The EU's New Security Strategy and the Balkans

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Conflicts in the Balkans in 1990s revealed very clearly weaknesses of Europe in the security sphere; Europeans couldn't solve the armed conflicts even inside their own continent, it was necessary to ask assistance from the United Nations or NATO, as well as the military forces offered by the United States in order to stop the aggression and conclude peaceful agreements among the warring parties. It was disappointing that the EU itself was not able to intervene in the Balkan affairs.

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1. Introduction

The Balkan experiences led the Europeans to believe that they should obtain a stronger diplomatic and security power since Europe has become much institutionalized than in 1990s. In such a Europe they seek to establish a power proper to the European Union. The concept of human security has been taken as fundamental for the newly elaborated strategy; here civil power has a more important role than the military one, making clear the originality of Europe's own power as compared to the America's.

What is the Balkans' place in this new strategy?

2. The European Security Strategy

In the 1990s, European power in field of security was insufficient both politically and militarily, and its status at the global level was obviously low

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as the Balkan conflicts emerged. On the other hand, in a discussion on how to overcome that poor state of the European security power it was said: "[T]here has always been a tension in the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) as well as the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) between a human or global security concept and a state security concept"[1]. This is a backbone of the political decision to set up a pillar of the EU's common security strategy clearly indicating Europe's own role and activities in this field.

After the Iraqi War of March 2003, the European Union rapidly prepared its new security strategy and Javier Solana, the High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, in December 2003 presented the new European Security Strategy "A Secure Europe in a Better World," the so-called "Solana Paper."

In the introduction of this Strategy document, the EU recognizes that "the United States has played a critical role in European integration and European security, in particular through NATO. The end of the

Cold War has left the US in a dominant position as a military actor." But on the other hand, "Europe still faces security threats and challenges. The outbreak of conflict in the Balkans was a reminder that war has not disappeared [from Europe]"[2]. And calling to mind that the EU is "a union of 25 states with over 450 million people producing a quarter of the world's Gross National Product (GNP)," the Strategy declares "Europe should be ready to share in the responsibility for global security and in building a better world."[3] Here we can understand that the European Union has made a firm decision to be actively engaged in security matters establishing a closer partnership or a better role sharing with the US around the world, and within Europe as well.

New threats to Europe are indicated in the first part. They are terrorism, proliferation of WMD (Weapons of Mass Destruction), regional conflicts, state failure, organized crime. "Taking these different elements together, (...) [Europe] could be confronted with a very radical threat indeed."[4]

Thus in order to overcome these new threats the new Strategy in the second part of the document underlines three objectives. The first one is conflict prevention and threat prevention. The second objective is building security in its neighbourhood. Here the Eastern area of the EU, countries on the borders of the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and the Balkans are referred to as "neighbourhood". For the Balkans, the Strategy says that "[t]hrough our concerted efforts with the US, Russia, NATO and other international partners, the stability of the region is no longer threatened by the outbreak of a major conflict. *The credibility of our foreign policy depends on the consolidation of our achievements there.*"[5]

Finally, the third objective is to make use of an effective multilateral system and to build an international order by law, within the framework of the United Nations Charter. This is closely related to the former objectives.

3. Human Security Doctrine for Europe

Based on the new Security Strategy of 2003, a more detailed policy proposal document is prepared in the EU focused on the human security concept, gathering many specialists to research and elaborate it. It is "A Human Security Doctrine for Europe: The Barcelona Report of the Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities," presented by this specialist group on September 15, 2004. The next day, Javier Solana welcomed the Doctrine and commented as follows:

"Experience has shown that a military response is not enough to deal with the new threats and challenges faced by the international community. The European Union's crisis management policy and operations have always taken into account the complementarity of civilian and military means. Our missions in the Western Balkans, in the Great Lakes and in the South-Caucasus illustrate this convincingly."[6]

The Doctrine explained why Europe should attach importance to human security in its security strategy and what principles should be followed. According to the document, Europe should adopt a human security concept for three reasons[7]. First, it is based on morality, as human beings have a right to live with dignity and security, which must be protected and maintained by each other.

Second, a legal reason. Human security is recognized as a narrower variant of protection of human rights, which is considered as obligatory for the states and codified in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as in the European treaties at regional level.

The third reason is the case of 'enlightened self interest'. Europe has to be aware of the threat to its internal security coming from outside, such as breakdown of failing states, ethnic or religious conflicts, enforcement of terrorist networks. Namely "[t]he whole point of a human security approach is that Europeans cannot be secure while others in the world live in severe insecurity,"[8] and Europeans must recognize this point of view. Political and social interdependence has increased as well as penetrability of state frontiers against what happens outside of them.

What are the principles necessary to enforce human security? The Doctrine stresses seven points[9]:
1. The primacy of human rights
2. Clear political authority
3. Multilateralism
4. Bottom-up approach
5. Regional focus
6. Use of legal instruments
7. Appropriate use of force

Human security is considered to be more important than traditional national security, in subject, object, enemy, and method. In human security, there are people and/or state as subject, people as object, violence and poverty as enemy, and civil assistance as main method. In the national security, in turn, there are state, state (or nation), other states; and military force. The seven points that the Doctrine underlines suit to this kind of characteristics of human security as compared to national security.

Learning from the Balkan conflicts in 1990s the seven principles are exactly what Europe should have done in those cases. The EU today adopts them when dealing with the Western Balkan countries that may join the Union in the future[10].

4. The Balkans and the New Strategy of the EU

Based on the new Security Strategy with a human security Doctrine as the EU's principle of action, we will consider the situation of the Balkans within the European security policy in a broader sense, reflecting on perspectives of history and political system in Europe.

The European Union seeks greater power in economic, political, and security sense, making its presence felt in global politics and maintaining stability around the world. Stability is indispensable, both in European neighbourhood and in Europe itself. This logic reveals great importance of the Balkans. A human security strategy is not confined by territory; if the world outside Europe were unstable, Europe could not be safe. So needless to say, the Balkans, geopolitically situated within the EU, must be stable.

4.1. Ethnic Conflict and European Stability

Upon the entrance of Romania, Bulgaria and Croatia into the EU (in 2007 or later), the Western Balkans will produce a political power vacuum in the EU area. Thus, from the geopolitical point of view, they are very important for the European stability. However, political tension in the region will remain, for example, Serbia and Kosovo.

According to Mary Kaldor, the Balkan conflicts were "new wars", different from the "old wars" which occurred among sovereign states. In her opinion, the new wars "can be contrasted with earlier

wars in terms of their goals, the methods of warfare and how they are financed"[11].

First, "[t]he goal of the new wars are about identity politics in contrast to the geo-political or ideological goals of earlier wars"[12]. Second, the new wars strategically aim at "population expulsion through various means such as mass killing, forcible resettlement, as well as a range of political, psychological and economic techniques of intimidation". About organization of unit of fight, "[i]n contrast to the vertically organized hierarchical units that were typical of 'old wars', the units that fight [new] wars include a disparate range of different types of groups such as paramilitary units, local warlords, criminal gangs, police forces, mercenary groups and also regular armies including breakaway units of regular armies". Contemporary communication tools are used to accommodate and cooperate among these various groups[13]. And the third characteristic of the new wars, which can be contrasted with that in the earlier wars, is "the new 'globalized' war economy". "The new globalized war economies are decentralized" and "heavily dependent on external resources"[14].

It is just the New Security Strategy of the European Union that was elaborated being kept in mind the useful countermeasures against this kind of new wars, typically developed in the Balkan wars in 1990s. So, the occurrences of new conflicts in the Balkans and terrible situations produced fundamentally shake effectiveness of the new Strategy and might mean a breakdown of the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU.

4.2. Cleavage between the West and the Orthodox[15]

In the Balkans we find coexistence of the West and the Orthodox. However, it may be cleavage between them rather than coexistence. After the conflicts in 1990s, a peaceful situation has been created with the assistance from the EU, the Council of Europe and the OSCE by building of international regimes or norms, such as the Pact on Stability in Europe of 1995[16] and the Stability Pact for the South Eastern Europe of 1999[17], which require symbiosis and respect for other ethnic groups in a common state.

But it is also true that ethnic diversity is inherited in the Balkans within the greater framework of the division between the West and the Orthodox. The possibility of internal friction between them will

remain. In the external relations, from Russian point of view, as parts of the Orthodox join the European Union and the Ukraine intensifies its eagerness to enter the Union, the relationship between the Ukraine and Russia must become strained. We can foresee, then, that the Euro-Russia relations will also become tense[18].

4.3. Nation-State and Region

If a state wants to enter the European Union, it is required to meet the criteria of "Copenhagen standard", i.e., political and economic stability in many ways as a sovereign state. However, after joining the Union, various kinds of transnational cooperation especially in economic or socio-cultural domains are needed rather than unity and rigidity of a sovereign state. These forms of cooperation consist of elements which relativise integrity of a nation-state.

Here we can see a fundamental contradiction within the European integration. It may be possible to understand that the EU has been empowered by maintaining the balance between state integrity and its negation. Thus, the EU asks the Western Balkan countries as potential member states to clear the criteria at a very high level because strong stable states could leave big problems to all of them since they cope with multi-ethnic situations[19].

After a state enters the EU, subnational ethnic groups in the country as ethno-regions can make their presence felt in the political field. Moreover, there is an obvious trend that subnational actors have bigger influence upon the member states of the EU and the Union itself.

Human security which is the pillar of the new Strategy considers individuals and also communities as important thus offering each person a basis of daily life[20]. It is quite possible that communities coincide with ethnicities and "after" joining the EU this situation would positively reflect in fitting into the Union's reality. However, to proceed with the Strategy that respects ethnic communities "before" the entrance, could mean a risk of creating an obstacle for the Western Balkans to join the EU.

5. Conclusion

In this new European Security Strategy that has been improved in the Security Doctrine, the Balkans have a prominent place. They are a turning point of European common security strategy, have meaning as an objective of stability and peaceful coexistence, and also symbolize the European unity in security sphere. This is a big challenge to Europe, which has to go ahead beyond the internal cultural (i.e., ethnic and/or religious) cleavages and to manage delicate political balance in various aspects.

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NOTES

1 Marlies Glasius and Mary Kaldor, "A Human Security Vision for Europe and Beyond," in Glasius and Kaldor, eds., A Human Security Doctrine for Europe: Project, Principles, Practicalities, Routledge, 2006, p. 16.
2 A Secure Europe in a Better World: European Security Strategy, Brussels, 12 December 2003, p. 1.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., p. 5.
5 Ibid., p. 8. Emphasis added by the author.
6 "Javier Solana, EU High Representative for the CFSP, responds to report by Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities," Brussels, 16 September 2004, S0239/04.
7 A Human Security Doctrine for Europe: The Barcelona Report of the Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities, September 2004, p. 5.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid., pp. 10-16.
10 Having in mind that the Western Balkans will join the EU, the European Council (EU summit) has declared and affirmed: "The future of the Western Balkans is within the EU. Strong political will and sustained efforts are required to secure it. The European Union pledges full support to the endeavours of the countries to consolidate democracy, stability and to promote economic development " (Presidency Conclusions, Brussels European Council, 20 and 21 March 2003 (DOC 03/2)); "The European Council (...) reiterated its determination to fully and effec-

tively support the European perspective of the Western Balkan countries, which will become an integral part of the EU, once they meet the established criteria." (Presidency Conclusions Thessaloniki European Council, 19 and 20 June 2003).
11 Mary Kaldor, New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era, Stanford University Press, 2001 (1999), p. 6.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid., p. 8.
14 Ibid., p. 9.
15 I owe this point of view to a discussion with professor Krasina Olga (Moscow State Pedagogical University, then Visiting Scholar at Kobe University) at Kobe, July 2006.
16 Jennifer Jackson Preece, National Minorities and the European Nation-States System, Clarendon Press, 1998, pp. 50-51.
17 See the website of the Pact, http://www.stabilitypact.org/
18 It should be noted that the Ukraine and other neighbouring ex-Soviet Union countries are not treated as potential members of the EU in its European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), which reinforces the European Security Strategy of 2003. European Neighbourhood Policy, Strategy Paper, Brussels, COM (2004) 373 final, 12 May 2004.
19 Cf. Jean-François Drevet, L'élargissement de l'Union européenne, jusqu'où? L'Harmattan, Paris, 2001, p. 250.
20 Commission on Human Security, Human Security Now, New York, 2003. But the importance of communities stressed in this UN report would not be generally understood understood.