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Security Policy Challenges for the New Europe

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Abstract

This paper deals with the threats Europe faces in the 21. Century in the light of the EU accession process of East-Central European states. Several analyses are made, the migration and demographic policy has a centre-stage in the discussion. The following directions are suggested (1) The European Union should support regional development and co-operation among states within and outside the alliance. Wars are per se the worst political means and should be avoided. (2) The EU should invest in regions of instability at the peripheries of 'Old Europe' prior to the outbreak of hostilities in order to avoid migration pressure and military intervention. Transborder regionalisation should be developed and supported parallel to the ongoing process of globalisation. (3) Russia should be considered an important partner, whose western territory should be drawn into the stabilisation process. The New Europe is developing out of the core area of today's EU and will cautiously, step by step include neighbouring states. Integrity and internal cohesion are more important than rapid enlargement. The process of stabilising border regions should lead the way and cover the geopolitical flanks. Only a prosperous, united European Union (respectively European Federation) can support stability and security for all Europe in the long term.

Keywords: political geography, The New Europe, migration policy, security policy.

The New Europe: an Ongoing Discussion

The answer to the question which countries should make up the future of the »New Europe« and how this enlarged community of states should keep functioning is presently being discussed in 'Old Europe' by Joschka Fischer, the German foreign minister. He made his »contribution to a discussion long begun in the public arena about the 'finality' of European integration« in May 2000. (1)

There is no generally accepted definition regarding the size and of the constitution of this 'New Europe'. It is much easier to say that the 'New Europe' is not the Europe of the »77 years World War« - which started in August 1914 and ended in December 1991 with the collapse of the Soviet empire. Neither is it the Europe of the period prior to this succession of hot and cold world wars.

Elements from both ages still exist in the 'New Europe' e. g. nation states and nationalism, capitalism and market economy, which are political. Although hegemonic wars are outlawed in general, regional wars could not yet be eliminated from European soil.

The vision of the 'New Europe' is based on the concepts of democracy, market economy and the rule of law as well as on the political will to secure peace in Europe.

Security and Stability

Security and stability have become the core terms of this European peace obligation and which has been derived from Europe's own history. In this context the message of Jean Monnet should be remembered who predicted a better Europe already in World War II. However, this development started in Western Europe after the Second World War. It grew stronger during the Cold War and got a firm footing in Eastern Europe after the implosion of the Soviet-Russian imperialism.

Welfare, progress and security are the three classical responsibilities of each human community. However, security is an amorphous term; each individual comprehends security differently. Nevertheless, in general, security implies the protection of citizens from domestic and foreign dangers. Security and stability are often seen to be synonymous, but they are not identical. Dynamic Stability is the precondition for security. Today our understanding of

security policy is broader. It has moved beyond the classic dimensions of diplomacy and defence to include commerce and finance, social modernisation and domestic safety, protection against international crime and environmental dangers. Obtaining the right policy mix across this broad spectrum of concern has become more complicated.

Risk and Dangers

This comprehensive concept of security has to be understood as the West European reaction to a new and broad spectrum of risks and dangers. It goes far beyond the *military-nuclear threat of the times of the Cold War*. It includes:

- military potential in Russia, political instabilities in Russia and East and South Eastern Europe and in the European periphery (Caucasus, Turkey, Cyprus, North Africa),
- world-wide proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and missile technology, terrorism and international organised crime,
- technological dependence and threats to free international trade.

Some other risks have to be added: scarcity of resources, natural disasters, environmental damage, underdevelopment, religious fundamentalism. The common denominator of these risks is that they all potentially are leading to mass migration. This risk factor has particular attention in the states of the European Union. Additionally, it must be pointed out that security means prevention, which is solidly anchored in Europe's new conception of security policy. The term 'prevention' means that the causes of crises at the periphery of Europe should be addressed at their source. The so-called 'culture of prevention' becomes more and more important, at least in those ministries involved in security policy and their diplomatic, military and police tools. (2)

Refugees and Mass Migration

A whole spectrum of risks to security and stability have been mentioned, most which resulted from mass migrations. Geography always dealt with the issues of migration and population development.(3) Other risks and dangers like drugs and international organised crime, trade with and irresponsible use of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism and rogue states are left.

Mass migrations are an integrative part of the history of mankind. Originating in Africa we migrated over the whole world. Meanwhile the globe has become a limited living space, there are no more uninhabited and fertile regions. The absolute figure of the migration potential is much higher than the willingness of target states to accept migrants. Mass migrations are believed to threaten stability if they occur and reach Europe. Economic, social and political problems can be the result of uncontrolled mass migrations. Europeans have conquered the world, but now they could be overtaken by their own history.

»The affluent north and west can try to screen themselves off in security-made fortresses, but the flocks of refugees will catch up with them: no gate can withstand the crush of the hungry. The future will have something to say about all this.« (4) This description of one of the European nightmares in the context of security was given by the German poet Günter Grass at the occasion of his Stockholm Nobel Prize speech in December 1999. It may be called unbalanced and unpopular, however, it does express a widespread uneasy feeling.

A second quotation is taken from the introduction of a series on »The World in the 21st Century« in the German periodical 'Der Spiegel' published in April 2000. According to this text today's immigrants form »just the vanguard of a mass stream which will rise in accordance with the darkening of the global development perspectives«. The industrial countries, will they and can they shield from the onset of the poor? Is it recommendable to stop the threat of migrations of nations by military intervention as done in Kosovo? Or would it be better to slow the migration pressure by the means of generous investments at the place of origin?» (5)

This quotation was chosen because the right questions are stated:

- Will and can Europe shield itself from the onset of the poor?
- Will Europe stop the threat of migrations of nations through military intervention?
- Will Europe slow the migration pressure by the means of investments at the place of origin, i.e., by (financial) prevention?

The European Population Development

Before trying to find answers to this type of European risk perception the demographic background of potential refugee streams should be analysed.

European demographic trends correspond with those in the other industrial countries in America, Asia and Oceania. The population development of most industrial countries is determined by: a low number of children, growing percentages of old people, international immigration. Former European population growth has turned into its opposite: the population stagnation is changing in some states into population reduction.

During 1992-2025 the accumulated reduction and stagnation and growth of the population will not exceed 10 % in the combined territories of the European Union (EU), European Free Trade Association (EFTA), Central Europe, South Eastern Europe, Russia, Belorussia and Ukraine.

Since the 1970s the minimal reproduction (fertility) rate of 2.1 children per woman - which is necessary to stabilise the population - was not reached in the industrial countries. Additionally, the mortality rate is still increasing. The average life expectancy is 80 years for women and 70 years for men. Immigration gains only are the reason for a slight growth of the population in some European countries.

The fertility rate is below 2 in all industrial countries. Only the successor states in the former Soviet Union seem to be an exception from this general trend. The reasons for this deviation are based on the religious-social population structure.

The procreative behaviour of the Baltic population groups (Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians) and of the Slavic population groups (Russians, Belorussians, Ukrainians) corresponds to the other European countries. However, the population development is significantly different in Albania, Kosovo and in the Caucasus and Central-Asian Islamic successor states (Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan). Their excess of births approximates to 3 %. (6)

To sum up: Stagnation as well as reduction are typical for the population development in Western, Central and Eastern Europe (including the Slavic population of the Russian

Federation). Future ageing and population reduction will be the result of this process if increasing immigration does not occur.

World Population Development

The dynamic development of world population has not stopped. Three billion people in 1960 have increased to 6 billion now. The last decade was char-

acterised by the highest population growth in the history of mankind in absolute figures: the world population grew by 95 million per year. The yearly growth rate in absolute figures has started to decline slowly – however, for about 50 years we are (probably) still going to have world-wide population growth. About 50 % of today's world population are younger than 25 years.

Therefore, the UN takes no risk in predicting 8-9 billion people for 2025. The stabilisation of the world population in 2050, at a level of 10 billion, seems to be possible. The population stagnation of the industrial countries (North America, Europe, Russia and the USSR-successor states, Japan, New Zealand, Australia) is embedded in global population growth which is taking place at the rate of 95 % in the developing countries: in 1960 about 69 % of the world population lived there, they have now reached 80 %, and in 2025 about 84 % of the world population could be living in so-called Third World countries. The European stagnation (without the territory of the former USSR) at the level of 510 millions (2000-2025) will be confronted with the doubling of Africa (2025: 1.6 billion). High birth rates are to be observed as well in the southern Mediterranean region (Maghreb; 1990: 189 millions, 2025: 349 millions).(7) The respective developments at the south eastern edge of Europe have been discussed before. The population figures of Europe and the world demonstrate the general potential which could repeatedly lead to attempts of mass migrations towards Europe. On a regional level the North African countries are of particular interest. Because of the high rates of jobless people and births, geographical proximity and socio-cultural affinity, their migration potential is estimated at 1-2 million people per year.(8)

Because of the drastically uneven population trends between South and North the migration pressure directed towards Europe will increase. The future migration and refugee figures are difficult to predict, what matters is that Europe will not receive them with open arms. On the contrary, the clear tendency is that Europe will shield itself. The perception of the European strategic community that mass migration could become a de-stabilising factor for European security cannot be denied.

On the other hand, immigration seems to be a future way out in view of the ageing and shrinking population in most of the European countries. This is being observed by politicians as well. Immigration laws are being discussed and prepared and co-ordinated in and between the member states of the European Union. Controlled immigration will help the New Europe, but however the population problems of the South will not be solved by these means.

The European Union: Enlargement and Integration

The present day nucleus of the New Europe could be seen as a fortress, the prosperity of which must be shielded from the »barbarians« before the gate. This fortress is protected by open maritime borders and the territories of friendly nations. To this end, the European Union stabilises its neighbours and offers to take them into the fortress at some later date.

The European Union is as well understood as a stability anchor for those parts of the periphery with which friendly relations are maintained. It projects stability to non-members by combining its economic resources with the military resources of NATO and - later on - of its own defence potential.

Whatever vision of the New Europe one might have, some facts and trends are clearly recognisable. The European Union is the core of the New Europe. The stabilisation of Central, East and South east Europe and the globalization process are the main challenges in order to unite the whole of Europe and make it stable and prosperous (9) or as mentioned by Minister Fischer »onwards to the completion of European integration«. (1) Eastern enlargement and the completion of political integration are the two sides of the same coin called 'finality of European integration'.

The necessary far-reaching process of reforming the structures of Europe could embark upon a solid basis: the economic integration of the European Union. A Common Security and Defence Policy is now being developed which hopefully will enable the member countries to »face up together to external threats and together maintain their security« (Fischer). This political euphemism is based on the US decision to stay in Europe. In this context it is worth as well remembering the cynicism of the first Secretary General of NATO, Lord Ismay (true as it still is) on the tasks of this alliance: to keep America in, Russia out, and Germany down. The development of a common area of justice and internal security is also a new far-reaching integration project.

Agreement was also reached on a concrete plan for the enlargement of the EU. This issue is of great geopolitical interest and often being discussed in geographic circles. » . . . the external borders of the future EU are already emerging. It is foreseeable that the European Union will have 27, 30 or even more members at the end of the enlargement process, almost as many as the CSCE at its inception.« (1)

To enlarge Europe as quickly as possible is one of the two major projects which Europe has to organise in parallel. The second task is to improve Europe's capacity to act. Resolving the three key problems - the composition of the Commission, the weighing of votes in the Council, and particularly the

extension of majority decisions - is indispensable for the smooth continuation enlargement. The EU has pledged to be able to admit new members by the year 2003. The danger will then be that enlargement (27 or 30) without reforms - to include 27 or 30 members - will surely overburden the EU's ability to absorb more, with its old institutions and mechanisms. The consequence of continued enlargement of the EU may, therefore, be either erosion or integration. However, the author trusts that the EU will reorganise successfully the completion of political integration in order to make the enlargement process successful.

European Values

Europe can, however, only grow as long as the centrifugal forces it faces are balanced by the centripetal forces, e.g. in both categories one has to compare the fragmenting and integrating power of values, ideas, political concepts and interests, geo-economic forces (trade, economic structures and dependencies) and cultural patterns (language, religion, history, traditions). The primary and permanent problem of every politically organised area is how more or less separate and divergent regions can be bound together into an effective entity. (10)

Therefore, new members must first adopt the European canon of values. The European Union has set clear conditions ('Copenhagen Criteria') for the countries applying and being invited to become full members of core Europe. These conditions can be summed up in three blocs: stable democracy, functioning market economy and, last but not least, the rule of law, that is the willingness and capability to implement the so-called 'acquis', i.e. or accept (about 40,000 pages comprising) all EU-regulations which have to be incorporated into the national laws and regulations. (9) The Charta of Europe - which is just being developed and implemented, will become the core part of the European canon of values.

Conclusion

The author has tried to combine some aspects of security policy with the making of the New Europe relevant to common security and defence policy. This analysis started by discussing the European peace obligation and dy-

dynamic stability as the precondition for security. Within the broad spectrum of risks and dangers challenging European security policy mass migration and population development were analysed with the result that population stagnation and reduction are typical for Western, Central and Eastern Europe. Future ageing and population reduction will be the result of this process without increasing immigration. Therefore, controlled immigration may be unavoidable for the New Europe including Russia, Belorussia and Ukraine. However, population pressure as a potential for mass migrations the latter being a destabilising factor in cases where they really occurred - is growing in the poor countries around the future New Europe.

A special geopolitical problem is Russia, it is thrust into the EU's stability net as an erratic bloc, without being absorbed or stabilised in its entirety. Western analysts agree that Russia's military potential and political instabilities justify it as having a prominent place in discussions of risks and dangers to security. NATO practices co-operation with Russia in the Partnership for Peace program and in the NATO-Russia-Council.

One way out is shown by the culture of prevention and the policy of regionalisation. The European Union should combine the policies of dynamic stabilisation and regional development. The Serbian wars, NATO's military intervention in the Kosovo and the Balkan Stability Pact are models in the negative and positive sense. A war is per se the worst political means and should be avoided. Strict self-defence against aggression is the main justification for a war.

The EU should invest in regional development efforts in regions of instability at the peripheries of 'Old Europe' prior to the outbreak of hostilities in order to make them 'regions of stability' and to avoid migration pressure and military intervention.

Self-consciousness and the influence of regions of the EU states are increasing. Transborder regionalisation should be developed and supported parallel to the ongoing process of globalisation. Geopolitically flexible and adaptable regionalisation should become a vehicle for the extension of stability. Russia should be considered an important partner, whose western territory should be drawn into the stabilisation process. To give some examples: A Baltic stability region should draw in St. Petersburg and Kaliningrad. The territory of Belorussia should not be circumvented. Ukraine is also an important partner. The entire Caucasus should become a stability region.

The New Europe is developing out of the core area of today's EU and will cautiously, step by step include neighbouring states. Integrity and internal

cohesion are more important than rapid enlargement. The process of stabilising transborder regions should lead the way and cover the geopolitical flanks. Only a prosperous, united European Union (respectively European Federation) can support stability and security for all Europe in the long term.

Notes

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Izzivi varnostne politike v sodobni Evropi

Povzetek

Prispevek obravnava geopolitično stvarnost in nevarnosti, ki jih je v Evropi zaznati na prehodu v 21. stoletje. Posebne pozornosti je deležen proces širjenja Evropske unije proti vzhodu, istočasno sta tudi migracijska in demografska politika postavljeni v ospredje. Naslednje smernice za prihodnost gre prednostno upoštevati: (1) EU naj podpira regionalni razvoj in kooperacije med državami članicami in državami in regijami izven tega območja; (2) EU naj vlaga v regije nestabilnosti na svojem obrobju še pred izbruhom sovražnosti in pred eventualnim vojaškim posegom. Predvsem bi morala skrbeti za obmejna območja v državah nečlanicah, ki mejijo nanjo. (3) Rusija mora postati pomemben partner in »sodelavec« v vseh dejavnostih, ki zadevajo stabilnost Evrope; njen zahodni, Evropski del bi naj postal ekonomsko in politično stabilno območje oziroma geopolitično mostišče.

Koncept tako imenovane Nove Evrope predvideva širitev Evropske unije iz sedanjega središča njenega ekonomskega in političnega delovanja proti vzhodu. Integracija in notranja kohezija držav članic je bolj pomembna od pretirano hitrega širjenja območja njenega vpliva oziroma rasti ozemlja EU. Samo bogata, združena EU (oziroma Evropska federacija) bo lahko zagotavljala stabilnost, mir in varnost ter se zoperstavljala silam destabilizacije, ki smo jim bili v 20. stoletju mnogokje priča.