justice has upon war is seen by the success of embassies, that so often prevent war by hearing the pleas and memorials of justice in the hands and mouths of the wronged party. Perhaps it may be in a good degree owing to reputation or poverty, or some particular interest or conveniency of princes and states, as much as justice; but it is certain that, as war cannot be in any sense be justified, but upon wrongs received and right, upon complaint refused, so the generality of wars have their rise from some such pretention. This is better seen and understood at home; for that which prevents a civil war in a nation is that which may prevent it abroad, viz. justice; and we see where that is notably obstructed, war is kindled between the magistrates and people in particular kingdoms and states/ which however it may be unlawful on the side of the people, we see never fails to follow, and ought to give the same caution to princes as if it were the right of people to do it; though I must needs say the remedy is almost ever worse than the disease: the aggressors seldom getting what they seek, or performing, if they prevail, what they promised: and the blood and poverty that usually attend the enterprise weigh more on earth, as well as in heaven, than what they lost or suffered, or what they get by endeavouring to mend their condition, comes to: which disappointment seems to be the voice of heaven and judgement of God against those violent attempts. But to return, I say, justice is the means of peace, betwixt the government and the people, and one man and company and another. It prevents strife, and at last ends it: for besides shame or fear, to contend longer, he or they being under government, are constrained to bound their desires and resentment with the satisfaction the law gives. Thus peace is maintained by justice, which is a fruit of government, as government is from society, and society from consent.

III GOVERNMENT, ITS RISE AND END UNDER ALL MODELS

Government is an expedient against confusion; a restraint upon all disorder; just weights and an even balance: that one may not injure another, nor himself, by intemperance.

This was the first without controversy patrimonial, and upon the death of the father or head of the family the eldest son or male of kin succeeded. But time breaking in upon this way of governing, as the world multiplied, it fell under other claims and forms; and is as hard to trace to its original as are the copies we have of the first writings of sacred and civil matters. It is certain the most natural and human is that of consent, for that binds freely (as I may say), when men hold their liberty by true obedience to rules of their own making. No man is judge in his own cause, which ends the confusion and blood of so many judges and executioners. For out of society every man is his own

king, does what he lists at his own peril: but when he comes to incorporate himself, he submits that royalty to the conveniency of the whole, from whom he receives the returns of protection. So that he is not now his own judge or avenger, neither is his antagonist, but the law, in indifferent hands between both. And if he be servant to others that before was free, he is also served of others that formerly owed him no obligation. Thus while we are not our own, every body is ours, and we get more than we lose, the safety of the society being the safety of the particulars that constitute it. So that while we seem to submit to, and hold all we have from society, it is by society that we keep what we have.

Government then is the prevention or cure of disorder, and the means of justice, as that is of peace: for this cause they have sessions, terms, assizes, and parliaments, to overrule men's passions and resentments, that they may not be judges in their own cause, nor punishers of their own wrongs, which, as it is very incident to men in their corrupt state, so, for that reason, they would observe no measure: nor on the other hand would any be easily reduced to their duty. Not that men know not what is right, their excesses, and wherein they are to blame, by no means; nothing is plainer to them: but so depraved is human nature that, without compulsion some way or other, too many would not readily be brought to do what they know is right and fit, or avoid what they are satisfied they should not do. Which brings me near to the point I have undertaken, and for the better understanding of which I have thus briefly treated of peace, justice, and government, as a necessary introduction, because the ways and methods by which peace is preserved in particular governments will help those readers most concerned in my proposal to conceive with what ease as well as advantage the peace of Europe might be procured and kept: which is the end designed by me, with all submission to those interested in this little treatise.

IV OF A GENERAL PEACE, OR THE PEACE OF EUROPE, AND THE MEANS OF IT

In my first section, I showed the desirableness of peace; in my next, the truest means of it: to wit, justice not war. And in my last, that this justice was the fruit of government, as government itself was the result of society which first came from a reasonable design in men of peace. Now if the sovereign princes of Europe, who represent that society, or independent state of men that was previous to the obligations of society, would for the same reason that engaged men first into society, viz. love of peace and order, agree to meet by their stated deputies in a general diet, estates, or parliament, and there establish rules of justice for sovereign princes to observe one to another; and thus to meet yearly, or once in two or three years at farthest, or as they shall see cause, and to be styled, the Sovereign or Imperial Diet, Parliament or State of Europe; before which sovereign assembly should be brought all differences depending between one sovereign and another that cannot be made up by private embassies before the session begin; and that if any of the sovereignties that constitute these imperial states shall refuse to submit their claim or pretensions to them, or to abide and perform the judgement thereof, and seek their remedy by arms, or delay their compliance beyond the time prefixed in their resolutions, all the other sovereignties, united as on strength, shall compel the submission and performance of the sentence, with damages to the suffering party, and charges to the sovereignties that obliged their submission. To be sure, Europe would quietly obtain the so much desired and needed peace to her harassed inhabitants; no sovereignty in Europe having the power and therefore cannot show the will to dispute the conclusion; and, consequently, peace would be procured and continued in Europe.

V OF THE CAUSES OF DIFFERENCE, AND MOTIVES TO VIOLATE PEACE

There appears to me but three things upon which peace is broken, viz. to keep, to recover, or to add. First, to keep what is one's right from the invasion of an enemy; I which I am purely defensive. Secondly, to recover, when I think myself strong enough, that which by violence I or my ancestors

have lost by the arms of a stronger power; in which I am offensive. Or, lastly, to increase my dominion by the acquisition of my neighbour's countries, as I find them weak and myself strong. To gratify which passion there will never want some accident or other for a pretence: and knowing my own strength, I will be my own judge and carver. This last will find no room in the imperial states: they are an unpassable limit to that ambition. But the other two may come as soon as they please and find the justice of the sovereign court. And considering how few there are of those sons of prey, and how early they show themselves, it may be not once in an age or two, this expedition being established, the balance cannot well be broken.

VI OF TITLES, UPON WHICH THOSE DIFFERENCES MAY ARISE

But I easily foresee a question that may be answered in our way, and that is this: What is right? Or else we can never know what is wrong: It is very fit that this should be established. But that is fitter for the sovereign states to resolve than me. And yet that I may lead a way to the matter, I say that title is either by a long and undoubted succession, as the crowns of Spain, France, and England; or by election, as the crown of Poland and the Empire: or by marriage, as the family of the Stewarts came by England; the elector of Brandenburg to the Duchy of Cleve; and we, in ancient time, to divers places abroad; or by purchase, as hath been frequently done in Italy and Germany; or by conquest, as the Turk in Christendom, the Spaniards in Flanders, formerly mostly in the French hands, and the French in Burgundy, Normandy, Lorraine, French-County, etc. This last title is, morally speaking, only questionable. It has indeed obtained a place among the rolls of titles, but it was engrossed and recorded by the point of the sword and in bloody characters. What cannot be controlled or resisted must be submitted to; but all the world knows the date of the length of such empires, and that they expire with the power of the possessor to defend them. And yet, there is little allowed to conquest too, when it has the sanction of articles of peace to confirm it: though that hath not always extinguished the fire, but it lies, like embers and ashes, ready to kindle so soon as there is fit matter prepared for it. Nevertheless, when conquest has been confirmed by a treaty, and conclusion of peace, I must confess it is an adopted title; and if not so genuine and natural, yet being engrafted, it is fed by that which is the security of better titles, consent. There is but one thing more to be mentioned in this section, and that is from what time titles shall take their beginning, or how far back we may look to confirm or dispute them. It would be very bold and inexcusable in me to determine so tender a point, but be it more or less time, as to the last general peace at Nimeguen, or to the commencing of this war, or to the time of the beginning of the treaty of peace, I must submit it to the great pretenders and masters in that affair. But something everybody must be willing to give or quit, that he may keep the rest and by this establishment be forever freed of the necessity of losing more.

VII OF THE COMPOSITION OF THESE IMPERIAL STATES

The composition and proportion of this Sovereign Part, or Imperial State, does, at the first look, seem to carry with it no small difficulty what votes to allow for the inequality of the princes and states. But with submission to better judgements, I cannot think it invincible: for if it be possible to have an estimate of the yearly value of the several sovereign countries, whose delegates are to make up this august assembly, the determination of the number of persons or votes in the states for every sovereignty will not be impracticable. Now that England, France, Spain, the Empire, etc., may be pretty exactly estimated is so plain a case, by considering the revenue of lands, the exports and entries at the custom houses, the books of rates, and surveys that are in all governments, the proportion taxes for the support of them, that the least inclination to the peace of Europe will not stand or halt at this objection. I will, with pardon on all sides, give an instance far from exact; nor do I pretend to it, or offer it for an estimate; for I do it at random: only this, as wide as is from the

just proportion, will give some aim to my judicious reader, what I would be at: Remembering I design not by any computation an estimate from the revenue of the prince, but the value of the territory, the whole being concerned as well as the prince. And the juster measure it is to go by, since one prince may have more revenue than another, who has much a richer country: though in the instance I am now about to make, the caution is not so necessary, because, as I said before, I pretend to no manner of exactness, but go wholly by guess, being but for example's sake. I suppose the Empire of Germany to send twelve; France, ten, Spain, ten; Italy, which comes to France, eight, England, six; Portugal, three; Sweedland, Four; Denmark, three; Poland, Four; Venice, three: the seven provinces, four; the thirteen cantons and little neighbouring sovereignties, two; dukedoms of Holstein and Courland, one; and if the Turks and Muscovites are taken in, as seems but fit and just, they will make ten apiece more. The whole makes ninety. A great presence when they represent the fourth, and now the best and wealthiest part of the known world; where religion and learning, civility and arts have their seat and empire. But it is not absolutely necessary there should be always so many persons to represent the larger sovereignties; for the votes may be given by one man of any sovereignty as well as by ten or twelve: though the fuller the assembly of states is, the more solemn, effectual, and free the debates will be; and the resolutions must needs come with greater authority. The place of their first session should be central, as much as is possible, afterwards as they agree.

VIII OF THE REGULATIONS OF THE IMPERIAL STATES IN SESSION

To avoid quarrel for precedency, the room may be round, and have divers doors to come in and go out at, to prevent exceptions. If the whole number be cast in tens, each choosing one, they may preside by turns, to whom all speeches should be addressed, and who should collect the sense of the debates, and state the question for a vote, which, in my opinion, should be by the ballot after the prudent and commendable method of the Venetians: which in a great degree, prevents the ill effects of corruption; because if any of the delegates of that high and mighty Estates could be so vile, false, and dishonourable as to be influenced by money, they have the advantage of taking their money that will give it them and of voting undiscovered to the interest of their principles and their own inclinations; as they that do understand the balloting box do very well know. A shrewd stratagem and an experimental remedy against corruption, at least corrupting: for who will give their money where they may so easily be cozened, and where it is two to one they will be so; for they that will take money in such cases will not stick to lie heartily to them that give it, rather than wrong their country, when they know their lie cannot be detected.

It seems to me that nothing in this Imperial Parliament should pass but by three quarters of the whole, at least seven above the balance. I am sure it helps to prevent treachery, because if money could ever be a temptation in such a court, it would cost a great deal of money to weigh down the wrong scale. All complaints should be delivered in writing in the nature of memorials and journals kept by a proper person, in a trunk or chest, which should have as many differing locks as there are tens in the states. And if there were a clerk for each ten, and a pew or table for those clerks in the assembly; and at the end of every session one out of each ten were appointed to examine and compare the journals of those clerks, and then lock them up as I have before expressed, it would be clear and satisfactory. And each sovereignty if they please, as is but very fit, may have an exemplification, or copy of the said memorials, and the journals of proceedings upon them. The liberty and rules of speech, to be sure, they cannot fail in, who will be wisest and noblest of each sovereignty, for its own honour and safety. If any difference can arise between those that come from the same sovereignty that then one of the major number do give the balls of that sovereignty. I should think it extremely necessary that every sovereignty should be present under great penalties, and that none leave the session without leave, till all be finished; and that neutralities I

debates should by no means be endured; for any such latitude will quickly open a way to unfair proceedings, and be followed by a train, both of seen and unseen inconveniences. I will say little of the language in which the session of the Sovereign Estates should be held, but to be sure it must be in Latin or French; the first would be very well for civilians, but the last most easy for men of quality.

IX OF THE OBJECTIONS THAT MAY BE ADVANCED AGAINST THE DESIGN

I will first give an answer to the objections that may be offered against my proposal: and in my next and last section I shall endeavour to show some of the manifold conveniences that would follow this European league or confederacy.

The first of them is this, that the strongest and richest sovereignty will never agree to it, and if it should, there would be danger of corruption more than of force one time or other. I answer to the first part, he is not stronger than all the rest, and for that reason you should promote this and compel him into it; especially before he be so, for then it will be too late to deal with such a one. To the last part of the objection, I say the way is as open now as then; and it may be a number fewer, and as easily come at. However, if men of sense and honour and substance are chosen, they will either scorn the baseness, or have wherewith to pay for the knavery: at least they may be watched so that one may be a check upon the other, and all Prudently limited by the sovereignty they represent. In all great points, especially before a final resolve, they may be obliged to transmit to their principals the merits of such important cases depending, and receive their last instructions: which may be done in four and twenty days at the most, as the place of their session may be appointed.

The second is that it will endanger an effeminacy by such a disuse of the trade of soldiery; that is there should be any need for it, upon any occasion, we should be at a loss as they were in Holland in '72.

There can be no danger of effeminacy, because each sovereignty may introduce as temperate or sever a discipline in the education of youth as they please, by low living and due labour. Instruct them in mechanical knowledge, and I natural philosophy by operation, which is the honour of the German nobility. This would make them men: neither women nor lions: for soldiers are the other extreme to effeminacy. But the knowledge of nature, and the useful as well as agreeable operations of art, give men an understanding of themselves, of the world they are born into, how to be useful and serviceable, both to themselves and others: and how to save and help, not injure or destroy. The knowledge of government in general: the particular constitutions of Europe; and above all of his own country, are very recommending accomplishments. This fits him for the parliament and council at home, and the courts of princes and services in the imperial states abroad. At least, he is a good commonwealth's man, and can be useful to the public or retire as there may be occasion.

To the other part of the objection, of being at a loss for soldiery as they were in Holland in '72. The proposal answers for it itself. One has war no more than the other; and will be as much to seek upon occasion. Nor is it to be thought that any one will keep up such an army after such an empire is on foot, which may hazard the safety of the rest. However, if it be seen requisite, the question may be asked, by order of the sovereign states, why such a one either raises or keeps up a formidable body of troops, and he obliged forthwith to reform or reduce them; lest any, by keeping up a great body of troops, should surprise a neighbour. But a small force I every other sovereignty, as it is capable or accustomed to maintain, will certainly prevent that danger, and vanquish any such fear.

The third objection is, that there will be great want of employment for younger brothers of

families; and that the poor must either turn soldiers or thieves. I have answered that in my return to the second objection. We shall have the more merchants and husbandmen, or ingenious naturalists, if the government be but anything solicitous of the education of their youth: which, next to the present and immediate happiness of any country, ought of all things to be the care and skill of the government. For such as the youth of any country is bred, such is the next generation, and the government in good or bad hands.

I am come now to the last objection, that sovereign princes and states will hereby become not sovereign: a thing they will never endure. But this also, under correction, is a mistake, for they remain as sovereign at home as ever they were. Neither their power over their people, nor the usual revenue they pay them, is diminished: it may be the war establishment may be reduced, which will indeed of course follow, or be better employed to the advantage of the public. So that the sovereignties are as they were, for none of them have now any sovereignty over one another: And if this be called a lessening of their power, it must be only because the great fish can no longer eat up the little ones, and that each sovereignty is equally defended from injuries, and disabled from committing them: *Cedant Arma Togæ* us a glorious sentence; the voice of the dove; the olive branch of peace. A blessing so great, that when it pleases God to chastise us severely for our sins, it is with the rod of war that for the most part He whips us: and experience tells us none leaves deeper marks behind it.

X OF THE REAL BENEFITS THAT FLOW FROM THIS PROPOSAL ABOUT PEACE

I am come to my last section, in which I shall enumerate some of those many *real benefits* that flow from this proposal for the present and future peace of Europe.

Let it not, I pray, be the least that it prevents the spilling of so much human and Christian blood. For a thing so offensive to God, and terrible and afflicting to men, as that has ever been, must recommend our expedient beyond all objections. For what can a man give in exchange for his life as well as soul? And though the chiefest in government are seldom personally exposed, yet it is a duty incumbent upon them to be tender of the lives of their people; since without all doubt, they are accountable to God for the blood that is spilt in their service. So that besides the loss of so many lives, of importance to any government, both for labour and propagation, the cries of so many widows, parents, and fatherless are prevented, that cannot be very pleasant in the ears of any government, and is the natural consequence of war in all government.

There is another *manifest benefit* which redounds the Christendom by this peaceable expedient, the reputation of Christianity will in some degree be recovered in the sight of infidels; which, by the many bloody and unjust wars of Christians, not only with them, but one with another, has been greatly impaired. For, to the scandal of that holy profession, Christians, that glory in their Saviour's name, have long devoted the credit and dignity of it to their worldly passions, as often as they have been excited by the impulses of ambition or revenge. They have not always been in the right: nor has right been the reason of war: and not only Christians against Christian, but the same sort of Christians have imbrued their hands in one another's blood; invoking and interesting all they could the good and merciful God to prosper their arms to their brethren's destruction: yet their Saviour has told them that He came to save, and not to destroy the lives of men: to give and plant peace among men: and if in any sense He may be said to send war, it is the holy war indeed: for it is to send against the devil, and not the persons of men. Of all His titles this seems the most glorious as well as comfortable for us, that he is the prince of peace. It is His nature, His office, His work, and the end and excellent blessings of His coming, Who is both the maker and preserver of our peace with God. And it is very remarkable, that in all the New Testament He is but once called lion, but frequently the Lamb of God; to denote to us His gentle, meek, and harmless nature, and that those

who desire to be the disciples of His cross and kingdom, for they are inseparable, must be like Him, as St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. John tell us. Nor is it said the lamb shall lie down with the lion, but the lion shall lie down with the lamb. That is war that shall yield to peace, and the soldier turn hermit. To be sure, Christians should not be apt to strive, not swift to anger against anybody, and less with one another, and least of all for the uncertain and fading enjoyments of this lower world: and no quality is exempted from this doctrine. Here is a wide field for the reverend clergy of Europe to act their part in, who have so much the possession of prizes and people too. May they recommend and labour this pacific means I offer, which will end blood, if not strife; and then reason, upon free debate, will be judge, and not the sword. So that both right and peace, which are the desire and fruit of wise governments, and the choice blessing of any country, seem to succeed the establishment of this proposal.

The *third benefit* is that it saves money, both to the prince and people; and thereby prevents those grudgings and misunderstandings between them that are wont to follow the devouring expenses of war; and enables both to perform public acts for learning, charity, manufactures, etc. The virtues of government and ornaments of countries. Nor is this all the advantage that follows to sovereignties, upon this head of money and good and good husbandry, those whose service and happiness this short discourse is dedicated; for it saves the great expense that frequent and splendid embassies require, and all their appendages of spies and intelligence, which in the most prudent governments have devoured mighty sums of money; and that not without some immoral practices also: such as corrupting of servants to betray their masters, by revealing their secrets; not to be defended by Christian or old Roman virtues. But here where there is nothing to fear there is little to know, and therefore the purchase is either cheap, or may be wholly spared. I might mention pensions to the widows and orphans of such as die in wars, and of those that have been disabled in them; which rise high in the revenue of some countries.

The *fourth advantage* is that the towns, cities, and countries that might be laid waste by the rage of war are thereby preserved. A blessing that would be very well understood in Flanders and Hungary, and indeed upon all the borders of sovereignties, which are almost ever the stages of spoil and misery; of which the stories of England and Scotland do sufficiently inform us without looking over the water.

The *fifth benefit* of this peace is the ease and security of travel and traffic: a happiness never understood since the Roman Empire has been broken into so many sovereignties. But we may easily conceive the comfort and advantage of travelling through the governments of Europe by a pass from any of the sovereignties of it, which this league and state of peace will naturally make authentic. They that have travelled Germany, where is so great a number of sovereignties, know the want and value of this privilege, by the many stops and examinations they meet with by the way: but especially such as have made the great tour of Europe. This leads to the benefit of a universal monarchy, without the inconveniences that attend it: for when the whole was one empire, though these advantages were enjoyed, yet the several provinces, that now make the kingdoms and states of Europe, were under some hardship from the great sums of money remitted to the imperial seat, and the ambition and avarice of their several proconsuls and governors, and the great taxes they paid to the numerous legions of soldiers, that they maintained for their own subjection, who were not wont to entertain that concern for them (being uncertainly there, and having their fortunes to make) which their respective and proper sovereigns have always shown for them. So that to be ruled by native princes or states, with the advantage of that peace and security that can only render a universal monarch desirable, is peculiar to our proposal, and for that reason it is to be preferred.

Another advantage is the great security it will be to Christians against the inroads of the Turk, in

their most prosperous fortune. For it had been impossible for the Porte to have prevailed so often, and so far from Christendom, but by the carelessness, or wilful connivance, if not aid, of some Christian princes. And for the same reason, why no Christian monarch will adventure to oppose or break such a union, The Grand Seignior will find himself obliged to concur, for the security of what he holds in Europe: where with all his strength he would feel it an over-match for him. The prayers, tears, treason, blood, and devastation that war has cost in Christendom, for these two last ages especially, must add to the credit of our proposal, and the blessing of the peace thereby humbly recommended.

The *seventh advantage* of the European Imperial Diet, Parliament, or Estates is that it will beget and increase personal friendships between princes and states, which tends to the rooting up of wars, and planting peace in a deep and fruitful soil. For princes have the curiosity of seeing the courts and cities of other countries, as well as private men, if they could as securely and familiarly gratify their inclinations. It were a great motive to the tranquillity of the world that they could freely converse face to face, and personally and reciprocally give and receive marks of civility and kindness. A hospitality that leaves these impressions behind it will hardly let ordinary matters prevail to mistake or quarrel one another. Their emulation would be in the instance of goodness, laws, customs, learning, arts buildings: and in particular those that relate to charity, the true glory of some governments, where beggars are as much a rarity as in other places it would be to see non.

Nor is this all the benefit that would come by this freedom and interview of princes. For natural affection would hereby be preserved, which we see little better than lost, from the time their children, or sisters, are married into other courts. For the present state of insincerity of princes forbid them the enjoyment of that natural comfort which is possessed by private families: insomuch that from the time a daughter or sister is married to another crown, nature is submitted to interest, and that, for the most part, grounded not upon solid or commendable foundations, but ambition or unjust avarice.

I say this freedom that is the effect of our pacific proposal restores nature to her just right and dignity in the families of princes, and them to the comfort she brings, wherever she is preserved in her proper station. Here daughters may personally entreat their parents, and sisters, their brothers, for a good understanding between them and their husbands, where nature not crushed by absence and sinister interests, but acting by the sight and lively entreaties of such near relations, is almost sure to prevail. They cannot easily resist the most affectionate addresses of such powerful solicitors as their children and grandchildren, and their sisters, nephews and nieces; ad so backward from children to parents and sisters to brothers, to keep up and preserve their own families, by a good understanding between their husbands and them.

To conclude this section, there is yet *another manifest privilege* that follow this intercourse and good understanding, which methinks should be very moving with princes, viz. that hereby they may choose wives for themselves such as they love, and not by proxy merely to gratify interest: an ignoble motive; and that rarely begets or continues that kindness which ought to be between men and their wives. A satisfaction very few princes ever knew, and to which all other pleasures ought to resign. Which has often obliged me to think that the advantage of private men upon princes, by family comforts, is a sufficient balance against their greater power and glory: the one being more in imagination than real; and often unlawful; but the other natural, solid, and commendable. Besides, it is certain, parents loving well before they are married, which very rarely happens to princes, has kind and generous influences upon their offspring: which with their example makes them better husbands and wives in their turn. This in great measure prevents unlawful love, and the mischiefs of those intrigues that are wont to follow them. What hatred, feuds, wars, and desolations have in divers ages flown from unkindness between princes and their wives? What unnatural divisions among

their children, and ruin to their families, if not loss of their countries by it? Behold and expedient to prevent it, a natural and efficacious one. Happy to princes and happy to their people also. For nature being renewed and strengthened by these mutual pledges and endearments I have mentioned will leave those soft and kind impressions behind in the minds of princes that court and country will very easily discern and feel the good effects of: especially if they have the wisdom to show that they interest themselves in the prosperity of the children and relations of their princes. For it does not only incline them to be good, but engage those relations to become powerful suitors to their princes for them if any misunderstanding should unhappily arise between them and their sovereigns. Thus ends this section. It now rests to conclude the discourse I which, if I have pleased my reader or answered his expectation, it is some comfort to me I meant well, and have cost him but little money and time; and brevity is an excuse, if not a virtue, where the subject is not agreeable, or is but ill prosecuted.

THE CONCLUSION

I will conclude this my proposal of a European Sovereign, or Imperial Diet, Parliament, or Estates with that which I have touched upon before, and which falls under the notice of everyone concerned, by coming home to their particular and respective experience within their own sovereignties. That by the same rules of justice and prudence by which parents and masters govern their families, and magistrates their cities, and estates their republics, and princes and kings their principalities and kingdoms, Europe may obtain and preserve peace among her sovereignties.

For wars are the duels of princes; and as government in kingdoms and states prevents men being judges and executioners for themselves, over-rules private passions as to injuries or revenge and subjects the great as well as the small to the rule of justice that power might not vanquish or oppress right nor one neighbour act an independency and sovereignty upon another, while they have resigned that original claim to the benefit and comfort of society; so this being soberly weighed in the whole and parts of it, it will not be hard to conceive or frame, nor yet to execute, the design I have here proposed.

And for the better understanding and perfecting of the idea I here present to the sovereign princes and estates of Europe for the safety and tranquillity of it, I must recommend to their perusals Sir William Temple's account of the United Provinces; which is an instance and answer upon practice to all the objections that can be advanced against the practicability of my proposal: nay, it is an experiment that not only comes to our case, but exceeds the difficulties that can render its accomplishment disputable.

For there we shall find three degrees of sovereignties to make up every sovereignty in the general states. I will reckon them backwards. First, the states general themselves: then the immediate sovereignties that constitute them, which are those of the provinces, answerable to the sovereignties of Europe, that by their deputies are to compose the European diet, parliament, or estates in our proposal; and then there are the several cities of each province that area so many independent or distinct sovereignties, which compose those of the provinces as those of the provinces do compose the states general at The Hague.

But I confess I have the passion to wish heartily that the honour of proposing and effecting so great and good a design might be owing to England, of all the countries in Europe, as something of the nature of our expedient was, in design and preparation, to the wisdom, justice, and valour of Henry the Fourth of France, whose superior qualities raising his character above those of his ancestors and contemporaries deservedly gave him the style of Henry the Great. For he was upon obliging the princes and estates of Europe to a political balance when the Spanish faction for the reason contrived and accomplished his murder by the hands of Ravilliac.

I will not the fear to be censured for proposing an expedient for the present and future peace of Europe when it was not only the design but glory of one of the greatest princes that ever reigned in it; and is found practicable in the constitution of one of the wisest and powerfulest states of it. So that to conclude, I have very little to answer for in all this affair; because if it succeed I have so little to deserve. For this great king's example tells us it is fit to be done; and Sir William Temple's history shows us by a surpassing instance that it may be done; and Europe, by her incomparable miseries, makes it now necessary to be done: that my share is only thinking of it as this juncture, and putting it into the common light for the peace and prosperity of Europe.

Security and the Common Good

Introduction

2010 is the year in which Quakers remember that our peace testimony has a 350-year tradition. This is cause for celebration. But it is also cause for reflection and a call to action. We cannot afford to rest on 350 years of history without ensuring that we live the peace testimony.

The world we live in does not make this easy. In the early part of the 21st century, we are faced with war, famine, conflict, poverty, and epidemics on the one hand and grotesque wealth on the other. We are caught up - whether we like it or not - in a global 'war on terror' that constrains everyone's freedom without addressing the root causes of terror. We are complicit in much of the world's suffering each time we fill our fridge or our car.

In this context, political developments continue to take us down a road which has little to do with global justice and which is based on an understanding of security that is limited and lacks the insight that security is indivisible. This is despite the fact that some political leaders at least put in words the hopes we all have for a better world. None less so than US President Barack Obama in his inaugural address in January 2009 when he said:

'As for our common defense, we reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals. Our Founding Fathers, faced with perils that we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man.... Those ideals still light the world and we will not give them up for expedience sake.'⁶

This short paper looks at the extent to which the understanding of security, threats and national interests reflected within the European Union matches up to these ideals applied globally and finds that we still fall woefully short.

European Understanding of Security

The Context

One of the major questions which must underlie any discussion of the European Union's approach to security is the understanding of threats and security interests which form the basis of any strategic response. The EU agreed a European Security Strategy in 2003⁷; the European Union then undertook a review of this Strategy in 2008 and published a report on this review⁸. Both documents discuss the threats the European Union and the Member States face but are silent on the question of strategic European interests.

Of course, the European Union is made up of 27 Member States and foreign policy is not an EU competence; that is to say, there is a degree of cooperation in matters of foreign policy under the European Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP); but this is an area still firmly seen as intergovernmental; that means, the Member States cooperate in this area as far as they can and the

⁶ Barack Obama, Inaugural Address, 21 January 2009, accessed 12 May 2010, available at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/inaugural-address/> on

⁷ European Union, A Secure Europe in a Better World, December 2003, accessed 19 March 2010, available at: <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>

⁸ European Union, Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy - Providing Security in a Changing World, December 2008, accessed 19 March 2010, available at: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/104630.pdf

other European Institutions have very little influence in this area. The ratification of the Lisbon Treaty at the end of 2009 and its subsequent implementation is not really changing this significantly though the appointment of a High Representative for CFSP who is also a Vice-President of the European Commission and the establishment of a European External Action Service (EEAS) under the Lisbon Treaty may change this gradually.

It is therefore important to look also at the understanding of threats and national interests of the 27 Member States to understand differences and commonalities and the extent to which these impact on the ability of the Member States to develop a common vision and a common approach.

Another interesting question is the time-frame in which the documents were developed and agreed. The oldest of the documents analysed is the National Defence Strategy of the Czech Republic which dates from 1997; the most recent document is the Defence Green Paper of the United Kingdom issued in 2010. Overall, four of the documents predate September 2001; the others post-date it.

Threat Analysis and Understanding

Not all the 27 Member States have published security strategies or similar documents. This analysis is therefore based on the documents which are available in the public domain and these are listed in Annex 1 to this paper. The EU Member States missing from this list are: Bulgaria, Cyprus, Luxembourg, Malta, and Portugal. A reasonably thorough search of the internet did not reveal any documents for these countries which are comparable in purpose and content to those analysed, notwithstanding the fact that those analysed still show a significant amount of variation in length, content, detail and analysis.

In analysing these documents, we tried to establish the understanding of threats which need to be addressed by a security strategy. The list of threats reflected in the European Security Strategy itself is relatively short. They are (in that order):

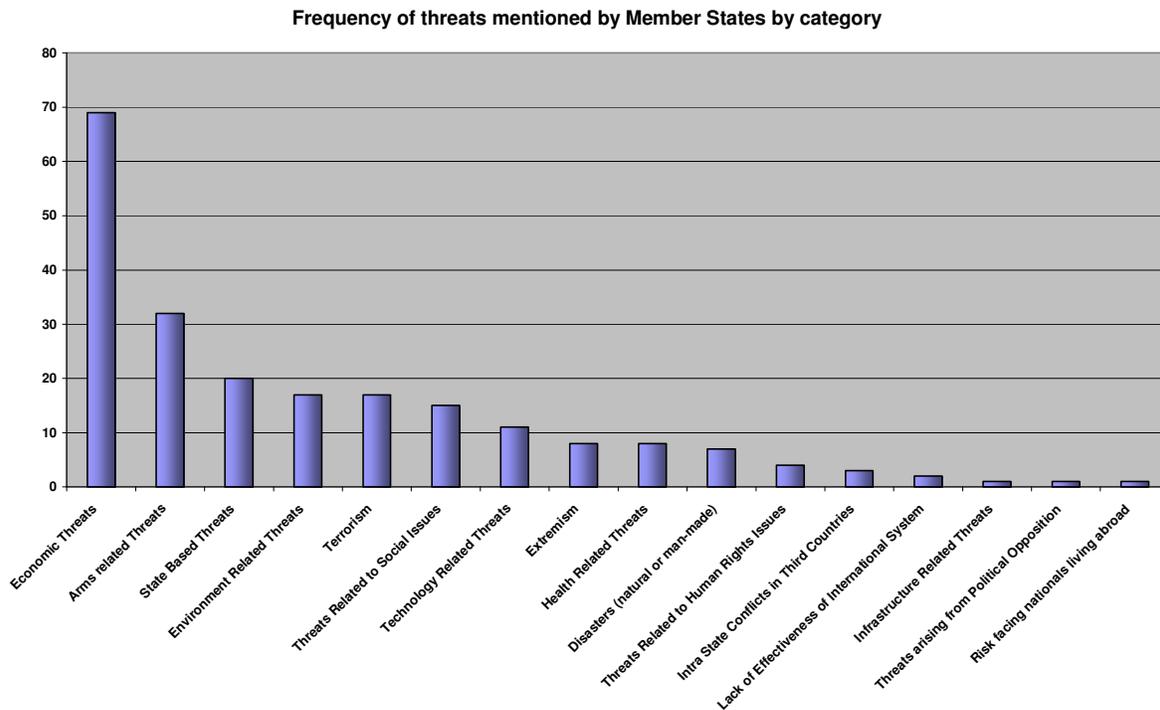
1. Terrorism
2. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction
3. Regional conflicts
4. State failure
5. Organised crime

The review of the European Security Strategy undertaken in 2008 changes the emphasis somewhat and lists the following global challenges and key threats (again in this order):

1. Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction
2. Terrorism and organised crime
3. Cyber security
4. Energy security
5. Climate change

The analysis of the security strategies of Member States shows a much wider range of challenges and threats and the way they are named and/or described varies significantly from one country to another. In some cases, threats were listed in an order of priority and named very succinctly. In others they were described in more narrative ways and it was therefore difficult to compare or even categorise them consistently.

We have identified the following categories of threats or risks or challenges as a result of the analysis of the texts listed in Annex 1:



It is, of course, a rather subjective approach to categorise a whole range of risk or threat descriptions into these categories and it could be argued that some of the specific sub-types would readily fit into more than one category. However, it is nonetheless clear that economic threats are well ahead of other threats as factors in determining the security strategies of Member States of the EU.

A further analysis of the **economic threats** and the way they are described shows the following:

- Organised crime (in some cases explicitly: transnational)
- Dependence for energy security on other countries (or just a few) or lack of energy resources
- Negative effects of globalisation
- Economic imbalance between developed and developing world - also poverty
- Drugs
- Economic crisis
- Trafficking
- Scarcity of natural resources
- Threats to communication and basic supply lines (specific reference to Gibraltar: Spain)
- Economic tension
- Lack of development in third countries
- Problems of food supply
- Economic pressure
- Foreign ownership of key parts of the economy
- Corruption in the economy (descriptions vary - this is our shorthand)
- Threat to income of population
- Serious disturbance to the functioning of the economy
- Political and economic competition

They are shown here in the order of frequency of their being mentioned in the documents analysed. It is clear that economic security is tightly bound up with other perceptions of security and is at the heart of thinking of governments in Europe.

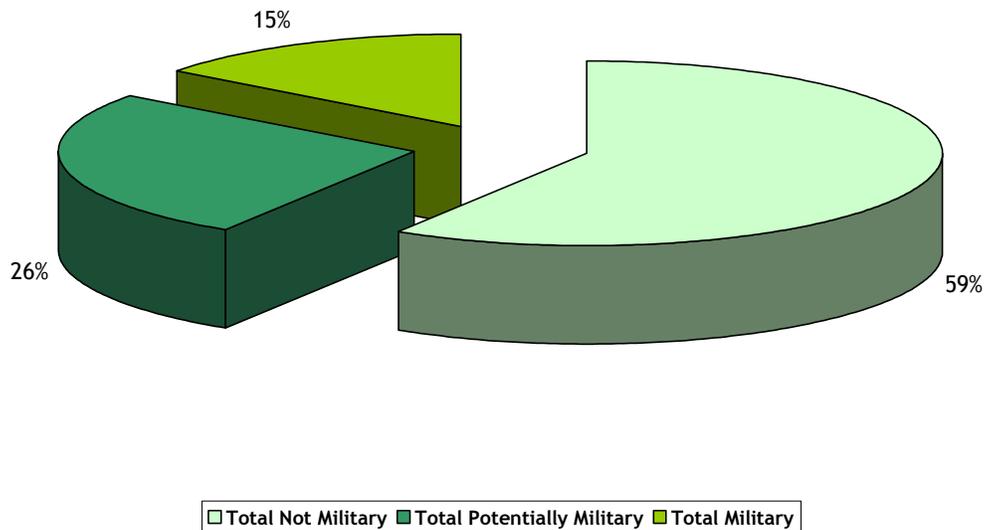
The range of threats mentioned under the general heading of **arms** (again in the order of their frequency):

- Proliferation of WMD
- Proliferations of weapons generally
- Armed conflict in unstable regions on the borders spilling over
- Threats arising from new military technology in the hands of others (asymmetrical)
- Armed threats (along the border)
- Use of military force
- Illegal arms trade
- Ballistic threat
- Armed conflict (generally)

This clearly indicates that the existence of weapons/arms per se (i.e. their proliferation, their illegal trade, and their availability to 'others' - especially non-state actors in the form of asymmetrical threat perceptions - is at least as much of a concern as their actual use.

It also clearly indicates that by far the majority of threats identified are non-military or at least only partially or potentially military. This is not always clear cut and there are certainly some threats that are potentially military but not necessarily so. The graph below shows our assessment of the breakdown between military, potentially military and non-military threats among those listed under the broad headings of economic threats and threats related to arms:

Is the threat military in nature?



If nearly 60% of the threats identified are essentially non-military in nature, then the response to the security environment we find ourselves in should respond to this.

It is interesting to note that in February 2010, the EU published a draft **internal Security Strategy** which also lists a number of threats. They are (in this order):

1. Terrorism - in any form
2. Serious and organised crime
3. Cyber crime
4. Cross-border crime
5. Violence itself
6. Natural and man-made disasters
7. Road traffic accidents

Clearly none of these is conceived as a military threat.

What Constitutes National Interests

The question of national security (and by inference that of European security) is closely connected to the question of what constitutes national (or European) interests. The European Security Strategy (ESS) is silent on the subject in broad terms. One of the few references to European interests (in terms of substance) is the statement: ‘It is in the European interest that countries on our borders are well-governed.’⁹ And further on but on the same issue: ‘It is not in our interest that enlargement should create new dividing lines in Europe. We need to extend the benefits of

⁹ Council of the European Union, A secure Europe in a Better World, European Security Strategy, December 2003, accessed 31 March 2010, available at <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>.

economic and political cooperation to our neighbours in the East while tackling political problems there.¹⁰ The review of the ESS is even less explicit on this subject.

It is therefore useful to look at the relevant strategies of the Member States to ascertain their understanding of their own national interests to see whether there is some commonality between them.

Looking at the same documents (listed in Annex 1) there are a long list of national interests reflected in them. As with threats, the way in which national interests are named and/or described varies significantly from one country to another. In total, we have collected some 48 different ways of describing national interests and again, have tried to categorise them in a way that allows for some form of analysis. Not all the documents stated their national security interests.

Category of national interest	Number of different subtypes	Frequency
The existence of the nation state	12	54
Stability generally	10	28
Preservation of values	5	24
Economic interests	6	20
Social stability	4	14
Defence issues	4	8
Environment	2	4
Power projection of the state	3	3
Crisis resilience	1	2

Existence of the Nation State

Clearly, ‘the existence of the nation state’ is the most important national interest. The different subcategories mentioned (in the order of the frequency with which they are referred to) included in this broad category are the following:

Territory	13
Sovereignty	10
Independence	8
Constitutional order	7
Defence of nationals living abroad	4
Ensuring that citizens can go about their business safely	3
Identity	2
Preservation of National Heritage	2
Security of and access to overseas territory	2
Defending country against armed attack	1

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8

Air and sea ports	1
Ownership of air, sea, land transport infrastructure	1

Stability

Under the next heading: ‘**stability generally**’ the following subcategories were mentioned:

Stable international order

Critical infrastructure

Peace and prosperity

Global and regional stability

Stability in neighbouring areas

Participating in multilateral crisis management

Open and predictable security policy of all countries in Euro-Atlantic area

Threat to peace and stability in North Western Africa

Cooperation with neighbouring countries - e.g. Baltic States

Expanding area of stability

This covers a broad range of interests and concerns and some of these are far more localised than others and reflect the particular concerns of particular EU Member States linked to their geographical location. What is clear is the perception that stability and therefore security is linked to neighbouring countries and regions and therefore that it is perceived as something that can only be guaranteed if it is realised beyond national boundaries. This gives a clear steer in the direction of collaboration across national borders (and by inference, beyond regional groupings such as the EU). In fact, this reflects a clear perception that a global system of governance that functions would be the single most important factor in fulfilling this national interest.

Values

The next most important range of interests is grouped under the heading of **preservation of values**. In the sense that this is seen as a national interest there could be the inference that each nation state presumes that its values are unique. However, it is clear, too, that at least as far as the European Union is concerned, there is an understanding that values are shared. This is clearly reflected in the Lisbon Treaty which states:

In the Preamble:

‘Confirming **their attachment** to the principles of liberty, democracy and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and of the rule of law’

Article 2

‘The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are **common** to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail.’

On this basis, the formulation of references to values and their preservation in the security strategy texts analysed are quite weak. They are:

Basic values

Peace, liberty and prosperity

Solidarity and contributing to peace and freedom

Freedom and democracy (with specific reference to certain regions in some cases)

Respect for human rights and civil liberty

The Lisbon Treaty is far clearer and confirms that these values are shared by all Member States. The questions that arise are:

- Are they also universal? And if so, how does that impact the security perception of the EU and its Member States (i.e. where does the threat to these values come from)?
- If they are universal, in what sense do they represent a 'national' interest?
- If these are our values, do we ask ourselves clearly enough whether our life-styles and our actions limit the ability of others (outside of the EU) to enjoy these freedoms?

Economic Interests

Given the importance of economic threats in the threat perception of the EU and its Member States, the **economic interests** identified as national interests in the Member State strategies feature quite low down the list and are quite brief:

Functioning economy

Free trade and communications

Supply of basic resources - energy but also others

Telecoms security

Prosperity and World Trade

Ability of companies to compete globally

There is an implicit contradiction between the perception of economic threats (i.e. the negative effects of globalisation mentioned by eight Member States) and the national interest expressed as the ability of companies to compete globally, prosperity and world trade. In other words, it is a national interest to be able to benefit from globalisation but at the same time it is seen as a threat (because, presumably, others might be able to benefit even more at 'our' expense).

Energy Security - a specific example of economic interests

However, it is also clear that at least in some Member States and in the European Security Strategy itself, the issue of access to natural resources (and here oil and gas are the predominant resources of concern) is very high on the list of policy-makers.

The European Security Strategy (2003) has four references to energy, the first featuring in the first paragraph on Global Challenges: 'And they [developments related to globalisation] have increased European dependence - and so vulnerability - on an interconnected infrastructure in transport,

energy, information and other fields.’¹¹ It goes on to say on the next page: ‘Energy dependence is a special concern for Europe. Europe is the world’s largest importer of oil and gas. Imports account for about 50% of energy consumption today. This will rise to 70% in 2030. Most energy imports come from the Gulf, Russia and North Africa.’¹²

The report on the implementation of the European Security Strategy (2008) has far more reference to energy security and indeed has a whole section devoted to the topic which is quoted below in full:

Energy Security

Concerns about energy dependence have increased over the last five years. Declining production inside Europe means that by 2030 up to 75% of our oil and gas will have to be imported. This will come from a limited number of countries, many of which face threats to stability. We are faced therefore with an array of security challenges, which involve the responsibility and solidarity of all Member States.

Our response must be an EU energy policy which combines external and internal dimensions. The joint report from the High Representative and Commission in June 2006 set out the main elements. Inside Europe, we need a more unified energy market, with greater inter-connection, particular attention to the most isolated countries and crisis mechanisms to deal with temporary disruption to supply.

Greater diversification, of fuels, sources of supply, and transit routes, is essential, as are good governance, respect for rule of law and investment in source countries. EU policy supports these objectives through engagement with Central Asia, the Caucasus and Africa, as well as through the Eastern Partnership and the Union for the Mediterranean. Energy is a major factor in EU-Russia relations. Our policy should address transit routes, including through Turkey and Ukraine. With our partners, including China, India, Japan and the US, we should promote renewable energy, low-carbon technologies and energy efficiency, alongside transparent and well-regulated global markets.¹³

But neither of these goes so far as to suggest that the EU would use its crisis management tools (that is its civilian or military intervention capabilities) to secure energy supplies.

However, the EU has launched a CSDP mission (Operation Atalanta) in 2008 to ships in the Gulf of Aden from piracy. There is no question about the fact that this operation has at least as one of its objectives to safeguard energy supplies.

Member States, whilst not focusing on energy security as a national interest, are very clear that it is very high on the list of threats.

In the 2007 UK Government Policy Review ‘Britain in the World’, there is a very clear statement that armed forces will be used to secure national interests: It is likely that we will need to use our

¹¹ Council of the European Union, A secure Europe in a Better World, European Security Strategy, December 2003, accessed 11 May 2010, available at <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>. p. 2

¹² *ibid.*, p. 3

¹³ Council of the European Union, Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy - Providing Security in a Changing World, accessed 11 May 2010, available at <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=266&lang=en>, p. 5

Armed Forces in both conflict and non-conflict situations when our strategic interests are threatened.¹⁴ And in its publication 'Strategic Trends Programme: Future Character of Conflict' the UK Ministry of Defence states:

By 2029 there is expected to be a considerable increase in demand for energy. The UK will be critically dependent upon energy imports and securing them will be non-discretionary.¹⁵

So there is evidence that at least in one Member State (and this is only by way of example here) there is a clear link between the perception that lack of access to energy is a threat, that access to energy is therefore a national interest and that vital national interests are to be defended if necessary by armed force.

There is no reference here, or anywhere else, to the fact that this dependence on energy is part of a global problem which can only be addressed if those states that are dependent on the overuse of a limited resource, reduce their demand rather than securing their supply at whatever cost.

Defence-related interests

The interests related to **defence** are interesting in that they are as much about cooperation and control as they are about independence:

Cooperation with NATO and other international organisations (e.g. EU)

Arms control

European defence industry

Independence of own nuclear deterrent

The first of these was mentioned by five Member States; the others by one each. The reference to a European defence industry may be as much about economic factors as it is about independence in this sector.

Is there a geographic aspect to national interests?

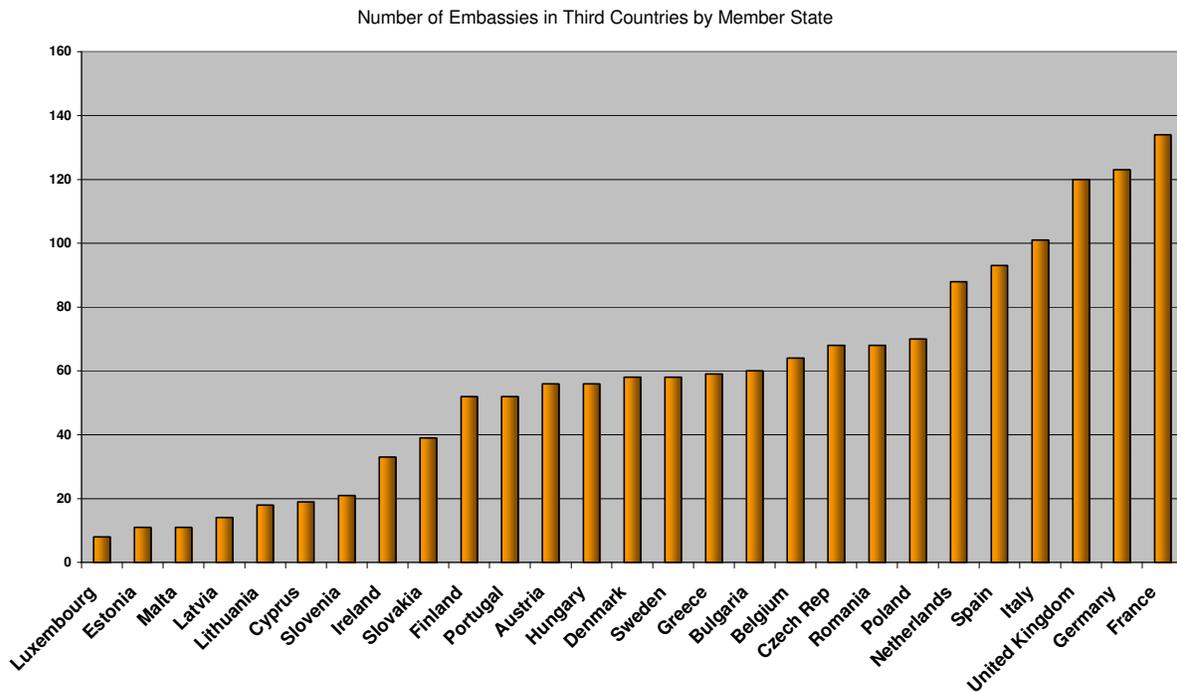
As already mentioned above, there is some indication that some of the analysis of threats and interests is connected to geography. Member States with off-shore territory show more interest in maritime communications, Member States with significant borders with non-member states reflect this in their documents to a certain extent. However, there was no clear mention of particular countries or regions that were of particular interest to Member States. It might have been expected that both history (colonial and otherwise) and business interests might shape the geography of national interest but if it does, this is not made explicit.

There are some ways of looking at proxy measures for this, though. One would be the geographic distribution of Embassies of Member States. This shows an interesting picture.

There is significance variance between Member States in terms of the number of Embassies they have in third countries. The graph shows this clearly:

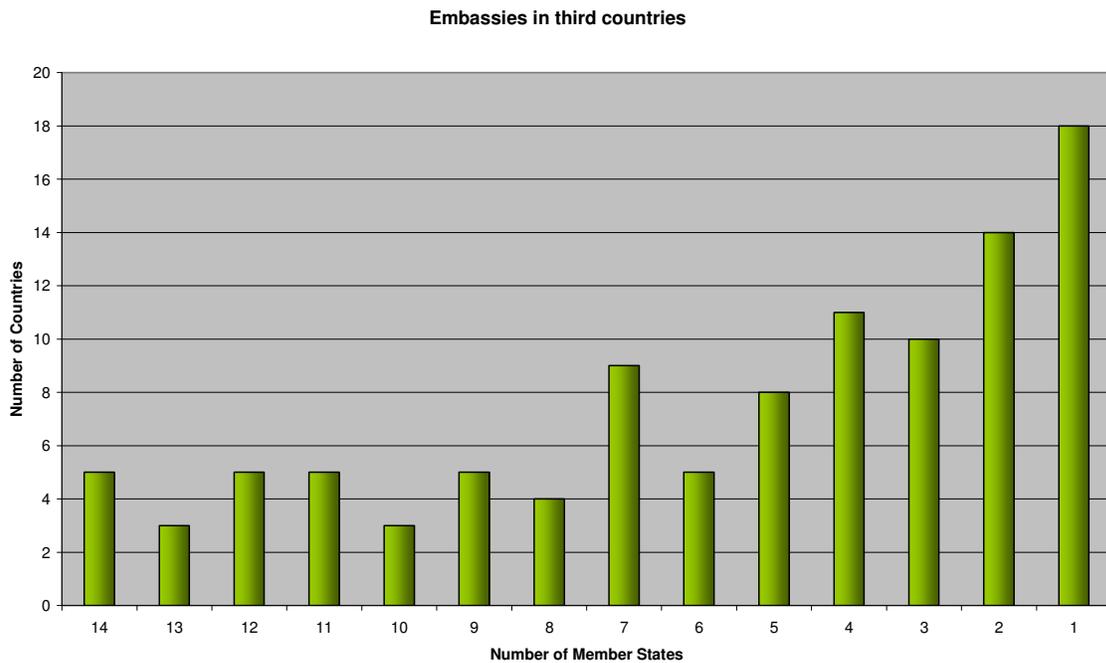
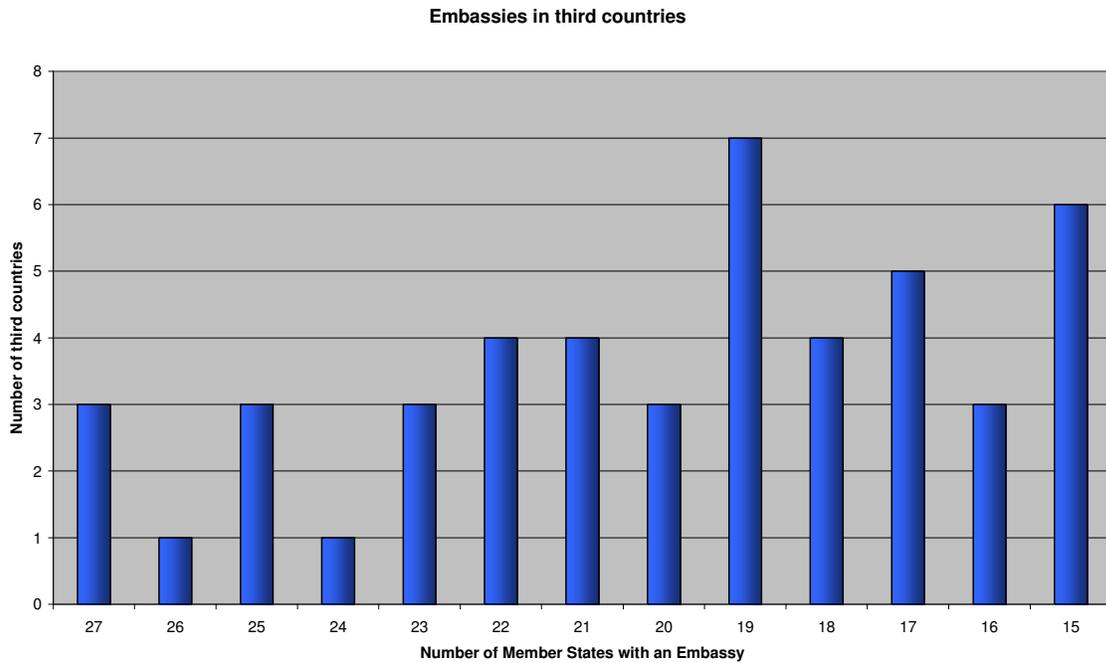
¹⁴ UK Cabinet Office, Britain in the World, April 2007, accessed on 11 May 2010, available at http://archive.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/policy_review/britain_in_the_world/index.asp, p. 20

¹⁵ UK Ministry of Defence, 'Strategic Trends Programme: Future Character of Conflict', accessed 12 February 2010, available at http://www.mod.uk/NR/rdonlyres/3E38C6EC-4A76-402F-9E28-C571EAB9929F/0/fcoc_final_revised_12Feb10.pdf



This in itself is, however, no indication of the interest this reveals in specific geographic locations.

A further analysis shows that EU Member States have representations in 152 countries in the world (excluding other EU Member States). In only 47 of these countries are more than half of the EU Member States are represented. The following two graphs show the detailed distribution.

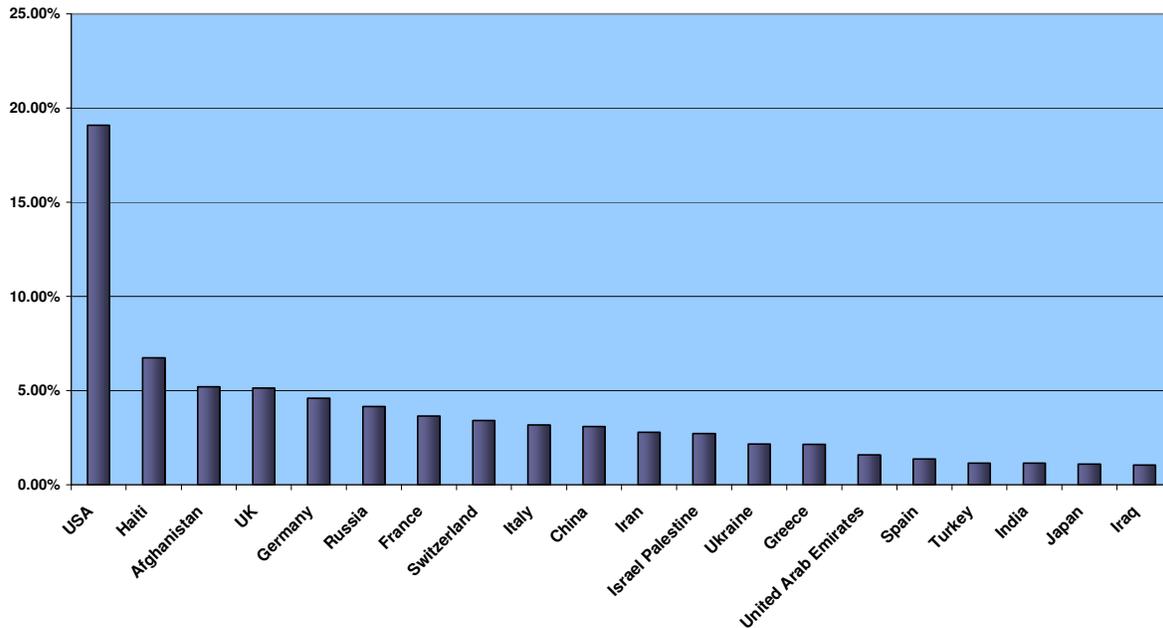


This shows that there are relatively few countries outside of the EU where EU Member States broadly agree that they have enough interest in that geographical location to have an embassy there. The countries which rank highly (i.e. where 15 or more Member States have an Embassy) are:

Number of MS with Embassies	Countries
27	China, Russia, USA,
26	Canada
25	Egypt, India, Japan
24	Israel
23	Norway, Turkey, Australia
22	Serbia, Switzerland, Iran, Argentina
21	South Africa, Holy See, Ukraine, Mexico
20	Thailand, Croatia, Brazil
19	Kenya, Nigeria, Indonesia, South Korea, Vietnam, Saudi Arabia, Syria
18	Algeria, Ethiopia, Morocco, Bosnia & Herzegovina
17	Libya, Tunisia, Pakistan, Kazakhstan, United Arab Emirates
16	Singapore, Iraq, Jordan
15	Malaysia, Taiwan, Georgia, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Kuwait, Lebanon

Another way of looking at the question of which countries rank highly in terms of national interest is the degree to which they feature in news reports in the newspapers of Member States. We have undertaken an analysis of reporting of news from foreign countries across nine Member States for three weeks during November and December of 2009 and January of 2010. This is a snapshot and clearly affected by the current events occupying the headlines of the day. However, this shows a clear trend towards reporting large amounts of news from only a very few countries with very minimal amounts of news from the majority of third countries.

Percent of Foreign Newscoverage in Selected EU Member States



Only one country, the United States of America, makes it to above 15% or even above 10% of the foreign news coverage during three weeks in nine Member States (with a selection of 23 broadsheet newspapers). And of those countries that make it above 1% of the foreign news coverage, most are countries where the business/commercial interests would outweigh any security concerns. The fact that Haiti was on this list and as high up as it is, was the impact of the very serious earthquake there; and the fact that Afghanistan ranked as highly as it did, related mainly to US and EU Member State reassessment of their strategy in Afghanistan. Of course, quite a bit of the news coverage was not directly related to politics or the economy. And there is much more general interest and celebrity news to be had in the USA and in other Western countries.

Responding to the Threats

Given this understanding of both threats and national interests that have to be defended, the question arises of how to respond to the threats. Where is the emphasis in the security strategies? Is it an integrated, whole of government approach? Are the tools appropriate for the threats identified?

The European Security Strategy and the European Security Strategy Review are relatively discursive and descriptive. However, it is clear from the texts that the approach is one of intervention. The following quotes illustrate this:

Our traditional concept of self-defence - up to and including the Cold War - was based on the threat of invasion. With the new threats, the first line of defence will often be abroad. The new threats are dynamic. The risks of proliferation grow over time; left alone, terrorist networks will become ever more dangerous. State failure and organised crime spread if they are neglected - as we have seen in West Africa. This implies that we should be ready to act before a crisis occurs. Conflict prevention and threat prevention cannot start too early.¹⁶

But globalisation has also made threats more complex and interconnected. The arteries of our society - such as information systems and energy supplies - are more vulnerable. Global warming and environmental degradation is altering the face of our planet. Moreover, globalisation is accelerating shifts in power and is exposing differences in values. Recent financial turmoil has shaken developed and developing economies alike.¹⁷

The response therefore is then described in the European Security Strategy as:

- **Building Security in the Neighbourhood** - an understanding that security along the borders of the EU is important and that stability in neighbouring states is important. In other words: a focus on those closest to us - notwithstanding the prior assertion that threats can come from anywhere and the knowledge of the potential of modern communications and telecommunications.
- **An international order based on effective multilateralism** - the objective here is the development of a stronger international society, well-functioning international institutions and a rule-based international order.

The review of the Security Strategy goes further in that it names enlargement as a continuing driver for stability, peace, and reform. But it also sees the increasing number of crisis management missions as a significant response to the threats faced by the European Union and its Member States. It names the European Neighbourhood Programme as a key pillar of response and singles out the development of an association agreement with the Ukraine and its role in the Middle East Quartet in this context.

The security interests outside the immediate neighbourhood and the link between security and development are reflected less clearly.

What are the responses foreseen in these two documents to the threats and to the pursuance of interests?

There is reference to early action and conflict prevention in both documents as is reference to peace-building and long-term poverty reduction. The European Security Strategy goes so far as to say:

‘...none of the new threats is purely military; nor can any be tackled by purely military means’¹⁸

¹⁶ A Secure Europe in a Better World, European Security Strategy, p. 7, accessed 6 April 2010, available at <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>

¹⁷ Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy - Providing Security in a Changing World, p. 1, accessed 6 April 2010, available at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/104630.pdf

¹⁸ A Secure Europe in a Better World, European Security Strategy, p. 7, accessed 6 April 2010, available at <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>

But at the heart of the response are the following concepts:

More active

This concept is intended to focus on the importance of bringing the full range of ‘instruments’ the EU has at its disposal into a strategic framework in response to the identified threats. Here, the document refers to political, diplomatic, military, civilian, trade and development activities. Having said that, the document then discusses the defence budgets of the Member States, the imperative to be able to conduct several missions simultaneously, the will to support UN operations and the need to ensure preventive engagement. In other words, despite the rather wider range of policy tools listed, the focus is on intervention and on military resources.

More capable

Here, the focus is on:

- The need to transform the military forces to be more flexible and more mobile, better resourced with those resources used more effectively (clarified in the next paragraph as: ‘Systematic use of pooled and shared assets would reduce duplications, overheads and, in the medium-term, increase capabilities’¹⁹)
- Intelligence sharing between Member States
- EU-NATO arrangements

There is reference to civilian and diplomatic capabilities but these are not elaborated as much as the references to military capabilities. References to the use of development and trade instruments to bring about change and lasting peace are not referred to in this section.

The Review of European Security Strategy makes specific reference in this section to the role of the EU Special Representatives, the role of civil society and role of the European Parliament - specifically with regard to election monitoring missions. It speaks more of the role and achievements of the crisis management missions undertaken. There is also reference to combining civilian and military expertise and the necessary command structures.

More coherent

This section essentially lists the different instruments available and postulates the need for developing coherence in their use especially in specific geographic situations.

Working with Partners

This section focuses on working with the United States of America but also makes reference to the relationship with Russia, and with other emerging economies. There is no reference to the United Nations (UN) in this section.

The Review of the European Security Strategy goes further, listing the Union for the Mediterranean, the Eastern Partnership, the role of the UN and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the WTO.

¹⁹ *ibid*, p. 12

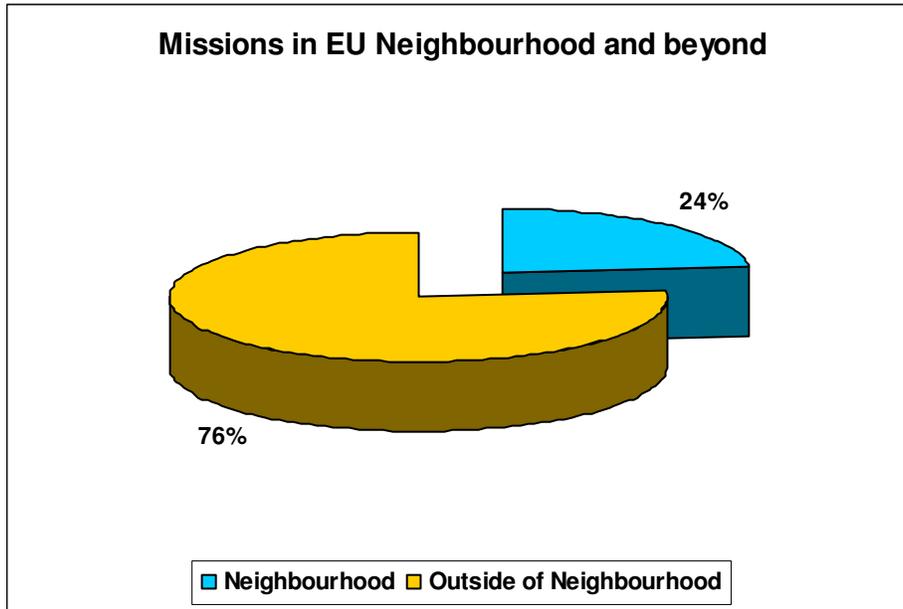
Crisis Management Missions

Much of the focus of the European Security Strategy implementation has been the deployment of crisis management missions. Since the beginning of the European Security and Defence Policy (under which such missions are deployed and which has been renamed Common Security and Defence Policy or CSDP in the Lisbon Treaty), the EU has deployed the following missions:

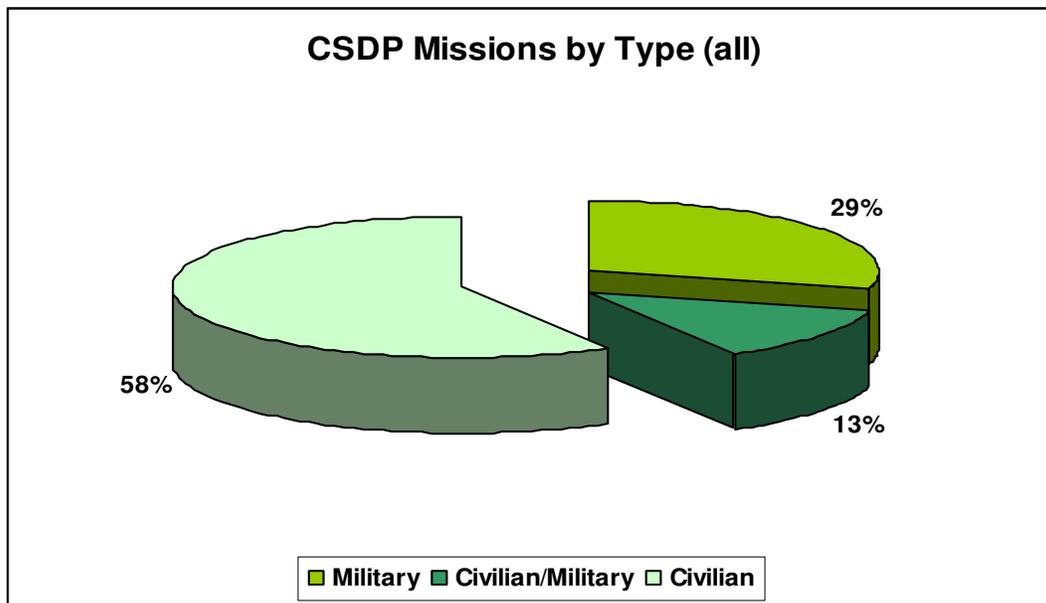
Mission	Military/Civilian	Completed/Ongoing	Neighbourhood?
EULEX KOSOVO	Civilian (Rule of Law)	Ongoing since 2008	Yes
EUMM Georgia	Civilian (Monitoring)	Ongoing since 2008	Yes
EUPOL COPPS - Palestinian Territories	Civilian (Police)	Ongoing since 2006	Yes
EUBAM - Moldova and Ukraine	Civilian (Monitoring)	Ongoing since 2005	Yes
EUBAM Rafah	Civilian (Monitoring)	Ongoing since 2005	Yes
EURFOR Althea - Bosnia & Herzegovina	Military	Ongoing since 2004	Yes
EUPM - Bosnia & Herzegovina	Civilian (Police)	Ongoing since 2003	Yes
EUPAT - FYRO Macedonia	Civilian (Police)	Completed	Yes
EUPOL PROXIMA - FYRO Macedonia	Civilian (Police)	Completed	Yes
EUJUST THEMIS - Georgia	Civilian (Rule of Law)	Completed	Yes
CONCORDIA - FYRO Macedonia	Military	Completed	Yes
EUTM Somalia	Military Training	Ongoing since 2010	No
EUSSR Guinea Bissau	Civilian/Military	Ongoing since 2008	No
EUNAVFOR - Atalanta	Military	Ongoing since 2008	No
EUPOL - Afghanistan	Civilian (Police and Rule of Law)	Ongoing since 2007	No
EUJUST LEX - Iraq	Civilian (Rule of Law)	Ongoing since 2007	No
EUPOL DRC	Civilian (Police)	Ongoing since 2007	No
EUSEC DRC	Civilian/Military	Ongoing since 2005	No
EUFOR Chad/Central African Republic	Military	Completed	No
Support to AMIS II - Sudan/Darfur	Civilian/Military	Completed	No
EUPOL - Kinshasa	Civilian (Police)	Completed	No
ARTEMIS - DRC	Military	Completed	No
EUFOR - DRC	Military	Completed	No
AMM - Aceh	Civilian (Monitoring)	Completed	No

The very simple count of missions that have been or are being undertaken within the geographical remit of the European Neighbourhood Policy²⁰ or within a country identified as a potential candidate for accession to the EU (here also counted as neighbourhood), the following graph is illustrative of the fact that whilst the European Security Strategy says there is a focus on the neighbourhood, the reality is that much of the work of missions has gone beyond this geographically.

²⁰ For a list of countries which fall under this policy, please see: http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/partners/index_en.htm

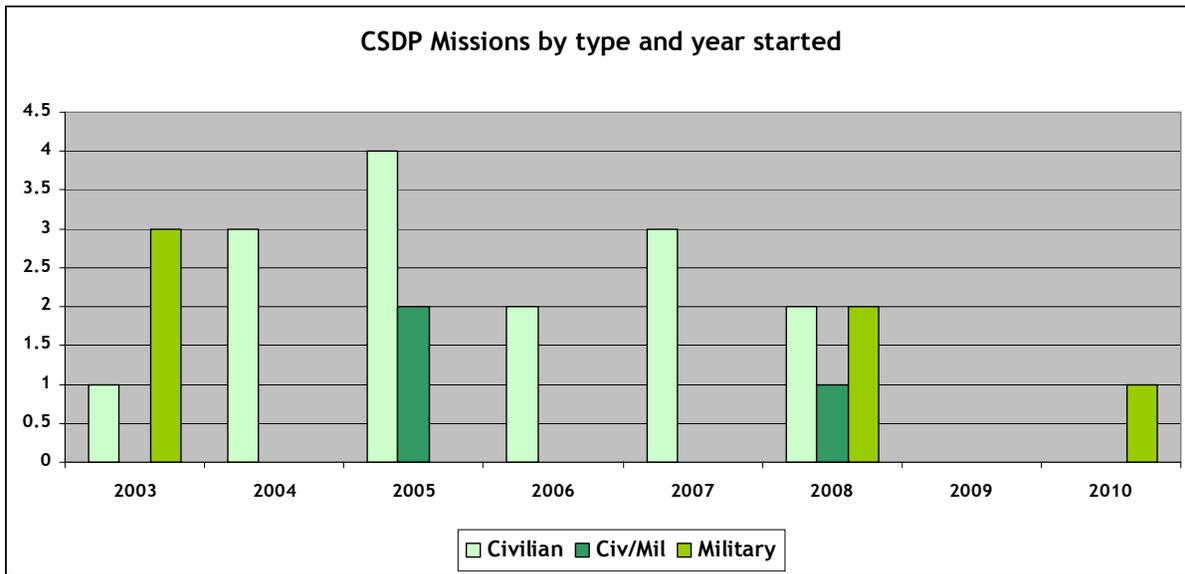


Furthermore, an analysis of the proportion of missions that have been military in nature, civilian and military, or entirely civilian, also shows a picture that is somewhat different from the words in the ESS where the emphasis is quite clearly on military thinking.



The fact that the EU acts on the whole through civilian missions is something that, whilst at odds with the words of the Strategy, is a positive sign. Is there, though, any evidence that this is shifting over time?

As the graph below shows, there is no trend in that direction at this point.



Policy Responses

Beyond the interventions which are considered above (which are the most visible element of the European Security Strategy in action - though even they are not very visible) there are a number of other responses the European Union engages in. They can be classified broadly into diplomacy and other policy approaches.

Diplomacy

The question of what European Union diplomacy will look like in another 12 months is at this point difficult to predict. The Lisbon Treaty has changed the context somewhat but as yet it is too early to see what will happen.

The current diplomatic approach is characterised by the following:

- The High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (HR) heads this area of EU policy. She (like her predecessor who carried the title High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy) makes regular public statement on foreign policy matters.
- The Foreign Affairs Council (chaired by the HR) meets and reaches conclusions on a wide range of foreign policy matters which are published
- The European Union Special Representatives (EUSR) in certain countries/regions: they are there to represent the European Union, to contribute to the solving of problems, and to be the eyes and ears of the HR. Just over 30 EUSR (some of them succeeding one another in the same location) have been active in a limited number of locations:

Location	Number of incumbents	Period(s) covered	Neighbourhood?
Yugoslavia	1	June 1998 to October 1999	Yes
Bosnia & Herzegovina	5	August 1999 to date	Yes

Location	Number of incumbents	Period(s) covered	Neighbourhood?
Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	6	June 2001 to date	Yes
Kosovo	2	March 1999 to date	Yes
South Eastern Europe/Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe	3	May 1999 to December 2004	Yes
South Caucasus	2	July 2003 to date	Yes
Moldova	2	March 2005 to date	Yes
Palestinian Authority	1	April 1997 to May 2002	Yes
Middle East Peace Process	2	November 1996 to date	Yes
Afghanistan	4	December 2001 to date	No
Afghanistan/Pakistan	1	June 2009 to date	No
Central Asia	2	July 2006 to date	No
Crisis in Georgia	1	September 2008 to date	No
Great Lakes Region	2	March 1996 to date	No
Sudan	2	July 2005 to date	No
African Union	1	December 2007 to date	No

With the development of the European External Action Service under the Lisbon Treaty, it is not clear whether the EU will continue to have Special Representatives.

Other Policy Instruments

Of course this brief review of EU instruments restricts itself to those which relate to the Common Foreign and Security Policy. In addition, there are all the instruments at the disposal of the European Commission in the fields of Development Assistance, External Relations, Enlargement, Neighbourhood Policy, Trade, and other multilateral and bilateral cooperation which contribute to the overall impact of EU foreign policy. From the point of view of resources employed, the broad impact of these may be more significant than the CFSP instruments. But this is not the place to review these.

The Member States

Clearly, the Member States have their own foreign policy which also has diplomatic, economic, development, and military components which also contribute to the overall impact the EU has as a global actor both on a bilateral basis and in multilateral fora where Member States represent themselves (such as the UN and NATO) and where the EU represents the Member States (such as the WTO).

Security or Peace

It is important to look at the question of what concept of security and peace drives the European Security Strategy and the actions arising from it. As Diana Francis clearly sets out in her recent book 'From Pacification to Peacebuilding'²¹ there are two very different approaches or models. One starts from a notion of security derived from a sense of interdependence between all people and peoples (and indeed between people and the planet) whereas the other starts from the notion that security is about 'eat or be eaten', i.e. a sense that if you don't win, you lose. The decision of where to start then has significant consequences for the values, the approach to power, to conflict, to change, to international regulation and to what is understood by peace.

One thing that is self-evident in today's world is that stability is seen as a result of the hegemony of 'our side'. The fact that the foreign news coverage is so over-dominated by what appears to be an all-consuming interest in the United States is evidence of this. Another is that more often than not decision-makers in Europe (and other parts of the world) will look to Washington for a steer as to how to respond to situations that evolve politically and economically.

The European Security Strategy shows a clear 'eat or be eaten' point of departure. It is about how we can keep ourselves safe from terrorism, from WMD (theirs, not ours), from organised crime, state failure, human trafficking (with a destination Europe) and so on. The response is to focus on a 'ring of stability' in countries we define as our neighbourhood.

There is no sense in which the strategy (or that of any of the Member States) even begins to ask the questions:

- Do we contribute to insecurity in the world?
- Do we contribute to negative outcomes for people in third countries?

Or, in the words of the 18th century Quaker, John Woolman: 'May we look upon our treasures, and the furniture of our houses, and the garments in which we array ourselves, and try whether the seeds of war have any nourishment in these our possessions or not'.²²

There is some notion of the interdependence of peoples across the globe in the European Security Strategy and in some strategies of Member States. There is recognition that 'with the new threats, the first line of defence will often be abroad'²³.

But this does not translate into an understanding that if there are people anywhere in the world who do not have enough to eat, who do not have somewhere decent to live, who are persecuted, discriminated against, raped, beaten and killed for power and economic gain, there can be no security for anyone. And the fact that Western affluent life-styles contribute some of the drivers that cause this to happen contributes to our insecurity. In short, we contribute heavily to global insecurity and conflict (directly and indirectly); we spend scandalous amounts of money on military expenditure when 1.02 billion people (or 15% of the world's population) go hungry every day, when 1.4 billion people (or 21 % of the world's population) live below the poverty line of \$ 1.25 per day.²⁴

²¹ Diana Francis, *From Pacification to Peacebuilding*, Pluto Press, April 2010

²² Quaker Faith and Practice, *The Book of Christian Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Britain*, section 23.16, online version, accessed 12 May 2010 available at <http://qfp.quakerweb.org.uk/qfp23-16.html>

²³ A Secure Europe in a Better World, *European Security Strategy*, p. 7, accessed 6 April 2010, available at <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>

²⁴ Figures from: *Hunger Facts: International Bread for the World* accessed 7 May 2010, available at <http://www.bread.org/learn/hunger-basics/hunger-facts-international.html>

Conclusions

There is clear evidence that both decision-makers at the most senior levels in governments and the EU and the media are firmly tied to 'eat-or-be-eaten' hegemony thinking when it comes to security. So it is up to citizens, individually but more importantly and effectively in groups (be they NGOs, churches, Quaker Meetings, other faith groups, trade unions or whatever other constellations) to challenge this thinking and to find a way to let our leaders know that we stand for 'security for the common good'²⁵ which means that we want the political, economic and social agenda to be set by an understanding of interdependence and justice.

We need to challenge decision-makers everywhere and at every turn to rethink their position on the basis that we are no longer prepared to have our so-called security, our comfort, our material possessions, our cars, our energy, and our life-styles 'safeguarded' through military means, through nuclear weapons, through exploitative relationships with other countries, through the ruthless exploitation of resources anywhere in the world, and through making common cause with oppressive regimes.

We need to demonstrate our resolve in our practice: how and where we invest our money, how and where we spend our money, how and where we work and live, and by the risk we take every day challenging the routine assumptions that politicians and the media make about our intentions.

We need to show to those citizens of the world whose security is undermined on a daily basis by the acts of our countries and ourselves, that we are willing to change and that we are willing to work for change beyond the individual level.

And we need to start here and today.

²⁵ Pax Christi and Fellowship of Reconciliation, Security for the Common Good, A Christian challenge to military security strategies, January 2010, accessed 12 May 2010, available at <http://www.for.org.uk/files/CommonSecurity.pdf>

Annex 1 - Member State Security and Defence Documents included in the analysis

All papers listed were accessed via the following website: <http://merln.ndu.edu/whitepapers.html>

Member State	Documents Reviewed
Austria	Security and Defence Doctrine - 2001
Belgium	The Modernisation Plan 2000 - 2015 of the Belgian Armed Forces
Czech Republic	National Defence Strategy of the Czech Republic - 1997
Denmark	The Danish Defence Agreement 2005 - 2009
Estonia	National Security Concept - 2004
Finland	Finnish Security and Defence Policy - 2009
France	French White Paper on Defence and National Security - 2008
Germany	Defence Policy Guidelines - 2003
Germany	White Paper - 2006
Greece	White Paper for the Armed Forces - 1997
Hungary	National Security Strategy - date not clear from document
Ireland	White Paper on Defence: Review of Implementation - 2007
Ireland	Strategy statement 2008 - 2010
Italy	Strategic Concept - 2004
Latvia	Report on State Defence Policy and Armed Forces Development - 2003
Lithuania	National Security Strategy - 2002
Lithuania	Defence Policy Review - 2006
Netherlands	Netherlands Defence Doctrine - 2005
Netherlands	National Security Strategy and Work Programme 2007 - 2008
Poland	The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland - 2007
Romania	The National Security Strategy of Romania - 2007
Slovak Republic	Security Strategy of the Slovak Republic - 2005
Slovak Republic	Defence Strategy of the Slovak Republic - 2005
Slovenia	Strategic Defence Review Comprehensive Summary - 2004
Spain	Defence White Paper - 2000
Spain	Strategic Defence Review - 2003
Spain	National Defence Directive - 2004
Sweden	Summary of 'A More Secure Neighbourhood - Insecure World' - 2003
Sweden	Summary of 'Our Military Defence - Commitment and Choices' - 2003
Sweden	Our Future Defence - the Focus of Swedish Defence Policy 2005 - 2007
United Kingdom	The National Security Strategy of the United Kingdom: Security in an Interdependent World - 2008
United Kingdom	Pursue, Prevent, Protect, Prepare: The United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering International Terrorism - 2009

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Britain Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), Quaker Faith and Practice, section 19.32, <http://qfp.quakerweb.org.uk/qfp19-33.html>

Diana Francis, From Pacification to Peacebuilding, Pluto Press, April 2010

European Union, A Secure Europe in a Better World, December 2003, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>

European Union, Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union, Article 3 paragraph 5, <http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2010:083:0013:0046:EN:PDF>

European Union, Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy - Providing Security in a Changing World, December 2008, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/104630.pdf

Hunger Facts: International Bread for the World, <http://www.bread.org/learn/hunger-basics/hunger-facts-international.html>

Quaker Faith and Practice, The Book of Christian Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Britain, section 23.16, online version, <http://qfp.quakerweb.org.uk/qfp23-16.html>

UK Cabinet Office, Britain in the World, April 2007, http://archive.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/policy_review/britain_in_the_world/index.asp,

UK Ministry of Defence, 'Strategic Trends Programme: Future Character of Conflict', http://www.mod.uk/NR/rdonlyres/3E38C6EC-4A76-402F-9E28-C571EAB9929F/0/fcoc_final_revised_12Feb10.pdf

As I travelled through markets, fairs, and diverse places, I saw death and darkness in all people where the power of the Lord God had not shaken them. As I was passing on in Leicestershire I came to Twy-Cross, where there were excise-men. I was moved of the Lord to go to them, and warn them to take heed of oppressing the poor; and people were much affected with it

The time of my commitment to the house of correction being very nearly ended, and there being many new soldiers raised, the commissioners would have made me captain over them; and the soldiers cried out that they would have none but me. So the keeper of the house of correction was commanded to bring me before the commissioners and soldiers in the market-place, where they offered me that preferment, as they called it, asking me if I would not take up arms for the Commonwealth against Charles Stuart. I told them I knew whence all wars arose, even from the lusts, according to James' doctrine; and that I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars.

This is the true ground of opposition to war, namely, that a Christian is to live a life that does away with the *occasion* for war.

Excerpts from the Journal of George Fox, Chapter 4 - A year in Derby prison, as published by the Street Corner Society at: <http://www.strecorsoc.org/gfox/ch04.html>

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