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Javier Solana, High Representative for the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy

Mr. President, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I consider it a great honour for me to address you at this prestigious occasion.
I am delighted to see so many friends here. We meet quite often, Mr. President, dear Minister, and I am grateful for the deep sympathy I meet at each of these occasions.

Poland’s traditional attachment to the defence of European values makes it a natural frontrunner of the European Common Foreign and Security Policy.

By the way, CFSP is the EU policy with the highest popular support, even in countries which sometimes may hesitate on further steps of European integration. Europeans may differ on a lot of things, but not on the strong conviction that Europe has to be the safe haven of democracy and peace.

(In this respect) the global role of Europe has reached a watershed:
For centuries, Europe was the scene for conflict between changing alliances. Europe, for all its power and civilisation in the world, was deeply disunited. Moreover, Europe exported its rifts and quarrels to other parts of the globe. In the 20th century, two World Wars were started in Europe.

The continent suffered the dreadful experience of Nazi oppression and the confinement of its Eastern half in Communist dictatorship. Many brave Poles paid a dreadful price in the struggle to restore or to preserve Poland’s traditions of freedom and human rights. I rejoice in the fact that Poland is on the threshold of joining a Union committed to the defence and promotion of those same values of freedom and human rights.

Today, the European continent is for the first time in History a net exporter of peace and stability. We are no longer in a situation where we have to fear savage attacks by our neighbours. Our views may still differ, but we solve our differences peacefully within given institutional structures.

Even in Southeastern Europe, where awful crimes against humanity were committed only a few years ago, peace has its chance. Of course, we need to remain vigilant. We have to explain and to warn again and again that nationalism and the manipulation of ethnic differences breed conflict. We have to demonstrate the enormous benefits in terms of wealth and stability of tearing barriers down.

But we can be confident that Europe is now clearly beyond the point when security threats came.
from European neighbours, and cumbersome military capacities had to be built up in order to keep those neighbours in check.

Today, the challenges and the responsibilities of European foreign and security policy are becoming increasingly global.

This has nothing to do with the old imperialist temptations of European powers in the past. Nor with what some my call a new humanitarian interventionism.

Our role in the world is, on the one hand, the logical consequence of our own interests. Europe's wealth and stability depend at least in part on what is happening beyond our borders, in the Eurasian region, in the Middle East, on the south bank of the Mediterranean and elsewhere. Global markets have brought us enormous opportunities. But globalisation has also made us more vulnerable insofar as we depend (on the good functioning) of far-reaching communication, transport and energy networks. Our role is also linked to the perception of the European success story. In the eyes of the world, we are not just a giant in terms of economic wealth but also a unique example in terms of political stability, co-operation and integration. Let us not be afraid to admit that, in the eyes of many, Europe is a model, a reason for hope.

Whether we want it or not, Europe is a powerful factor in international relations and will become even more so after enlargement. The reunification of Europe has enormous geopolitical consequences. When all current candidate countries are EU members, the EU will have a population of 500 million; it will share borders with Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Iran, Iraq and Syria.

The threats to European security seem to be less frightening today than in the days of the Cold War. However, the new challenges are perhaps more complex and more difficult to foresee than the old ones.

New security threats are emerging from the grey zones of the sub-state level, from failed states and transnational fanaticism.

11 September has been called the nightmare of globalisation. But unfortunately, the nightmare is not over. International terrorism continues to be a real danger.

Responding to these new challenges is not easy. We have to react energetically against aggression, and the more so if aggression is directed against innocent people.

But we have also to analyse and to address where those threats spring from. The causes of conflict, of extremism, of terrorism are complex.

Poverty is certainly a factor. Poverty promotes envy and hatred. The EU and its Member States have always sought to share the benefits that peace and prosperity brought to them.