

SHAPING, PROGRESS AND THE FUTURE OF THE SECURITY AND  
DEFENCE POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION AND ITS IMPACT ON  
THE PROCESS OF ENLARGEMENT

БЕЗБЕДНОСЕН И ОДБРАНБЕН АСПЕКТ НА ЕВРОПСКАТА УНИЈА:  
ОБЛИКУВАЊЕ, ПРОГРЕС И ИДНИ ИМПЛИКАЦИИ

Assistant Professor Katerina Veljanovska, PhD, MIT University - Skopje, veljanovska\_  
katerina@yahoo.com

Goran Shibakovski, MSc, University "St. Paul the Apostle" – Ohrid,  
goran.shibakovski@gmail.com

АПСТРАКТ

Целта на овој труд е да бидат согледани безбедносните и одбранбени аспекти на Европската Унија и како тие аспекти ќе влијаат врз идното проширување на ЕУ. Европската Унија претставува пример за најразвиена регионална интеграција во светот. Исто така претставува обид на европските политичари да создадат мир на европскиот континент со долга историја на војни. Од нејзините почетоци во педесетите години на минатиот век, ЕУ развила свои институции, стекнала значајна моќ во креирањето на политиката, ги намалила националните бариери на трговијата, создала своја валута и го проширува своето членство. Безбедносните и одбранбените аспекти на Унијата се важен дел од нејзиното постоење како политички феномен, но и иден предизвик за нејзиното проширување. Постоенето на Заедничка безбедносна и одбранбена политика на ЕУ и овозможува да го зголеми своето влијание во светската политика и да биде значаен играч во меѓународните односи.

Клучни зборови: Европска Унија, безбедносна и одбранбена политика, стратегија

ABSTRACT

The goal of this paper is to be perceived the security and defense aspect of the European Union, and how these aspects will affect the future enlargement of the EU. The European Union is significant example as the most developed integration in the world. In the same time it represents an attempt by the European politicians to create peace on the

European continent after the long history of wars. From its beginning in the 1950s, the EU has developed its own institutions, has gained significant power in policy creating, has reduced the national barriers for free trade, created its currency and expands its membership. The security and defense challenges of the EU are an important part of its existence as political phenomenon, but also a challenge for the future enlargement. The existence of a common security and defense policy of the EU, it allows it to increase its influence in the world politics and to be an important player in the international relations.

Keywords: European Union, security and defense policy, strategy

## INTRODUCTION

The European continent is composed of countries that differ in population and size of territory. Some of them are in the turbulent history waged war against each other, and today are part of the same continent and integrated into the European Union. Today the EU is an economic and political union, which has integrated 28 member states in Europe.

Each country aims to achieve security, stability and prosperity (Danzinger, 2001: 122). One of the most fundamental functions of states is to achieve security, and it is responsibility to the people to guarantee their life. Traditional maintenance of military forces as security guards, and the right to use military force for defense is an inseparable symbol of the sovereignty of states. In the history the European countries warred between themselves until 1945 and set Europe in a hopeless situation. The maintenance of power balance between the states in Western Europe and between various alliances was not enough to be achieved long-standing peace on the European continent. The only visible solution out of that situation was in achievement of economic interdependence by the eternal rivals in Europe like Germany and France, and they to realize that their best interest is in peaceful cooperation rather than armed conflict (Бејл, 2009: 366-367). The long-term peace in the European continent in the last 50 years is achieved in result of the economic interdependence and integration in the EU. Today the EU successfully exists and its enlargement in East and Southeastern Europe is just an example that its existence brings peace and stability.

In the contemporary world which is rapidly changing the EU faces with security challenges in its neighborhood. The Common Security and Defense Policy of the EU allow it to take a leading role in peace keeping operations, conflict prevention and maintenance of international security. Since 2003 the EU launched 30 peacekeeping missions and operations, which contribute to stability and security in Europe and the world.

## IMPORTANT MOMENTS OF THE COMMON SECURITY AND DEFENSE POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Today the European Union aims to have a single foreign and security policy, which is step-by-step evolution over the years from its formation. Its goal is to be a main player in the world's politics and in the international relations. Today in the position responsible for the foreign and security policy of the EU stands High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. The security policy of the EU is part of the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU.

The idea of a common defense policy in Europe begins with the signing of the Treaty of Brussels in 1948 by the UK, France and the Benelux countries. In that direction, is formed the western European Union (WEU), to ensure dialogue and consultations in the area of security and defense in Europe. TA the end of the Cold War and the conflicts in the Balkans stimulated the interest of the EU to improve its responsibilities in the area of conflict prevention and crisis management. The conditions under which they can be deployed military units have been agreed by the Council of the WEU in 1992. These agreements are known as the Petersberg Tasks and are integrated by the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1999.

The first steps for the formation of a common European security and defense policy began with the establishment of European Political Cooperation (EPC), which was renamed with the Treaty of Maastricht in Common Foreign and Security Policy. The Treaty of Maastricht describes the central area of activity of the foreign and security policy of the EU (Вајденфелд и Веселс, 2009: 249). Using its foreign trade relationships the EU is present as influential player in the international relations. The member-states realize that their influence on the international political stage would be increased by joint forces in 1993 with the Treaty for the EU was created the legal framework for the Common Foreign and Security Policy and it became mandatory for all member-states. Up to that point the security policy of the EU acts via EPS and policy declarations, which proves to be too selective and ineffective in certain crisis situations of security aspect (Вајденфелд и Веселс, 2009: 249).

The key moments in development of the European security policy are the reforms stages of the Treaties of Maastricht (1993), via Amsterdam (1999) to Nice (2003). The purpose of these steps is to be created more effective decision-making structures and instruments for implementation of the security policy of the EU. The new dynamics in security issues and defense policy raised by the total relocation of the British politics in 1998, partly because of the weakness in Europe during the war in Kosovo, as well as new treats that have become

very obvious with the terrorist attacks of September 1, 2001 it led to further adjustments (Вајденфелд и Веселс, 2009: 251). After that at the European Council at Cologne in 1999, the key moment is The Berlin Plus Agreement, which allows the EU access to NATO military capabilities.

In 2003 the European Council approved the European Security Strategy prepared by the (After Lisbon Treaty - High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy) High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy. The Strategy defines the EU security priorities: combat against terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, solution to regional conflict, stabilization of the states, and stop to organized crime. It is one step further I consolidation of the European security policy and building of the institutional infrastructure of the Common Foreign Security Policy of the EU.

The essential elements of the CSDP come from the Treaty of the EU in 1993, as well as of the reform solutions of the Treaty of Lisbon in 2009. In fact, CSDP is a major element in the area of CFSP policy covering the defense and military aspects and civilian crisis management. The institutional structure of the CFSP is consisted of several hierarchical levels. At the top is the European Council as body that provides basic guidelines. The second level is composed of the EU Council of the Foreign Ministers, and in special cases there are placed the defense ministers. There is the Political and Security Committee (PSC), which monitors the international situation in the areas of CFSP. Formally, the CSDP is represented in the domain of the Council of Europe where meets the heads of the Member States of the Union. The other bodies are the European Defense Agency (EDA), which aims to increase defense capabilities, military research and establishment of European internal market for military technology. Also, the Institute of Security Studies of the EU has the mission to build common security culture in the EU and to help in development of the CSDP.

#### THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE COMMON SECURITY AND DEFENSE POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Some aspects of the Common Security and Defense Policy of the EU are positive step towards achieving consolidation and unified policy in the defense and security on the European continent. Beside the new challenges and achievements in in security aspects in Europe, its turbulent history has an impact in the present days.

The positive results of the CSDP are expressed in many reports, speeches of the High Representative, common strategies, statements, and many political meetings. CSDP

achieved many positive results that emphasize its strong aspects. It is a about continual participation in the current security missions across the world sharing the security idea of the Union. The first serious test of the CSDP of the EU was the war in Iraq in 2003, when two contrast visions appeared of the European defense policy (Бејл, 2009: 267). Opposition to the views was expressed related to the public letter in support of the US and it was signed by the prime ministers of Denmark, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Spain and the UK, and of the President of the Czech Republic (Бејл, 2009: 267). CSDP crisis management missions and operations are continuing to provide a tangible and effective contribution of the EU to international peace and security

Furthermore, since the establishment of the CSDP as and CFSP, the EU aims to send peacekeeping missions in crisis regions around the world. In April 2003 the EU launched the operation "Concordia" to keep the peace in the Republic of Macedonia with 250 troops from 15 EU member states. I June 2003 was launched the operation "Artemis" to keep peace in part of Congo, including 1.500 troops and it was the first EU mission outside Europe. In 2004 with the operation "Althea" the EU took the responsibility for peacekeeping in Bosnia and Herzegovina from NATO. Also, in 2005 in Indonesia, the EU launched the first mission in Asia. In that context, the EU in style of the great powers imposes as a dominant player in the international political arena in security aspect.

However, the achievements of CSDP in the international arena and show some weaknesses. Major weaknesses of this policy are highlighted in the budget potential that is available to accomplish the missions and anticipated worldwide action. For example, through this securitu policy, EU race for dominance and compete with the United States at international stage. Especially about the war in Iraq, the European countries cannot achieve the same power at the US (Бејл, 2009: 368). There are two things that have influence on the competition for leadership in security area at international level. The first thing is the budget and the level of military expenditure on defense of the US compared to the EU member states (Table 1). Furthermore, it is very important the way in which the armed forces are organized. Defense analysts argue that research and development represent such a small part of the expenditure of funds and are very scattered that European forces risk to be overcome in terms of technological superiority or forever to be dependent of the US advanced technology, which is expensive to buy or simply Americans will reject unless their actions are justified (Бејл, 2009: 370).

Table 1. Comparison of the defense expenditure of the USA and the EU

	2010		2011		% change	
	EU	US	EU	US	EU	US
<b>Total</b>	€194 billion	€520 billion	€193 billion	€503 billion	- 0,5%	- 3,3%*
<b>As % of GDP</b>	1,61%	4,77%	1,55%	4,66%	- 3,4%	- 2,3%
<b>As % of Total Government Expenditure</b>	3,20%	11,23%	3,17%	11,18%	- 0,9%	- 0,4%
<b>Per Capita</b>	€390	€1 676	€387	€1 610	- 0,7%	- 3,9%*

Source: European Defense Agency, EU-US Defense Data 2011, Brussels, September 2013

In order to successful consolidation of the European security policy seems that the EU gives priority to the ideas for soft diplomacy and security community, which includes trade and aid, cultural ties and institutionalized political dialogue through a network of international organizations and space characterized by high level of transactions and communication that conflicts are always peacefully solved (Бејл, 2009: 368). After all seems that idea of security policy in the EU is developing in trend of soft power and with less military expenditure. Perhaps this is due to the limited resources in time of global economic crisis, but also during the expansion of terrorism in the world, development of security and defense policy should not be avoided and underestimated.

#### CURRENT TRENDS IN THE SECURITY AND DEFENSE ASPECTS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Dealing with risks and threats in the 21st century, the triggers of the crisis and armed conflicts and actions as and the civil- military coordination and cooperation in complex peace operations is part of the EU's CSDP. Current trends in the security and defense aspects of the EU need a "comprehensive approach" in dealing with serious crises which will allow future security environment to be less focused on traditional military threats (refer to hostile countries ), and many more with a wide perspective of various transnational challenges, different in character and especially complex in nature. Indeed, the future success of this European policy indicates the need for a comprehensive integration of civilian and military

facilities. Within the Petersberg tasks the concept of the EU Union is established, which lay EU at the top of organizations with facilities for taking and keeping the most complex operations of crisis management. This development was based on the needs of the EU, the mistakes of the past, the availability of EU Member States, as well as one of the most important conditions or differentiation from the role of NATO (Ginsberg, Smith, 2007: 14-21).

The first serious step towards moving towards Common defense and security policy occurred only in 1987 when the Single European Act, together with the economic and political aspects of security introduced European political cooperation. However, there was still restrained by some member states (Greece, Denmark and Ireland). Brand new turn of events happened after the collapse of the SSSR and the end of the Cold War. EC no longer depended on the military supremacy of the United States, and this opens a new course of action to the security policy of the EC. The present structure of the CSDP is set by the Lisbon Treaty. This agreement entered into force on 1 December 2009 and raised high expectations to improve the EU's role on the global stage.

Although with some obstacles, the EU clearly determined purpose to develop security policies that primarily abstract but not suited to everyday challenges. The main Problem framework that is developed in the research series, says that one of the main reasons for the failure of the EU's European Security field diversity, complexity and administration in making decisions in a short domain. However, despite its complexity, the EU take real actions taking in consideration also actions of civil, military, humanity aspect (Glaser, 1993: 20-28).

Certain trends have an impact on the future of the European security and defense. Firstly, it is necessary to take into account the new security strategy published by the Member States of the EU ever since they began sending peacekeeping missions around the world, particularly in the Balkans in the required fields (2003 mission " Concordia " in the R. of Macedonia, after year this mission was replaced with the police mission "Proxima", police mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2003; mission " ALTHEA " in Bosnia and Herzegovina since 2004 and EULEX in Kosovo in 2008, and missions through various parts of the world ). It is particularly important to highlight how state members perceive the need for international cooperation. The set strategy it is needed to reduce potential differences and to consider it, and in that direction to determine the strategic objectives of the Union.

Another aspect of capturing the current trends of the European security and defense policy adjustments are internal and external aspects of the security. In this case, it is about of how member states have a general idea of the operationalized use of the defense and security

resources for preventive and protective action. In addition of this, the possibility of growing of the visibility of external missions was represented by setting of the "Standing Committee on operational cooperation on internal security" based on the Treaty of Lisbon (Article 71 TFEU). The main objective of this body is to promote and strengthen the coordination of operational activities of EU Member States in the field of internal security. In fact, by monitoring and implementing the strategy for internal security body shall take appropriate operations to successfully confront security risks and threats of the external field, i.e from terrorist attacks to natural and man-made disasters.

One of the current and especially actual strategies adopted in order to preserve internal unity and integration of the Member States of the Union is the "EU Internal Security Strategy in Action", adopted in 2010. It has several main goals: disruption of the international criminal networks; prevention from terrorism; strengthen security through border management and increased security through border management. The current interest in the application and the use of this security strategy is recognized through understanding of the threats facing not only the Union but also across Europe and beyond, as well as commitment to the sustainable use of all the security resources of the Union and the existence of appropriate expertise available to deal with them (The EU Internal Security Strategy in Action, стр. 4-9).

In order with the goal in the future to provide a high level of accomplishment and internal security strategy of the Union, there must be internal synergies within the Union, in terms of strengthening the economic situation. Moreover, if we analyze the prospects of economic growth in the euro zone, the situation seems pretty bleak. According Pichelman it is necessary and inevitable fiscal consolidation in order to restore sustainable public finances as well as weaknesses in the labor market. In addition, it is necessary for the member states to face with the macroeconomic imbalances, poor productivity growth and overall challenges of globalization, growing restrictions on natural resources and climate change (Pichelman, 2013: 2). The existence of economic sustainability is related to social inclusion and citizen participation in all aspects of the European society.

The actual trends and aspects of the promotion and realization of the security and defense policy of the EU are not designated as isolated situation (Wendling, 2010: 28). On the contrary, in terms of successful implementation of this policy, the EU's future security strategies need to imply the basis of external security strategies of major powers (U.S., Russia, China, India). The current and future state is analyzed in terms of energy supply and other natural resources, natural significance, further management of migration flows, sustainable



development, achieving international law and universally recognized rights, the possession of nuclear war and weapons etc.

Europe 2020, set in 2010, aims up to wise, sustainable and inclusive growth within the EU. It is realized on the basis of national and European policy. The basis of this strategy rests the successful implementation of the Union's security strategy, because stability within the EU means stability of the decisions making and the taken steps.

Lisbon Treaty entered innovations in the security and defence policy of the EU. It includes, besides the new name of this policy (From ESDP to CSDP), also creating a place of High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, established permanent structural cooperation, clause for mutual aid and solidarity, enhanced cooperation between Member States and etc. However, the future perspectives and challenges daily entered innovations introduced in the functioning of the common security and defence policy of the EU, with meaning that they require constant replenishment and modelling of the European policies and strategies adopted in this regard (Smith, 2011 : 20).

#### INTRA-STATE ASPECTS: IMPROVEMENT - "REWINDING" OF THE SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICIES IN THE EU

The current preoccupation of the leaders of the European countries is to care about the financial and economic governance and reduce of the budget for the defence policy, as and discussion about the possibilities for setting up the Union as a global security actor. All this affect the Union to form their own mental and strategic culture. To this end, Member States within the Union is required to form their own approach and strategy for fast action and intervention in circumstances where it is necessary. That strategic actions which will initiate common reflection of the Union or uniting of the member states, based on a common set of goals and interests will enable presenting the Union as an active player in political weight. However, there is a great divide between national strategies and to the National Union mentality of Member States, which actually answers the question: Why the European Union can't be experienced as a strategic actor in the security and defence policy?

Discussion on the intra- state aspects within the Union highlighted the need to respect the common parameters for external representation of the security and defence policy. Thus, it is necessary to highlight the difference in the views of Member States, in terms of realizing their ambitions in the international security policy. Also, there is a different attitude in decision making, and strategic framework for taking the key steps for security and

defence cooperation. The distribution of the military forces is also an area of disagreement and inconsistency of internal level within the Union (Björkdahl, Strömvik, 2008:2).

Despite the fact of the heterogeneous relation between the EU states, in terms of the fundamental questions of the Union, such as the management of the national armed forces, there must be synergy and promotion of the common outside policy.

In order to avoid degradation in the benefits of the Common Security and Defence Policy, it is necessary to promote harmonization and synchronization among international actors and local actors, as and between the analysis, planning and implementation of an individual aspects of the EU's CSDP.

EU in its past, except at the beginning when it established for safety reasons, until the 90's of the last century marginalize the security policy. One of the main reasons for this marginalization is open to questions about sovereignty, security structures, as well as the national sovereignty.

Historically, one of the biggest successes of the security aspect of the EU is to preserve the foundations of the foreign policy interests, particularly the independence, security and integrity of the Union including the gradual definition of common defence policy and defences (military crisis management in terms of Petersburg tasks) and providing peace, strengthening democracy, rule of law, human rights and civilian crisis management. All this incorporated within the CFSP (Common Foreign and Security Policy) EU governments in the Member States was an active instrument of perception of national interests and the need to be interacting in conditions of globalization (Koops, 2009 : 37-43).

The biggest criticism of the EU's active action is presented as a result of slow, weak and unlinked activities of the Member States relating to the making of key decisions regarding defence and security policies. Although the EU becomes visible in the crisis and conflict management, however requires policy coherence on the idea of a future EU experience of the world: as a soft power that enables economic and political development, or as a solid force, which has a stake in creating security strategy and policy around the world, which will initiate the possibility of using armed forces.

## CONCLUSION

Ratification of the Lisbon Treaty, as well as the setting of the era of CSDP of the EU in 2010, allowed the Union to make substantial progress experienced by the solidarity and comprehensive institutional framework that leads to collective armed action. However, the

role of EU action in international crisis and conflict management is still weak and unlinked. Progress on EU security and defence force is far from its full realization. Rather, it has not yet been experienced as a global economic and political actor. Primarily, this is due to internal disunity of the national interests of member states. Further internal coordination leads to maximum use of capacity and European potential. It takes leadership and a sense of harmonization of common goals and needs to achieve the desired step.

The European Union is seen and experienced as a unique and particularly successful form of organization of regional integration and continental cooperation, in which the 28 member states realize their interests, and try to act supranational in order to achieve common goals and policies on the international field. However, the limited capacity of the Union concerning the realization of foreign and security policies and actions can be overcome only through a serious approach to the consideration of certain key issues relating to the EU's CSDP.

The European Union must acquire the ability to act autonomously, based on the credibility of its military and armed forces, or through a common supranational decision-making to allow proper preparation and use of these powers to intervene under international crisis areas. For the Union, it is necessary to predict its responsibilities in relation to the use and availability of the Common Security and Defence Policy in accordance with the Petersburg tasks, and set out a strategic vision for the future development of common security and defence policy. The security forces of the Union is required to be self-sustainable, with the necessary control and intelligent capabilities, logistics, and other services that allow adequate preparedness to address the emerging issues of international security domain.

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