

# The Need to Adapt the EU Security Strategy to the New Realities

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## Abstract

Current European Security Strategy was adopted in December 2003. It was drafted within the understanding of geopolitical situation and security threats existed especially after 9/11 events. During the period of more than thirteen years, numerous geopolitical changes took place due to the situation in Syria, Iraq, conflict in Ukraine, recent events in Europe including, migration of Syrian refugees, terrorist attacks in Belgium, France and Turkey. The changes in the international context should have significant consequences for the EU strategic security approach. In this paper, I will review main aspects of the EU Security Strategy, key challenges and the need for its revision, discuss EU Security Strategy and its relationship with Georgia as an example of collaboration with partner countries.

**Keywords:** EU, EU Security Strategy, Georgia, Security, EUMM

## Introduction

Since its establishment EU has been using various mechanisms to address security challenges. In 1991 Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) was introduced to respond to the security challenges such as collapse of the Soviet Union and creation of new states. CFSP set common procedures, however lacked strategic and proactive direction evidenced by conflict escalation in former Yugoslavia and difficulty to achieve common understanding and decision with regard to reactive measures outside of the EU. Recognizing the need to introduce systemic approach, in 2003 the EU adopted EU Security Strategy. The global aspect to the security approach was highlighted by the Strategy. In particular, it identified the issues the EU encounters while trying to be effectively engaged in the system of global security (Dover, 2013) and stressed importance of building regional security in the EU neighborhood. The Strategy pays significant attention to the security not only in the EU but in the neighboring countries to prevent creating new dividing lines as a result of enlargement. Examples of conflicts in the South Caucasus, Balkans and Israeli/Arab conflicts are presented in the Strategy. Recommendations are given to extend the benefits of economic and political cooperation to the EU neighbors in the East while tackling political problems there (EU, 2003). Strategy promotes collaboration arrangements with international organizations including World Trade Organization (WTO), international financial institutions, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), United Nations (UN) and regional organizations such as Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), MERCOSUR and the African Union (EU, 2003). The collaboration with the US and Russia are highlighted in the Strategy as well.

Due to the EU engagement in the process of peacekeeping mission in Afghanistan and conflict resolution in Georgia need to revise the strategy occurred. 2008 Report on the Implementation of the

European Security Strategy broadened security concept to include non-military security threats and attempted to address new reality (EU, 2008). Globalization process made threats more complex and interconnected. The information systems and energy supplies are more vulnerable. Global warming and environmental degradation become more obvious threat to the planet. Finally, global financial crisis affected significantly EU economies (EU, 2008). The security concept included security threats "... such as environmental scarcity and degradation, spread of disease, cross-border crimes, refugee movements, terrorism; and deepening, i.e., consideration of the security of individuals and groups rather than focusing narrowly on external threats to states, such as ethnic conflicts, civil war, environmental threats and survival of individuals" (Kalesnikas, 2012,p.3). The 2008 Report added piracy, cyber security, energy security and climate change to the list of security threats as compared to the 2003 version of the Strategy.

Even more since 2008 geopolitical threats in the region and globally continue to escalate due to the situation in Syria, Iraq, conflict in Ukraine and terrorist attacks in Europe. Under these circumstances, the EU is facing a challenge to rapidly react with the single voice and revised strategy. However, now with twenty eight member states as compared to fifteen governments in 2003, revision of the strategy becomes even more complicated due to different positions within the Union over strategic issues like transatlantic relations (Bendiek & Kaim, 2015).

The question one should answer, what the EU needs to take into account while revising the security strategy that supports effective and immediate response to its foreign security threats? And what major outlining principles should it encompass? So that there is a consensus and united approach among the EU member states in its implementation.

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## Main Aspects of the European Security Strategy (2003)

2003 European Security Strategy adopted after 9/11 events, calls for more active, more capable, more coherent actions and working partners (Bosilka, 2014). "...the Strategy sets forth EU's principles and modus operandi in addressing security matters: integration by acknowledging the multidimensional character of security and pursuing a comprehensive security agenda beyond the traditional politico-military dimension; global scope by acknowledging that global action is essential for achieving comprehensive security; "preventive engagement" which implies a proactive prevention of conflicts and instability in the attempt to tackle the root causes of emerging security challenges with a broader range of coordinated instruments and capabilities; and finally, institutionalized and rule-based multilateralism and cooperation with partners as a prerequisite for addressing global, comprehensive security threats and for legitimizing the use of coercive measures" (Bosilka, 2014,p.39).

The strategy highlighted the main threats such as terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, state failure and organized crime. These threats are complex, dynamic and most cases are not purely militaristic. The Strategy calls for using set of tools such as export controls and political, economic and other pressures to prevent proliferation. At the same time, terrorism may require a mixture of intelligence, police, judicial and military means. The Strategy highlights "the most recent wave of terrorism is global in its scope and is linked to violent religious extremism." (EU, 2003,p.3). In case of failed states, military instruments may be needed to restore order, humanitarian means to tackle the immediate crisis. Regional conflicts require political solutions but military assets and effective policing may be needed in the post conflict phase. Economic instruments serve reconstruction, and civilian crisis management helps restore civil government (EU, 2003).

Later, the biggest wave of the EU enlargement in 2004 and more EU involvement in the different peacekeeping operations etc. created the necessity for the determination of the new strategy within EU.

## Attempt to Revise the Strategy in 2008

2008 Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy, as an extension to 2003 Strategy, reiterated that it is important that countries abide by the fundamental principles of the UN Charter, OSCE principles and commitments in respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of states and the peaceful settlement of disputes. Also, the clear statement was made that threat or use of military force cannot be allowed to solve territorial issues (EU, 2008).

At the same time, the 2008 Report pays special attention to the one of the most important challenges for Europe related to the energy security. Declining energy production in Europe could cause import dependence up to 75% of the oil and gas by 2030. Even more, this limited production will come from few countries, many of which face threats to stability. The 2008 Report discusses energy security and need for greater diversification, of fuels, sources of supply, and transit routes. EU promotes engagement with Central Asia, the Caucasus and Africa, as well as through the Eastern Partnership and the Union for the Mediterranean to meet these objectives. Energy is one of the key factors in EU-Russia relations. The EU policy should address transit routes, including through Turkey and Ukraine. EU with its partners, including China, India, Japan and the US, should promote renewable energy, low-carbon technologies and energy efficiency, alongside transparent and well-regulated global markets (EU, 2008).

Along with the energy factor, one of the most important problem for the European security is connected with the existence of the conflicts and occupied territories near the EU borders. Due to it, in the document special attention was paid to the so-called "frozen

conflicts" in the EU eastern neighborhood. The situation in Georgia, concerning Abkhazia and South Ossetia escalated and led to an armed conflict between Russia and Georgia in August 2008. The EU played role of a mediator between the parties, and contributed humanitarian assistance, implement a civilian monitoring mission, and project substantial financial support. The EU engagement continued, with the EU leading role in the Geneva Process. This format creates convenient base for promoting the dialogue process between Georgia and Russia with active participation of EU, USA and other mediators in the conflict resolution process. (Anthony, Grand, & Lewis, 2015). With regard to the Transdnstrian conflict, EU actively participated in the 5+2 negotiation format, and the EU Border Assistance Mission (EU, 2008).

The 2008 report highlighted piracy as a new dimension of organized crime. While the world economy relies on sea routes for 90% of trade, piracy is a serious impediment to the trade. The piracy in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden also affected delivery of humanitarian aid to Somalia. The EU in response to piracy used maritime European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) mission, alongside countries affected and other international actors, including NATO (EU, 2008). The report initially intended to sum up the emergent transformations of the security environment and evaluate the progress made on the Strategy, does not provide concrete recommendations for change, nor any follow-up mechanisms, generally reflects an abandonment of great power aspirations and remains focused on the process rather than on the ends, thus largely constituting "a return to the status quo ante" (Bosilka, 2014, pp.39-40).

The events that were developed during and after 2008 which were interrelated with Russia-Georgia war, world economic crisis, Russia-Ukraine energy conflict in 2009, "Arab Spring", activation of the terrorists organization, so called Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, events in Ukraine in 2014-2016 and other geopolitical events created the necessity for the revised strategy and determination of the new tactics to adapt defense and security policy of the EU to the new realities.

## Strategy Revision: Main Challenges

There is a consensus among scholars and broader society that the Strategy should be revised to address global security issues and threats; it should primarily focus on substance instead of form or process. The suggestions for such a reassessment fell into one of the following three categories of solutions: 1) identifying and addressing implementation problems of the initial document; 2) revising the Strategy – which would imply updating EU's strategic goals and instruments in line with the current global context; or 3) reinventing it – specifically, drafting 'a grand strategy' with a more ambitious and broader approach towards Europe's role on the global stage (Bosilka, 2014).

The key challenges of current Strategy are failing to meet external pressures generated by the long-term trend of power shift from the West to the East, the unprecedented level of global interdependence and interconnectedness coupled with an increasing rivalry for economic and political influence, the complex mix of traditional and post-modern security threats, increased instability in Europe's southern and eastern neighborhood (Bosilka, 2014).

Some of the example challenges new (revised) Strategy needs to be addressed:

1) Consideration the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) inevitably raise the question about the level of cooperation between NATO and EU. Despite the fact that both organizations have 22 common member states, the EU and NATO continue to have difficulty building a more coordinated and cooperative working relationship. Many analysts consider, that EU and NATO need to work in a more independently to permit a more effective and efficient overall use of Euro-Atlantic military and civil resources.

2) Globalization has a significant impact on the implementation of the new EU Security Strategy. In this process, the perception of security is changing to address major threats and other challenges which have a direct impact on the lives, safety, and well-being of EU citizens. Besides, every Member State should evaluate the threats and dangers posed to its national security within the framework of EU security. Yet, it is not easy to separate the agenda of discussions on broadening of security from globalization of security. A part of the broadening of the concept of security can be and has been attributed to the effects of globalization. Arguments about the implications of globalization for security are devised into four groups: first - the detachment of security from territoriality; the second argument is security being increasingly structured into global networks; the third argument is the creation by globalization of a new security agenda, the fourth one mentions the diminished capacity of the state to provide security for its citizens (Kalesnikas, 2012). New Strategy needs to respond to these implications of globalization for security.

3) There is need to revisit the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP). It became clear that EU's plan of transforming its neighborhood into a "ring of well governed states" via a model derived from the EU enlargement process is far from meeting these ambitious goals. EU's response to the security crisis in its fragmented southern and eastern neighborhood was largely reactive and defensive (Bosilka, 2014). Access to the EU internal market has been described as a major leverage for the EU and continues to be a credible *de facto* type of conditionality. Visa liberalization belongs to the same category. In all conditionality situations, close coordination should take place with relevant international organizations in the same area (Lundin, 2012).

4) The events in Georgia in 2008 and Ukraine in 2014 have seriously affected EU-Russia relations. The deterioration of the relations between EU and Russia has caused the necessity for the introducing several amendments and determination of new priorities of the EU Defense and Security policy. (European Union) EU is Russia's biggest neighbor and among of the foreign-trade partners of Russia, EU takes the third place. The most important export product of Russia to the European market represents oil and gas. Looking forward, EU will need to address energy diversification issue and carefully assess risks and ways for relationship with Russia.

5) The new EU security strategy has to be leading guideline for the security strategy of the Member States in order to ensure coordinated and agreed actions with regard to its implementation (House of Lords, 2016). The security priorities that the Member States fully agree on should be put up front and tools to immediately react to these threats should be available. The prioritized security interests need to be selected based on the comprehensive analysis. (House of Lords, 2016).

6) It is viewed that the most direct threats to the Union will be coming from the instability and insecurity in the European neighborhood and its periphery. The Report produced by House of Lords recommends that the new strategy pays significant attention to the security policy in the wider neighborhood including Turkey and Russia. (House of Lords, 2016).

7) To ensure meeting its foreign policy objective, the EU security strategy "must also rebalance towards a more pragmatic promotion of values outside the Union" (House of Lords, 2016, p. 3). The strategy should foresee EU support in conducting reforms that promote democracy and governance, better business enabling environment and independent judiciary within neighboring countries, thus supporting EU's security and at the same time, securing political and economic rights of the citizens of those countries (House of Lords, 2016).

Recent discussions over the EU strategic security priorities within EU led to the specific action items. As a result, in 2015 six component of external actions were named: "a) stronger engagement in the Balkans and towards Turkey; b) preserving and developing the European post-war order; c) crises in North Africa and the Middle East; d) relations with Africa; e) the transatlantic partnership and EU-NATO relations; and f) improving cooperation with Asia and

an associated renewal of the system of multilateral institutions" (Bendiek & Kaim, 2015, p. 2). As the next steps, these actions need to be analyzed, prioritized based on regional importance and degree of emergency and accordingly transatlantic security relations have to be redefined (Bendiek & Kaim, 2015). The EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Federica Mogherini was tasked by the EU leaders to draft an EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy to be presented to them in June, 2016 and to be released for broader public review and feedback. (European Union Global Strategy)

## EU Security Strategy and Georgia

Georgia's step by step integration into the European structures can be considered as a one of the main guarantee of the further socio-economic development of the country and strengthening the national independence.

As it is known, on June 27, 2014 Georgia signed the Association Agreement with EU. This document includes more than 1000 articles, which considers many fields of cooperation between two sides including defense and security. (European Union)

During the discussion about the EU engagement in the conflict resolution process, the increasing the peacekeeping potential and experience of this organization should be taken into consideration. One of the clear examples is an active participation of the European Union Monitoring Mission (EUMM) in Georgia (since October 2008).

The main purpose of the EUMM in Georgia represents the monitoring EU-mediated Six Point Agreement which stopped the military operations in 2008 Georgia-Russia Conflict.

The priorities of the EUMM mission are:

- to ensure that there is no return to hostilities;
- to provide the life safety for the local communities residing on both sides of the Administrative Boundary Lines (ABL) with Abkhazia and former South Ossetia autonomous district;
- to promote the confidence building among the conflict parties;
- to inform EU policy in Georgia and the wider region.

About 200 EU Monitors –representatives of the different member states have been patrolling day and night, mostly in the areas near the occupied territories of Georgia - Abkhazia and former South Ossetia Autonomous District. The Headquarters is in Tbilisi and Field Offices are located in Gori, Mtskheta and Zugdidi.

Despite the fact, that EUMM mandate is valid throughout all of Georgia, *de facto* authorities of Abkhazia and South Ossetia encouraged by Russia have so far denied the functioning the Mission on the occupied territories of Georgia. (European Union, 2008)

## Conclusion

The new (revised) EU security strategy in the current geopolitical reality should meet the following requirements. First, the prioritization of the EU security interests, based on the level of threat and a consensus around it, along with agreed tools to be used, should be clearly set in the strategy. This will allow Member States to react unanimously in case a prioritized security area is challenged.

The priority areas could cover cyber threats, piracy, terrorism and peacekeeping in the EU neighborhood. Secondly, the strategy should include more detailed action items towards conflict resolution in the EU neighborhood. These action items could include, for example in case of Georgia, defining the ways to ensure that EUMM accessing conflict territories. Thirdly, the strategy should promote transposition of EU values in partner countries through the democracy and economic reforms. Fourth, the strategy should bring multilateral arrangements to the new footing in order to respond to the prioritized security interests, for instance, in case of peacekeeping the EU neighborhood, EU and NATO should act in more coordinated and effective way. Fifth, taking into consideration active participation of the EU in the peacekeeping and peace building and antiterrorist operations in the different regions of the world, particularly, in Bosnia and Macedonia, Georgia, Moldova (Europe) and Congo, Central African Republic and Mali (Africa) and limited resources of the UN – as main responsible institution for the peacekeeping operations at the universal level, the role of the EU as a global actor related to the defense and security should be increased. Thus, it will create more convenient base for the resolving different types of conflicts in the different regions of the world.

At the same time, the Strategy should establish effective mechanism for altering and modifying the Strategy as need for the change occurs.

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