

X. Évfolyam 1. szám - 2015. március

Hronyecz Erika – Farkas Tibor
hronyecz.erika@uni-nke.hu - farkas.tibor@uni-nke.hu

CONSOLIDATION OF THE EUROPEAN SECURITY IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE LAST CENTURY

Abstract

The events of the last decade of the past century generate serious challenges in the security and defence policy of the European Union. Beside the new world political happenings the member states had to face the actual changes of the transformed internal threats too. With the beginning of the new world order the European Union was forced to rethink and to renew it's own complete security and defence policy by creating effective reforms and concepts.

A múlt század utolsó évtizedének történései komoly kihívások elé állították az Európai Unió addig funkcionáló biztonság- és védelempolitikai berendezkedését. A tagállamoknak a hirtelen megváltozott világpolitikai események mellett a belső fenyegetések jellegének modifikálása, intenzitásuk érzékelhető felerősödése is sürgősen kezelendő és megoldandó feladatot jelentett. A védelmi reformok és koncepciók mihamarabbi kidolgozását és konkrét megvalósítását illetően az Európai Unió tagállamaira is kényszerítő hatással voltak az új világrend kialakulásával járó események, jelenségek és azok mélyreható következményei.

Keywords: *Common European Security and Defence Policy, defence capabilities, collective defence, military units of member states ~ közös európai biztonság- és védelempolitika, védelmi képességek, kollektív védelem, katonai képességek, tagállami katonai egységek*

INTRODUCTION

With the end of World War II, and the beginning of Cold War era, a need emerged in the western European lands that they should not only think and act in the field of security on a national level, but the concerned and also interested states had to take steps towards the creation of collective security. To increase security, and put it on a strong base, the idea and the outlines of a common European military force emerged as soon as 1950. The initiative became known as Pleven¹ Plan, but it remained only at concept level. More efforts followed, regarding the realization of common defence, but none of the concepts could have met the expectations. Need and willingness was given, but Europe had not been ready at all, she wasn't prepared to tackle this obstacle, to which, in my humble opinion, also contributed the fact, that the European states – albeit they craved the saving of security, and avoiding of another war – weren't really in emergence of the realization of security and defence policy on an allied level. In the four decades after the WWII, Europe's democratic states – especially the more developed – made enormous efforts on cooperation in the field of economics and focus has been laid on the economic development. Creating a common defence policy remained in the background, in lack of the feeling of potential threat. The states, being already members of the NATO where confident, and felt themselves secure and defended in case of an atrocity. With the end of the Cold War, a new era began, and the economic, political and social system, working till that faced drastic changes.

SECURITY POLICY OF THE 1990-S

With the collapse of the bipolar world order, defence and law enforcement system stood before a significant metamorphosis in the European states. New security challenges appeared, against which new defence concepts had to be labored. The task had been very composite, it consisted of overall modifications, changes and development. European Union states had to take the burden doubled, because these states not only had to resolve and realize the consideration and introduction of reforms on their own state-level, but at the level of the whole Union as well. New kind of defence became crucial effort of the security policy and a constant task for the armed forces, which had to develop in a manner suited to the new domestic security concept. With the passing of the nineties, fashion of the inner threats changed drastically. Actions, occurring seldom, and meaning little to no problem before, became of higher rate and intensity, and a line of security issues of new kind and not known before challenged the defence systems and organizations of the states.

Organized crime, illegal arms trade, proliferation of WMD-s, terrorism, cyber-attacks, demographic explosion, spread of infectious diseases, emerging and strengthening of mass migration meant such focal points, and mean it nowadays as well to the security institutions of the states involved, which have required serious efforts on the national and international level as well to tackle them.

During Cold War era, the states of the European Union had a obvious image of the enemy picturing the Soviet union and its allies, with the United States being Europe's absolute ally, however, beside this, or all the same – albeit closely cooperating with NATO, and accepting its system – the Union was making efforts to reach autonomy against the US, and with the disappearing of the bipolar system, stressed to even more strengthen this efforts. Finally within the frame of the European Union, strengthening, shaping into a functional system, and running

¹ René Plevén, French Prime Minister in the intervals between July 12 1950 – March 10 1951, and August 11 1951 – January 20 1952. He stressed the creation of a common European armed force, and made assumption on formation of such.

of an overall inner-European security- and defence policy came on the agenda again. Changing circumstances made the states of Europe to cooperate and act intensively. In the 1990-s, several agreement came to life as a result of different consultations and meetings, aiming to establish a secure, clear and functional system regarding the collective European defence. It requested plenty of years and energy to fulfil an initiative accepted by all of the member states.

The first agreement of an importance and breakthrough, securing justification to the common foreign- and security policy, was the Treaty about the European Union, signed in Maastricht on February 7 1992, and came into effect on November 1 1993, known generally as the Treaty of Maastricht. Until this, the states of the community concentrated mostly on the issues referring economy and trade, engagement and cooperation being active only regarding these fields. Referring to the statements of the treaty, the European Union has been based on three pillars; the European Communities, the Common Foreign and Security Policy and the Cooperation in the areas of Justice and Home Affairs. (see fig.1)



Figure 1. The three pillars of EU [1]

This has been but a great leap forward, but regarding the effective and fluent work, it met obstacles, which had been difficult to deal with. One of the greatest upholding has been meant by the fact that the member states, in fear for their national interests, didn't stand up with whole willingness and truehearted for the issues of their security and defence. The other serious challenge had been the lack of the institutional framework, and uniform legal system securing the basics of the functional establishment, and also the lack of one common representative – giving face to the matter, and being able to present the opinion of the Union.

Meanwhile, a series of serious and sudden changes and events evolved in Europe, which initiated the member states to focus more and more on the collective European defence. German reunion, the democratization of the former socialist states in Eastern-Europe, the outbreak of the war in Yugoslavia brought the negative impacts of these events to a sensitive and real closeness to the member states. The need for a European level security- and defence policy, prepared with proper institutional backing, and highly trained experts never has been so strong and urgent. Therefore, the Treaty of Amsterdam, signed on October 2 1997, and came into effect on May 1 1999, tried to meet and tackle on the lacks of the Treaty of Maastricht. CFSP has still been based on inter-governmental cooperation, no changes appearing in this regard. But it introduced the institution of constructive forbearance which has been of importance in cases, when one or more member states showed restraint, leaving the opportunity of initiative and beginning with common missions still available. In such cases, the given member state(s) had to act as kind of passive actors, they had not to be involved in the missions but could not do anything that might have intercepted the start of such, or the later result of it. The measure contributed largely to easier and faster decision-making. The other step forward has been the creation of the role of Mr. CFSP, the main representative of the CFSP, which was filled by the

Secretary General of the European Council. Of great importance was also, that the notion of common European strategy has been laid down, since the CFSP didn't possess of a long-term strategy until that. Albeit the Treaty of Amsterdam has been a document more goal-centric, and in possession of concrete steps of realization, it showed despite these some shortcomings in the field of strengthened cooperation, which was only prescribed in the cases of the first and third pivots. This has been rectified in the Treaty of Nice², according to which it has been expanded on the second pivot as well. [2]

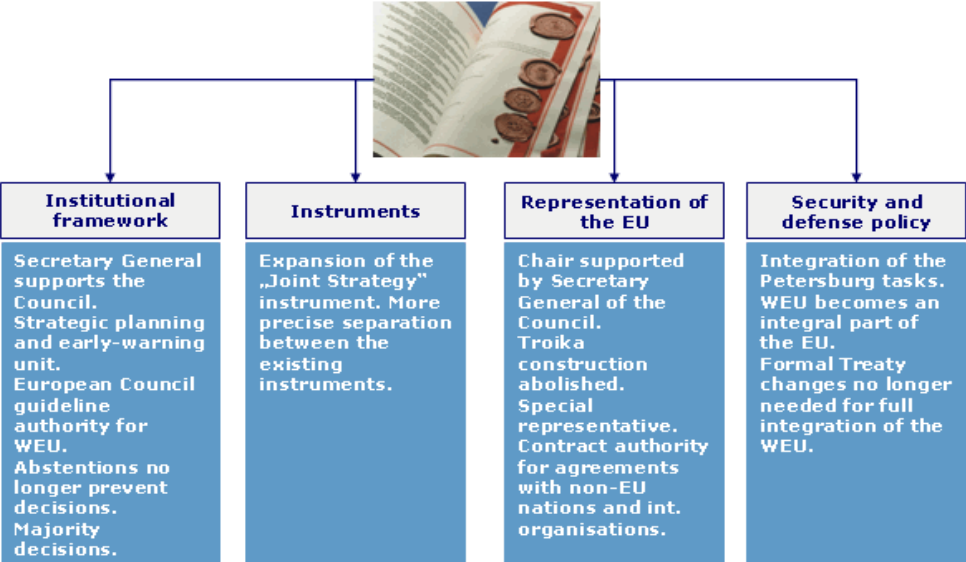


Figure 2 CFSP in the Treaty of Amsterdam [3]

The result of the meeting of English Prime Minister Tony Blair, and French President, Jacques Chirac in Saint-Malo, in December 1998, was a common British-French declaration, with the following: to make the EU being able to fulfil its role on the international theatre, the prescriptions of the Amsterdam Treaty regarding the CFSP have to be realized wholly. Beyond this, an authentic military force has to be developed, to support autonomous action. These missions are to be secured by the necessary means, supported by appropriate structure, analyzing capability, intelligence and the capacity of strategic planning. [4] In Cologne, in June the following year, the tasks and the circle of supporting measures of the EU's common foreign- and security policy has been deepen and widen further. An agreement prescribed that the required and inevitable tools for the prevention of conflicts and for crisis management are to be secured. Collective defence remained within the frames of the NATO, with the document of Cologne concentrating on the institutional structures and the decision and acting abilities required for crisis prevention and management, regarding to the common defence policy. [5]

In the nineties, enormous efforts were made to create CFSP, to legitimate it, and make it work effective, but the real breakthrough came at the end of the decade, on the summit of the European Council in Helsinki, in December 1999. The decisions made in Helsinki made the realization of the principles framed in Amsterdam and Cologne possible, all of this with the utilization of NATO support. Numbers of modifications, but even more new concepts and planning were prescribed these days. The term, Common European Security and Defence Policy (CESDP) has been introduced. A resolution came to life, that the foreign- and security policy of the Union has to be strengthen by the development of military and non-military

² Signed by EU member states than on February 26 2001, and came into effect on February 1 2003, with the goal of complementing the Treaties of Rome and Maastricht. It has reformed the institutional system of the EU, thus making it workable after the following expansion.

capabilities of crisis management. [6] Decision was made, that no autonomous European Army will exist, with the defence function is fulfilled by the NATO henceforward, according to Article V. of the Washington Treaty. It has also been laid down, that keeping the interests of the member states in sight, means and procedures are to be created, with which transparent and effective consultation and cooperation between the NATO and the EU are to be produced. Main task of CESDP has been clarified in making the EU to become able to fulfil the management of certain crisis – in reference with the Charter of the UN, and the principles of the European Security Charta by the OECD – in case, NATO isn't willing to intervene.

To reach and realize the military capabilities, the document known as Headline Goals has been framed, in which, referring to the missions in Bosnia and Kosovo, the creation of a military force, consisting of approximately 15 brigades, with a strength of 50-60 thousand, capable to be deployed within 60 days, and also to be able to fulfil the tasks of Petersberg has been prescribed.³ Beyond the ability of being deployed within two months, the force had to be able to operate on the theatre of operation for one whole year. It is of particular interest, that this was not to be meant as an autonomous European army, but as a higher unit created from the military units of the member states. During the summit also the military capabilities have been outlined, which the above force had to possess.

These were as follows:

- command and control;
- interoperability;
- intelligence and reconnaissance;
- deployability;
- mobility;
- sustainability;
- flexibility;
- survivability.

Beyond this, focus has been stressed on the establishment and coordinated operation of military observer and early warning systems, on the easing of national officers' involvement into the work of international headquarters, on the increasing of the number of constantly deployable troops, on the development of strategic airlifting and maritime shipping capacity, on the creation of a European air force command, and on the increasing and strengthening of the quick response capabilities of the already existing European multinational forces. [7] In Helsinki, the background institutions, necessary to meet the new and widened role of CESDP, have also been established. The institutional system of the Political and Security Council, the Military Council and the Military Staff has been created.

Looking back, it can be measured, that albeit as a result of the summit of the European Council in Helsinki, cardinal changes occurred in the field of developing and running CESDP, but many of the prescribed concepts and goals haven't been realized in a fashion which had been expected. The financial aspect of the defensive tasks had a great role in this tendency. It is to be considered, that on the national, as on the multinational level as well, the running of a military force requires serious costs and expenditures. Sufficient financing is a vital element of any armed force with a solid base, and with successful military abilities.

³ Including tasks of humanitarian relieve and rescue, peace restoration, and the crisis management related tasks of the fighting forces, including creating and pursuing peace as well.

COMMON SECURITY- AND DEFENCE POLICY NOWADAYS AS COMPARED TO THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE END OF 1990-S

During the loose decade, measured from 2000 – like also in the 90-s – great number of changes and shifts occurred, which stressed the strengthening and obstacle-free work of the CESDP with all of its elements and institution. But even the new century didn't bring the expected and craved results regarding the deployment and function of a real uniform common security- and defence policy. Albeit in the past fifteen years it has been struggled to secure a solid base for the CESDP, even nowadays, serious efforts are made to maintain it to prove and deploy effectively.

To reserve and develop the defensive capabilities of the EU, beyond the institutional background, also a unified, stable, in long term sustainable and compatible defence technology and industry basis is also inevitable. To maintain this, the common security- and defence policy has to be without any division and extremities, heading in one direction, with certain principles and frames of work. The coordination on European level and the realization as soon as possible is of urgent need, considering the global circumstances and conditions.

China, pretending an unbelievable growth, Russia, stressing to regain her power and India also stepping on the path of increasing development mean serious economic and politic challenges to the EU. The effort of the Community to maintain common arms acquisition and standardization is even today highly aggravated by the fact, that the member states are possessing different legal systems and principles, which are not advised to be left out of consideration, abandon, or change, because doing so would hurt national interests. This is one of the reasons, why we are looking towards a very slow process regarding the uniform CFSP, whose stable and effective running is also affected by the financial circumstances of these days. Possibilities of financial maneuvers are shrinking year by year, caused the budget stipulations, resulting especially from the financial crises from 2008 on. Heavy burden is shared by the governments of the EU to find the balance regarding the priorities in expenditures, and to reach the goal of the strong and uniform European security- and defence policy, gratifying maximally to the defence and security requirements, by the means of appropriate financial, intellectual and technologic spending. Stake is, that utilizing own power, chances and living by the advantages given by the community of nations, the EU be ready to guarantee her own security.

References

- [1] http://www.dadalos-europe.org/int/grundkurs4/eu-struktur_4.htm
- [2] http://www.europarl.europa.eu/aboutparliament/hu/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU_1.1.4.html (downloaded on: January 20 2015.)
- [3] http://www.dadalos-europe.org/int/grundkurs4/gasp_esvp.htm (downloaded on: January 20 2015.)
- [4] HORVÁTH, Zoltán: Kézikönyv az Európai Unióról, Magyar Országgyűlés, 2002
- [5] RÁCZ András: Az Európai Unió katonai képességeinek fejlődése 1999-2004, doktori disszertáció, ELTE-BTK, 2008; p.46.
- [6] http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/hu/FTU_1.3.6.pdf downloaded on: January 20 2015.
- [7] RÁCZ, András: Az Európai Unió katonai képességeinek fejlődése 1999-2004, PhD dissertation, ELTE-BTK, 2008, p.51-52.