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The New European Security Architecture

Introduction

A significant feature of the new European order is its degree of institutionalization. International institutions have been important anchors of stability in the transition of the European system from its Cold War structures. Institutions have provided bases of order in a rapidly changing political environment. The pattern of institutionalization, already established in Western Europe, was extended to the East in the wake of the Cold War. Institutions have sustained their relevance by adapting to the new political conditions, broadening their auspices and developing new roles. NATO, the EU, the WEU and the CSCE/OSCE have all sought to respond to the end of the Cold War by trying to incorporate the wider Europe in their policy design or by implementing pan-European roles. This chapter will trace this process and the recent evolution of the European Security architecture. It will also include consideration of the United Nations given its relevance to crisis management in the Balkans. The emphasis will be upon the manner in which each institution has defined its security competences, role and strategies with regard to political and military stability in the new Europe. The resources available to each institution for security management will be assessed and, critically, the nature of each institution’s decision-making process. Finally the chapter will seek to ascertain the degree to which the security architecture can be considered a cohesive entity.

NATO

The North Atlantic Treaty was signed in Washington on 4 April 1949 by Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the
Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States. The Treaty was created within the framework of Article 51 of the UN charter and established an alliance for collective defence. Article 3 of the Treaty committed the Parties ‘separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, [to] maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack’ (NATO, Handbook, 1995a, p. 231). The Treaty provides for consultation ‘whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the Parties is threatened’ (Article 4, ibid.). This provided a transatlantic forum to review events both inside and outside the NATO area which could affect the security of Alliance members. The cornerstone of the Alliance is Article 5, which states:

The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.

Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measure necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

(Ibid., p. 232)

While Article 5 does not specify the action to be taken, it nonetheless makes action to restore security an imperative of membership. By this means American power was wedded to Europe and the basic deterrent value of the Alliance established.

Article 6 denotes the area to which the Treaty applies:

For the purpose of Article 5, an armed attack on one or more or the Parties is deemed to include an armed attack: – on the territory of any of the Parties in Europe or North America, on the Algerian Departments of France [inapplicable from 3 July 1962], on the territory of Turkey or on the Islands under the jurisdiction of any of the