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**The Iraq Challenge:
How to Make a Common Foreign Policy Work
for an Emerging Europe**

1. The failure of the EU to develop a united stand on Iraq must induce present and future members states to redouble their efforts to build a common European foreign and security policy. Europe has to learn from this shock that it can be only effective in world affairs by standing together.
2. The EU can no longer remain idle when it comes to the more sensitive political and security challenges in the world. It has to take position on every major conflict in the world that may threaten European and international security, whether Kashmir, Iraq, North Korea or the Maghreb; and it must help finding solutions. In the past the EU has largely failed to do so.
3. In the immediate future, the EU should focus its efforts on its direct neighbours. It should assist Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, the Maghreb and the Greater Middle East in their struggle for more prosperity and democracy. It has started to do so both in the Balkans and the Mediterranean, with some visible results.
4. A successful European foreign and security policy depends on three conditions:
 - ✓ The political will of all member states;
 - ✓ A top quality foreign policy machinery;
 - ✓ Efficient procedures for decision-making.
5. The failure to take a common stand on the Iraq issue should not be interpreted as a sign of missing political will. The Union might well have arrived at a common stand if the European Council had, in due time (early summer 2002), engaged in a serious debate and instructed the EU foreign policy apparatus to prepare the necessary elements for a common position.
6. The future EU Constitution must lay the foundations for a more effective EU foreign and security policy. One of the most difficult challenges before the Convention will be to agree on forceful and courageous provisions.

7. A foreign secretary must be in charge of defining EU positions and policies on all issues of vital European interest. To that end he/she
- ✓ Must dispose of a formal right of initiative;
 - ✓ Should preside over the Foreign Affairs Council;
 - ✓ Must dispose of the qualified personnel to define and implement foreign policy initiatives, including a proper network of EU embassies;
 - ✓ Must dispose of the necessary budgetary resources.

He/she must be appointed by and report to the European Council, which will need to give political guidance on all vital foreign and security issues.

He/she must inform and consult the European Parliament that will have to exercise political control of EU foreign policy.

8. The Foreign Affairs Council should be able to take all appropriate decisions by qualified majority. This is the only way to assure a speedy and effective decision-making procedure.

In view of the sensitivity, it may be necessary to provide for a specific voting modus, e.g. requiring 80% of the member states and the EU population.

There should therefore be no need to foresee enhanced cooperation for foreign policy actions. Enhanced cooperation would only undermine the EU's standing and effectiveness.

9. Defence policy should, for the time being, remain outside the EU Constitution. It would suffice to annex a Political Declaration that should encourage member states to advance, by way of enhanced cooperation, to lay the foundations for a future European defence policy