The Evolution of the European Security Policy

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Abstract: The process of development of the European Union's security dimension has known a spectacular evolution in the past years, passing from political consultation to establishing objectives, then common actions and positions; at a practical level, the Petersburg measures, carried on initially by the Western European Union as an armed branch of the European Union, have been replaced by actions of implication of the Union in managing some conflicts. The Lisbon Treaty confirms the commitments of the member states and mentions the fact that the European Union will dispose of the necessary measures for the defense of its objectives and to contribute to world peace and stability.

Keywords: foreign policy; European security policy; International Criminal Court

1.   Motivation

The world after the "Cold war" is a world of open frontiers, in which the internal and external aspects related to security are tightly connected. Security is a precondition for development (Profiroiu & Profiroiu& Popescu, 2008, p.110). The conflict destroys infrastructure, encourages criminality, making impossible the normal process of economical activities. Furthermore, genocide, inhuman and degrading treatment, missing persons, slavery and crimes against humanity, but also the serious violations of the war legislation defined by the Statute of the International Criminal Court are forms that threaten the safety of the population. This category an also include serious breaches of the right food, health and housing.

SES lists five key threats for Europe: terrorism, proliferation of mass destruction weapons, regional conflicts, states in crisis and organized crime. [1]

In order to protect their security and promote its values, the European Union provisions the following strategic objectives: confrontation with threats; ensuring the proximity security; an international order based on efficient multilateral character.[2]

The dimension and the importance given to the future of European security is an aspect without precedence in the European history. The nature of security has been fundamentally reorganized, becoming a constant concern for the European Union. And the best role for Europe in the 20th century is to promote global security.

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[1] Commission of the European communities- *A Secure Europe in a Better World- European Security Strategy*, Brussels, 2003.
[2] *Idem.*

The present study, following a documentary and descriptive research, aims at analyzing the evolution of the European security policy, underlining some historical aspects.

2. General Concerns

The formulation of a security policy has to begin with establishing an operational definition of security and of a set of criteria to evaluate it (Ghica & Zulean, 2007, p.38).

The conceptualization of the idea of security had a profound transformation, especially after 1989, when the notion was enriched and extended according to the changes reflected by the study of international relations. The main domains hat offer the theoretic instruments necessary for the understanding of the notion of security are the international relations, compared politics and political analysis. (Wallace & Wallace, 2004, p. 73).

According to security studies specialists (Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver, Jaap de Wilde), the modern concept of security includes five cumulative factors: the political component of security, the military component, the economic component, the societal component and the ecological component. The problematic of security is not mistakes for the normal functioning of the state on these dimensions, but it refers only to the threats that, through the mentioned dimensions, are a threat for the existence of the state itself. Political security refers to the organizational stability of the systems, the governing systems and the ideologies that legitimates them. The military component of the security regards the interconnection between the following two levels: offensive weapons and defensive capacities of a state, together with the perception of the states on the intentions of the other participants in the international life. Economic security regards the access to resources, financing and necessary markets in order to support acceptable levels of development and state power. When talking about societal security, we mean maintaining, within acceptable conditions to allow the evolution process, the collective national identity, the traditional language models, culture, religion and customs of a people. The security of the environment aims at maintaining at a local level of the planetary biosphere, as an essential support for the system on which the other human activities depend on. (Buzan, Weaver & de Wilde, 1998, p. 7).

Security is not a fix concept. Is one of the terms that refer, in the same time, to an object or a state and a process or a series of processes (Ghica & Zulean, 2007, p. 78).

The American literature underlines the fact that we cannot talk about a definition of security that is generally accepted. Security comprises, according to many authors (Smoke, 1987), the study of security problems of some nations, the policies and programs to solve these problems, as well as the governmental process through these processes and programs are formulated and accomplished.

In what concerns the European Union, in its primary period, the European Community was offered the management of common policies, which aimed at establishing a common market that would allow the free movement of merchandise, people, services and capitals within the entire European Community. During the years, the member states have considered as useful, the European approach of new fields so that today, the European Union has policies regarding the environment protection, technological research and development, consumers' protection and public health, transports, promoting economic cohesion and cooperation with the developing states.

From the perspective of the subject the regulating competence belongs to (the European Union and/ or a member state), the EU policies are classified in three main categories (Profiroiu, Profiroiu & Popescu, 2008, p. 110):

- common policies, that replace the national policies of the member states (the common agricultural policy, commercial policy, transportation policy etc);

- Community policies that support and complete the national policies in specific domains (for example, industrial policies, regional, energetic, social, fiscal, etc.);

- Policies for intergovernmental cooperation that are new generation policies (justice and internal affaires policy, foreign and security policy).

3.   The Evolution on Security Policy

Analyzing the history of creating the Common foreign and security policy, we have to mention the moment in which the political decision to rearm Germany in the 50s was taken, when, to allow this to happen, France, Germany, Belgium, Luxemburg and The Netherlands have invented the project of the Committee of European Defense, initiating the creation of a common European army. The project was later rejected (1954) by France, because of the political misunderstandings between the founding states. Three years after establishing the European Economic Community, the desire to restart the political construction appeared under the auspices of De Gaulle. The Frenchman Christian Fouchet prepared three proposals, between 1961 and 1962 known as "The Fouchet Plan". The interstate cooperation had to lead to a unique foreign policy, the member states had to commonly consolidate their security and coordinate their defense policies. The latter implied periodical bilateral consultations and working committees that prepared high level reunions including a committee for defense. Unfortunately, it was the turn for the others to reject this "Treaty on the Union of the States" motivating the rejection by the fact that an excessive collaboration between the states was not wanted, same as the break of the silence with the US and NATO. Still, at the 1969 reunion, the six members of EEC reaffirmed the necessity of political unification of Europe.

Following the concerns of the beginning 70s, when, based on the Davignon report, a consultation committee was created, comprising political directors in the foreign affairs ministries of the member states, the Single European Act in 1986 included in the Treaty on the EEC the cooperation in European politics but this continued to be realized based on informal agreements, without official permanent structures. (Popescu & Diaconu, 2009, p. 305).

In 1992, through the Maastricht Treaty, the European Union raised awareness on the issue of realizing a common security policy, including the chapter "Common Security and Defense Policy" (CSDP). According to the Treaty, the "Common Security and Defense Policy" reunites all the problems regarding the EU security, including the establishment, in perspective, of a common defense policy that could lead in the future to a common defense. This has lead to the creation of the EU's second pillar (Popescu & Diaconu, 2009, p. 305), field of cooperation between the member states in foreign and security policy.

These provisions have been developed by the Amsterdam Treaty in 1997, that lead tot the creation of the institutional frame to create the common foreign policy. According to the Amsterdam Treaty, the fundamental objectives of the CSDP are: protecting the common values, the fundamental interests,

independence and integrity of the EU member states according to the principles of the UN Chart, consolidating the security of the EU; maintaining peace and security according to the principles of the UN Chart, with the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the objectives of 1991 Chart in Paris, including here the provisions regarding the external frontiers; promoting international cooperation; developing and consolidating democracy, respecting law and fundamental human rights and liberties.

In December 1998, at the Anglo- French Summit in St. Malo, the leaders of the United Kingdom and France, in the background of the conflicts in Bosnia and Kosovo, have decided that Europe needs "an autonomous capacity of action, sustained by credible military forces".

Still, the crucial moment of the consolidation of an European defense came together with the decision of the European Council in Koln on June 3rd, 1999, when the European leaders have agreed a common defense strategy.[1] The main causes were the poor European performance in the crisis in Kosovo and the will to have autonomy of execution towards NATO, but respecting the principles of the transatlantic connection, namely the development of European security together with the US.

Also, the Helsinki summit in 10 and 11 December 1999 brought new provisions regarding the frame established at Koln, introducing for the first time numbers and specific notions for the EU common defense force[2] and within the European Council in Nisa (December 7-9 2000) the EU member states have decided the creation of a rapid reaction force (RRF) of 60.000 members. In the same time, the Nisa Treaty (which came into force ob February 1st, 2003) contains an amendment that aims at the operational development of CSDP as an independent project within the EU and establishing an Autonomous Defense Agency, as well as other civil and military planning cell.

In December 2003, the European Council approves the European Security Strategy (ESS), whose purpose is to provide civil and military units to prevent international conflicts and crisis management. As the EU aims at promoting peaceful conflict resolution, besides the military capacities, Europe also aims at developing civil capacities concentrated on four prior areas (police, law enforcement, civil administration and civil protection capacities) adopted at the European Council in Feira, June 2000. (Profiroiu & Profiroiu& Popescu, 2008, p.450).

At the same time, ESS tries to consolidate the alliance between the EU, the US and Canada, within NATO, based on the principles of the UN Chart. The national army remains under the control of a supreme national commander appointed only during an EU mission. The first historical military operation outside the continent was in Congo (June 12- September 1st, 2003) named "Operation Artemis" and was triggered at the UN request, under the French commandment, aiming at improving the humanitarian situation in Bunia area.[3]

In 2004, the European Council mentioned its intentions regarding the aid it will grant to the UN, meaning that it can participate to this type of operations but this will be possible under political control and under the operational commandment of the UN, that it does not exclude participation to forces and

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[1] Decision pronounced at the Intergovernmental Conference of the EU in Koln, June 3 and 4, 1999.

[2] "the member states must be prepared to be able to deploy, within 60 days and for at least 1 year, military forces of 50.000-60.000 people for the entire spectrum of Petersberg tasks" was mentioned in the Conclusions of the Finland Presidency of the General Affairs council. In the same time, referring to other interested states, the conclusions open the possibility of contributing to the military crisis management by the EU.

[3] Artemis Operation represented a possible model for the future multinational interventions, being totally different from the classic military interventions of the UN in Africa (for maintaining peace) or the post colonial powers that wanted, in general, to control the authoritarian regimes. In general, regarding the actions on international scene, as well as the military infrastructure and operations, Andre Dumoulin, *Comment se porte la politique europeenne de securite et de defence?*, in Revue du Marche Commun et de l"union Europeenne, no.479, June 2004 ad following.

stand-by means, preferring operations based on tactical groups created by the EU, as a continuation of the operations and that the national contributions remain possible for the stand-by forces of the UN.[1]

The Lisbon treaty brings in new elements. Thus, this political is named The Common Defense and Security Policy (CDSP). It also provisions the development of EU military capacities, in order to better manage crisis, consolidation of the civil and military operational capacities, as well as the creation of a Europe Defense Agency. Participation in this Agency is optional for the member states.

The treaty confirms the commitments of the member states to offer the EU civil and military capacities and improve them, with the purpose of applying CSDP. Also, the possibility that a group of states will be granted the application of CSDP is mentioned, states that have the military capacities to do that and are willing to do this. These missions are different from the permanent cooperation between the states that imposes developing more capacities of defense and offering fight units to some missions starting with 2007.

The Lisbon Treaty contains a solidarity clause that consists in the commitment of the member states to support a member state that is object of a terrorist act or is victim of a natural or human made disaster, at the request of the political authorities of that state. In the same time, the treaty contains a security clause, in case a member states is object of an armed aggression on its territory, the other member states will offer aid and assistance through all the available means, according to article 51 of the UN Chart. The treaty mentions that this clause does not affect the specific character of the security and defense policy of some member states and the commitment and cooperation in this domain comply with the commitments adopted within NATO that represent, for the member states, the purpose of their collective defense and the instance of applying it.

The treaty also attributes to CDSP new missions: common actions in disarming, humanitarian and evacuation missions, consultancy and assistance in military issues, missions of preventing and maintaining peace, missions of the fight force for crisis management as well as missions for reestablishing peace and operations to bring stability in managing conflicts. It is added that these missions can contribute to the fight against terrorism, including the support granted to states to fight against terrorism on their territory. In the report regarding these texts it is mentioned that the purpose is not the transformation of the EU in a military alliance, but to ensure the necessary instruments to defend its objectives and contribute to peace and stability in the world.

4.   Conclusions

The process of developing the security dimension of the EU knew a spectacular development in the last years, being, in the present, one of the most dynamic areas in the European project.

Thus, the European security policy passed from political consultation to establishing objectives, then to common actions and positions; at a practical level, the European security policy evolved from the Petersberg measures[2], initially applied by the Western European Union as an armed branch of the EU,

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[1] Declaration adopted by the European Council on June 17 and 18 2004, under the title "EU-UN Co-operation in Military Crisis Management Operations. Elements of Implementation".
[2] After adopting the Maastricht Treaty, the foreign and defense ministers WEU met in Germany, in Bonn (June, Petersberg Hotel) to analyze the way in which the organization will answer to the provisions of the treaty. By the declaration adopted after this meeting, it was established that the spectrum of missions that the WEU will fulfill will comprise: humanitarian and

to actions that imply the involvement of the EU in managing some conflicts. After September 11, the European Council decided extending a mission scope to include the ones for combating terrorism; in the same time, the EU- NATO relationship was granted an institutionalized form, in December 2002, by adopting agreements between the EU and NATO on the access of the EU to NATO means and capabilities, other than the national ones, aiming at developing operations under the commandment of the EU. In this way, the common defense and security policy was consolidated, as a part of CSDP; the missions in which the EU recurs to civil and military means were extended, adding new missions to the Petersberg ones. It can be said that the CSDP has to be examined together with the actions that can be placed under the CSDP, being means by which the EU recurs to more and more to accomplish the CSDP objectives.

At a financial level, the Lisbon Treaty provisions the guarantee of an emergency financing for initiatives in CSDP, by creating a launching fund constituted from attributions of the member states.

We also have to mention that within the EU also functions the Satellite Center located in Torehon, Spain, created by the Western European Union in 1993 and taken over by the EU in 2001, the Institute for Security Studies located in Paris, established in 2001, the European College for Security and Defense established in 2005 and the European Defense Agency, established in 2004 with the purpose of sustaining the member states in their effort to improve their action capabilities in crisis management. By the Lisbon Treaty, the agency was granted with important attributions regarding the identification of the objectives on the military capacities of the member states and propose multilateral projects to accomplish these objectives.

For our country, signing the Adhesion Treaty to the EU, in April 2005 and then receiving the statute of member state of the EU on January 1st, 2007, have marked a new stage in the process of connecting the state to these evolutions, oriented towards the defining the strategic profile of Romania.

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rescue missions, maintaining peace and missions of the combatant forces during the crisis management missions, known later as the "Petersberg tasks missions".