

# European security politics

- Peace, security and cooperation



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# Introduction

What is the European Security Policy? Is it the work conducted within the EU? Is it the security-questions regarding Europe? Or is it rather how Europe acts within the security policy debate? The answer is that the European Security Policy is all the above and so much more. It is about how Sweden can influence Europe and the rest of the world through cooperation through international forums such as the European Union (EU) and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Furthermore how the EU's policy influences the people within and outside the Union and also in what way the policy in a single European country affects all other Member States. The European Security Policy is therefore an issue of great importance and in need of discussion and thorough analysis.

Sweden became a member of the European Union in 1995. Since then, the cooperation on the common foreign policies and the security and defence policy within the Union has expanded and become more significant. Today, Sweden participates in several operations of conflict resolutions under the direction of the EU. Sweden is also involved in the creation of a Nordic Battle Group. Furthermore, the EU makes statements more often as a unity in international forums. There are also discussions on establishing a common EU Foreign Ministry with one common Foreign Minister representing all Member States. At the same time, Sweden acts as a political actor on security issues in other regional organisations, such as the OSCE, and within the Civil Society. The political agenda on security has changed and Sweden's Foreign Policy today can be seen through a European lens. What are the consequences of this development and in what way could the different actors within the European Union benefit to Sweden's questions of priority? In this paper the European Security Policy will be debated and reviewed and we hope that it will give you some new insights that will make you reassesses and ask questions.

# Security

“Up to the present time, the military organization of our society has been founded upon a denial of the possibility of peace, a contempt for the value of human life, and an acceptance of the urge to kill.”

BERTHA VON SUTTNER - NOBEL LECTURE 18 APRIL 1906

All people want to live in an environment where they can feel safe, in an environment free from threats. But, when it comes down to the definition of security, it becomes more complicated. What does security mean and what are the most severe security threats to today?

Whose security are we talking about, and how can we guarantee security in the world today? This text will debate how the European Security Policy and the work that is done within Europe in order to ensure global peace and security. Before we start to discuss different initiatives within this area, it is of importance to examine the concept of security. Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), founded in 1915, started as a reaction of the First World War. The organisation has always maintained that security policies and conflicts are not solved through military solutions or strategies. It is not possible to reach peace and security through war. The only way towards sustainable peace is through dialogue and development of a peace culture. For a long period the dominating theory on security has been the ‘realist’ approach, in this paper also referred to as the ‘traditional view on security’. Within this approach, security is closely linked to the nation-state

as an actor. The questions on security, for whom, when and where, have consequently been regarded as the security of the nation state from military and political threats.

At the end of the Cold War this definition broadened a bit. The critics considered claimed that the single focus on the nation-state, has consequently excluded some groups that have not felt that the nation/a state has represented or protected them. The traditional concept on security limits the understanding of women's and marginalized groups' perception of security and also how security relates to identity and power. The world has changed and further dimensions on security such as economical, social and environmental aspects, have come into focus. The interconnection between poverty and security has been elucidated. As a reaction to the traditional approach, combined with newer threats (civil wars, terrorism, and organized criminality), a new concept was introduced within the international arena in the 1990's. The concept of 'human security' was officially launched in 1994 by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in the Human Development Report (HDR). The idea of human security has existed earlier in the United Nations (UN) regulations, Geneva Convention and the Convention on Human Rights, but never as a concept. The report highlights security for all human beings, rather than within territories and states, and security is provided by development rather than through arms. The report examined both national and global concerns on human security and tried to create a new paradigm on sustainable human development by including a new kind of cooperation on development and a reformed system of global organisations.

In the aftermath of the UN Millennium meeting in year 2000, an independent expert group was installed on the initiative of the Japanese government. There were to compile a report on human security. The initiative was concluded in 2003 through The Human Security Commission Report. The main conclusion of the report emphasises the importance of looking beyond institutional and national levels and instead focus on the individual levels. Peace and development are closely interlinked and must be considered in relation to each other. Human security is defined as a core-con-

dition in all humans' lives and it can be influenced by many factors such as hunger, poverty and the death of individuals.

The relation between security and development has a central role in the debate on human security as a concept. The fundamental idea is that conflict and violence is often sprung from poverty. By focusing on poverty reduction, there is a greater possibility of preventing armed conflicts. Conversely, conflicts pose a serious hindrance to development and poverty reduction within a country. This approach has been accepted by the Swedish Parliament and the Swedish Government. In December 2003, the Swedish Parliament adopted the Government's proposition on development i.e. "Shared responsibility: Sweden's policy for global development". In this proposition conflict management and security are central values in the adopted policy. It is stated, among other things, that armed conflicts pose the most serious obstacle against development in many poor countries. In the context of security policies, the relationship between development and conflicts need to be repeatedly focused on and emphasized. In fact, poverty poses a much more serious threat towards our security today than other problems which are given much more attention in the media e.g. terrorism and organized crime. As the Australian scientist Kevin Clements pointed out, that we should not lose this perspectives on security. What are the major threats to our security today? Is it terrorism that caused the death of 3000 people in the attack on the World Trade Centre in New York on the 11th of September in 2001? Or is it HIV/AIDS that causes the death of 4000-5000 people in Africa every month? Or is it perhaps the diseases, that are curable, which still causes the deaths of 30 000 children every hour around the world? Poverty contributes to death of 4000-5000 people in Africa every month? Or is it perhaps the diseases, that are curable, which still causes the deaths of 30 000 children every hour around the world? Poverty contributes to structures within the society which cause conflicts. This is an essential insight for both the people and the nation states.

As one of many organisations within the Civil Society, WILPF has for a long time had a human security approach in our work. Within the frame works of this security paradigm, feminism and gender sensitive perspectives are given more attention. This analysis

advocates a broad approach on security threats and criticises the nation state as the only a guarantor of security. A gender perspective has always focused on the “bottom-up” perspective, where all individuals and groups regardless of gender, class, religion, ethnicity all or nationality are included. In the report from the Swedish women’s organisation Kvinna till Kvinna (English translation Woman to Woman) ‘Security on whose terms? If men and women were equal?’, the international organisation Kvinna till Kvinna it is observed that a focus on human security does not necessarily mean that women’s security and perspectives are given enough attention. One example they refer to, is Kofi Annan’s report ‘In Larger Freedom’, published in March 2005. Despite the efforts in this report to link the concept of security to and development, it is obvious that the main focus is on military threats such as war and armed conflicts, nuclear weapons, terrorism, and organized crime. There is not one single word on women’s rights to live without fear of violence in the private and public sphere, is mentioned. This is despite the fact that up to 90 percent of all the victims in armed conflicts are women, and that they on a daily basis are victims of murder, rape, and systematically violated and insulted.

Women’s experiences and opinions are to a wider extent neglected in crisis management and peace work, even though they are extremely vulnerable in conflict situations. Women are for example seldom represented in national political decision-making or in the arenas where peace treaties are negotiated. The lack of women’s representation was obvious during the negotiation of the Dayton treaty, despite the fact that an estimated number of 20 000-50 000 women were raped during the war in the Former Republic of Yugoslavia. The international Community has difficulties in seeing women, not only as victims in armed conflicts, but also as potential actors in the work on peace conflict-resolution. The EU and the UN have submitted resolutions and treaties emphasising the importance of women’s participation in matters of peace negotiations. One example is the UN Security Council resolution of 1325 passed by the Council in the year 2000. The resolution is binding to all UN Member States, and acknowledges the specific impact that armed conflicts have on women, and the importance of women’s participation in peace and conflicts contexts. If the significance of the resolution were to be recognised and implemented in all UN

Member States, then women, and their specific needs would be a natural part when preventing conflicts, and within conflict management and peace negotiations. In practise this seems to be too hard to realize.

The representation of women in policy formulations and in international crisis management is not only a question of democracy, but adapting a gender perspective in conflict-resolving processes is also essential for a more efficient and well coordinated crisis management. How can it be possible to help women in conflict situations if their special needs and vulnerability is not acknowledged? Academic research shows a clear negative correlation between the level of equality in a specific country and the origin increasing of armed conflicts. Sofia Ivarsson, researcher at the Swedish National Defence College in Stockholm, has examined this question further. According to her, having a gender perspective can give us more efficient tools to discover and manage potential armed conflicts. For example, there are gender specific signs that could raise early warnings of an increased instability within a country, long before the actual outbreak of the conflict. The signs could for instance be exclusion of women in the political sphere, economical discrimination and severe differences between men and women in educational levels. There are also more immediate tendencies that show a society's movement from openness, towards a more patriarchal and traditional structure. Clear indicators of this are an increase in macho propaganda, and rape and violence against women in the private and the public sphere

The contemporary Security debate is too narrow and the central actors that traditionally are considered relevant are still the same i.e. the national state and intergovernmental organisations. Civil Society must be included in the creation of a contemporary security agenda. This text will discuss some of the main actors within the European Security Policy: EU, OSCE and Civil Society. It will outline the independent work by each of the different actors and in the conclusion debate the possibilities for cooperation in this field.



# The European Union

“The goal of the EU is to form a region of freedom, security and justice. Freedom in this connection cannot be just the freedom of the strong, but it must be combined with fraternity and equality.”

TARJA HALONEN, PRESIDENT OF FINLAND

The development of European Security cooperation for security was strongly influenced by the consequences of the Cold War and the First and Second World Wars. In 1954 the first steps towards a common European Security Policy was taken. The work failed, but was soon followed by the 1970 process called the ‘The European Policy Cooperation’. This cooperation was resolved through The Single European Act (SEA) signed in 1987. During the Cold War the theory of a common European defence was faced by a hope as well as scepticism. Due to the possible threats from the east, The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) dominated the security monopoly. However, differences between European and American opinions contributed to the foundation of the Western European Union (WEU). This was an alliance between France, Germany, Italy and the Benelux (e.g. Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands) countries. The role as a political force however was marginal, and when the eastern threat (the former Soviet Union) dissolved, NATO was still the provider of European security. In the 1990’s the EU’s growing importance in areas of economic and international trade, combined with the new international challenges of a Post Cold War era, led to renewed co-operative efforts in the international and security policy areas. When the Maastricht treaty in 1993 came into force, the cooperation chan-

ged its former name European Economic Community (EC) to the European Union (EU), and the three pillars were established. The first pillar on supra national level refers to the cooperation in economy and trade, the European political cooperation was integrated as a second pillar called Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) where the cooperation is on an intergovernmental level. The third pillar concerns legal and domestic affairs and this cooperation was agreed upon, to be intergovernmental with the Council of the European Union as the authoritative power and is consequently the EU's main decision-making body. The Council of the European Union represents the member states, and its meetings are attended by one minister from each of the EU's national governments. Furthermore, The European Commission and The European Parliament (EP) were interconnected in the process.

During the post war era in the Balkans in the mid 1990's, the Member States found that the Union's military and civil capacity needed further strengthening to meet and prevent upcoming conflicts. At the Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) in 1996, Sweden and Finland came up with a common proposition on the EU's capacity to implement humanitarian efforts, peace resolution and crisis management. The focus was to sustain all the above by military means. This led to an inclusion of the Peterberg Declaration in the Amsterdam treaty 1999. They were originally adopted at the Ministerial Council of the Western European Union (WEU) in June 1992 and include;

- humanitarian and rescue tasks;
- peace-keeping tasks;
- tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking.

## The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)

The CFSP is an intergovernmental cooperation body where all matters concerning the European Union's security are managed. The common policy aims to promote democracy, peace and security all over the world. The Treaty on European Union (TEU) was signed

in Maastricht in 1992. It establishes that all the member states, with no exceptions, should support a common foreign and security policy. Furthermore, the nations must avoid acting in a counterproductive manner that could harm the union's interests or its internal coherency. The obligations to create and implement the CFSP lie within the European Council, but they also have access to different political and military bodies whose tasks are to implement international policy, security policy and defence policy. All matters concerning the CFSP are decided by the union's foreign ministers, but the budget is administrated by the Commission. The fact that the CFSP is intergovernmental does not mean that the members have given up their sovereignty in favour of the common institutions. Every country retains their right to use their veto. The CFSP is regulated in the TEU chapter V, articles 11-28. The comprehensive goals are, according to article 11:

- to safeguard the common values, fundamental interests, independence and integrity of the Union in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter
- to preserve peace and strengthen international security, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, as well as the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the objectives of the Paris Charter, including those on external borders,
- to develop and consolidate democracy and the rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms

The trade sanctions, resolved by the EU for the purpose of a foreign policy, are included in the CFSP. The international policy areas, trade, aid, relations between EU Member States or conflicts within the EU Member States are however not included in the document.

The Amsterdam Treaty, signed the 1st of May 1999, resulted in the establishment of a high representative for the CFSP with access to an extensive supportive organisation. The high representative shall assist the Presidency of the Council of the European Union. He or she will also be included in the drafting, preparing and implementation of there resolutions. Additionally, the representative should when it is considered appropriate conduct a political dialo-

### The CFSP can act through:

- Common strategies
- Joint Actions
- Common positions
- Common statements
- Agreements with foreign countries and International Organisations
- Military crisis management, civilian crisis management and conflict prevention.

gue with third parties. The Member States agreed that a qualified majority (QM) is the number of votes required in the Council for a decision to be adopted when issues are being debated on the basis of Article 205(2) of the EC Treaty. All decisions linked to Defence and Security issues, are however adopted through consensus.

A number of political and military authorities are interconnected linked to the CFSP. They are:

#### *The Political and Security Committee (PSC)*

The PSC was established in 2001. The Committee is made up of the political directors of the Member States' foreign ministries that are situated in Brussels. They are in constant contact with the high representative. The Committee coordinates civil and military efforts, prepares all issues concerning the PSC, conducts international observations, observes international development, and provides strategic guidelines for military efforts preformed by the EU, and promotes vide guidelines for the military committee.

#### *The European Union Military Committee, (EUMC)*

The EUMC was established in April 2001 and is the highest military body set up within the Council. It is composed of the Chiefs of Defence of the Member States, who are regularly represented by their permanent military representatives. The EUMC provides the PSC with advice and recommendations on all military matters within the EU.

#### *The European Military Staff, (EUMS)*

The EUMS was established in 2001 and consists of approximately 200 officers from the Member States. It serves as a link between the EU's Political and Military authorities and the military resources.

The task is to develop different military strategic solutions which then are evaluated by the Military Committee (EUMC). It operates within the European Council on policy and planning, intelligence, operations, logistics, resources, communications, and information systems.

#### *The Civil Committee (CivCom)*

The Committee is responsible for the civilian aspects of Crisis Management committee; it was established in May 2000. Its four priority areas were identified during the summit in Feira (June 2000). These areas are; the EU Civil Police, judicial procedures, civil protection and security, and Civil Administration. The Member States must be able to submit 5000 policemen for international operations, 1400 of whom must be accessible within 30 days of the request. The aim of the “judicial procedures” is that the Civil Committee should be able to restore the local legal systems if necessary. A group of experts have been established for the Civil Administration which can be outsourced within a short time limit. For Civilian Protection, the EU has a goal to have the ability to send an expert group to conflict areas in order to assist the affected population. CivCom also provides political advice to the PSC on Civil Crisis Management. The EU has confirmed through treaties that the UN has overall responsibility for the International Peace and Security. Furthermore, the EU’s crisis management shall be conducted according to the principles of the UN Charter and The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) treaty on security in Europe.

## **The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)**

The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) works on the EU Crisis Management which is a part of the CFSP. The cooperation, based on the principles from the Petersberg tasks documents, is intergovernmental and financed by voluntary funding from the Member States. The Member States make their own decisions on sending participants to the different peace enforcing operations.

In December 2003, the EU leaders agreed on a European Security Strategy in which they adopted a common international perspecti-

ve on defence and security issues and strategic aims on the design of the CFSP and the ESDP. The Security Strategy also defines the major threats to European security, for example: the distribution of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, failing states, terrorism, and organized crime.

The ESDP is divided into a civilian and a military component. The military component was established at the European Council meetings in Helsinki 1999 and in Nice 2000. In Helsinki, it was decided that the EU must be prepared to provide with a rapid response military force, composed of 60 000 men. It should be deployable within 60 days and be sustainable for up to a year. At the second EU Military Capacity Conference in November 2001, the Member States agreed on requirements on providing a rapid response force composed of 60 000 soldiers, 100 boats and 400 aeroplanes to be kept ready if necessary. In this way the EU has not got a permanent military force but the EU can provide with forces when it is necessary for specific operations. However, the Member States decides for themselves if they want to contribute with troops or not.

The tasks that the EU military forces can perform are; humanitarian aid, rescue actions, peace keeping or peace enforcement efforts, conflict management, and peace resolutions. The core activity will be combat units with the ability to react to European crises - initially termed "Tactical Groups" but now called EU battle groups. . The "Full Operational Capability" is to be reached pursuant to planning by 2007 and the EU is to be in the position to deploy two of these Battle Groups simultaneously in an ambit of 6,000 kilometres (extending out from Brussels). Each Battle Group is to be able to remain deployed for 30 days, and, through reinforcements and troop substitutions, this period could be extended to 120 days. So far, confirmed commitments for a total of 13 Battle Groups are in existence.

Sweden has agreed to provide a rapid action force comprising 1500 soldiers. This force has to be established with cooperation of Finland, Norway and Estonia before the 1st of January 2008. Sweden will contribute with approximately 1100 soldiers, Finland approximately 200, Norway approximately 150, and Estonia approximately 50. Norway is not a member of the union and there-

fore they participate as “a third country”. The name of the force is the “Nordic Battle Group”, it is led by Sweden which who has the major responsibility for the core troop. The Military Strategic leadership is conducted through Sweden in cooperation with Great Britain.

In June 2004, the EU leaders decided on new goals for the military component within EU’s crisis management capacity. In accordance to this settlement, the EU countries have agreed on mobilizing a capacity to respond to the whole range of crisis situations by 2010. This means participation in disarmament actions, supporting non-EU members in the fight against terrorism, having the ability to implement different operations simultaneously, and the capacity to begin an operation within five to ten days from the time that a decision has been made.

The Civil Component was developed during the European Council’s meetings in Santa Maria da Feira in 2000 and in Gothenburg in 2001 with support from the Commission. In cooperation with like-minded countries, Sweden gained support on a civil action- and crisis management plan. Among the proposals, one is to continue with the development of existing cooperation within the EU framework between Rescue Service’s and the ESDP. Additionally, Sweden recommends that the military resources within ESDP should be used in rescue operations where the members of the union are in an emergency. Four main areas are prioritized:

- Police cooperation. The Union should have the capacity of contributing with 5000 policemen, of which 1400 should be ready-to-go within 30 days. They could support the military forces in restoring law and order and help out with the training of local policemen.
- Enforcement of the constitutional state- governed by law. With the aim to provide with 200 judges, prosecutors and other experts at disposal.
- Civil administration. Staff to supervise political elections and to assist in education and taxation.
- Rescue service. Supporting humanitarian organisations through for instance rescue operations.

The purposes of the civil efforts are that they should be composed in different units, which can be put together depending on the type of operation. These should have the ability to react before, during and after a conflict. Work is conducted within the framework of the so called “Civilian Headline Goals 2008”. The goal is to integrate different types of civil crisis management, complementing the four priority areas through, for example, reformation of a country’s security sector or support in disarmament and re-integration processes, and developing a Committee for civil crisis management and civil resources.

Conflict prevention is the third function within the EU Crisis Management System. It aims to reach long-term stability and create a good political environment within areas of concern. It has four goals that refer to the promotion of peace and stability:

- Coordination and a more systematic use of EU’s mechanisms
- Identifying and preventing the causes of conflicts, before an outbreak
- Reinforcement of the EU’s capacity to act in emerging conflicts
- Promotion of international cooperation within the field

An action plan on conflict prevention operations was adopted in June 2001, stating that the Union should prevent the causes of conflicts, such as poverty, human rights abuses and conflicts originating from limited natural resources. This would be carried out through the implementation of trade- and aid policies. The action plan is continuously to be evaluated by EU Member States. Diplomacy, Crisis Management and catastrophe assistance will be used for short time solutions. The cooperation with organisations such as the UN and the OSCE and other international actors will be one dimension of this operation.

### **Proposal for a new Constitution**

In the proposal for a new EU Constitution there were a couple of suggestions implying on a more profound cooperation within



the Foreign and Security policy sphere. Despite the fact that these suggestions might not be realized, many of the ideas are likely to be implemented in other ways, such as through decisions in the Council of Ministers. According to the proposals in the constitution, a European Foreign Minister will have the major responsibility for CFSP. The Petersberg tasks) have been updated and the document aim is to eventually establish a Common Defence System. The Member States must gradually undertake the improvement of their military resources and through the newly adopted Solidarity Clause act in a spirit of solidarity and mobilise all their resources, including military resources, if another Member State is affected by a terrorist attack or a natural disaster.

# The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)

“History will judge this Conference not by what we say here today, but by what we do tomorrow - not by the promises we make, but by the promises we keep.”

PRESIDENT GERALD FORD AT THE SIGNING OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT 1975.

The OSCE is with its 55 Member States, the largest regional security organisation in the world. The members are from all over Europe, Central Asia, USA, and Canada. Therefore they work on security issues that stretch from Vancouver to Vladivostok. The OSCE assists its members within a forum for political negotiations and decisions regarding “early warnings”, prevention of armed conflicts, crisis and conflict management, post conflict management, human rights and questions concerning democracy. The organisation also realizes national political aims through its unique field operation network. The OSCE is recognised as a regional actor under Chapter VIII in the UN Charter.

The Organisation’s view on security issues is unique since it is both comprehensive but also on a co operational level. The Member’s operational work with the three dimensions of Security;1) the political and the military, 2) the economical and the environmental, 3) the human dimension. All Member states have the same status and decisions are applied with consensus and politically binding but not legally binding.

## Background

The OSCE is sprung from the European Conference on Security CSCE (Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe) founded in 1972. The purpose was to improve the dialogue between East and West. The conference was originally composed of 35 countries from Europe, USA and Canada. Years of negotiation resulted in the Common Declaration of the Helsinki Final Act 1975. This document stated the nations' mutual interest on improvements of the security, by trust building campaigns. The Act also specified the operational principles for states in International Relations. Principles on respecting sovereignty, non-violent and peaceful resolutions in conflicts, non-intervention in states' internal affairs, respecting human rights, and nations' territorial integrity, were accepted. The document was revolutionary and a step towards the dissolution of the Cold War. Until the early 1990's, the CSCE was an arena for negotiations, conferences and reviews on the implementation of the settled undertakings. It was also an arena for negotiations on further international action. Many perceive the CSCE as a contributor to the ending of the Cold War. The CSCE brought together governments from East and West to discuss and unite on a common ground of value and evaluation on each others actions. Due to the collapse of the Soviet Union 1989-1990 even CSCE changed. The Conference accepted the Paris Charter for New Europe at a meeting in Paris. This marked the beginning of an era distinguished by new forms of international cooperation. In Budapest in 1994 the governments decided to develop from a Conference into an organisation instead, so they became OSCE, Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe. This meant a change from conferences as a forum for dialogue to an operational organisation with political power, field representation and a permanent secretariat and new institutions.

### The OSCE is involved in work on:

- Conflict prevention
- Tolerance and Non-discrimination
- The Civil Society
- Democratisation
- Rule of Law
- Human rights
- Monitoring elections
- Media Freedom
- Military Reform
- Policing work
- Arms control
- Minority Rights
- Anti-trafficking
- Economic activities
- Border managements
- Education
- Environmental activities
- Gender equality
- Combating terrorism

The organisation is structured by numerous of operational and administrative bodies.

The Permanent Council is the OSCE's major body for political decision and consultation. Here the representatives from the Member States meet weekly in Hofburg, Vienna. The Forum Security Cooperation, which, works on arms control and confidence- and security building measures, also meet in Vienna along with the Joint Consultative Group which monitors the implementation of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE Treaty). Apart from this, the Foreign Ministers of the Member States also have annual Minister Council Meetings, with the exception of the years when OSCE has Summit Meetings. This constitutes the chance to monitor the OSCE's activities and resolves on questions related to the organisations' functionality.

The Foreign Minister that holds the post of Chairman-in-office has the comprehensive responsibility for all executive activities and appoints staff and specific representatives liable for different issues and situations. The Chairmanship rotates every year. To reach continuity within the organisation's management, the State that represents the Chairmanship is involved in a troika consisting of the State representing the Chairmanship from the previous and coming year and the represent of the upcoming years' Chairmanship. In Vienna, there is also a Secretariat led by the Secretary-General. He/she is accountable to the Chairman and the Permanent Council

concerning responsibility of the OSCE's fieldwork. The Secretariat coordinates the administrative and operational support to the operations out on the field and to the Organisations in general.

The Organisation has a number of bodies working on specific issues.

The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), conducts the work in areas such as anti-trafficking, supervision of elections, development of national elections and institutions for human rights, gender-issues and legal issues. The ODIHR also gives technical assistance and encourages assistance for the development of Non-Governmental Organisations and to the Civil Society. Furthermore, the Organisation educates journalists, electoral observers and personnel involved in work on human rights. The activities are with few exceptions almost completely in the form of projects or counselling.

The High Commissioner on National Minorities, at this moment the Swedish Diplomat Rolf Ekéus, evaluates situations involving national minorities and aims to prevent tense situations escalating at an early stage. The High Commissioner works through what is called quiet or passive diplomacy, but also to some extent, pursues concrete projects.

The Representative on Freedom of the Media observes the development concerning the media within the member states. He/she also assists and intervenes in when the OSCE principles are being violated, in this field.

The OSCE has a Parliamentary Assembly consisting of more than 300 parliamentarians from the different Member States. Their work aims to promote parliamentary involvement in the activities of the organisations, conduct debates and decide on resolutions and recommendations regarding the OSCE. Furthermore, they observe political elections.

The OSCE's major work is conducted through field operations. At the present there are 18 missions and field operations (2006). These exist in 16 countries and proceed within the three dimensions of

Security and often in harsh conditions. With a few exceptions all the international personnel for the field operations are backed up by the member states. The first were established in 1992 under the management of the CSCE. This form of management is one of the OSCE's strengths in the aspect of the high flexibility it performs due to the fact that the field operations are run by specific mandates. In comparison to other international actors that are running field operations, the OSCE is less expensive.

One example is the OSCE-mission to the former Soviet Republic of Georgia. This section has been active since 1992 and is involved in conflict resolutions, trust and confidence building measures, human rights and democratic processes. Between 2000 and 2004, the mission also had the mandate to observe the movements across the borders between Georgia, and the Chechenyan, Ingushetian and Dagestanian parts of the Russian Federation.

In the aspect of conflict resolution, the mission works on the negotiations between the contending parties in the Georgian-South Ossetian conflict. They also support the UN led peace process in the Abkhazian conflict. The trust building measures are made up by the mission's supervision over the peace maintaining forces in South-Ossetia and Georgia, but also by their support for disarmament programs and activities promoting human rights, and the Civil Society. Furthermore, the OSCE finances a program for disarmament of old ammunition and neutralization of dangerous chemicals originating from the military bases of the former Soviet Union. The mission supports the Georgian government in the work on human rights, juridical and law aspects, and the promotion of the Civil Society, the democratic institutions of Georgia, anti-trafficking and freedom of media. Developments within the economic, environmental- and energy sector are also monitored, analysed and reported by the mission. The mission cooperates with a number of different International Organisations and institutions, UN bodies, the European Commission and the European Council on these matters.

# The Civil Society

“We women, in International Congress assembled, protest against the madness and the horror of war, involving as it does a reckless sacrifice of human life and the destruction of so much that humanity has laboured through centuries to build up.”

PARAGRAPH FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE FIRST WILPF CONGRESS IN THE  
HAGUE 1915.

When mentioning the Civil Society in an international context, one can refer to individuals, but also to organisations at local, regional or international level. An organisation in Civil Society is often distinguished by not being a Governmental Organisation. A Non-Governmental Organisation could be defined as a private, self managed non-profitable actor. The Civil Society Organisations of the Civil Society (CSO) are important actors in the prevention of conflicts. They have other perspectives, different legitimacy and different knowledge of International Conflicts than Governmental actors. They also utilize other methods than the International Community (UN, EU, OSCE, and others). In 1999-2000, 69 projects addressing the prevention of violence, conflict management and peace-building processes were run by organisations in the Civil Society in Sweden alone. Some of these projects were for example projects promoting dialogue, projects on education, projects for democratisation, human rights projects, trauma processing projects, peace monitoring projects and projects related to disarmament, demobilization and reintegration. Studies have shown that the roles of the Civil Society differ from the roles of the International

Community regarding the context of peace and conflict. It is also proven that the Civil Society deals with conflict preventing actions especially well.

## Local and National

‘Kvinna till Kvinna’ is a Swedish organisation supporting women’s organisations in war-struck or conflict affected countries in the Balkans, the Middle East and the Southern Caucasus. The Organisation aims at increasing women’s self- confidence, and strength to participate in the creation of a democratic society. The Women’s Organisations that they cooperate with often operate at a local level on different aspects and consequences of a conflict. The women’s centre ‘Lara’ in Bijeljina, East Bosnia-Herzegovina, is one example of such a cooperative partner. ‘Lara’ has been active in this region since 1998 and supports women who have become victims of trafficking and provide women with the opportunity to meet politicians. ‘Lara’ also aims at encouraging women from rural areas outside the cities to provide them with the possibilities to become more active in Society.

Another example of a local cooperation partner is the organisation ‘Women’s Forum’, which is, a counselling centre in Elbasan in Albania, working towards the protection, strengthening and increasing of women’s rights, focusing especially on violence against women. They operate two counselling centres in central Albania. Here, women and girls who have been exposed to violence can get individual counselling and support via an emergency-phone line, where they also can get assistance in legal processes. Women’s Forum arranges meetings in cities and in the rural areas to increase women’s awareness of their rights. The organisation also cooperates with local politicians, police and prosecutors, in order to improve the situation for women.

The Organisations within the Civil Society often have more credibility and better knowledge about the local conditions than Governmental actors which makes them very efficient. Civil Society Organisations are aware of the needs in a post conflict situation and can adjust their methods to the local context. The



cases above show that it is possible to work on an individual level to reconstruct society from the bottom up perspective. These actions are essentially important since they create peace and trust at a local level, where disturbances usually start. Women's situation in a post conflict context is very vulnerable and therefore, women's organisations in particular, work very efficiently at a local level. They are often not allowed to, or don't want to go out. They have often been exposed to violence and have suffered the loss of family members during the conflict. Additionally they are often discriminated in legislative and juridical processes.

Women's organisations in particular work very efficiently at a local level, as women's situation in a post war context is very vulnerable. They have often been exposed to violence and have suffered the loss of family members during the conflict. Additionally they are often discriminated in legislative and juridical processes.

However, Civil Society's Organisations operating at the local level are very vulnerable since they are seldom assisted by Governments; neither do they receive the attention or status required for credibility in official contexts. It is therefore crucial that the Governmental actors support the Organisations in a way that empowers them but also allows them to maintain their credibility as independent actors.

## Regional and International

Regional Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's) conduct their work in similar ways as Governmental Organisations like the EU and the OSCE, but instead of States being members, their members are national and local organisations from the Civil Society. Regional organisations often have much stronger voices in certain situations and can therefore influence politicians and decision-makers in a more powerful way than their local and national counterparts. The number of supporters and members legitimize their standpoints through public opinion. In comparison to local initiatives, mentioned above, regional organisations do not have the comparable local knowledge or support. The regional organisations therefore become a link for the national and local organi-

sations to work through and establish an exchange of knowledge and communication about local conditions.

The European Centre for Conflict Prevention is one of the examples of a non-governmental regional organisation. The organisation is composed by International Alert, International Crisis Group, European Policy Centre and European Peace building Liaison Office. They cooperate in creating efficient solutions on conflict prevention and peace building strategies. They also support and interlink peace workers around the world. They promote a world where people want to, and know how to prevent armed conflicts in a peaceful way. In order to achieve this, they believe in methods such as local peace initiatives, cooperation with local organisations, long-term engagement and impartiality. The Centre represents Civil Society's view on the European Union's work on armed conflict prevention, conflict management and peace building. This is conducted by spreading information, publications and debating. The aim is to improve the dialogue between the EU, the National policymakers and the Civil Society but also to have better informed decision makers. The Centre was involved in the planning of the International Conference on the Prevention of Armed Conflict which was held in New York in the summer of 2005. 900 people from 118 countries attended the meeting and a Global Action Agenda for the Prevention of Violent Conflict was submitted. The Agenda underlined the importance of a local ownership and the need for a continuous cooperation between the Civil Society, Governments and International Organisations on conflict prevention and sustainable peace building. The Conference is a good example of the cooperation at different levels within the Civil Society, that influence policy makers, the international agenda and international discourse. Lately, the invitations to conferences, decision processes and other arrangements linked to peace and security have increased for the Civil Society's organisations. The organisations' knowledge and competence is crucial, and it has been pointed out that the involvement of Civil Society is important not only because the decisions affect them, but also because they possess the knowledge required to make accurate and long-term solutions. However, many people are still sceptical towards that the Civil Society can contribute to conflict resolutions. Their knowledge is not always considered qualified and therefore not

taken seriously. Many organisations in the Civil Society are often considered too risky to involve in the political debate, since they are in opposition to the general political will.

The significance of involving the Civil Society is interpreted differently by different actors. In the EU the Civil Force consists of civil servants like policemen and lawyers. When organisations from the Civil Society insist on inclusion in the actions, the reference is to Civil Society's organisations and Grass-roots movements. In other words, the people should be included into the process. Studies show that increased violence against women and an increased number of selective abortions is an early warning sign of an eruptive conflict. These "gender-specific" warning constitute tools which could easily be used by organisations like the UN, the EU and the OSCE to identify and ward off threatening situations or armed conflicts in an early stage. In these situations, the organisations in Civil Society are very important and useful resources. The local organisations, mentioned above, in Bosnia and in Albania are examples of organisations that meet women on a daily basis, and therefore easily could pick up on these kinds of warning-signs.

Today more and more focus is put in the prevention of armed conflicts. Non-governmental organisations are extremely valuable actors in this work. They are able to identify and find solutions compatible to the local context, in a way that no other organisations could. Prevention of armed conflicts and the use of local knowledge would minimize the loss of human life and money. One example is the OSCE's preventative work in Georgia, presumed to costs of 12, 9 million Euros during 2005. In comparison to the conflict in Bosnia, where the EU mission Althea solely cost 71, 7 million Euros, this must be considered as inexpensive. More important are the costs of human life, victims' psychological trauma, the destroyed infrastructure and the cost of rebuilding society. Seen from this angle, the question of promoting prevention or waiting for a conflict to erupt seems obvious, both on an individual level and on a socio-economical level.

# Macedonia

“One day we must come to see that peace is not merely a distant goal we seek, but that it is a means by which we arrive at that goal. We must pursue peaceful ends through peaceful means.”

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., 24TH OF DECEMBER 1967

The Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia (here referred to as Macedonia) is in this context illustrating how Governmental and Non-Governmental Organisations work differently but also similarly, since the development of the OSCE, the EU and Civil Society all have had activities within the country. In 1918 Macedonia became a part of Yugoslavia and since then the history of Macedonia has always been characterized by tensions between the surrounding states and the different ethnical groups within this area. In the beginning of the 1990's, Yugoslavia started to fall apart and this increased the tension between the Macedonian and the Albanian groups within Macedonia. These tensions increased further during 1990 when the Nationalist party grew stronger. It culminated during 1991 when a referendum on Macedonia's independency was carried out. The referendum was boycotted by the Albanian population since they would only get minority status in the new Constitution. During the 1990's the conflict escalated. As the conflict in Kosovo developed, many Macedonian Albanians joined the UCK/KLA and in 2001 they founded the Macedonian UCK (Ushitra Clirimtare ë Kombëtare/National Liberation Army). The aim was to ensure the Albanian population their rights to citizenship, ownership, education, the Albanian language and political representation. Within this group there were also some who

insisted on independence from Macedonia and some who carried out criminal activities along the border.

The core of the conflict with the Macedonian Government was however the question of a Constitutional reform to create better rights for the Albanian population. The Government opposed to these demands posed by the UCK, since they feared that this would result in them creating their own state. In the beginning of 2001, an armed conflict erupted in Macedonia and the UCK declared that they were fighting for the equal rights of the Albanian people. A dialogue between the parties was established in May and on the 28th of July in Ohrid, the final negotiations were settled. In August, the parties signed the peace-treaty. Some changes to the constitution were implemented and now the Albanian population in Macedonia could call themselves Macedonian citizens. The treaty also gave NATO the right to monitor and assist with the implementation of the peace-treaty.

## The EU

The EU-operation in Macedonia, (starting on the 31st of May and named 'Concordia',) was the second Peace Preserving Operation carried out by the EU. This operation was taken over by the EU from NATO. Concordia aimed at creating a stable and safe Macedonia and to monitor the implementation of the August 2001 treaty between the Albanians and the Slavic people. The Operation was created following on a request from Macedonia and the UN Security Council Resolution 1371. The force, consisting of 350 armed soldiers, patrolled the region inhabited by Albanians and bordered to Albania, Serbia and Kosovo. Operation Concordia was completed on the 15th of December and was replaced by a police force led by the EU, Operation Proxima.

The aim of the Operation Proxima is to contribute to the reformation of the Macedonian legal system. The operation works to support in the fight against organised crime, and to give advice and monitor the Macedonian police force. They support measures like consolidating law and order, fighting organised crime, implementation of reforms within the Ministry of Domestic Affairs and the

police, creating an efficient border police patrols and control, assist the police in their relationship with the local population and the strengthening of the police force in their cooperation with other neighbouring Nation's police forces. Through the operations in Macedonia, the EU has operated both in military and civilian actions and has during a long period of time rebuilt the Macedonian society on many different levels.

## The OSCE

The OSCE's Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje, Macedonia, is the Organisation's longest active mission and was established in September 1992 in order to assist in preventing the spread of tension and conflict in the Former Republic of Yugoslavia. The mission grew, and after the negotiations of the Ohrid-treaty in 2001, the OSCE increased its mandate in the country and quadrupled the mission. The original mandate for the OSCE-mission gave the new mandate the assignment of charting and monitoring the development along the borders to Serbia and other areas struck by the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia. The aim was to build up the respect for territorial integrity, maintaining the peace, stability and security and to prevent new conflicts from evolving within this region. To fulfil this aim, the mission was ordered to: maintain a dialogue with the Government and establish contacts with the representatives from different political parties, keep the dialogue with other organisations and with citizens, evaluate the level of stability within the country and the risks of erupting conflicts, take part in other activities compatible to the OSCE's goals for the mission and generally maintain a high profile in the country.

The mission has worked on trust building activities, counselling for the police and the training of a multi-ethnic force consisting of soldiers from the minority parts of Macedonia. Today the mission has three major areas of concern; inspection and observation, training and developing the police force, and other political activities linked to the implementation of the Ohrid-treaty. The mission has tasks that relate to the replacement of police in former crisis areas, meaning re-education of around 1000 soldiers to become policemen. Furthermore they work with the strengthening of

local autonomous institutions, development of projects relating to areas of law and order, implementing free media and the implementation of the agreement on inter-ethnic relations. A part of the mission's mandate is to support the High Commissioner of Ethnic Minorities that works with the conflict of Macedonia.

## The Civil Society

Macedonia has a large and active Civil Society where many Women's organisations are incorporated. The Organisations' operate on many activities within different areas and cooperate in some cases with the International Society.

Among Women's Organisations, the Romanise Women's Organisations are the strongest in the region. The women often live isolated but the organisations give them opportunities to leave their homes and interact with others about their problems. Many work across the ethnic borders which build trust and increases social interaction. The multi-ethnic cooperation project, "Gender Equality", is one example of a Women's Organisation project in Macedonia. It is composed of two Women's Organisations, Macedonian SIRMA and Albanian Besa, working together in order to confront the ethnic hostilities in the conflict- struck Macedonian town Kumanov. Their aim is to increase women's active participation in developing a more democratic society and they focus on Macedonian and Albanian women in and around Kumanov. They use human rights as a means to address equality, reduce economic dependency and an equal treatment of boys and girls within the educational system. First the women from the two ethnic groups meet separately and then accordingly when it feels appropriate they are brought together.

The Centre for Institutional Development (CID) is another example of an organisation operating in Civil Society. They work on developing the Civil and local society and their aim is to reach concrete social changes. The main aim is to build capacity within the organisations of the civil and local societies and to strengthen the cooperation and coordination along with larger organisations within Civil Society. The CID operates on many levels in order to

reach these goals. Among other things, they conduct lobbying, support local development initiatives, and strengthen the capacity and cooperation among the actors and organisations in Civil Society, and further involvement. They advocate involvement in decision-making processes; they consider individual, social, ethnical, gender specific and religious aspects among the population and act in a friendly and informal atmosphere. The CID cooperates with the OSCE's mission in Macedonia.

These examples are an illustration of how experiences and knowledge can be used in the creation of methods suitable to the existing conditions, in order to reach goals. The OSCE and the EU already cooperate with the organisations of the Civil Society and each other. There are however needs for a discussion on how the European security work could be carried out work more efficiently and be conducted and coordinated in order to utilize everybody's knowledge.



# The Future of European Security and Defence Policy

“It isn’t enough to talk about peace. One must believe in it. And it isn’t enough to believe in it. One must work at it.”

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, 11TH NOVEMBER 1951

There are several actors within the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) and everyone has different experiences, prerequisites and methods when working within political security issues. The European Union (EU), The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and some other actors within Civil Society are debating on how to create a common defence structure in order to define what the European Security and Defence Policy should look like. This text will discuss thoroughly and in depths the way in which actors can cooperate with the ESDP to prevent and manage armed conflicts in the future.

## EU and OSCE, problems and solutions.

Although many fine words have been said about the ESDP, their perspective on what security means has not changed from a traditional military security perspective into a human security perspective as one might assume. Therefore, it is necessary to scrutinize The EU and Sweden’s role in international relations. The proposal of a New Constitution for Europe was introduced by the Member States and Government representatives in 2004; it contains several new regulations in the field of European Security Policy. The at-

tempts to adopt the new constitution failed but some of the suggestions on new regulations have been implemented. One of the new regulations is the solidarity clause which means that should a Member State be the object of a terrorist attack or the victim of a natural or man-made disaster, the other Member States shall assist it at the request of its political authorities. Furthermore, there is also a decision on a common European military force or peace-keeping force, and a Common Foreign Minister representing the European Union. The question is, what does this new Common Security and Defence strategy mean in reality? Will this mean that the EU can send armed forces into conflicts without the United Nations Security Council's authorisation, and how will the EU activities coordinate with the OSCE. Furthermore, shouldn't all Member States have a saying on the French and British nuclear weapons, and how does the European Security and Defence Policy relate to Sweden's neutral political position.

What types of security threats should the EU react upon and where in the world should they intervene, these are questions of concern if the EU wants to be legitimate and not lose credibility. Furthermore, what kind of image of Sweden and Swedish Security Policy do we want to portray internationally. There is also a risk that if too many regional organisations develop and take on the rights and mandates that traditionally have been authorised by the United Nations (UN), that this could weaken the UN's credibility and have a negative effect on the interpretation of the international humanitarian law and the UN Charter consequently weakening it. To clarify the EU's role in relation to the UN is therefore very important.

One problem especially with the EU and also within the OSCE is that their operations are not adequately rooted on the local level. Without an understanding of the local level, international troops can make more harm than good. For example, prostitution often increases where the international troops are based, and the international peacekeeping missions are often accused of being biased. With a better understanding of the local level, there's a better chance for the troops to be seen as neutral actors in the conflict and consequently the information gathering will be more accurate. It is also within the local structures that the women are to be found

since they are rarely represented at the official level of negotiations. When you adapt to the local conditions you can contribute to the solving of the social problems which are a consequence of the conflict itself. In some cases the support at the local level is a reality, but it hasn't yet been systemized into the overall operational working procedures

Furthermore, there is a problem with coordination of operations. Methods need to be developed and working procedures should be put into system, so that all the expertise and advantages can be identified and used within the EU Security and Defence Strategy. Above all, a system must be constructed so that the structures can be implemented within a very short time limit. The problem of coordination is explained through the necessity of rapid action and due to the restricted time limit that the decisions have to be made within, a fundamental review of the operation's different components is seldom done. This is fateful in the beginning of an operation, because in consequence it means that there is no coordination between the different organisations either. This is also a reason why the gender perspective is very often left out of the analyses. In the case of Macedonia both the European Union and the OSCE have worked with the national judiciary and police system. One can question what their mandates are and if their priorities and perspectives are the same. The lack of coordination does not only affect the troop's legitimacy but also gives consequences on the local level in the country where they are stationed.

In order to facilitate the coordination and inclusion of civil society there should be more focal points within the International Community where international and regional organisations can turn in order to share their knowledge and information of situations in the countries where they are active. This would help them to develop their mandates and missions, and enhance their ability to give early warnings of when a conflict is escalating in the country. These preventive measures are far less costly than the countermeasures that develop if you don't work with coordination, efficiency and other specific structural methods.

## Swedish priorities, - a gender perspective in preventing armed conflicts

Women should be entitled to security on the same premises as men do, this is something that Sweden is working very actively on, but it is not always accepted at the international level. This is rather odd since we are already discussing equal rights for minorities, indigenous people rights and their right to be represented in parliament. But still, 50 percent of the people- the women, are still left out of this process, and furthermore not represented in security matters. Within this context, the EU troops become a problem because the military and the civilians forming the troop conciliation are from different countries and they are not trained in gender sensitivity. There is no excuse for this, especially from a Swedish perspective, since Sweden long has been actively advocating for the inclusion of gender perspectives and gender equality on all levels in society. Joint training and educational material that clearly incorporates a gender perspective must be developed under consultation with the civil society in order to learn from earlier experiences that have failed, but also to adapt to the new security threats that are relevant today. The Swedish Government and Civil Society have to be tougher in advocating for gender mainstreaming in all parts of the EU's Security, Defence and Foreign policies and within other International and Regional bodies. The gender perspective should pervade all official statements that the EU makes, and the EU should, just like Sweden, see it as a matter of course to be a precursor of these very important questions.

Sweden has in many cases stressed the importance of preventive work within conflict management. The Swedish Government and Parliament has in several official documents stressed the importance of letting the Civil Society be a part of the preventive work. Despite this fact, many organisations such as the OSCE and other organisations within Civil Society has gotten very little attention. Neither Not even in the document of the Constitution of Europe has preventive conflict management been recognised in the document of the Constitution of Europe. Instead, there is a lot of focus on military crisis management and peacekeeping and peace enforcing measures mentioned. The public opinion is an impor-

tant guidance in many of these questions; the Civil Society must encourage the Swedish Government and the EU to put more political will and economical effort into these questions. The OSCE's role needs to be focused upon and the question whether the EU and the OSCE should work independently or together needs to be clearer. The issue concerning preventive measures in armed conflicts must be reflected in the constitution, something both the Swedish Government and the Civil Society should advocate to the concerned authorities.

The case study of Macedonia indicates that the different actors can complement each other when it comes to the work of conflict resolution and conflict prevention although there is still a lot to do in this field. There is a need to improve the communication between the structures in International Community and Civil Society, but also to use the resources and expertise that we have more efficiently. The resources within conflict management must be transformed from military methods into civilian methods. By including everyone's knowledge and experiences we can, in an efficient way, modify peace and security measures so that it not only solves the short term problems but also builds the structures that are needed for a stable long term functional and peaceful society. Cooperation and prevention can be said to be the formula to achieve both national and human security.

All interests and knowledge needs to be taken into account and be encouraged. Above all we need to learn that violence does not breed peace. The prevention of conflicts must be put forward by the International Community, State Governments and the Civil Society to enable a European Security policy where the goal is to strengthen existing societies and alert before conflicts become armed conflicts. It is time to go from words to action and question our own conceptions of security, and how a common security can be achieved for Sweden, Europe and the rest of the World.

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Internationella Kvinnoförbundet för Fred och Frihet, IKFF, is the Swedish section of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, WILPF, whose aim is to contribute to the creation of a global common security. WILPF was established in Hague 1915 and has sections in 40 countries in all over the world. In Sweden the organisation has 1000 members divided into 10 branches around the country.