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**THE EUROPEAN UNION AS A KEY PLAYER IN EFFICIENT
SOLVING OF COMMON SECURITY PROBLEMS: ISSUES AND
PERSPECTIVES**

***Uniunea Europeană ca element-cheie în rezolvarea eficientă a
problemelor de securitate comună: Probleme și Perspective***

Abstract: *The purpose of this article is to clarify the essence of the Common Foreign and Security Policy and its role in the strengthening of EU's global role. The methodological basis of the study was a systematic approach, the essence of which is to solve exploratory tasks according to the purpose of work. The historical method was used during the analysis of the EU policy evolution in the field of security and defense. Comparative analysis was used to compare the content and direction of the CSDP at different periods of time, as well as military and civilian EU operations conducted in different countries. Among the results of the study we can mention that the role of CSDP was defined as a tool for strengthening the global role of the EU. According to regional and functional criteria, optimal for the EU in a medium-run - in light of its strategic objectives and available instruments - is to consolidate the implementation of niche operations with civilian and military (low intensity) crisis management in Europe and the operations of civilian crisis management worldwide.*

Keywords: *international relations, CSDP, crisis management, EU, security.*

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The European Union is a global actor of international relations which plays an important role in establishing security not only in Europe but also in Africa and in the Middle East. It positions itself as an autonomous center of power that can carry out peacemaking, military operations of crisis management, humanitarian assistance, promote international cooperation and extend democracy. In terms of challenges

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faced nowadays by the European Union and the international community, research of CSDP actions and influence is opportune and required. Trade and regional integration, democracy, human rights and support for economic and institutional reforms, social employment problems, environment and sustainable management of natural resources, all of these activities aiming at strengthening the global role of the EU are investigated thoroughly, but in modern times, when Russia has violated international law, has ignored its obligations as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and has launched war in eastern Ukraine, CSDP requires to be researched and the activity mechanism has to be changed.

The theoretical and methodological principles of international relations which became the basis of this research were formed in the works of A. Hrubinko, A. S. Sheludchenkova, E.V. Riaboshtan, V.T. Shatun, A. A. Subbotin, O. M. Logvinenko, Jean-Claude Juncker and others. The purpose of the article is to clarify the essence of CSDP and its role in strengthening the global role of the EU.

Integration of foreign policy and security is one of the most ambitious and at the same time most controversial dimensions of integration processes in the European Union. An important strategic goal of EU foreign policy proclaimed to achieve «effective versatility». This refers to the formation of a strong international community, focused on the growing interest of the EU towards international organizations and regimes to ensure its institutionalization and inclusion in the processes of global governance. And consequently, the determination of the role and place of the EU in international institutions, especially in the context of the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon in 2009 which strengthened the organizational side of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, initiated the position of the High Representative of the EU and the European external Action service («Foreign Affairs» of the European Union). The logic of foreign policy integration in the EU lined up about the idea of establishing and maintaining a unified foreign policy positioning of the EU, its autonomous international subjectivity and the ability to «speak with one voice». And this requires not only the strengthening of solidarity between Member States in certain matters of relations with the outside world, but also introduction a certain degree of centralization of joint decisions, also by creating the institutional mechanisms that can perform aggregation position of national states and retransmit it out as a common EU position¹.

Because of its size, which brings together 28 members, as well as economic, commercial and financial aspects, the EU is a significant force in the world. It plays an important role in global issues and its value increases in proportion as collective decisions are made in foreign policy. The EU

¹ Tsivatyi 2009: 445-452.

maintains partnerships with all key players in the world, as well as with those who have their own views and their own interests. It seeks to maintain partnerships based on mutual interests and benefits, where both sides have their rights and obligations. The EU conducts regular summits with the United States, Japan, Canada, India and China. Its relations with these and other countries cover many fields, such as education, environment, security and defense, crime investigation, human rights, etc.²

The evolution of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) is inextricably linked to the process of European integration in general, especially its core - economic integration - but its origins lay in the political integration of the EU member states, which began with the formation and development of political cooperation between a number of Western European countries in the postwar period.

Establishing common European foreign policy cooperation took place in the middle of the XXth century. The formation of the CFSP can be divided into several stages:

- 1970-1986 - the stage of legal consolidation of European political cooperation, marked as the launch of cooperation among member-states in the political arena at the Foreign Ministry and the national recognition of the European political and defense identity, which is reflected in particular in the Single European Act;
- 1986-2005 - the stage of legal registration and institutional building of CFSP, characterized by active legislative work of the European Communities, in particular the signing of the Maastricht Treaty, which enshrines, among other things, the common foreign and security politics;
- 2005-present - the stage of constitutional incipience of CFSP associated with the signing of the Treaty of Lisbon and implementation of CFSP legal capacity of the EU.

CFSP is developing as a complementary but not duplicative NATO structure. Its main task is to create capabilities for further empowering the EU to participate in the settlement of regional and local conflicts, including the area below Europe (in the Middle East, Africa and other regions around the world)³. The common security and defense policy of the EU was a logical continuation of the CFSP. The idea of a common defense policy of European countries dates back to 1948, when Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg signed the Brussels Treaty. This agreement contained, among other things, provisions for mutual defense of the participating countries, which laid the foundation for the creation in 1954 of the Western European Union (WEU), which became the defense component of the EU, a way to strengthen the European component of

² Official website of the EU Delegation in Ukraine.

³ Shatun 2014: 60-67.

NATO, as well as a solid foundation for the development of European military-technical cooperation. WEU remained the principal forum for consultation and dialogue on security and defense in Europe with NATO until the 1990s.

Evaluating the process of political and military cooperation in the EU area after World War II, we can identify seven stages that reflect the origin and formation of policy and strategy of the EU in international security. They include:

- common trends and forms of cooperation retrieval (1946–1949)
- the rejection of supranational projects (1950–1954)
- the period of conceptual uncertainty (1955–1968)
- gradual renewal of the dialogue on security issues (1969–1986)
- regulatory and institutional definition of the scope of security and defense cooperation (1987–1997)
 - implementing and improving the institutional mechanism of European security and defense policy;
 - CSDP adaptation to the realities of the post-bipolar international system (from the middle of the 2000s)³.

However, the signing of the Treaty of Lisbon was a revolutionary event for the development and formation of the European security policy (2007). Compared with earlier treaties on security and defense, policy takes an important place in this one. The objective of the Treaty of Lisbon is to reorganize the EU to be more active and effective in the field of international security. Establishing the position of High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy was roused by the need to ensure continuity and unity of the Union's external action⁴. Thus, for the past 20 years, political and institutional changes in the EU have been creating the preconditions for a new perception of the concept of «purely European» security space. Development of the concept of European security is characterized by a comprehensive approach, ascertainment of new threats and at the same time underlines the recognition of common values for European countries⁵.

The organizational principles of CSDP are defined in articles 42-46 of section V of the Treaty on European Union (TEU).

In accordance with the Treaty of Lisbon CSDP is an integral part of CFSP. It provides the Union with the operational capacity based on civil and military means. The EU may use CSDP in missions outside its borders to support peace, prevent conflicts and strengthen international security in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter. Resources provided by Member States are used while carrying out missions. CSDP covers the

⁴ Logvinenko 2012: 57-62.

⁵ Treaty of Lisbon 2007.

gradual formation of a common defense policy of the Union, which could lead to a common defense, if the European Council would unanimously resolve. In this case the European Council should recommend the Member States to make a decision in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements.

Three main clauses stand as the legal basis of CSDP: the «permanent structured cooperation» with the ability of certain groups to form military units to perform assigned tasks; the «solidarity» EU action in response to terrorism, natural or man-made disaster; the «mutual assistance» as an obligation of Member States to assist other country or countries in case of military aggression under the UN Charter. In general the goals and directions of CSDP include: joint action on disarmament; humanitarian and rescue operations; conflict prevention and peacekeeping; the implementation of crisis management. A key principle of «structured cooperation» stated as part of CSDP is voluntariness and the possibility to curtail participation (Art. 28E, § 5).

As part of the measures to strengthen CSDP, the Treaty of Lisbon implied the creation of the European Defense Agency (EDA). Its task is to strengthen the work of the defense capabilities of the Union by establishing single operational requirements of the armed forces and strengthening the industrial and technological component of the security sector. It is said in the Treaty that the commitment and cooperation in this field should be consistent with the obligations of NATO member states in the framework of the current system of collective protection (Art. 28, § 7). Within EDA separate groups are created to bring together Member States which engage in joint projects. EDA performs its tasks and communicates with the Commission if necessary. It is the only decentralized agency of the EU which is mentioned in the memorandum.

Institutional innovation created a legal framework for a more coherent and influential EU foreign policy. On the international scene the European Union is actually represented by one person – the High Representative - with a strong executive and diplomatic service. Tasks and jurisdictions of CFSP are clearly defined. New opportunities for the gradual development of cooperation between Member States in the field of security and defense are provided.

The introduction of CSDP put on the agenda the question of improving military capabilities of the Member States. In order to fully accomplish the crisis management, it was decided to establish the permanent political and military structures within CSDP at the European Council in Nice (France, December 2000). ATHENA is a mechanism which handles the financing of common costs relating to EU military operations under the EU's CSDP. ATHENA was introduced by the EU Council on March 1st 2004. It acts on behalf of 27 Member States (Denmark is not a part of CSDP), which contribute to the financing of EU military operations. ATHENA is managed by an administrator, who submits to the Special

Committee consisting of representatives of the Member States who contributed to the funding of each military or defense operation. 6 active EU military operations currently benefit from ATHENA financing: EUFOR ALTHEA (Bosnia Herzegovina, 800 soldiers), EUNAVFOR ATALANTA (Horn of Africa, 1400), EUTM SOMALIA (126), EUTM MALI (500), EUNAVFOR MED (25 contributing states), EUTM RCA (Central African Republic, 750). ATHENA finances transport, infrastructure and medical expenses during these operations and covers the maintenance expenses of the Member States' military forces.

Today the common security and defense policy is a fully formed and structured mechanism of settlement and prevention of conflicts and crises. The most important event in the development of CSDP was the signing of the Treaty of Lisbon which opened wide prospects for development of the EU, introduced a single mechanism of decision-making and system of regulations. The institutional and legal framework of CSDP is defined by the Treaty on European Union (TEU) and the Treaty of Lisbon. Since 2000 within the framework of CSDP numerous permanent political and military structures have been created, each having a clearly defined purpose and function. Among them: Political and Security Committee (PSC), EU Military Committee (EUMC), the EU Military Staff (EUMS), Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability (CPCC), Committee for civilian aspects of crisis management (CIVCOM) and Political-Military Group (PMG).

Over the last decade, the EU has conducted 23 civilian missions and military operations on 3 continents. These include peacemaking after the tsunami in Aceh (Indonesia); protection of refugees in Chad; fight against pirates in Somalia and the Horn of Africa. The EU's role as a security player becomes more noticeable⁶. The nature and geography of the EU military operations and missions within CSDP denotes the intention of its management to continue to use this tool to make an international contribution to global and regional stability, while strengthening the position of the organization in strategically important regions of the world.

The settlement of civilian crisis is a key part of CSDP. It widely expanded the boundaries of activities (from the Western Balkans to the South Caucasus, from Africa to the Middle East and Asia), it also diversified the content of operations and missions (police reform and legislative framework, border monitoring and the signing of peace agreements). In particular the demand for security sector reforms has increased. While CSDP is moving forward and expanding its powers to use different tools of influence in operations and missions, there is a constant need to develop basic mechanisms of a civil crisis settlement⁷. Currently the EU carries out 11 civilian missions, including EUAM Ukraine, launched on July 22nd 2014.

⁶ Official website of the EU Delegation in Ukraine.

⁷ Shaping of a Common Security and Defense Policy 2016.

From the beginning of its activity in Ukraine, counselors and experts from the EU are focusing on supporting efforts to create updated security policies. They also contribute to the rapid implementation of reforms. This work takes place in coordination with other EU efforts, as well as with the OSCE and other international partners⁸. The European security crisis caused by Russia's aggressive actions against Ukraine and the unstable situation in the Middle East have made it clear that the EU needs a strong common foreign policy. The main challenge now is to spread peace and security beyond the borders of the European Union. In response to this challenge the EU is developing a common foreign and security policy to act as a force that can stand for stability, cooperation and understanding worldwide.

The EU has a wide range of «soft power» tools (including trade policy and development assistance), and therefore the responsibility of the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy should be to control and coordinate it. She/he must act in concert with the European Commissioner for trade, development and humanitarian aid and neighborhood policy. This will require extraordinary efforts of the High Representative, particularly within the College of Commissioners. To make this possible Jean-Claude Juncker authorized in 2014 the other members of the Commission to act as Deputy High Representative, both within the College and internationally. Speaking of the common security and defense policy, J.C. Juncker stressed that the EU remained mostly a «soft power» but that «even the strongest country of soft power cannot do without the integration of defense capabilities in the long term». The Treaty of Lisbon enables all interested Member States to combine their defensive potential as the permanent structured cooperation. This means that Member States who wish to contribute to the implementation of joint operations in crisis areas can do it if necessary⁹.

Violent conflicts have unacceptable consequences, measured in human suffering, destruction and wasted resources. In the 1990s seven bloody conflicts around the globe cost the international community €200 billion that could have been used for peaceful purposes. That is why the EU clearly decided to act more effectively, especially in the area of conflict prevention. EU uses a number of traditional tools, including technical and financial assistance for developing countries, economic cooperation and trade relations, humanitarian aid, social and environmental policy and diplomatic instruments such as political dialogue and mediation. To prevent potential conflicts EU also employs new measures foreseen under

⁸ Crisis management and Response 2016.

⁹ Juncker 2014: 10-11.

the European security policy and defense: information gathering and monitoring compliant with international agreements¹⁰.

The European Union strongly and gradually approaches influencing the problems of European and international security. Over the last decade, the EU managed to considerably develop its military component as an important link of CSDP. In particular, the creation and development of troops allowed the EU to take over peacekeeping operations on the European continent and beyond. The qualitative realization of potential in this area is considered to be a priority for further development of CSDP. That in turn puts forward to EU member states the following objectives: reaching a consensus in all aspects of the CSDP; new methodology of crisis management development and mastering; effective use of international cooperation; strengthening defense industry and military technologies. According to regional and functional criteria, optimal for the EU in a medium-run - in view of its strategic objectives and available instruments - is to consolidate the implementation of niche operations with civilian and military (low intensity) crisis management in Europe and the operations of civilian crisis management – worldwide.

Conclusion

We believe CSDP is an effective tool to strengthen the global role of the EU. A certain number of military and civilian missions, conflict resolutions, providing advice on various issues were successfully completed, but there is one important obstacle that gets in the way of EU domination and strengthening its position in the world. This is the lack of internal cohesion and consensus of all Member States on decisions in conflict resolution. The most glaring example is the war in Iraq in 2003. The EU was unable to develop a common position and its members were divided into two groups. France, Germany, Belgium and Luxembourg are the most active opponents of military solution to the Iraqi issue. In support of the US position advocated the UK, which later joined Italy and the Netherlands. Also the Russian-Ukrainian conflict became the «litmus test» for all member countries. For example, Poland and Lithuania have a consistent position of support for Ukraine, unlike France, Italy and Greece. Not all countries equally agreed to implement economic sanctions against Russia, indicating the lack of unity in the EU. In the future the leading driving force of CSDP must be the political will and readiness of EU institutions to make concessions towards each other and show will in actively participating in each foreign situation that intercrosses the Union`s interests as a complete political union, which has legal personality in the international relations¹¹.

¹⁰ A world player: The European Union's external relations 2004.

¹¹ Riaboshtan, E. V. 2012: 188-199

Therefore, main directions towards strengthening the role and importance of the EU security and defense policy are:

- establishing a system of rapid reaction in response to military threats, using new EU networks for defense cooperation;
- creating more synergy between member states in the field of defense procurement;
- forming permanent voluntary EU defense forces that will receive resources from those countries who want to join the EU defense policy.

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