

Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton

REMARKS ON THE FUTURE OF EUROPEAN SECURITY

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It is a pleasure to join you today in the magnificent surroundings of L'Ecole Militaire. I appreciate this opportunity—and this setting—to discuss a matter of great consequence to the United States, France, and every country on this continent: the future of European security.

L'Ecole Militaire is not only an architectural and historical treasure, but a place that speaks to the long and proud partnership between the French and American militaries on behalf of our mutual defense and freedom. Two hundred and fifty years ago, young men from across France began arriving here to be trained as soldiers and officers in the French military. A few years later, you stood with us during our war for independence. Soldiers from both nations fought together to liberate Paris 65 years ago. Today, they fight together in Afghanistan to defeat Al Qaeda and offer the Afghan people the hope of a stable future. As founding members of the NATO Alliance, our countries have worked side by side for decades to build a strong and secure Europe and to defend and promote democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. And I am delighted that we will work even more closely now that France is fully participating in NATO's integrated command structure. I thank President Sarkozy for his leadership and look forward to benefiting from the counsel of my French colleagues as we chart NATO's future together.

Today, thanks to the partnership between our nations and many others, Europe is stronger than ever. The bitter divides of the Cold War have been replaced by unity, partnership, and peace. Russia is no longer our adversary but a partner on key global issues. Nations that once were members of the Warsaw Pact and eyed NATO with suspicion are now active members of our Alliance. The European Union has grown to include 27 nations, from the British Isles to the Baltic states, and is poised to become even more dynamic now that it has ratified the Treaty of Lisbon. As I recently expressed to the EU High Representative Catherine Ashton, the challenges we face demand a collective response, and the European Union is an invaluable and increasingly effective force for global progress.

The accomplishments of the past half century have showcased how vital Europe is to the world. It is more than a collection of countries linked by history and geography. Europe is a model for the transformative power of reconciliation, cooperation, and community.

At the same time, important work remains unfinished. The transition to democracy is incomplete in parts of Europe and Eurasia. Arms control regimes that once served us well are now fraying. And in too many places, economic opportunity is still too narrow and too shallow.

Adding to these ongoing challenges, the institutions that guarded Europe's and North America's security during the 20th century were not designed with 21st-century threats in mind. New dangers have emerged, such as global terrorism, including cyber-terrorism and nuclear terrorism; climate change; global criminal networks that traffic in weapons, drugs and people; and threats to Europe's energy supply, which, if exploited, could destabilize economies and stoke regional and global conflict. Tanks, bombers, and missiles are no longer sufficient to keep our people safe; our arsenal

must also include tools that protect cyber and energy networks, halt the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and counter the threats of terrorism and destructive ideologies—in part by confronting the political, economic, and social conditions that give rise to these ideologies in the first place.

The trans-Atlantic partnership has been both a cornerstone of global security and powerful force for global progress for more than 60 years. Now we are called to address some of the greatest challenges in human history. To meet them, we are required to modernize and strengthen our partnership for this new era.

New thinking is underway on both sides of the Atlantic. NATO is revising its Strategic Concept to prepare the Alliance for today's but more importantly tomorrow's challenges, culminating in a summit at the end of the year. Next week, at the Munich Security Conference, leaders from across the continent will address urgent security and foreign policy challenges facing Europe and the United States. And other nations have proposed new approaches and agreements. Russia, for example, has recently suggested both a new European Security Treaty and a new NATO-Russia Treaty.

The United States has also been studying ways to strengthen European security and extend it, to foster security on a global scale. Today, I'd like to discuss core principles that guide the United States today as we consider the future of European security and our role in shaping, strengthening, and sustaining it.

But first, let me address some questions raised in recent months about the depth of the U.S. commitment to European security. Some wonder whether we understand the urgent need to improve security in Europe. Others have voiced concern that the Obama Administration is so focused on foreign policy challenges elsewhere in the world that Europe has receded on our list of priorities.

In fact, European security is an anchor of U.S. foreign policy. A strong Europe is critical to the security and prosperity of the United States and the world. Much of what we hope to accomplish globally depends on working together with Europe. We are working with Europe to help bring stability to Afghanistan and to resolve the dispute over Iran's nuclear ambitions. We are working with Europe to help meet the crisis of climate change and to revitalize the global economy. We are working with Europe to help win the fight against extreme poverty, gender-based violence, and pandemic disease. We are working with Europe to advance human rights and universal values around the world.

And if Europe is not secure, Europe cannot lead.

But European security is more than a strategic interest of the United States. It is also an expression of our values. We stand with Europe today, as we have stood with Europe for decades, because enduring bonds connect our nations and our people. We are united by a shared history and shared values. Our citizens have fought and died for each other's liberty. These are ties that cannot be broken. And we seek both to venerate and reinforce them by helping to maintain peace and security in Europe, today and in the years to come.

As we move forward, a set of core principles will guide the United States in our approach to European security—and our joint efforts to build a more peaceful, prosperous world.

First, the cornerstone of security is the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states.

Much of the suffering that occurred in Europe during the 20th century emanated from a failure to respect borders or to honor the right of all nations to pursue their own foreign policies, choose their own allies, and provide for their own self-defense. These are fundamental rights of free nations, and we must and will remain vigilant in our efforts to oppose any attempt to undermine them.

The United States has demonstrated our adherence to this principle in recent years with our support for new European democracies seeking to chart their own political future, free from external intimidation or aggression. We have repeatedly called on Russia to honor the terms of its ceasefire agreement with Georgia, and we refuse to recognize Russia's claims of independence for Abkhazia and South Ossetia. More broadly, we object to any spheres of influence in Europe in which one country seeks to control another's future. Our security depends on nations being able to choose their own destiny.

For years, Russia has expressed a sense of insecurity as NATO and the EU have expanded. We strongly believe that the enlargement of NATO and the EU has increased security, stability, and prosperity across the continent—and that this, in turn, has increased Russia's security.

Furthermore, the right of all countries to enter into alliances of their own choosing has been endorsed by Russia and all other members of the OSCE at the 1999 Istanbul Summit. NATO must and will remain open to any country that aspires to become a member and can meet the requirements of membership.

But we do not seek to create divisions between neighbors and partners. Russia's confidence in its security enhances our own. That brings us to our second principle: security in Europe must be indivisible.

For too long, the public discourse around Europe's security has been fixed on geographical and political divides. Some have looked at the continent and seen Western and Eastern Europe; old and new Europe; NATO and non-NATO countries; and EU and non-EU countries. The reality is that there aren't many Europes; there is only one Europe. It is a Europe that includes the United States as its partner. And it is a Europe that includes Russia.

For in this century, security is not a zero-sum game. The security of all nations is intertwined. And we have a responsibility to work together to enhance each other's security, in part by engaging with each other on new ideas and approaches.

I mentioned earlier that the Russian government has put forth proposals for new security treaties for Europe. Indivisibility of security is a key feature of those proposals. That is a goal we share, along with others in the Russian proposals, which reaffirm principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the NATO-Russia Founding Act. However, we believe that these common goals are best pursued in the context of existing institutions, such as the OSCE and the NATO-Russia Council, rather than by negotiating new treaties, as Russia has suggested.

I want to emphasize that, though we have our differences with Russia, the United States is proud of what our two countries have accomplished together during the past year. The Obama Administration inherited a deteriorating relationship with Russia. We immediately set out to build a more substantive and constructive relationship based on our mutual interests. Together, we have made progress on a range of mutual security concerns, including stabilizing Afghanistan, addressing Iran's nuclear program, confronting North Korea's defiance of its international obligations, negotiating a new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, and tackling non-traditional threats, such as pandemic disease, climate change, cyber warfare, and the trafficking of children.

We will build upon this foundation as we seek to revitalize the NATO-Russia Council, so it can make concrete contributions to areas of mutual interest, such as Afghanistan, missile defense and counter-narcotics. And we are committed to exploring ways that NATO and Russia can improve their partnership by better reassuring each other about respective actions and intentions, through military transparency, the sharing of information, and other means of building trust and confidence.

The United States and Russia will not always agree. Our interests will not always overlap. But when we disagree, we will seek constructive ways to discuss and manage our differences.

Third, we will maintain an unwavering commitment to the pledge enshrined in Article 5 of the NATO treaty: that an attack on one is an attack on all.

When France and our other NATO allies invoked Article 5 in the aftermath of the attacks of September 11, 2001, it was a proclamation to the world that our promise to each other was not rhetorical, but real. And the people of Europe brought comfort to the people of the United States by reminding us that even at our most difficult hour, we were not alone. For that, I thank you. And I assure you and all members of NATO that our commitment to Europe's defense is equally strong.

As proof of that commitment, we will continue to station American troops in Europe, both to deter attacks and to respond quickly if any occur. We are working with our allies to ensure that NATO has the plans it needs for responding to new and evolving contingencies. We are engaged in productive discussions with European allies about building a new missile defense architecture that will defend all of NATO territory against ballistic missile attack. And we are serious about exploring ways to cooperate with Russia to develop missile defenses that enhance the security of all of Europe, including Russia.

Missile defense will make this continent a safer place. That safety could extend to Russia, if Russia decides to cooperate with us. It is an opportunity for cooperation between our countries for our mutual security.

In the 21st century, the spirit of collective defense must also include non-traditional threats. We believe NATO's new Strategic Concept must address these new threats. Energy security is a particularly pressing priority. Countries vulnerable to energy cut-offs face not only economic consequences but strategic risks as well. I welcome the recent establishment of the US-EU Energy Council and am determined to support Europe in its efforts to diversify its energy supplies.

Fourth, we are committed to practicing transparency in our dealings in Europe—and we call on other nations to do the same.

In this interconnected age, and particularly on this integrated continent, a threat that originates in one country can quickly become a regional or even global crisis. To keep Europe safe, we must keep the channels of communication open by being forthright about our policies and approaches.

That begins with transparency. The United States supports a more open exchange of military data, including visits to military sites and observation of military activities and exercises. When nations are uncertain about the military capabilities of their neighbors, that uncertainty can foster suspicion—and even conflict. As we work together to advance security across the continent, we must be able to trust each other to share information that could make a difference in protecting the lives of our people.

To this end, the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty needs our attention. For more than 20 years, the CFE Treaty has been a cornerstone of conventional arms control, transparency, and confidence-building. But this valuable regime is now in danger of crumbling. Two years ago, Russia suspended the implementation of the CFE Treaty, while the United States and its allies continue to do so. The Russia-Georgia war in 2008 was not only a tragedy but has created a further obstacle to moving forward.

We must not allow the transparency and stability that the CFE regime has provided to erode further. I believe we need to revive discussions on the way forward with our allies, Russia, and other signatories. Our goal should be a modern security framework that takes into account developments in Europe since the original treaty was drafted; limits military deployments; and strengthens the principles of transparency, territorial integrity, non-first use of force, the right of host countries to consent to stationing foreign troops in their territory.

It is only through such an approach that we can provide the reassurance that no country is secretly preparing its forces to attack another. To achieve this goal, we will consult closely with our allies on how we can best put this fundamental principle into practice.

Fifth, people everywhere have the right to live free from the fear of nuclear destruction.

The nuclear arms race that characterized the Cold War cast a shadow over the lives of people everywhere—especially those living in Europe and the United States. Today, the United States and Russia are close to concluding a new START treaty to dramatically reduce the size of our strategic nuclear arsenals. But we now we face increased threats—that nuclear materials will fall into the wrong hands, or that certain states will develop or even use nuclear weapons.

In his speech in Prague last year, President Obama declared the long-term goal of a world without nuclear weapons. As long as these weapons exist, the United States will maintain a safe, secure, and effective arsenal to deter any adversary, and we will guarantee that defense to our allies. But we will begin the work of reducing our arsenal. And as we do, we will spare no effort to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and to secure existing stockpiles and materials.

In April, we will host a Nuclear Security Summit to draw high-level attention to the threat posed by nuclear terrorism and to galvanize support for tough measures to secure vulnerable nuclear material worldwide.

In May, we will reaffirm and reinforce the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty at its review conference, and we continue to work with other nations and the United Nations to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons and materials to terrorists and non-nuclear states.

We will seek to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and to negotiate a Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty. And we are conducting a comprehensive Nuclear Posture Review to chart a new course that strengthens deterrence and reassurance for the United States and its allies while reducing the role and number of nuclear weapons.

And we will continue our intensive efforts, together with our European allies and others, to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons capability. I applaud President Sarkozy's leadership on this issue, which will continue when France assumes the presidency of the UN Security Council next month.

Sixth and finally, true security entails not only peaceful relations between states but opportunities and rights for the individuals who live within them.

A secure nation defends human rights and allows its citizens to select their leaders. It allows citizens to express their views freely and participate fully in public debates, both in person and online. It offers its citizens the opportunity to live in healthy communities, receive an education, hold a job, raise a family if they choose, travel freely, and make the most of their God-given potential.

Development, democracy, and human rights comprise a mutually reinforcing cycle that is critical to national, regional, and global security. When that cycle is broken, a nation is not secure. The essential building blocks for long-term progress and prosperity are missing. And we have seen with countries such as Yemen, one nation's struggle to maintain order and provide for its people has consequences beyond its borders.

And a country that stifles its people's voices, suppresses dissent, and asserts authoritarian control over citizens is not a strong country but a weak country, no matter the size of its army or the scale of its ambitions.

Europe understands that security is about more than military might. It is also about human potential. In Europe, security is provided by an array of institutions—including NATO, the European Union, and the OSCE—that provide the full range of tools to meet common challenges.

Consider the former Communist countries of Central Europe—now democracies that offer their citizens a better quality of life. They were drawn to the EU because of the political, economic, and social opportunities it represents: legal, social, and technical assistance in building democratic institutions and the rule of law; the riches of a single market; and the unifying experience of a common European identity. These are powerful forces for progress and stability. Europe has harnessed them through the creation of effective institutions. Now, the United States works with NATO, the EU, and the OSCE to extend this kind of comprehensive security to other places.

We are continuing the enterprise we began at the end of the Cold War to expand the zone of democracy and stability across Europe.

We have worked together this year to complete the effort we started in the 1990s to bring peace and stability to the Balkans. We are working closely with the EU to support the six countries that the EU engages through its Eastern Partnership initiative.

We stand with the people of Ukraine as they choose their next freely elected president in the coming week, an important step in Ukraine's journey toward democracy, stability, and full integration in Europe. And we are devoting ourselves to efforts to resolve enduring conflicts, including in the Caucasus and on Cyprus.

Our work extends beyond Europe as well, as we seek to expand opportunity, advance democracy, and foster human dignity around the world. With the EU, we are fighting poverty and strengthening institutions in Yemen, Haiti and Pakistan. With NATO and other European partners, we are working side by side to encourage accountable and effective government in Afghanistan. European and American voices speak as one to denounce the gross violations of human rights in Iran. European and American governments and non-governmental actors operate together and in parallel to promote economic and democratic development in Africa.

And we look forward to doing even more together as the EU develops its capacities for global engagement—including by sending its own highly qualified diplomats to serve alongside their counterparts from individual European nations.

Our combined efforts can also help put an end to the scourge of human trafficking—a threat to public safety and a crime that degrades and dehumanizes its victims.

We believe that our commitment to expanding opportunity compels us to reach out to those who, too often, go unseen and unsupported, particularly in countries marked by poverty, political oppression, and violent extremism: women and girls. Women and girls are one of the world's greatest untapped resources. Investing in their potential to lift and lead their societies is one of the best investments we can make.

We also seek to strengthen the ability of the OSCE to defend and promote human rights in the world. The commitment to human rights enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act is one of the best things the Euro-Atlantic community has accomplished together. Now we are called to renew that commitment by empowering the OSCE to increase its work in the world.

The United States will be coming forward with proposals for strengthening the OSCE's efforts in three areas of security: military, economic and environmental, and human rights. We support the creation of an OSCE Crisis Prevention Mechanism that, in situations of tension between OSCE states, would empower the OSCE to offer rapid humanitarian relief, help negotiate a ceasefire, and provide impartial monitoring. We will also propose that the OSCE chair-in-office have the capacity to facilitate consultations in the case of serious energy or environmental disruptions, dispatch Special Representatives to investigate reports of egregious human rights violations, and provide a forum for emergency consultations.

Looking back on all we have achieved together over the past 65 years, it is remarkable how far this continent has come—emerging from the ruins of war to become a place of peace and opportunity. The state of modern Europe is no miracle. It is the result of years of careful, courageous work by leaders and citizens, in this country and others, to create institutions and enact policies that brought together former adversaries and united them in common cause.

Now it is our turn, and our time, to continue that tradition of leadership and renew those institutions for a new era.

As we proceed, let us remember why we began this project in the first place, and why it still calls to us today.

This partnership is about more than strengthening our security. At its core, it is about defending and advancing our values in the world. Together, we can spread opportunity, sow the seeds of global peace, and build a better world for future generations.

We are closer than we have ever been to achieving the goal that has inspired European and American leaders for decades: a Europe transformed, secure and democratic, unified and prosperous.

The United States is honored to stand by your side as we take the final steps toward fulfilling that vision.

Thank you.

