### MIKLÓS ZRÍNYI NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY DOCTORAL COUNCIL

## Lt. Col. Tibor Babos

# THE FIVE CENTRAL PILLARS OF THE EUROPEAN SECURITY

Doctoral (Ph.D.) Dissertation

**Executive Summary** 

Dissertation Advisor: Prof. Dr. MG. Tibor Kőszegvári, Professor Emeritus, DSc

#### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

There are two ways of spreading light: to be the candle or the morror that reflects it

Edith Wharton

#### I. The Thesis

The end of the Cold War created new challenges and opportunities for European Security. The power vacuum that was left by the disappearance of the Warsaw Pact needed to be addressed quickly and pragmatically to ensure the democratization of the former Eastern Block nations. Also, recent developments in World Security such as increased Terrorism and Military Operations Other Than War have forced EU, NATO and other Transatlantic and European Security Institutions to adapt to a new way of thinking, operating and cooperating.

In this complex unpredictable and interdependent security environment this Dissertation is willing to try to give answers to the following 3 questions:

- 1. What are the central pillars of the current European security architecture?
- 2. How many central pillars/subject-matters should be taken into account in the examining the European security?
- 3. What are the purports of them?

This Dissertation identifies the five central pillars of the European security as well as some of the most recent political and security procedures of the European, Euro-Atlantic and Pan-European strategic theatre. It focuses on the international and state level actors, such as the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on the one hand and the major European powers on the other. The thesis of this Dissertation is that there are at least five pillars that the European Security can be built up onto. In other words, there are minimum five areas, aspects that we have to take into account to get a reliable understanding of the European security:

- 1. The balance and interests of European Powers;
- 2. The metamorphoses of the Global and European security;
- 3. The evolution of the European security, defense and military capabilities;
- 4. The dialectic nature of Trans-Atlantic cooperation;
- 5. The European and Euro-Atlantic integration.

#### II. The Content

The first chapter of the Dissertation describes balance and interests of European Powers and offers an objective overview of the most significant attitudes of the powers both in general and nation-specific terms. It evaluates the German, British, French, American and Russian internal and external political attitudes as well as the major historical, traditional, societal, diplomatic and military progresses of each power. Finally, it highlights some of the major rules that characterizes the cooperation of these powers and gives a balance and some recommendations for the possible future direction of the collaboration.

The second chapter of the Dissertation metamorphoses of the Global and European security. Summarizes the metamorphosis of the European security after the Cold War and reviews the role of the European and Euro-Atlantic security institutions in particular EU and NATO. By evaluating the transition of the security challenges in the global and European dimensions, this chapter proves that the constellation of the post-Cold War security environment is very different from any other era. Focusing on the characteristics of the end of Cold War, globalization, 9/11, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, changing of demography, illegal migration, international organized crime, natural and man made disasters, crisis management, the Balkans, integration, re-polarization and new trends of the security

The third chapter of the Dissertation points out those milestones that have marked the evolution of the European security, defense and military capabilities as well as offers a future approach to the further developments. The Common European Foreign and Security Policy and its Security and Defense policy plays a crucial role in the evolution if the European security policy. A basic overview of both the CFSP and ESDP are discussed as well as their impact on the NATO's, U.S.'s and Russia's policy. Finally, some of the major obstacles that can stall a process or prevent the true potential of the various cooperation initiatives are addressed. Then this chapter focuses desirable strategies and lessons learned for the future development in particular on cooperation with the Alliance. It also recounts the details of the birth of the European military capabilities, its growth from political and diplomatic contact to one of overall cooperation that involves more civilian participation and commitment in common defense. Finally it looks toward the future and consider the challenges that now lay ahead for the ESDP and new objectives for the partnership.

The fourth chapter of the Dissertation identifies the main problems of the dialectic nature of Trans-Atlantic cooperation. It begins with the transition of the Transatlantic Security after the Cold War and reviews the role of NATO and EU. Then it describes the history of the European and American security developments and why those two aspects have separated. It then centers on those main causes that characterizes the current argument between the two continent. After Kosovo and September 11<sup>th</sup> and march 11<sup>th</sup> the Trans-Atlantic cooperation went beyond ceremonial matters again. The most emerging question now is that how the EU, the U.S. and the Alliance can further enhance mutual understanding and collaboration on the emerging global security challenges. Also this chapter addresses those alternatives that may deepen and improve further interoperability in planning and conducting both EU or/and NATO-led operations based on the other organization's assistance and contribution. Finally it examines the strong societal, historical and cultural ties between the two continent their relevance to a successful Trans-Atlantic relations.

The fifth chapter of the Dissertation features those basic rules that have impacted the process of the European and Euro-Atlantic integration. It focuses on both the historical background and recent developments of EU and NATO integration. It analyzes the various strategies, programs and events and highlights lessons learned for the future accession of current EU and NATO candidates. In the "New Europe", geography is no longer a nation's destiny. Therefore, the European Union and the Alliance needs to extend the invitation of membership help the aspirants better prepare themselves for eventual membership. Meeting the requirements of the European Union and the Alliance's eligibility criteria has been supported by various mechanisms established since the mid-90's for planning, monitoring and assessment of the progress made towards internal reform implementation towards membership. These mechanisms are in the process of streamlining efforts and outcomes both in EU and NATO as well as the applicant states.

#### III. Scientific achievements

#### IV. Recommendations

The links between NATO and its Partners must be further enhanced. Kosovo and other Peacekeeping operations have demonstrated, in very practical terms, the importance and relevance of the PfP and SPP. Partner Nations gave significant political support during the air campaign and now most of them are participants on the ground in implementing peace. This shows that PfP and EAPC and SPP are valuable tools of transatlantic security.

Both in political and military terms it is time to redefine or even recreate the role of the PfP, and SPP for nations who have entered NATO, which might be developed alongside with the existing ones. Indeed, it is an emerging task for the Allies and Partners to direct possible developments of these engagement programs for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, which has shaped the security environment yet, and where the real operational quality covering a broad spectrum of missions instead of politico-military cooperation.

This is truly the foundation of Euro-Atlantic security. Europe and North America together remain the foundation of global stability, the engine of the world's economy, and the nexus of technological innovation. The United States and Europe represent the world's strongest community of like minded nations: not only are they successful democracies, but are also outward-looking, progressive nations with a culture of pragmatic problem-solving.