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Perspectivas de la Seguridad Multilateral Europea:
La estrategia de seguridad de la Unión Europea.

Multilateral European Security Perspective:
The European Security Strategy of the EU of 2003

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1. The European Union: Members and History

- Vision of **Jean Monnet**: cooperation among former enemies by a joint policy on coal & steel (**ECSC**): goal integration of Germany
- **Schuman plan** (1950): (Korean war): European Community on Coal/Steel (realis. 1952); European Defence Community (failed 1954)
- **Rome Treaties (1957)**: European Economic Community (EEC) & European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM).
- **Treaty of Maastricht (1992)**: Treaty on the EU (1993): „common foreign & security policy“; „justice and home affairs“,
- **Treaty of Amsterdam (1997)**:
- **Treaty of Nice (2001)**: Treaties of EU & EC were merged
- **Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe** (signed October 2004): rejected in referenda in France, Netherlands (May/June 2005)
- **European Council (16-17 June 2005)**: period of reflection, explanation & discussion on the future of the Constitution.

2. European Union Institutions

- EU is no federation like Mexico but more than organisation for co-operation among governments (UN). EU 'member states' independent sovereign nations which pool their sovereignty to gain a strength and world influence.
- Member states delegate decision-making powers to shared institutions to make decisions on matters of joint interest democratically at European level.
- The EU's decision-making process in general and the co-decision procedure in particular involve three main institutions:
- European Parliament (EP), elected by EU's citizens;
- Council of the European Union, represents individual member states;
- European Commission, upholds the interests of the Union as a whole.
- Additional bodies:
 - European Economic and Social Committee represents civil society, employers and employees;
 - Committee of the Regions represents regional and local authorities;
 - European Investment Bank finances EU investment projects, via the European Investment Fund;
 - European Central Bank is responsible for European monetary policy;
 - European Ombudsman investigates complaints on maladministration by EU institutions

3. Three Pillars of the European Union

Since Amsterdam Treaty (1993): 3 pillars:

- **Community** (European Commission based on treaties)
- **Intergovernmental:** (member states coordinate policies):

First pillar: integrated policies

- internal market
- Currency union
- Foreign trade
- Agricultural policy

Second pillar: Common Foreign and Security Policy

- **Common action**

Third pillar: Justice & Home Affairs (Schengen regime)

- Immigration, asylum, organised crime
- Drug trafficking etc.

4. Security Actors of the European Union

Council:

Secretary General of the Council of the EU & High Representative for the Common Foreign & Security Policy (**Solana**)

European Commission: International Affairs:

European Union in the World (4 Commissioners)

- European Neighbourhood Policy (Ferrero-Waldner, Austria: MENA, Caucasus, Moldova, Belarus, Ukraine)
- Foreign policies (Ferrero-Waldner, Austria)
- Development (Louis Michel, Belgium, form. foreign min.)
- Humanitarian aid (ECHO: Louis Michel, Belgium)
- External assistance (SG, Koos Richelle, Netherlands)
- Enlargement (Rehn, Finland)
- External trade (Peter Mandelson, UK): WTO negotiations

5. Evolution: From EPC to CFSP & CSDP

- Since 1969, 1970: voluntary coordination of foreign policy decisions in framework of **European Political Cooperation (EPC)**
- 1987: Legal basis in **Single European Act**
 - Joint activities (e.g. on arms control, in UN, OSCE)
- 1992: **Maastricht Treaty**: intergovernmental CFSP
 - Implemented by the Commission (6 units)
 - Common action
- 1999: Cologne European Council: **European Security & Defence Policy (ESDP)** launched
- 2000: Nice Council: approved European mil. staff

5.1. Common Foreign & Security Policy

CFSP was established as the second pillar of the European Union in the Maastricht treaty (1992), further defined broadened in the Amsterdam Treaty (1997).

CFSP sees NATO responsible for territorial defence of Europe & "peace-making" while since 1999 EU is responsible for implementation missions; i.e. peace-keeping, policing of treaties etc.

Its objectives shall be:

- to safeguard the common values, fundamental interests, independence & integrity of EU in conformity with the principles of UN Charter
- to strengthen the security of the Union in all ways;
- to preserve peace & strengthen international security, in accordance with the principles of UN Charter, & of Helsinki Final Act and of Paris Charter, including those on external borders;
 - to promote international cooperation;
 - to develop and consolidate democracy and the rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

5.2. Elements of CFSP

- European Council defines principles & general guidelines for CFSP & common strategies to be implemented by EU.
- Council of Ministers adopts:
 - **Joint actions** address specific situations where operation action by the EU is considered necessary and lay down the objectives, scope and means to be made available to the EU. They commit the member states.
 - **Common positions** define the approach that the EU takes on a certain matter of geographical or thematic nature, and define in the abstract the general guidelines that the national policies of Member states must conform to.

Bodies of EU set up within CFSP context include:

- General Affairs and External Relations Council (GAERC)
- Political and Security Committee or PSC, which monitors the international situation in the areas covered by the CFSP and contributes by delivering opinions to the Council of Ministers, either at its request or its own initiative, and also monitors the implementation of agreed policies.
- The European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS)
- The European Union Satellite Centre (EUSC).

5.3. European Security & Defence Policy (ESDP)

- ESDP is a major element of the CFSP. The ESDP was initiated by provisions of Treaty of Amsterdam which stipulated the progressive framing of a CSDP that could deal with
 - humanitarian & rescue tasks,
 - peacekeeping tasks & of combat forces in
 - crisis management, including peacemaking. These are the so-called Petersberg tasks.

Political and Security Committee

- The Political and Security Committee (PSC) was established in 2000 by Nice European Council Conclusions as the "linchpin" of ESDP and CFSP.
- Its responsibilities include drafting of opinions for General Affairs and External Relations Council which is one of the configurations of the Council of the European Union, and exercising "political control and strategic direction" of EU crisis-management operations.
- The committee is a standing body and is composed of national representatives of "senior / ambassadorial level" and meets at least twice a week.
- It is chaired by the member state that holds the Presidency of the Council of the European Union. January-June 2006: Austria

5.4. Current & Completed ESDP Operations

Current Operations

- EU Military Operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUFOR-Althea)
- EU Police Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina (EUPM)
- EU Police Advisory Team in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (EUPAT)
- EU Police Mission in the Palestinian Territories (EUPOL COPPS)
- EU Border Assistance Mission at Rafah Crossing Point in Palest. Territories (EU BAM Rafah)
- EU Integrated Rule of Law Mission for Iraq (Eujust Lex)
- EU Police Mission in Kinshasa (DRC) (EUPOL "Kinshasa")
- EU mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (EUSEC DR Congo)
- EU Support to AMIS II (Darfur)
- EU Monitoring Mission in Aceh (AMM)

Completed Operations

- EU Military Operation in former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (Concordia)
- EU Police Mission in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (Proxima)
- EU Military Operation in Democratic Republic of Congo (Artemis)
- EU Rule of Law Mission in Georgia (Eujust Themis)

5.5. European Security Concepts

European Security

- **EU no state** & no federation but a “Staatenverbund”, thus **national security** concepts do not apply
- **EU has no citizens of its own**, thus a EU concept of **security for the citizen** does not apply (excludes non-citizens living in EU)
- CFSP & ESDP: 2nd pillar: Council
- **European Commission** has competence in few areas: e.g. arms control, disarmament, humanitarian aid, development, climate policy etc. (in three pillars: Community, CFSP & Justice and Home Affairs)
- **Council:** intergovernmental coordination (Solana)

6. European Constitution: Two Functions

- The "Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe" (TCE) took as its starting point the codification of the EU's two primary existing treaties, the Treaty of Rome of 1957 and the Maastricht treaty of 1992, as modified by the more recent treaties of Amsterdam (1997) and Nice (2001).
- Current debate on future of Europe began with a speech made by German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer in Berlin in 2000, calling for a debate on the finality of European integration.
- The process started after Laeken declaration in December 2001, when European Convention was established to produce a draft of the Constitution, headed by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.
- The draft was published in July 2003. the final text was settled in June 2004 and signed in October 2004 in Rome.

6.1. Common Foreign and Security Policy

Common foreign and security policy

The EU is charged with defining and implementing a common foreign and security policy in due time. The wording of this article is taken from the existing Treaty on European Union.

Legal personality

- The European Union for the first time has legal personality under the Constitution. This means that it is able to represent itself as a single body in certain circumstances under international law. It is able to sign treaties as a single body where all member states agree.

New competences

- The Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe would have conferred upon the EU as new 'shared competences' the areas of territorial cohesion, energy, and space. These are areas where the EU may act alongside its individual member states. The EU has conferred upon it as new areas of 'supporting, coordinating or complementary action' the areas of tourism, sport, and administrative co-operation.

Criminal justice proceedings

- Member States would have continued to co-operate in some areas of criminal judicial proceedings where they agree to do so, as at present. Under the TCE, seven new areas of co-operation would have been added:
 - terrorism;
 - trafficking in persons;
 - offences against children;
 - drug trafficking;
 - arms trafficking;
 - corruption;
 - fraud



7. European Security Strategy of Dec. 2003 (Solana Strategy)

The Council is the main decision-making body of the European Union.

The ministers of the member states meet within the Council of the European Union. Depending on the issue on the agenda, each country will be represented by the minister responsible for that subject (foreign affairs, finance, social affairs, transport, agriculture, etc.).

Presidency of the Council is held for six months by each member state (Austria).

Key Documents of the European Council

- **Presidential Conclusions of Presidencies (1990-2005)** are relevant (Cardiff process, Göteborg process): inclusion of environmental and conflict prevention goals: green diplomacy
- **Decisions of Gen. Affairs Council of foreign ministries**

Key Documents of High Representative of Council for Foreign and Security Policy, Javier Solana

- **The European Security Strategy** - approved by European Council in Brussels, 12 December, 2003

7.1. European Council: European security strategy (**Solana Strategy of 12.12.2003**)

I: Security Environm: Global Challenges & Key Threats

- Europe faces **security threats and challenges**
- **global challenges**: Europe's dependence – & **vulnerability** – on interconnected infrastructure in transport, energy, information & other fields

Security as a precondition of development

- competition for natural resources, water (**water security**), **migratory movements**
- **key threats: terrorism, WMD, reg. conflicts, state failure, organised crime**

II. Strategic Objectives: Conflict and Threat Prevention

- Building security in our Neighbourhood: Caucasus, Arab/Israeli Conf., Medit.
- **International Order based on Effective Multilateralism** commitment to international law and strengthening the UN, transatlantic relationship

7.2. The European Security Strategy

III. Policy Implications for Europe:

- **crisis management and conflict prevention:** “before humanitarian emergencies arise”, “preventive engagement” to avoid more serious problems in the future
- **More Capable:** “We need greater capacity to bring all civilian resources to bear in crises and post crisis situations”, wider spectrum of missions
 - EU-NATO permanent arrangements; Berlin Plus: strategic partnership in crisis management
- **More Coherent:** bring together instruments and capabilities (diplomatic efforts, development, trade environmental policies should follow the same agendas.
 - **Coordination of external action & justice & home affairs** (pillar II and III)

7.3. European Commission Barroso Goals: Strategic Objectives 2005-2009

In January 2005, the Commission of the European Communities outlined its goals on security in political documents:

- 1. Commission of the European Communities: **Strategic Objectives 2005-2009, Europe 2010: A Partnership for European Renewal: Prosperity, Solidarity and Security** – Communication from the President in agreement with Vice-President Wallström, 26.1.2005, COM(2005) 12 final
- 2. Commission of the European Communities: **Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council: Annual Policy Strategy for 2005**: 25.1.2005, COM(2004) 133 final
- 3. Commission of the European Communities: **Commission Work Programme for 2005**. Communication from the President in agreement with Vice-President Wallström, 26.1.2005, COM(2005) 15 final
- 4. Commission of the European Communities: **Roadmaps: Commission Work Programme 2005: Security**, pp. 118-205.

7.4. Commission of the European Communities:

Strategic Objectives 2005-2009, Europe 2010:

A Partnership for European Renewal: Prosperity, Solidarity and Security

Without solidarity & security, prosperity will not be fully realised
Security and Freedom

Freedom requires a framework of security provided by law.

- **personal security of European citizens in face of crime & terrorism;**
- **Security: ability of citizens to run daily life on a secure basis;**
- **Risk: natural disasters, env. or health crises, transprot, energs threats**
- **Task: risk prevention, early warning, crisis management, solidarity with victims of disasters**

3.1. Security and Justice in Europe (DG Justice & home affairs)

3.2. Managing Risk in the modern world (DG Env., Civil Protect.)

4.1. A stronger Actor in the world economy (DG Trade)

4.2. Global Solidarity (DG Dev., ECHO)

4.3. Making Security work worldwide (DG Relex)

7.5. Commission of the European Communities: Strategic Objectives 2005-2009, Europe 2010: DG Justice & Home Affairs, DG Env., Civil Protection

3.1. Security and Justice in Europe (DG Justice & home affairs)

- response to Hague Programme (**risks** faced by citizens in EU)
- fight against terrorism, strategic approach against organised crime
- integrated management of external borders

3.2. Managing Risk in the Modern World (DG Env., Civil Prot.)

- **reduce risks** for citizens: natural disasters, environment, or health crises, transport
- energy threats
- increased **threats of floods & drought** following climate change
- fallout from potential biol., chem., radiological attack, disease
- **early warning** and immediate response to crises
- major sea accidents, risk of terrorist attacks on external oil

7.6. Commission of the European Communities: Strategic Objectives 2005-2009, Europe 2010: DG Development, ECHO & DG Relex

4.1. A stronger Actor in the world economy (DG Trade)

4.2. Global Solidarity (DG Dev., ECHO)

- promote our values outside
- sustainable development and human rights
- Millenium Development Goals
- specific response for Africa

4.3. Making Security work worldwide (DG Relex)

- **crisis and global security challenges**
- successful neighbourhood policy
- Middle East peace settlement
- closer security cooperation
- European security and defence capabilities (**Europ. Security Strategy**), more effective **European Security and Defence Policy**

7.7. EU Commission: Communication: Annual Policy Strategy for 2005: 25.1.2005, COM(2004) 133 final

Policy Priorities for 2005

- **stability & security: improve security & European citizenship**
- **new external responsibility: emphasis on neighbourhood dimension**

External responsibility

- implementation of pre-accession strategy in Turkey
- European Security Strategy: crisis-management capacity (civil, military means), humanitarian dimension independent

Energy: Balkans and Mediterranean

- EU water initiative

Resources for 2005 (Enlargement: Security related)

Changes in financial resources: area of freedom, security & justice

7.8. Barroso: Guiding principles and Solana: European security strategy – A Grotian perspective?



- Differs fundamentally from US national security strategy 2002
- Focus on multilateralism
- Focus on international law
- Wide security concept: strong emphasis on environmental security
- Referent: Security for the European citizens: Human security?

8. EU Commission Strategy on Latin America

- Latin America: Commission renews its strategy 9.12.2005 to strengthen the EU-Latin America strategic partnership.
- EU-Latin America/Caribbean Summit in Vienna in May 2006, Commission analyses current challenges & recommends revitalising partnership by stepping up political dialogue between two regions, stimulating economic & commercial exchanges, encouraging regional integration, tackling inequality & tailoring its development & aid policy closer to real conditions in Latin Am.
- **EU-Latin American relations**
- The EU is leading foreign investor in Latin America, leading donor to the region and leading trading partner of many countries, particularly the Mercosur group.
- Political dialogue with region's countries has been strengthened through three EU-Latin America/Caribbean Summits (Rio in 1999, Madrid in 2002 and Guadalajara in 2004).
- This strategy will serve as a basis for preparing the next EU-Latin America/Caribbean Summit in Vienna in May 2006.
- **"A Stronger Partnership between the European Union and Latin America" Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament COM(2005)636 final 8 December 2005**

8.1.EU Commission Strategy on Latin America

● Challenges:

- Bilateral regional partnership: multilateralism (Kyoto Protocol, International Criminal Court)
- Stimulating commercial, economic exchange (EU leading investor in Latin America)
- Latin America: a) social inequality, poverty, exclusion, b) drugs & organised crime, c) environmental stakes

● Strategy:

- Political dialogue
- Create a favourable climate for trade & investment
- Contribute to stability & prosperity
 - Strengthen security
 - Joint action on conflict prevention & crisis management
 - Encourage sustainable development
 - Create an EU/Latin American, Caribbean higher education area

8.2. EU Regional Strategy for Central America

- RSP Central America 2002-2006, 25.6.2002
- Challenges:
 - Internal conflicts & disputes
 - Vulnerability to natural disasters (Mitche, Michelle etc.)
- Strategy and areas of cooperation
 - Reduce environmental vulnerability
 - Reduce social inequalities in terms of income, gender, urban/rural
 - More economically integrated region, focused on sustainable human developments
- Goals
 - Support regional integration for common policies
 - Strengthen participation of civil society in process of integration
 - Reduction of vulnerability & environmental improvements

8.3. EU Strategy for CA: San Jose Process

- **Renewed in Florence (1996): aims for cooperation:**
 - Strengthen peace and democratisation in the region
 - Promote sustainable economic & social development
 - To step up fight against insecurity & crime
 - To strengthen social policies
- **Regional Consultative Group (Madrid 2001).**
 - Reduce the regions ecological, productive & social vulnerability
 - Transform Central America on basis of an integrated analysis of productive sectors and human development
 - Manage available natural resources rationally
 - Promote greater participation of civil society in development
 - Enhance regional integration and institutional structure

8.4. Obstacles & Challenges to sustainable integration in Central America

- Conflict between countries (border conflicts)
- Institutional weakness
- Different visions & interests on integration
- Intra-regional economic disparities
- Lack of financing mechanisms to strengthen & develop the integration process
- Binding nature of the regulations and resolutions
- Social ownership of the integration process
- Vulnerability:
 - Physical and social vulnerability should be addressed at a regional level: reduce social inequalities

8.5. Reduction of vulner. & env. improvement

- 30% of the budget
- Support regional initiatives to harmonise legal framework.
- Improve efforts for prevention through development of a regional network of disaster prevention.
- Develop activities linked to regional integration from perspective of sustainability
- Strengthen environmental protection measures, by concerted planning of protection initiative:
 - Analysis & implementation of mechanisms to develop a common legal framework for regional prevention measures
 - Consolidation of regional network of natural disaster reduction
 - Development of a legislative framework & regional initiatives for prevention of fires
 - Development of regional initiatives for env. protection & sustainability.

8.6. EU Commission Strategy paper on Mexico

- Part of new framework for EU-Mexico relations: Agreement on Economic Partnership, Political Co-ordination & Co-operation of 8 Dec. 1997, entered into force on 1 Oct. 2000,
- It defines the framework for bilateral relations.
- It opens new prospects for institutionalisation of dialogue, economics & trade, with establishment of a free trade area for goods & services (FTA), as well as in terms of co-operation.
- The Global Agreement is based on respect for human rights and democratic principles, which form the Agreement's core.
- Strategy paper reiterates most important points in Country Strategy Paper drawn up in 2000, which was discussed with Mexican auth. It reiterates priority lines of co-operation Memorandum of Understanding initialled by Mexican authorities & Commission in June 2001.
- Final project selection and amount will be subject to a detailed identification and appraisal to be undertaken by the Commission.
- The scheduled work programme will be subject to the availability of respective funds in the overall EC budget.

8.7. Country Strategy Mexico (2002-2006)

- Description of EU/EC-Cooperation Goals
- Political Agenda of Mexico (internal external agenda)
- Analysis of political, economic & social situation, science & technology, environment, sustainability of current policies, medium-term challenges
- Overview of past and current EC cooperation, information on programmes of EU member states & other donors
- EC Response, Consistency with EU policies
 - Cooperation in the social and environmental fields and in the fight against poverty
- Presentation of the indicative programme
- 7 ann.: Mexico's external trade, EU-Mexico cooperation

8.8. Country Strategy Mexico (2002-2006)

- **Indicative Programme: 2002-6: €56.2 million**
- **Sectors of co-operation**
 - **Focal sector: Social development & reduction of inequalities (€ 15m)**
 - Areas: Puebla, Veracruz, Hidalgo, Guerrero, Oaxaca, Chiapas, Tabasco, Campeche, Quintana Roo, Yucatan: with high indigeneous population
 - Support of sustainable development, discourage regional migration, increase access to health-& education systems
 - Goal poverty reduction & integration of indigenous people in public system
 - **Focal sector: economic growth (€ 20m)**
 - Implementation of the FTA
 - Support SMEs
 - **Focal sector: Consolidation of the rule of law (€ 4m)**
 - **Crosscutting issues**
 - Gender
 - Environment: technologies for cleaner energy, water, soil, forests
 - **Focal sector: scientific and technical cooperation (€ 10m)**
 - Nutrition, health, education, environment & poverty alleviation

9. Leader in Environment

Environment: Commissioner Dimas sets 2006 priorities

- **Climate change:** EU will be a pro-active & constructive contributor to international talks on future global action to combat climate change agreed at world climate conference in Montreal. Commission will present an action plan to improve energy efficiency. It will review the functioning of EU greenhouse gas emissions trading scheme, a key tool for achieving the Kyoto Protocol emissions targets, propose changes deemed necessary. It will also present a legislative proposal to include aircraft emissions in the scheme. A major task for Commission in second half of the year will be to check & approve Member States' plans for allocating emission allowances to companies for scheme's 2008-2012 trading period.

2005 a 'tipping point'

- Climate change policy EU played an important part in the agreement reached at Montreal on future action against climate change. The 157 Kyoto Parties decided to strengthen the mechanisms of Kyoto Protocol, and to begin immediate discussions of new targets.
- The EU Emissions Trading Scheme kicked off, with more than 260 million allowances, of €5 billion, traded in 2005, demonstrating the usefulness and cost-effectiveness of market-based instruments.
- The renewal of Lisbon Strategy highlighted the role of environment in economic growth. Eco-innovation has potential to increase competitiveness and create jobs while protecting the environment.
- The EU eco-industries account for about one third of the global market, employ over 2 million people, and are growing at 5% per year. Eco-innovation is identified by both Member States in their National Reform Programmes and the Commission as a clear way to boost international trade, efficiency & environm. standards. The Commission's proposal for the revision of the EU Sustainable Development Strategy (2001) clarifies that growth must go along with social inclusion and environmental protection.

10. Laggard in International Trade Policy?

Post- Hong Kong Negotiations in Doha round

EU & others launch "plurilateral" process to boost Doha services negotiations (28.2.06)

- EU and other developed & developing country WTO partners have submitted new market access requests in several services sectors as part of the DDA negotiations in services. These joint requests mark the beginning of the "plurilateral" negotiations in services as agreed by WTO members at last December's WTO Ministerial meeting in Hong-Kong. The EU now expects others to respond to the EU's requests so as to ensure substantial revised offers are tabled by end of July. The outcome should result in increased growth of world trade in services.
- Although the number of participants in collective requests varies from sector to sector, "plurilateral" negotiations typically involve between twenty and forty WTO members, largely from developed and advanced developing countries.
- Collective requests will be further negotiated between WTO Member States in Geneva over the coming weeks. Services involve the negotiation of complex issues,

Services trade boosts growth and development.

- The services sector accounts for more than two thirds of EU GDP and employment which makes it a key EU interest in the Doha Round. However, wider trade in services is a crucial part of the Doha Round's wider development goals. Better roads, improved transport, IT and telecommunications, stronger and more reliable banking and insurance sectors; these are the backbone of a growing economy and crucial for development. EU service providers and EU investment can play an important part in building these sectors throughout the developing world.

No EU requests in sensitive public services sector

- EU is participating in collective requests in sectors: Professional services (legal, architectural & engineering); Computer services; Construction services; Postal & Courier services; Telecommunication services; Environmental services; Financial services; Maritime transport services, Air Transport & Energy services
- EU is not participating in any request addressing audiovisual & cultural, education, health or water for human use, or in any request that could impact on operation of public services.

Thank you
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Thank you
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Send your comments to:
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