
SUMMARY

The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were widely interpreted in Europe as a broader attack on Western values of freedom, tolerance, and openness. Leaders from states throughout the continent pledged their willingness to cooperate in counterterror efforts. NATO invoked its Article 5 collective defense provision for the first time in its history, and other European organizations also expressed their support.

Although Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan started off with few openly acknowledged coalition contributions, coalition forces became increasingly acknowledged and important as the operation continued. European countries provided a wide range of capabilities on a bilateral basis, including special forces, air forces, naval forces, ground forces, and specialized units. The United States accepted only a few contributions from NATO as an organization, and many alliance members were dissatisfied with the small role given to the alliance after its dramatic invocation of Article 5. Questions over NATO's proper role and mission became increasingly intense as transatlantic tensions over Iraq grew, revealing some fundamental divisions between the United States and the Europeans as well as among the Europeans themselves (see pp. 17–22).

The long-term success of the counterterror campaign will depend on concerted cooperation from European states, but a key question (addressed in Chapter Three) is the extent to which that cooperation should be pursued through European multilateral institutions. NATO has not yet proven capable of reorienting itself to challenge terrorism. It has adopted a number of initiatives to improve its

counterterror capabilities, including a military concept for combating terrorism and a NATO Response Force, but progress remains limited by the fact that the allies still disagree about whether countering terrorism should become one of NATO's primary missions. The European Union (EU) is limited in its military and intelligence capabilities, but it has undertaken a number of important initiatives in Justice and Home Affairs. Measures such as adopting a common European arrest warrant, strengthening Europol, and harmonizing policies on money laundering and other financial crimes may prove extremely valuable for counterterrorism efforts.

As the United States develops a policy of counterterror cooperation with Europe, it must strike the right balance between bilateral and multilateral approaches. The policy choice is not *whether* to pursue bilateral or multilateral approaches; many important policies are now being made at the European level and multilateral institutions cannot simply be ignored. Instead, the United States must determine *which issues* are best addressed through a multilateral approach and which ones are best addressed through a bilateral approach.

This report argues that the United States should pursue military and intelligence cooperation on a bilateral basis, and it should increasingly pursue financial and law enforcement cooperation on a multilateral basis. (See pp. 45–54.) Bilateral cooperation will remain necessary in the military and intelligence realms—states retain significant capacities in these areas, NATO currently lacks the political will to embrace counterterrorism as a new mission, and the EU does not intend to build the centralized structures and offensive capabilities that would be required. By contrast, the EU has made extraordinary progress in the financial and law enforcement aspects of counterterrorism in recent years. Although individual states have important capabilities in these areas that must be utilized, the United States should adopt an increasingly multilateral approach as EU cooperation progresses. The EU still has a long way to go before it achieves robust multilateral capabilities in the financial and law enforcement areas, yet it is uniquely positioned to coordinate its members' efforts, to analyze data, and to identify emerging trends throughout the continent. Multilateral cooperation with an increas-

ingly strong EU will enhance the ability of states on both sides of the Atlantic to prevent terrorism and to prosecute those involved in terrorist activities.