

NATO–EU Enlargement Policy

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Abstract NATO and EU are both significant part of the European Security Architecture. Within Europe, both NATO and the EU have sought to promote democratic standards in the defense and security sphere and have placed this among the criteria for accession candidates. Between these two Organizations has similarities but there are differences, which will be addressed more extensively in this paper. The first part of this paper aims to present the criterias of enlargemet in both organization, the differences and contrasts in the process of NATO-EU enlargement, which have an overlap in terms of their membership; disparities and similarities that exist in the enlargement process according to the criteria for accession in both organization; challenges and prospects of further enlargements of EU and NATO. The other part of this paper will be focus on the consequences of NATO-EU enlargements on regional dimension.

Key words: NATO, EU, enlargement, regional, integration

Introduction

Two decades since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the bipolar system have seen the rise of a number of new security challenges: international terrorism, proliferation threats, cyber attacks and fears regarding energy security. The EU and NATO faced the challenge of defining its new role in this security dimension. These new challenges are tackled both at North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and at the European Union (EU).

NATO and the EU have undertaken global commitments and responsibilities, mostly individually or through join actions or in partnerships under the ombrella of International institutions. Both the powerful organizations have proclaimed as their headlines the protection and the maintance of the security and the stability everywhere.

NATO and EU are both significant part of the European Security Archicture. EU has contributed maynly in the stabilization and the security in the economic, political and social fields, on the other hand NATO has been the security organization concerned with military capacity to undertake crisis management operations of peace and security.

Between them exists considereable overlap on the political decision, in the membership and a common idea for the democratic and liberal values.

This paper has as its main focus the recent trends in the enlargment policies of the two organizations. Between these two Organizations has similarities but there are differences, which will be addressed more extensively in this paper. The first part of this paper aims to present the differences and contrasts in the process of NATO-EU enlargements; disparities that exist in the enlargement process according to the criteria for accession.

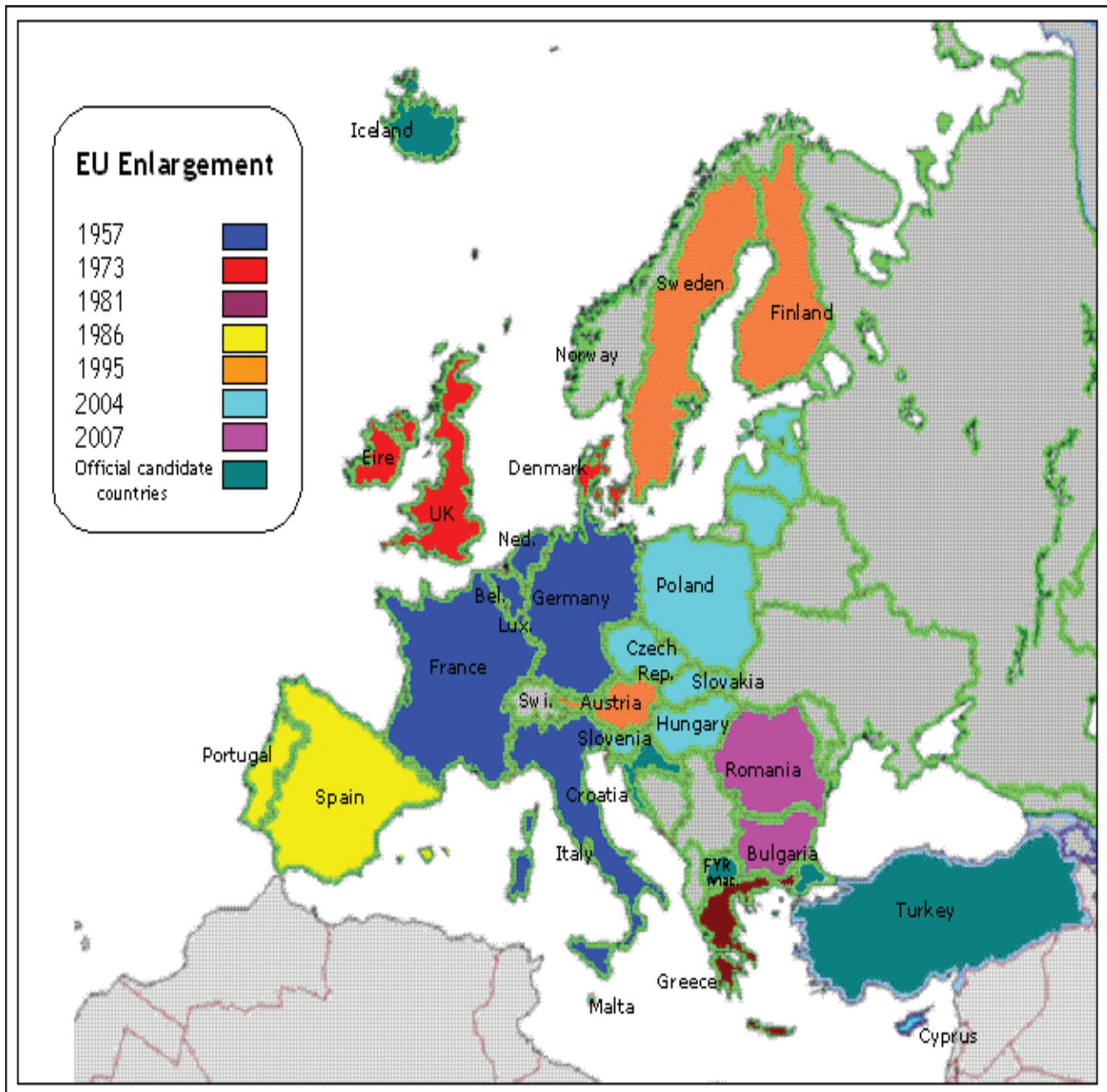
The other part of this paper will be focus on the consequences of NATO-EU enlargements on regional dimension.

The history of EU enlargement

The European Union is the most important development in the history of Europe since World War Two. Nothing else has had such a broad, deep, and long-lasting effect on the lifes of European citiziens.

The EU has gone through seven previous rounds of enlargement. From the original six members of France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg, 21 new states have joined over the course of the last 30 years, with the population about 501,064,211 people. (See map below)¹

¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enlargement_of_the_European_Union



Who can join EU? Enlargement criterias

According to the EU treaties, membership of the European Union is open to "any European State which respects the values referred to in Article 2, and is committed to promoting them" (TEU Article 49)². Those values are: "respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities"³

Membership requires that candidate country has achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, respect for and protection of minorities, the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union. Membership presupposes the candidate's ability to take on the obligations of membership including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union⁴.

² Consolidated version of the Treaty of European Union, Title VI: Final provisions

³ This is based on the 1993 "Copenhagen criteria" agreed as it became clear many former Eastern Bloc countries would apply to join

⁴ Presidency Conclusions, Copenhagen European Council 1993, 7.A.iii http://www.europarl.europa.eu/enlargement/ec/pdf/cop_en.pdf

In December 1995, the Madrid European Council revised the membership criteria to include conditions for member countries integration through the appropriate adjustment of its administrative structures. Since it is important that European Community legislation be reflected in national legislation, it is critical that the revised national legislation be implemented effectively through appropriate administrative and judicial structures.

Finally, and technically outside the Copenhagen criteria, comes the further requirement that all prospective members must enact legislation in order to bring their laws into line with the body of European law built up over the history of the Union, known as the *acquis communautaire*.

Nonetheless, the reasons for integrating these new states into the EU remain the same as those on which the EU was founded: ensuring peace and prosperity on the European continent. EU enlargement promises benefits for both, old member states and the new members.

The EU points to five particular benefits of enlargement⁵:

The extension of the zone of peace, stability and prosperity in Europe will enhance the security of all its peoples.

- The addition of more than 100 million people, in rapidly growing economies, to the EU's market will boost economic growth and create jobs in both old and new member states.
- There will be a better quality of life for citizens throughout Europe as the new members adopt EU policies for protection of the environment and the fight against crime, drugs and illegal immigration.
- The arrival of new members will enrich the EU through increased cultural diversity, interchange of ideas, and better understanding of other peoples.
- Enlargement will strengthen the Union's role in world affairs - in foreign and security policy, trade policy, and the other fields of global governance.

The history of NATO Enlargement? Enlargement criterias

The dissolution of the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact raised a series of questions concerning the future of NATO. This new reality clearly put forward the Atlantic Alliance new challenges. One of which was the opening of its door, as well as the construction of a new Europe of democratic values, bringing Eastern European countries closer to the West, disappearance of the Iron Curtain that was decided with the Yalta agreement.

NATO's "open door policy" is based upon Article 10 of the Washington Treaty, which states that membership is open to any "European State in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area".

Article 10 of the *North Atlantic Treaty* describes how non-member states may join NATO:

The Parties may by unanimous agreement, invite any other European State in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area to accede to this Treaty. Any State so invited may become a Party to the Treaty by depositing its instrument of accession with the Government of the United States of America. The Government of the United States of America will inform each of the Parties of the deposit of each such instrument of accession.⁶

Countries that have declared an interest in joining the Alliance are initially invited to engage in an Intensified Dialogue with NATO about their membership aspirations and related reforms.

Aspirant countries may then be invited to participate in the Membership Action Plan (MAP) to prepare for potential membership and demonstrate their ability to meet the obligations and commitments of possible future membership. In principle, participation in the MAP does not guarantee future membership, but it constitutes the key preparation mechanism.

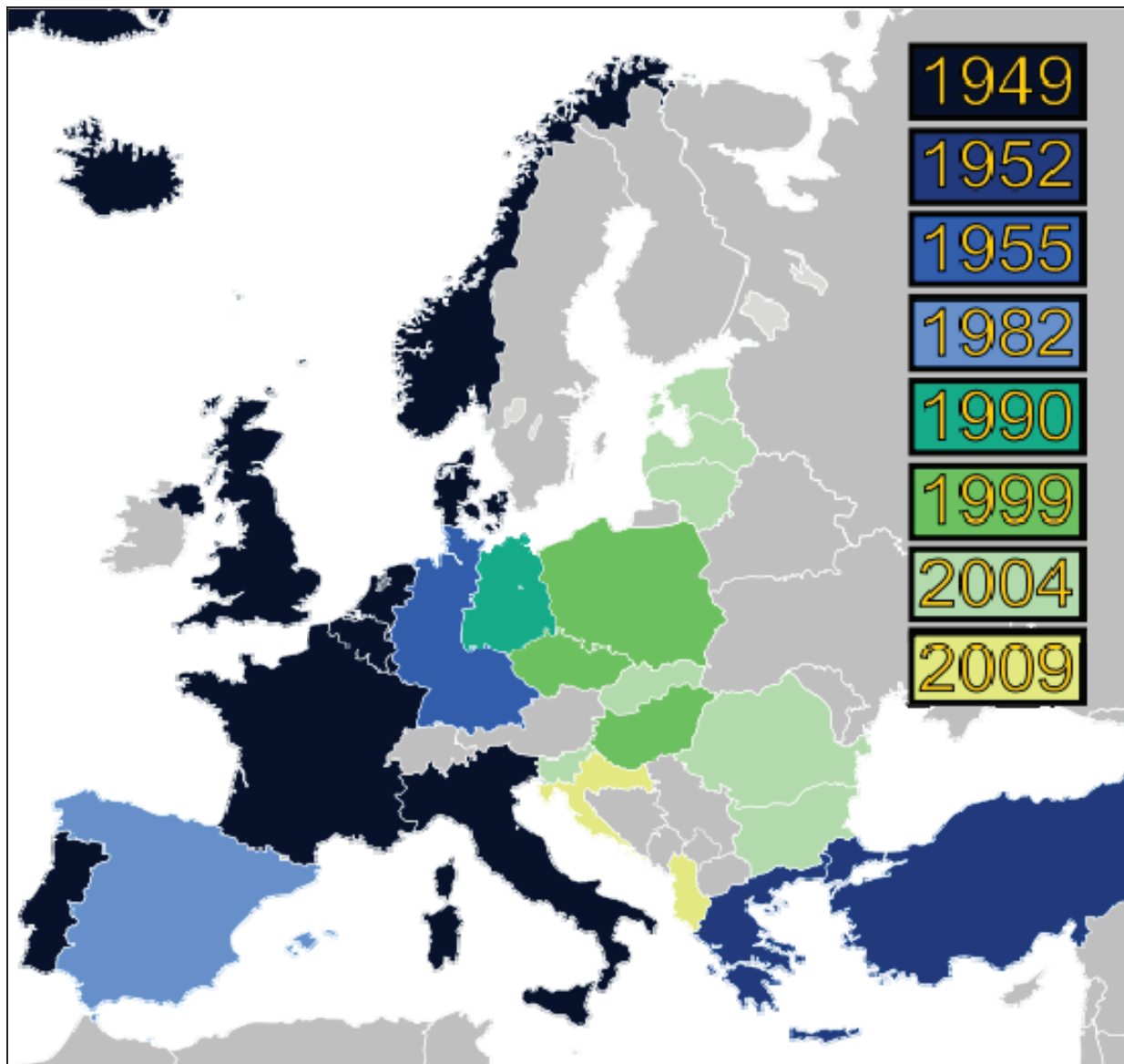
Countries aspiring to join NATO have to demonstrate that they are able to fulfill the principles of the 1949 Washington Treaty and contribute to the security in the Euro-Atlantic area. They are also expected to meet certain political, economic and military criteria, which are laid out in the 1995 Study on NATO Enlargement.⁷

⁵NATO and EU Enlargement: Challenges for the New Europe-http://jsis.washington.edu/cwes/file/nato_and_eu, p.6

⁶ The North Atlantic Treaty, Washington D.C-4 April 1949, p.2

⁷ http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_49212.htm

- The enlargement of the Alliance is an ongoing and dynamic process. Since the Alliance was created in 1949, its membership has grown from the 12 founding members to today's 28 members through six rounds of enlargement in 1952, 1955, 1982, 1999, 2004 and 2009.⁸(See the map below)⁹



Similarities And Differences

Enlargement of NATO and the EU reflects the fundamental changes that have occurred in the security environment in Europe. Between EU and NATO enlargement processes has similarities but there are differences in the same time. Both NATO and the European Community (EC), now the European Union (EU), had their origin in post-World War II efforts to bring the stability to the Europe.

EU and NATO are created at approximately the same period of time. NATO in 1949 and the European Coal and Steel Community in the year 1951, accompanied by the creation of the European Economic Community or 'Common Market' in 1957.

NATO's original purpose was to provide collective defense through a mutual security guarantee for the United States

⁸ http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_49212.htm

⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enlargement_of_NATO

and its European allies to counterbalance potential threats from the Soviet Union. The European Community's purpose was to provide political stability to its members through securing democracy and free markets.

Today NATO and the EU are two important institutions of the European Security Architecture. Naturally, the new security environment has changed and in these conditions, both organizations have changed the way of addressing their problems. The EU has mainly contributed in stabilizing the economic, political and social sphere and NATO's role has been more visible for military aspect of crisis management, through peace operations.

Among these organizations there is an overlap of membership, in political decisions and on the idea of democratic values and freedom. As for the membership, the main difference is in the United States participation in NATO as the main leader in one side and Turkey's membership on the other side, as the most powerful state in NATO, and quite pessimistic perspective of EU membership for Turkey¹⁰ (Hopkinson 2001, p. 67).

Significant differences are in the nature of their organization. EU is a unique international organization, partly supranational, partly intergovernmental. Its members are engaged in a close economic, social and political union. The EU is divided into several "pillars" and the other is an intergovernmental organization under the control of the Council of Ministers. The EU has a parliament and legislative powers.¹¹ (Hopkinson 2001, p.67).

NATO on the other hand is an organization that is mainly related to military security with some additional objectives. It is fundamentally an intergovernmental organization, run in principle by the Council of Ministers in which all are equal. In the last years, strategic Alliance concept has changed, moving from an organization that deals primarily with territorial defense of its members in providing of a wider security across the European area. After the end of the Cold War, the EU started to work in a new role in "hard security" in the military field, despite the modest engagement and cooperation with NATO.

We can say that both the EU and NATO have similar parallel objectives. For both common is securing peace and strengthening the stability in Europe.¹²

EU-NATO doors are open, but not all EU-NATO member countries are pro the enlargement. Some fear that shifting attention from their problems in the problems of other countries (new members). Others fear the loss of any sense of cohesion. Others may be concerned about diminution of their influence in the Union and in the Alliance. An EU enlarged with 35 members would create problems with regard to the governance and procedure which can not be achieved agreements required for this purpose. Effective management of an enlarged EU on foreign policy issues of defense and security would be this hard. The risk of enlargement may weaken the internal structures of the EU and NATO, making decision making more difficult and reducing their efficiency.

A common element of EU enlargement and NATO is the principle of partnership (Serfaty, 1997 p.1). Enlargement of the two organizations provides an opportunity and in the meantime a possible risk. The opportunity consists in expanding with democratic countries and strengthening security and stability in Europe as a whole. The risk is mainly deal with the efficiency of the organizations.

Decisions taken by EU and NATO have a connection with one another.

- None of these organizations can not ignore what makes the other in terms of reforms carried on by each institution.
- None of these organisations can not be indifferent to the interests and aspirations of countries that respond to the requirements for membership determined by the two Organizations.

Why to join?

The motives of the candidate countries applying for EU-NATO membership are largely the same for all countries who wish to join. First and foremost they want to be part of the western world and the ideals and values they represent. This is seen more in a symbolic way as a model of civilization. We have seen that the same countries that wish to be member of the EU, seek to be in part of the Alliance, like Montenegro, Serbia, Macedonia, Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

¹⁰ Hopkinson. William, 2001, Enlargement: New NATO, published by Institute for Security Studies, Western European Union and printed by Alecon, France; http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb65/eb65_tr_exec.pdf

¹¹ Hopkinson. William, 2001, Enlargement: New NATO, published by Institute for Security Studies, Western European Union and printed by Alecon, France; http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb65/eb65_tr_exec.pdf

¹² The role of NATO in the security architecture of the EU P6_TA(2009)0076 European Parliament resolution of 19 February 2009 on the role of NATO in the security architecture of the EU (2008/2197(INI)) (2010/C 76 E/14)

(Peterson, 2011, p. 45-68).

Another important reason for becoming member of EU/NATO is the economy security, which means the increase in exports, a common market, such as Albania, Montenegro and Serbia and security reasons as is the case in Bosnia and Kosovo. "Serbia shadow" is present and an immediate membership in the EU and NATO will finally ensure these countries (Peterson, 2011, p. 69). However we can say that states know very well the difference between the protection offered by the EU and the protection offered by NATO. For those NATO is the only institution that offers military protection they need. EU follows NATO especially for soft security issues, which may also affect the integrity and independence of these states.

Different states see the membership in the EU and NATO as a possibility to avoid all kinds of conflicts with members and with third countries. Aspiring countries are obliged to resolve all ethnic and territorial conflicts before the membership. In other words, membership helps countries in terms of their foreign and defence policy.

The candidate countries are well informed that EU-NATO membership also brings great responsibilities before them. Criteria for EU membership are defined in the European Council decision in Copenhagen in 1993, which opened doors to new members. While the criteria for expanding NATO are defined in the study of NATO's 1995 enlargement and those associated with the rule of law, democracy, free market economy, human rights and respect the rights of minorities.

Effects of NATO-EU enlargement on regional dimension

About two decades ago, South-East Europe (SEE) was perceived as a region dominated by conflicts, policy stagnation and unwillingness for cooperation. Today, the region seems a safer and more secure place to be: the main conflicts are eliminated, some countries are already members of NATO and the EU, and things seem to be getting better. It was a long and difficult road that made all this possible (Shalamanov 2011, p.27)

The question of NATO and EU enlargement could be considered as the most controversially discussed European security issue after the end of the Cold War. Now, ten years after the first NATO-enlargement towards Central and Eastern Europe and five years after the biggest enlargement wave in EU history, it is time to take stock of the results. What has been achieved by these enlargements?

The EU and NATO have made regional cooperation a prerequisite for progress towards the accession. EU membership perspective has been the main stimulus for regional cooperation so far and it will remain for the future as well.

It can hardly be disputed that considerable progress has been made within the region and that it is now on the path towards the EU and NATO full-fledged membership and associated with major EU and NATO policies. Basic stabilisation has been achieved, giving way to development and EU/NATO integration process (Knezovic 2007. p.136)

While stabilisation required a regional context, integration is essentially a bilateral exercise. As a good example to show to the EU that it can significantly contribute to its overall goal of regional stabilization is Croatia.

Three elements of the EU-NATO policy in the region

- First, both NATO and EU have offered these countries a common future. Both countries are at the same level of relations with EU and NATO.
- Second, both NATO and EU have taken an active role in the state building processes that these states are going through.
- Third, both NATO and EU have intervened militarily or set up a military presence in these countries.

The fact that EU and NATO have expressed their readiness to eventually accept these countries as full members has had a strong impact in the domestic policies of both countries and their relations with the neighbours. The promised common future has proved to be a guiding light for the state building processes in both countries.

Also, they have served as guarantors of their territorial integrity and security in a neighborhood where such a security has proved to be a luxury. Obviously this has helped the state making process by allowing the governments of these countries to focus on their domestic problems.

NATO and EU play vital roles in the daily progress of the state making process. They supply economic and technical assistance, (Rakipi, 2008, page 186-1995).

It is evident that the situation with enlargement after the global financial crisis is very complicated. The EU is setting more and more new criteria and barriers for the candidates. Now the main priorities are: a successful exit from the crisis, competitiveness, cohesion and development. Nevertheless it is sound logic that an enlarged Union is a stronger Union

and consequently stronger NATO partner. NATO-EU relationships are becoming more significant. NATO remains vitally important, but it will increasingly need to share centre stage, in particular with EU. The enlargements of EU and of NATO with the Balkan countries are two mutually complementary processes.¹³ No doubt in the midterm all countries situated in the Balkans will be somehow integrated in the United Europe (EU) – an area of security, justice and rule of law, and prosperity.

So definitely there is a proof that the countries from the region, some faster and some slower are moving towards the EU and NATO membership. When speaking about the EU and NATO accession it seems obvious and broadly accepted that the most of the countries first join NATO and then join EU (Kzenovic 2007, p.136).

Conclusions

The enlargement of NATO and the European Union towards the east has been a significant dimension of the transformation of Europe since the Cold War. Within Europe, both NATO and the EU have sought to promote democratic standards in the defence and security sphere and have placed this among the criteria for accession of candidates. Enlargement processes in their entirety are positive, are historic and of unique character¹⁴. They create a sense of community integration and security for States. Enlargement processes are essential for countries that belong to both organizations and for the applicant countries.

The enlargement of NATO and the EU is not without cost, some political, some economical and some military. But of course much larger would be the costs of closing doors of the both organizations. A policy of delaying the enlargement could do more harm than good. From the stability and security of the area will benefit the current members of NATO and EU and the applicant's states as well as those states who are outside the borders of the enlarged structures. NATO-EU relations aimed at promoting and projecting effective civil-military security beyond the Euro-Atlantic area".¹⁵

Naturally NATO-EU enlargement process has been contested, but despite the objections, NATO-EU's policy of open doors has been functioned and continues to remain so by being sure that this is the only way of creating an united Europe without dividing lines, democratic and free. NATO-EU membership has helped countries to overcome difficulties, to enter on the reform path towards progress.

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¹³ No wonder, besides "two-track" or "two-speeds" Europe, such an initiativeve arouses reflections about core and periphery in the Union, "second rate members" etc. Cf. Rackowski, Daniel. Rethinking European defence policy. ISN Security Watch, 2008/02/05 – <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/news/sw/details.cfm?ID=18926>.

¹⁴ The Sipri Frosunda Report on the New Security Dimensions Europe after the NATO and EU Enlargements organized by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute in cooperation with the Swedish National Defence College and the Warsaw Centre for International Relations, Frösunda, 20–21 April 2001, p.34.

¹⁵ Revitalizing the Transatlantic Security Partnership: An Agenda for action, p. 8. Cf. Lasheras, Borja, Enrique Ayala (Opex, Fundacion Alternati vas), Jean-Pierre Maulny, Fabio Liberty (Institut de Relations Internationales et Strategiques, IRIS), Christos Katsioulis (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung), Sven Biscop (Egmont -Royal Institute for International Relations). A Future Agenda for the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), Working Paper, February 2009, pp 1-47.

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