

European Integration and Its Impact on the Security Sector of the Applicant States

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The next enlargement of the EU with new Member States have an enormous impact on these countries as well as on the EU. The basic conditions for Applicant States in effect means two things: being a functioning constitutional state with a competitive market economy. These first two criteria are not negotiable. Enlargement have an impact on the security sector of Applicant States and relations between European security organizations. The new realities and changing character of the NATO and OSCE will redefine the relations between European security organizations and EU Security and Defense policy (ESDP) will look different after the enlargement.

Key words: EU enlargement, ESDP, European security, European defense, Applicant States

1. Introduction

The next enlargement of the EU with new Member States - probably the most important political event in Europe since the creation of the common market-will have an enormous impact on these countries as well as on the EU.

Negotiations for the accession are currently at a crucial stage. The basic conditions for the Applicant States are at the moment the so-called Copenhagen criteria. In effect this means basically two things: being a functioning constitutional state with a competitive market economy.

Furthermore the Applicant States are required to adopt and implement the *acquis communautaire* (a complete set of common regulations and norms). The first two criteria (constitutional state and competing market economy) are non negotiable.

However, a little public attention is paid to the security sector or to security policy issues. This reflects the fact that the political elite of Applicant States, in its majority, is not completely aware of all the implications of European integration. Asking the question about it to Applicant States, one might get the answer that these issues are taken care of in the context of NATO membership. After all, many of the Applicant States, the NATO members already, have invested and are still investing a lot in the restructuring and standardization of their armed forces.

Summarizing the public perception in one sentence, the EU membership is about socio-economic restructuring (agriculture, integration of the "acquis communautaire") while the security sector is NATO's business.

This is definitely wrong: enlargement does - and rightly so - have an impact on the security sector of Applicant States - in the broad sense of the word, the impact beyond military forces *stricto sensu*, i.e. including soft security. It will also have an impact

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on Europe's security architecture because the new realities and changing character of the NATO and OSCE, NATO in particular, will redefine the relations between European security organizations. Last, but not least, the EU Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) will most probably look quite different after the enlargement.

Let us look briefly at broad implications of the EU membership in terms of security policy and then address some concrete examples illustrating how the security sector is involved within the Applicant States.

2. The impact of enlargement on the security sector

First, the enlargement of the EU may be considered as a part of a movement and strong felt aspirations towards stable economic and democratic relations in Europe. In fact, it offers the EU Member States a historical opportunity to share common values of peace, security, solidarity and sustainability, respect for human rights and social market economies with former communist countries in Eastern and Central Europe. We should not forget that the EU has developed into a community where fundamental values and norms are shared and the member states have committed themselves to ensure full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, to abide by the rule of law, to promote the principles of democracy, and, in this regard, to build, strengthen and protect democratic institutions as well as to promote tolerance throughout Europe.

Therefore, although today much attention is paid to the ongoing negotiations concerning agricultural reforms and the distribution of the EU structural funds, there is more to it and special interest should be taken in political criteria, respect for human rights in particular, treatment of national minorities, the rule of law, anti-corruption, fighting organized crime, independence of the judiciary as well as civil service and any other aspect related to good governance.

The impact of enlargement on the security sector must therefore be understood in the broad and comprehensive sense. We will elaborate on this below.

Secondly, it is more important to ensure that the enlargement is also a sustainable success than to finalize the negotiations for accession. The process of accession definitely does not end with the signing of the treaty. After the accession, additional efforts and steps have to be taken by the individual states, with monitoring and support from the European

Commission. Further strengthening of good governance and the rule of law in the Applicant States as well as continued economic reforms will be necessary.

This ongoing process will affect all state structures, having in some cases an accelerating effect on structural adaptation. (Today, membership is already one of the major incentives for legislative reform in the Applicants States). The security sector will of course be included, from border guards to all law enforcement bodies and security forces, those responsible for national security in particular, which in some cases will have to "shake off" what is left of old communist habits and mentalities.

The impact of enlargement on the security sector will therefore continue well beyond the date of membership.

Thirdly, another question is what the impact of European integration will be on the security policy of the Applicant States. In order to answer that question we have to investigate the EU's security concept. Given the fact that the European Security and Defence Policy is still evolving, it is difficult at this time to have a final assessment of this concept, which is very much work in progress. However, what we may at least say is that practically and politically, in the mind of the governments of most Applicant States it is still tightly linked to NATO. Its goal is mainly military security, disarmament, crisis management and conflict prevention through cooperation between member states and through confidence building measures. However, recent developments and new threats to security and stability (terrorism, organised crime, trafficking of drugs and human beings, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, uncontrolled spread of small arms, inter-ethnic conflicts), as well as growing perception that NATO's character is changing, have emphasized the need for an coherent European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). Such ESDP will definitely need its own independent assets and capabilities to ensure the credibility of its military aspects. But all would agree that using military power is not the only option anymore. Within the EU more and more attention is given to the development of civilian resources and capabilities in the field of conflict prevention.

In any case, after the enlargement the ESDP will differ from today. Obviously, security perceptions of the new member states will have to be taken into consideration and NATO is certainly not going to provide all the answers. Not only will the ESDP have to evolve, but the European institutional architecture in the security field will also have to adapt to the new realities. Here again, it may be too early to know precisely what the future of NATO or OSCE

will look like after the enlargement, but it is already clear today that, for instance, the "added value" of the OSCE for its Central and Eastern European members has substantially decreased and will decrease further once they are EU members. As for NATO, it is already changing from a purely defensive military alliance to a crisis management outfit.

3. The EU security concept is evolving

The EU security concept is certainly evolving today from a rather narrow one containing mainly a politico - military dimension to something more comprehensive, such as the one advocated by the OSCE, which is broad and comprehensive. The OSCE concept of comprehensive security links military, economic and human dimension together as all equally relevant for peace and stability. Security and respect for human rights are closely linked. Long-term stability and security, economic development and building democratic institutions guaranteeing fundamental freedoms and respect for human rights are interconnected and interdependent.

Such an approach is well illustrated by the political and social changes that followed the end of the Cold War in Europe, which have shown clearly that respect for human rights, functioning democratic institutions and the rule of law are key preconditions for stability as well as both internal and external security. (Had fundamental rights and freedoms, in particular with regards to minorities been better respected in the Balkans, in particular in Kosovo, military confrontation would largely have been avoided). It is a multidimensional approach. There is no hierarchy among these principles and no government may claim they have to establish political or economic security before addressing human rights and democracy.

This comprehensive approach is not irrelevant when addressing the issue of the EU membership and its impact on the security sector.

Today, many leaders and intellectual circles of Applicant States advocate European integration as the ultimate goal. For some, the motivation may be linked to the status symbol of the European Union membership and the immediate economic benefits they expect to gain from it. For others, NATO is the answer and the ESDP should not jeopardize it. This reflects a lack of understanding for the changing role of NATO and for the complexity and finality of the EU. However, integration in the EU does not mean only adjusting to the EU structures and socio-economic objectives, but also strong commit-

ments towards a comprehensive security policy, going beyond the strict politico-military concept. Therefore, beside the need to create independent military capability through the European Capacity Action Plan (ECAP), the EU member states will not accept to run the risk, that through the enlargement process, security standards would be eroded and that new elements of instability and unpredictability would be introduced.

In other words, the EU has no interest in turning some national issues of Applicant States today into the EU problems of tomorrow. Hence the importance attached to the issues such as minorities, Roma and Sinti, trafficking in human beings or smuggling of illegal migrants, to name a few. These issues precisely fit the concept of comprehensive security, as advocated by the OSCE. **For the security sector of the Applicants States, the EU membership does not mean only understanding of this concept, but making it one's own as well.**

Finally, let me give some concrete examples of how the EU membership will influence the security sector of the Applicant States.

4. Internal security in an "open" Europe and new security threats

Many Applicant States will constitute new external EU borders. This will have particularly serious consequences and new requirements for border guards, security forces, police and other law enforcement authorities, which will have to switch from a national to a European "mode". The main challenges are:

- *Implementation of the Schengen regime*

The migration problem and the integration of many foreigners and displaced persons entering Europe requests an European harmonization of the asylum, visa and migration procedures and integration of this topic in the relations between the EU and other countries.

Schengen will lose all credibility if the controls at the external borders are not efficient. Therefore, border guards have to be adequately equipped, restructured and trained accordingly. Inter-European cooperation and coordination is becoming essential. An important effort has already started in view of achieving this in countries such as Poland.

- *Preventing and combating trafficking in drugs and human beings, fighting against organized crime and corruption.*

These issues are more and more considered as new threats to international security since the transnational crime infrastructure is also favourable to terrorism. The risks involved in increasingly sophisticated criminal networks and their links with political extremism have been well known to security experts as an unwelcome development of the last decade since the fall of the iron curtain. The 9/11 attack on the US, however, has pushed it on the top of the agenda. International cooperation and corruption-free border guards and security forces are a precondition for a successful addressing of this challenge. Even though Applicant States are aware of this, unfortunately high levels of corruption within the security forces still exist, from border guards to police, while numerous criminal organisations in transition countries are more powerful than ever.

- *Civilian control*

Security and armed forces (police, border guards, militia and generally speaking all law enforcement bodies plus the military) have to be under civilian control. Parliaments have to further develop control mechanisms, wherever necessary, in order to ensure that the behaviour of security forces is fully in line with international human rights standards, while the professionalism and efficiency of these forces also need further development. These two conditions are not contradictory.

A part of the solution lies in training (which is already taking place), and the other will be to offer attractive salaries and professional conditions to deter corruption. An efficient internal oversight of the security and armed forces is also needed to ensure accountability and make sure that incorrect behaviour will not benefit from impunity.

- *Integration of multicultural values*

In order to become fully Euro-compatible the security sector of Applicant States will also need to integrate minorities in its ranks, either national, linguistic or ethnic, to create security forces fully reflecting the reality of a democratic civil society. This process, of course, can only happen simultaneously with integration of minorities at the state level. Any sensible security policy will consider the minority factor as key to long-term internal stability and security. Persisting roots of aggressive nationalism, racism, xenophobia, chauvinism and anti-Semitism are to be eradicated from the security sector where it has not been done yet.

5. A question of political culture?

All the above-mentioned elements are essential for the creation of a democratic, Euro-compatible security sector. All Applicant States have started to address these issues with different degrees of success but the overall compelling factor that should guide them in these efforts is the priority of the rule of law, which is closely interconnected with the independence of the judiciary. The law enforcement agencies, from those dealing with national security issues to the regular police, have to operate in an environment characterised by the primacy of law. This concept still has to be fully digested at the grass root level in many former communist countries. Judicial and legislative reforms have been initiated in view of achieving this so that today the main problem lies in their implementation.

6. Conclusion

Certainly, the ambition of this paper is not to answer all questions related to the security sector exhaustively but to emphasize the following:

If, eventually, the enlarged EU is going to be more than an economic entity, its security sector will have to play an essential role. NATO is therefore not the only answer for Applicant States, in particular as its nature is changing, but the ESDP will develop into a key element of European integration. They have to accept that there is more to enlargement than successful negotiations on the *acquis communautaire* and that the process of integration will continue well beyond membership. Last but not least, the EU defence and security policy needs to be comprehensive and include many aspects, which are not strictly military but, in a way, reflect the new realities of threat and integrate European culture and values. At this point in time, there is still some way to go before such a perception is completely shared and understood by all Applicants. Therefore time is essential while education and training of the next generation are of great importance. ■