The concept of security in the integration processes of the European union countries

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Abstract

The study provides the analysis of theoretical approaches to the concept of security in the European Union integration processes. Methodological bases for development of the concept of security of the European Union integration processes based on two paradigms of activity are offered. The first one provides institutional and financial autonomy in defense and peacekeeping; the second one involves the delegation of most security powers and the collective security of the Commonwealth. The main stages of building the European security and defense policy in the context of new threats to regional and global security are analyzed. The following tasks have been identified as the priority areas for further development of the EU: consensus decision making in all areas of the common security and defense policy; development of a new methodology for responding to threats; effective use of opportunities for international cooperation.

Key words: international relations, threat, policy, international security, cooperation, transformation, integration.

Introduction

The concept of security is a basic component of the political strategy of any country and therefore is a part of various social sciences. The content of the concept of security is unchanged and is based on the ideas of security and development. At the same time, the multiplicity of its semantic interpretation provides ample opportunities for scientific interpretations of this concept.

Disclosure of theoretical security problems of the European Union aims to identify key indicators of security and stability of the social system, the specifics of regional security, as well as to propose mechanisms for building an international security system based on an appropriate development strategy.

In the applied sense, the concept of security means the ability of a state or its community to provide all its citizens with a minimum level of security and maintain the stability of critical infrastructure.

The peculiarity of the European integration model has become the deliberate renunciation of EU Member States of part of national sovereignty in favor of supranational regulation. The EU has an institutional and supranational structure of the European Community, which is represented by the EU's intergovernmental bodies and includes the legislative, the executive and the judicial branches. But the integration process does not call into question the role of the state among the main actors of regional policy.

The security community is one of the forms of management of international relations, which is characterized by the absence of a coercive apparatus (unlike the system of collective security). Members of the security community retain state sovereignty, but it is gradually transformed due to the changing the role of the state – the relevant emphasis is shifted to the non-military sphere (economy, social policy,

environment, etc.). The power of the leading state plays a major role in the developing and maintaining the viability of the security community, which determines the collective identity of the practice of behavioral strategies of member states. The characteristics of the security community are: shifting the emphasis from national security to collective security; highlighting issues of integration in the military sphere; perception of internal threats to individual countries as threats to the whole community; spreading trends of internationalization of power.

Material and methods

The initial postulate of the study is the fundamental difference between the discourses of "notion" and "concept". The "notion" gives a comprehensive definition of the subject and cannot be ambiguous, but the "concept" can combine elements of different mental levels of the subject.

The concept focuses on social conditions that must be sufficient for the life, well-being and freedom of the individual. At least theoretically, physical, economic, political, social, and ethnocultural security are combined here, the only common identifier – security and dignity is determined by a qualitative indicator (Thomas, 2001). It should be noted that traditional concepts often did not consider the realities of the globalized world. However, the emergence of non-military threats required the introduction of new concepts in the analytical field. These new concepts are on the border of domestic politics and foreign policy (Paris, 2001).

The analysis of theoretical approaches to the concept of security in the integration processes of European countries demonstrates the variability of interpretations from the standpoint of compliance with the logic of national security. At the same time, the modern system of world interactions is characterized by the actual lack of clear mechanisms for regulating international security from the standpoint of effective global governance.

The definition "European integration" means the process by which individual states transfer the right to exercise their sovereign rights to a single supranational institutional structure (Corbey, 1995). Theoretical discussions on the conceptual problems of European integration have long been based on quite different approaches: purely theoretical (theory of federalism) and functional (theory of neofunctionalism). Proponents of federalism considered the creation of a supranational state to be the ultimate goal of European integration in accordance with the principles of centralization and the transfer of political power to the highest level. Proponents of neo-functionalism deny even the possibility of forming a federation and substantiate the idea, which has already become a reality, namely, the role and importance of creating new actors of international relations – international organizations, the formation of their network in the context of the dynamic transformation of the system of international relations.

One of the fundamental provisions of the regional integration theory is the need to reveal the features of the region not only as a territorial entity, but also as a functional structure. Most scholars consider regionalism as an orderly, multilateral and state-controlled interdependence within the regional space. It is expressed in a variety of specific regional projects and relevant institutions. (Guérin, Rittberger, 2020).

Methodological principles of studying the concept of security integration are based on two paradigms of activity. The first paradigm is called "self-reliance", which involves the pursuit of institutional and financial autonomy in defense and peacekeeping. (Weissenbacher, 2018). The paradigm dominated the first stage of the integration construction of the European Union – effective economic integration is impossible without close cooperation in the security sphere. This theory became the basis for the implementation of the European Defense Community project in the early 50s of last century. The paradigm became relevant in the early 1990s due to the escalation of the problem of creating the European Union's security infrastructure. This

trend was expressed in the "European security and defense identity" (Risse, 2005), which provided reconstruction of the Western European Union, which at one time made a significant contribution to the development of the European security architecture (often referred to as the "backup security option", "NATO's half-brother affected by the virus of weakness", "European Security Forum") (Eekelen, 1998).

Another paradigm of activity proved to be more stable, as it provided the delegation of most powers in the security sphere, the conscious abandonment of independent peacekeeping operations, as well as the collective security of the Commonwealth (Morillas, 2018). This paradigm proved its effectiveness in times of aggravation of international relations and periods of financial crisis.

Results and discussion

The origin of the doctrine of the concept is associated with P. Abelard's works, who considered it as a bunch of meaning, a highly subjective form of reflection. In different sciences, the term "concept" may have different meanings, in particular in political science, a scientific direction called political conceptology has recently emerged. Its tasks are: comprehension of political events; theoretical analysis of key political concepts (politics, power, freedom, state, sovereignty, democracy, etc.). In this study, the author proposes to consider the concept as a semantic construction that allows you to cognize the phenomenon.

For a long time, most security research was conducted from the standpoint of realism, focusing on the fundamental concept of balancing the potential of different countries. A qualitatively new nature of the current threats to the development of international relations has led to changes in the nature and consequences of the intervention of leading states in the peace process. This necessitated a profound modification of the concepts aimed at ensuring national and international security, including from the standpoint of conducting a balanced state policy in the international arena. At the same time, the question of the degree to which the state's national security strategies are consistent with the global challenges facing the international community arises more and more often. On the one hand, the shift in emphasis to humanitarian values has made it more logical to use modern force in solving problems such as terrorism or genocide. On the other hand, the practice of a number of peacekeeping operations conducted under the auspices of the United Nations has demonstrated the limits of force policy by using high technology as part of the use of traditional strategies. Within the main profile document – the UN Report, it was noted that for a long time the concept of security was interpreted to a limited extent – as protecting the territory from external aggression, the nuclear threat in the global dimension, protection of national interests. (United Nations Development Program, 1994). The concept presented to the world community declared the personality-centric and people-centric nature of security instead of the state-centric paradigm. The main areas were identified: economic, nutrition, health, environment, personal, community, and political. "The Human Security Network" was created within the forum – a flexible mechanism for collective action to strengthen political processes, prevent or resolve conflicts, and promote peace and development. The variability of the latter measures should include arms control, an international tribunal, and the fight against crime. However, among the leading actors in the international community, the effectiveness of the application of conceptual security provisions belongs to the United Europe, where research efforts have been documented in the relevant doctrine (A Human Security Doctrine for Europe) (Kaldor, 2008).

Security depends on the assessment of the level of threats, as well as on its mutual recognition by states that are ready to cooperate to protect national interests within the integration community. Creating a Common Security and Defense Policy of the EU has become the most difficult task of European integration processes. The European Security Strategy, adopted in 2003, paid serious attention to the issue of conflict resolution. However, the focus was not on conflicts but on terrorism, weapons of mass

destruction, incapable states and organized crime, which were considered to be the consequences of regional conflicts that could negatively affect EU security (European Security Strategy, 2009).

The Treaty of Lisbon (2007) states that "The Common Security and Defense Policy are to be an integral part of the Common Foreign and Security Policy. It must provide the Union with operational capabilities involving civilian and military assets. The Union may use them during missions abroad to maintain peace, prevent conflicts and enhance international security in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter". (Article 28, paragraph 49 of the Agreement) (EUR-LEX, 2007).

The Global Strategy (2016) (Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe. A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy) traces the departure from the EU concepts as a "civilian" and "regulatory" center of power. Instead, it proposes the idea of "principled pragmatism", which, even at the level of definitions, resonates with the US National Security Strategy. The main trend of the Global Strategy was the course to strengthen the EU as a security community and a declared desire for "strategic autonomy" in the field of security and defense. The document clarified the priorities of EU foreign policy, focusing on: ensuring the EU security, EU citizens and its territory due to the threat of terrorism, hybrid threats, economic shocks, climate change and vulnerabilities in the energy sector; strengthening the viability of the state and society in the countries south and east of the EU borders; an integrated approach to conflict resolution using all EU capabilities; support for voluntary forms of regional governance; commitment to a global order based on international law for the sake of restraining the policy of balance of power, effective global governance (A Global Strategy for the European Union's, 2016).

The institutional basis of European security is organizations created during the Cold War and adapted to the new conditions of international development. The Council of Europe and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have been repeatedly reformed and adapted to changes in the international security environment since their inception.

Military, defense and security cooperation between EU countries is carried out in various areas. We can single out bilateral cooperation with individual EU members, cooperation within the UN, NATO and the OSCE, and with the EU institutions themselves within the framework of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Considering the potential for maintaining stability in Europe and in the world, the role of the legitimate guarantor of European security is currently played by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). It is the largest regional intergovernmental organization, bringing together 57 countries in Europe, Central Asia and North America to find mechanisms to respond effectively to security challenges and threats. Its activities cover three main areas: military-political, economic-environmental and humanitarian. It is the comprehensive and indivisible approach to the concept of security that has determined the special place of the OSCE in the global system of collective security.

The development of EU defense policy has long been a relevant and controversial component of European integration processes: while overall integration progress has been characterized by intensive developments in trade, customs and monetary policy, most attempts of deeper integration of the European defense sector have historically been almost unsuccessful (Giegerich, 2015).

The military aspects of the European integration process have always been too politicized, as they are primarily related to issues of state sovereignty, as a result of which EU member states are quite cautious about combining their military capabilities. In addition, warnings about the possible undermining of NATO's organizational structures as a result of the formation of a European army are also a deterrent to further integration of the region. (Dover, Kristensen, 2017). The first real steps towards the creation of a European army were taken by the European Parliament thanks to the adoption of the resolution (November 22, 2016), calling for the establishment of the European Defense Union. Although the resolution was not binding on all countries, it provided a conceptual basis for building the legal framework for the EU's military

formation. Thus, in early June 2017, the European Commission established the European Defense Fund, which was intended to finance the formation of the European Defense Union (planned expenditures for the development of military and innovative defense strategies amounted to about 5.5 billion euros annually). In addition, in June 2017, the report "The Future of European Defense" outlined the main trends and challenges in the EU common security and defense policy and considered possible scenarios for joint activities in this area.

In December 2017, the Council of the European Union decided to establish a system of Permanent Structured Cooperation on Security and Defense (PESCO), 25 EU member states confirmed their participation in it. It approved 17 joint projects related to various areas of European military construction – from cybersecurity to enhanced cooperation between enterprises of the military-industrial complex. Welcoming the decision of the Council of the European Union, the European Commission called it "the first operational step towards the European Defense Union» (European Commission, PESCO, 2017). All the constructive efforts of the leaders of the EU member states to build an autonomous military structure must be in line with the interests of NATO, which includes most EU countries. That is why Joint Declarations are signed at almost every NATO summit, reflecting a common vision of European security.

Recently, the problem of "post-virus diplomacy" has become relevant in the EU's foreign policy communications, as both government officials and expert analysts predict new scenarios for Europe's development after COVID-19, which may affect the global geopolitical landscape. Most experts believe that it is solidarity between countries and a willingness to give up certain interests for the common good that will be decisive in overcoming the pandemic and containing its consequences. The EU should play a key role in this process, which was confirmed by the clear and unified position of EU foreign ministers in the video discussion of the crisis.

Today, according to some researchers, in Europe there is a slowdown in integration processes, a decline in mutual trust and a return to political confrontation, which could affect the region's security landscape. Attempts to create effective and long-term European security mechanisms that would guarantee peace, good neighborliness and mutual understanding across the continent did not work as Europeans hoped for after the Cold War (Ocinka bezpekovyh vyklykiv, 2019).

The EU, as a unique union with the characteristics of a confederation, balances on the border of the national and international discourse of European regionalism. Internal regionalization within EU member states differs from external regionalization outside the EU, where EU member states cooperate with other countries at the level of Euroregions. The European Union, taking into account the available opportunities, focuses on internal problems. Political dialogue is one of the main instruments of EU foreign policy, which uses it to participate in conflict management and settlement. Such a dialogue is aimed at changing the behavior of the conflicting parties and changing their attitude to the negotiating positions. Further modernization of the European security system increasingly depends on the degree of intensification of transatlantic cooperation, which is equally important for both the European Union and the United States.

Conclusions

Various forms of security partnership based on common values and mutual benefit for the countries of the European Community are still relevant. The partners bring to the common strategic and tactical arsenal those opportunities that are difficult to duplicate. They also form a multifaceted approach to security that is becoming increasingly important for economic, cultural and political reasons.

Understanding the concept of security in the European Union is related to stability in international relations and partnerships between states. Today, the Commonwealth acts as a consolidated force that is able to influence unilaterally or multilaterally the solution of global problems of international security. The practice of flexible integration in security and defense policy of the EU member states is

manifested in two key aspects: firstly, broad consultations, cooperation and maximum transparency in relations with NATO are envisaged, taking into account the needs of all EU Member States; secondly, mechanisms are actively created that will allow all members of the European community to take a more active part in the military aspects of cooperation.

On the bases that the security of current global development is still based on the military capabilities of individual countries and their militarized alliances, its new forms and configurations require improved scenarios of forceful intervention, as they are no longer consistent with classical doctrines. The analysis identifies the following approaches to future strategic directions of development of the European military forces:

the optimistic approach – a structured, powerful military autonomy of the European Union, whose supporters are gradually increasing their arguments due to the weakening of the unconditionality of American defense, as well as Britain's withdrawal from the European Union. Possible economic gains play a significant role – the development of a modern high-tech defense complex and military production will lead to additional competitive advantages in globalized world markets;

the pessimistic approach is based on the unreality of radical changes in this area due to the incomprehensibility of the main functions that will be assigned to the newly created armed formations. If theoretically their necessity is determined by the European Union's desire to bring its own political and military capabilities closer to the existing powerful economic potential, then in fact the existence of independent European forces, primarily from the United States and Canada, is highly doubtful. EU member states will definitely not be able to do without NATO guarantees, especially in the face of growing Russian military and hybrid threats. No less important argument is the traditionally low EU military expenditures. Yes, even two percent of the GDP that EU member states have pledged to contribute to the total defense budget as a result of a recent agreement with the United States is not being paid in full today.

For states – world leaders, the threat of external aggression – is no longer the main source of danger. Blurring the boundaries between politics and economics leads to growing threats from political actors operating in informal networks of terrorism, transnational crime and illegal migration.

The EU is now entering a new institutional era and its ability to sustain the recent defense momentum will be scrutinized. The revision of the Permanent Structural Cooperation Agreement and future discussions on the European Defense Fund budget will be a significant test of sustainability for these ambitious projects.

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