COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CONCEPTS "SOFT SECURITY" AND "SOFT POWER" IN EU LEGISLATION

Sigita Kavaliūnaitė

Mykolo Romerio universitetas
Ateities g. 20, LT-08303 Vilnius, Lietuva

Abstract. *The aim of an article is to reveal EU politicians' approach towards international influence and security instruments which are related to concepts of "soft security" and "soft power" through discourse analysis in the contexts of European Union legistation.*

Keywords: *soft security, soft power, social practices, international policy.*

Raktažodžiai: *"minkštasis (švelnusis) saugumas", "minkštoji (švelnioji) galia", socialinė praktika, tarptautinė politika.*

Introduction

European Union has used in its legislation the concepts of "soft security" and "soft power" derived from political discourse and academic literature, particularly that of Anglo-Saxon[1], since 1999. Having appeared in general as well as academic publicity, these deeply intertwined notions reflect specific qualities of the EU[2] and its role within international relations. Those concepts are important when formulating Europe's foreign policy, managing international risks and enhancing external influence schemes, identifying routes and instruments for meeting external challenges to peace and security. Research based on discourse analysis method in respect of EU documentation containing these notions aims to reveal how politicians identify the concepts with common EU foreign policy and its implementation instruments. In addition, research tries to reveal some features of underlying assumptions and principles

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[1] The notion of "soft power" (antonym to "hard power"), within the context of international relations theory, is attributed to Joseph Ney, who first used it in 1990 and later outlined in [1].

[2] For example, the official internet portal of the European Union states: "The basis for the EU's common foreign and security policy (CFSP) remains 'soft' power…" (http://europa.eu/pol/cfsp/index_en.htm).

of policy makers representing states with different cultural and linguistic contexts. Such analyses which examines the usage of the above mentioned terms (and related connotations) as well as the contexts influencing the EU level decision making is useful in attaining greater understanding of EU common foreign and security policy formation and implementation and provides better opportunities for EU policy's efficiency enhancement as well as ability of individual EU member states to align their own interests with common policy. The article presents the analyses in two perspectives. First, an overview of the terms "soft security" and "soft power" and their equivalents within EU documents is presented minding their different linguistic and cultural contexts. Second aspect involves the review of statements which include mentioned concepts and their descriptions. Those descriptions reflect identification within the texts of particular sets of specific forms, patterns and features of social practices (processes, activities, norms and values) with which these notions are related.

Review of EU documentation containing the concepts of "soft security" and "soft power"

A search engine "eur-lex.europa.eu" contains 14 EU documents [2-15] which include the concepts of "soft security" and "soft power". The list of the documents appears in Table 1 and encompasses European Union's Parliament resolutions, Commission Communications, Commission Working Documents, Opinions presented by Europe's Committee on Economic and Social Affairs, ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly resolution and EU's 2008 budget.

Table 1. **List of documents containing notions of "soft security" and "soft power"**

Document CELEX No	Title	Author / Form
22009P0316(02)	Resolution on aid effectiveness and defining official development assistance	The ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly/ Resolution
2009/C 61/04	Joint Parliamentary Assembly of the Partnership Agreement concluded between the members of the African, Caribbean and Pacific group of States, of the one part, and the European Community and its Member States, of the other part Minutes of the sitting of Tuesday, 25 November 2008	Joint Parliamentary Assembly of ACP -EU/Minutes

Document CELEX No	Title	Author / Form
52009SC0831	Commission staff working document - Annex to the Report from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament - Annual Report 2009 on the European Community's development and external assistance policies and their implementation in 2008	European Commission / Various acts
32008B0165	Final adoption of the general budget of the European Union for the financial year 2008	European Parliament / Budget
52007DC0242	Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on a European agenda for culture in a globalizing world	European Commission / Communication
52006DC0649	Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council - Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2006 – 2007 Including annexed special Report on the EU's capacity to integrate new members	European Commission / Communication
52005SC0892	Commission staff working document - Annex to the Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament "Annual report 2005 on the european community's development policy and the implementation of external assistance in 2004	European Commission / Various acts
52006IP0270	European Parliament resolution on the EU-Russia summit held in Sochi on 25 May 2006	European Parliament / Own-initiative resolution
52005IP0207	European Parliament resolution on the EU-Russia relations	European Parliament / Own-initiative resolution
52004IE0855	Opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee on Transatlantic Dialogue: how to improve the Transatlantic Relationship	Economic and Social Committee, Section for External Relations BELABED / Own-initiative opinion
52001DC0154	Communication from the Commission to the Council - Reinforcing the Transatlantic Relationship: Focusing on Strategy and Delivering Results	European Commission / Communication
52001DC0026	Communication from the Commission to the Council - The EU and Kaliningrad	European Commission / Communication

Document CELEX No	Title	Author / Form
52000DC0241	Commission working document - Perspectives and Priorities for the ASEM Process (Asia Europe Meeting) into the new decade	European Commission / Various acts
91999E0555	Written question No. 555/99 by Anita Pollack India and the environment	European Parliament, Pollack / Written question

The documents reflect outcomes of political debates related to initiation, promotion, expansion and funding of EU programmes and projects outside its borders The term "soft security" is encountered in 10 documents [3, p.10; 6, p.113; 7, p.1; 8, p.15; 9, p.484; 10 p.236; 11, p.9; 12, p.21; 14, p.26, 15, p 98] while "soft power" in 5 [2, p.9; 4, p.3, 5, p.1, 6, p.105; 13, p.49-57]. With the exception of 2008 budget of the Union, all documents focus on solving external relations problems currently or potentially impacting EU and/or identifying the common grounds and views of EU member states. The majority of the documents (except for the two [2, 6] that exist only in English) are presented in 23 EU languages [4, 11, 12, 14] or 21 EU languages [5, 9, 10, 13], up from 11 [3, 7, 8, 15] within period of 1999-2004. Table No. 2 and No. 3 show the dynamics of interpretations of the terms "soft security" and "soft power" over a variety of linguistic contexts as they evolved from 1999 to 2009, proving the difficulty of synchronizing internationally used notions to locally recognized discourse. This variety reflects the process by which the abovementioned notions (their meanings) are transferred and adapted from Anglo-Saxon context to other linguistic – cultural contexts.

Review of translations of "soft security" and "soft power"

Retrospectively reviewing the transfer of abovementioned notions from Anglo-Saxon context to other linguistic – cultural contexts and their adaptation process, i.e. starting from the most recent (2009) and terminating with the first (1999) document and identifying the notions "coined" within Anglo-Saxon cultural-linguistic tradition and "exported" into different European cultural-linguistic contexts, it is useful to divide the timeframe and the respective documents into two parts: from year 2004 (year of accession of Lithuanian and other former communist countries to the EU) to 2009 (Table No 2) and from 1999 to 2004 (Table No 3). This division is supposed to detect possible differences (if they exist) between two sets of interpretations of the same concepts made by representatives of two different "blocs" of countries which represented for several decades quite different political systems.

Table 2. **"Soft security" and "soft power" in 23 or 21 linguistic versions**

Doc	22009P0316(02); C2009/061/04 52006IP0270* 52005IP0207*	32008B0165	52007DC0242 52006DC0649* 52004IE0855*
EN	**Soft security** *issues*	**Soft security** dimension	**Soft power**
BG	въпроси, свързани с "**меката сигурност**"	областите, **в които военното измерение на сигурността не присъства**.	„нежна сила"
CS	otázkách **"bezpečnosti nevojenské povahy" nevojenských bezpečnostních** problémů, problémů **"bezpečnosti nevojenské povahy"**	hledisko **bezpečnosti nevojenské povahy**	„soft power" měkké velmoci měkká síla
DA	**"bløde sikkerhed***sopgaver*" **bløde sikkerhed**sanliggender **"bløde" sikkerhed**strusler	**bløde sikkerhed**sdimension	"bløde magt" bløde magtfaktor
DE	**"sanften Sicherhei***tsfragen*" **"weiche" Sicherheit**sfragen **weichen Sicherheit**sfragen	**nichtmilitärische** Aspekte der **Sicherheit**	„sanfte Macht" weiche Macht «weiche Machtausübung»
EL	ζητήματα **μη στρατιωτικής ασφάλειας** ζητημάτων "**ήπιας ασφάλειας**" θεμάτων "**ήπιας ασφάλειας**"	διάσταση **ασφάλειας με ειρηνικά μέσα**	«ήπιας δύναμης» ήπιας δύναμης
ET	**pehme julgeolekuga** seotud küsimustesse **"pehme julgeoleku"** küsimustega	**pehme julgeoleku**	„pehmest jõust" pehme jõu olemus soft power (mahe jõud)
ES	asuntos de **"seguridad leve"** asuntos de **seguridad de baja intensidad**	**"baja intensidad en seguridad"**	«poder suave» poder suave
FI	**pehmeän turvallisuuden** kysymyksiin **laajan turvallisuuden** kysymyksiä **"pehmeisiin" turvallisuus**kysymyksiin	**"pehmeään turvallisuus**ulottuvuuteen"	"pehmeästä vallankäytöstä" pehmeänä voimana pehmeän vallan käytöllä pehmeällä vallankäytöllään
FR	opérations de **sécurité non militaire** questions de **"soft security"** problèmes relatifs à la **sécurité "non militaire" ("soft security")**	**légère** dimension de **sécurité**	«pouvoir discret » un pouvoir discret la «force tranquille» (en anglais: «soft power»)
HU	**puha biztonsági ("soft security")** problémákkal **nem-katonai biztonsági** kérdésekben	**biztonsági** dimenzió **nem annyira kiélezett**	„puha hatalom" puha hatalom szelíd hatalmť (angolul: soft powerť) szelíd hatalmával
IT	problematiche di **"sicurezza cooperativa"** questioni di **"soft security"**	dimensione di **soft security**	"potere morbido"(soft power) forza "tranquilla" soft power

Doc	22009P0316(02); C2009/061/04 52006IP0270* 52005IP0207*	32008B0165	52007DC0242 52006DC0649* 52004IE0855*
LV	**"vieglās drošības"** jautājumu risināšanā **"vājās drošības"** jautājumus	**neietver drošības militāro** aspektu	„**maigās varas**" **diplomātiska spēka** (soft power)
LT	**"švelnaus saugumo"** klausimų sprendimu **"švelnaus saugumo"** klausimus	**"minkštojo"** saugumo aspektų	„**švelniąją galią**", **švelnią traukiančiąją jėgą minkštoji jėga**
MT	kwistjonijiet ta **'soft security'** **"soft security"** issues	dimensjoni tas-**"soft security"**	„**poter artab**" **forza "prudenti u moderata"**
NL	het gebied van **"zachte veiligheid"** **"zachte veiligheid**sthema's" vraagstukken op het gebied van **"zachte veiligheid"**	**"zachteveiligheid**sdimensie"	"zachte kracht" soft power
PL	kwestie z zakresu **"miękkiego bezpieczeństwa"** kwestii **"miękkiego bezpieczeństwa"** sprawach tzw. **"miękkiego bezpieczeństwa"**	kwestią tzw. **"miękkiego bezpieczeństwa"**	'łagodnej siły" siły oddziaływania
PT	questões de **"soft security"** problemas de **"segurança suave"** problemas relativos **à segurança não militar**	dimensão de **segurança civil**	«**poder suave**» "**poder discreto**"
RO	aspecte de **"securitate scăzută"**	dimensiune **nemilitară a securită□ii**	„**putere subtilă**"
SK	otázkach **nevojenskej bezpečnosti** otázok tzv. **"soft security"** záležitostí **"mäkkej bezpečnosti"**	rozmer tzv. **mäkkej bezpečnosti**	„**mäkkej veľmoci**" („**soft power**") **silu**
SL	vprašanja, **ki ne zadevajo vojaške varnosti** problemov **"mehke varnosti"** **drugih varnostnih** vprašanj	**"blaga" varnostna** razsežnost	„**mehke sile**" **mehke sile**
SV	**"mjuk säkerhet"** **"mjuka" säkerhet**sproblem problem som rör**"mjuk säkerhet"**	**mjuka säkerhet**saspekter	"**mjuk makt**" «**soft power**»
EL	ζητήματα **μη στρατιωτικής ασφάλειας** ζητημάτων "**ήπιας ασφάλειας**" θεμάτων "**ήπιας ασφάλειας**"	διάσταση **ασφάλειας με ειρηνικά μέσα**	«**ήπιας δύναμης**»
Document is not translated into BG and RO			

Within EU documents, ranging from 2004 to 2009, which are presented with a Lithuanian translation, the notion "minkštasis (švelnusis) saugumas" is used for "Soft security *issues*" (four documents*) or* Soft security dimension (one document), which are then translated to: "švelnaus saugumo" klausimai and "minkštojo saugumo" as-

pektai. This is evidence to suggest that the Lithuanian linguistic-cultural context transposes the Anglo-Saxon single notions using more than one phrase, term. A similar situation occurs in Bulgarian, German, Greek, Spanish, Finish, French, Hungarian, Italian, Latvian, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovakian and Slovenian languages. In the remaining languages (English, Check, Danish, Estonian, Maltese, Dutch, Polish and Swedish) constant terms are used. Malta is unique in retaining the English term "soft security" to represent the notion in its national texts. Also, the English term "soft security" is, albeit not always, used in various document translations as the main (French, Portuguese, Italian) or supplementary (added in brackets, as the case in French and Hungarian texts) means of identifying the notion. In some documents the term "soft security", whether in English or translated to other languages is surrounded by apostrophes, while in others there are none.

Another aspect of translation is that the Lithuanian translators focus on the English adjective "soft" and depict it by its literal translation („mink tas", "velnus" i.e. "soft", "gentle"). A similar strategy is depicted in many other EU languages. In some cases national languages consistently hold on to this strategy throughout their texts (translation to Danish, Estonian, Dutch, Polish, Swedish, and Lithuanian) within EU documents, while others do this only periodically (Bulgarian, German, Greek, Spanish, Finish, Hungarian, Slovakian and Slovenian). As an alternative to the abovementioned approach, the term "soft security" is primarily depicted not by its literal translation but by its recognized identity (supposed substance): "non-military", "absence of military dimension", "peaceful", "peaceful means", "broad", "not easily visible", "light", "weak" or "low".

Table No 2 also displays a variety of translations of the term "soft power" within three documents. Within Lithuanian version of EU documents the word "soft" is expressed by several adverbs with meanings "gentle, gently attractive, soft" („velnioji", "velni traukianti" arba "mink toji"), while "power" is translated as "power" or "force" („galia" or „jėga"). Epithets "soft", "gentle" are used in other languages as well; however we can find such epithets as "discretional", "quite, tranquil", "diplomatic", "subtle", "light, easy" or the epithet is missing. The noun "power" in number of cases is presented as (literally) "power" or "force". In some translations the English term ("soft power") is used as the main (Italian, Check, Dutch, Swedish texts) or in conjunctions with the national language translation (Estonian, Latvian, French, Hungarian, Slovakian, Italian). This term, like the abovementioned soft security, is in some cases enclosed in parenthesis, while in others not.

Table No 3 reflects on the translation of the term "soft security" within four EU documents released prior to Lithuania's and other former communist countries accession to the EU. It includes different translations within 10 languages (besides the original English) of this term and related combinations: soft security issues, „soft" security co-operation and soft security threats.

Table 3. **"soft security" in 11 linguistic versions**

Doc	91999E0555	52000DC0241	52001DC0026	52001DC0154
EN	**Soft security** issues	**"soft" security** co-operation	**soft security**	**soft security** threats
DA	**mindre kritiske sik-kerheds**anliggender.	**"bløde" sikkerheds**-samarbejde	**"bløde" sikkerhed**	**bløde sikkerhed**s-trusler
DE	**"sanfte" Sicherheit**maßnahmen	**"weichen"** Zusammenarbeit in **Sicherheit**sfragen	**weichen Sicherheit**maßnahmen (soft security)	**latente** Bedrohung der **Sicherheit**
EL	**απλά** ζητήματα **ασφαλείας**	συνεργασίας σε θέματα **ασφαλείας**	**(μη στρατιωτικής) ασφάλειας**	απειλές στην **ασφάλεια μη στρατιωτικού χαρακτήρα**
ES	asuntos de **seguridad leves**	la cooperación en materia de **seguridad no militar (soft security)**	**la seguridad no militar**	los riesgos de **inseguri-dad latentes**
FI	**pehmeän turval-lisuuden** alalla	-	**pehmeää turvalli-suutta**	**"pehmeät" turval-lisuus**uhat
FR	questions de **sécurité non-militaire**	coopération en matière de **sécurité non-mi-litaire**	**le sentiment de sécurité**	les risques **d'insécurité latents**
IT	questioni di **sicurezza meno gravi**	cooperazione **"leg-gera"** nel settore della sicurezza	**la sicurezza**	le minacce **latenti alla sicurezza**
NL	**secundaire veilighe-id**skwesties	**"zachte" veiligheids**-samenwerking	**soft security (niet-militaire veiligheid)**	**niet-militaire** bedreigingen van de **veiligheid**
PT	assuntos de **segurança menos prementes**	cooperação em matéria de **segurança não mili-tar (soft security)**	**segurança**	as ameaças **latentes à segurança**
SV	**mjuka säkerhet**sfrågor	**"mjukt" säkerhet**s-samarbete	**"mjuka" säkerheten**	**"mjuka"** hot mot **säkerheten**

As Table No 3 shows, besides the English and Swedish documents, the rest contain large fluctuations when translating epithet "soft". Besides the common "soft" and "gentle" texts in national languages also contain such epithets as "less critical", "simpler", "not militaristic", "less important, serious", "secondary", "less problematic", "light", "latent", "civil", the phrase "feeling of safety", or the epithet is missing. Like in Table No. 2, the English phrase "soft security" rests as either the main or supplementary term and is sometimes enclosed in parenthesis, while in others it is not.

It is important to notice that no noticeable differences between two sets of interpretations of the same concepts made by representatives of two different "blocs" (those of former communist countries and those with liberal democratic tradition) can be detected.

The analysis of the texts of the abovementioned documents suggests that notions "soft security" and "soft power" are only in the process of being fully transposed from the Anglo-Saxon context to other linguistic-cultural contexts since currently those notions are being represented by different terms even within the same language or using terms in English as replacements or complimentary terms in the non-English texts,

and quite often those terms are within parenthesis. Even though both concepts ("soft security" and "soft power") represent some similarity (the epithet "soft" is included in both cases), their interpretations in certain languages differ due to politicians' and/ or translators' belief that they reflect some certain features, including social connotations, that should be reflected in the text. For example, "soft security" is described as "peaceful", "peaceful means", "broad", "insignificant", "weak", "other", "low", "less critical", "simpler", "not militaristic", "less important, serious", "secondary", "less problematic", "light", "latent" or "civil" security. These epithets are never used in translations of "soft power" into other EU languages.

Identification of social practices related to "soft security" and "soft power"

Table No 4 shows certain forms, patterns and features of social practices related to "soft security" identified in different EU document texts. As a general rule, they are presented as list of examples of organised activities ranging from humanitarian aid to quality management. One of the documents underlines the notion's "soft security" relation with norms and values (human rights, social equality).

Table 4. **Description of social practices related to "soft security"**

Document CELEX Number	Description"
22009P0316(02) C2009/061/04	Whereas the multitude of tasks entailed in mandates for protection of civilians pulls peacekeepers in different directions and forces are increasingly engaging in "soft security" issues, such as development, reconstruction and long-term peace building, all activities for which military forces do not typically train.
52006IP0270 52005IP0207	Acknowledges Russia's potential as a special strategic partner for providing peace, stability and security, and fighting international terrorism and violent extremism, as well as addressing "soft security" issues such as environmental and nuclear hazards, drugs, arms and human trafficking and cross-border organized crime in the European neighborhood in cooperation with the OSCE and other international fora.
52001DC0154	18. The notion of foreign policy co-operation is widening to encompass global challenges from organized crime, money laundering to cybercrime and other illegal use of the Internet as well as migration-related issues; non-proliferation and soft security threats such as the spread of infectious diseases, environmental degradation and global warming. We have a common interest in dealing with this growing set of problems that cannot be solved by individual countries. Moving into this new zone of cross-border activities will require ever closer co-ordination with the United States.

Document CELEX Number	Description"
52000DC0241	In pursuing the goal of global security the European Union is interested in engaging with Asian ASEM partners in a security dialogue, which should complement this ongoing work by drawing in particular on the informality of the ASEM process, and in sharing our respective regional experiences in fields such as analysis, planning and training in relation to conflict prevention and peace-keeping, reconciliation process, humanitarian assistance and other aspects of "soft" security co-operation. Exchanges on "new security issues" including interna-tional crime and terrorism, information and other piracy and cyber warfare will also be important. Fostering support, in relevant fora, for determined action to stem proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, encouraging universal compliance with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Biological Weapons Convention could supplement the agenda.
52005SC0892	More specifically, human security has mainly been analyzed at individual and community level and is often seen as a 'soft security' issue. However, bringing human security into the picture is also relevant for an analysis at state level. At this level, using people's security as a point of reference means emphasizing good governance, Human Rights, sustainable development, social equity and poverty reduction at the centre, rather than focusing on the power, the territorial integrity or the military security of the state. Here too, the human security perspective is crucial since it helps us to highlight a number of issues which are now seen as integral objectives of EC development policy, including poverty reduction, sustainable development and good governance.

In majority cases notion of "soft security" refers to two different sets of social realities. One of those sets is reviewed as a generator of harmful effects and is indicated as "soft security threats" or "soft security issues to be addressed" and refers to (a) environmental and nuclear hazards, drugs, arms and human trafficking and cross-border organised crime; (b) the spread of infectious diseases, environmental degradation and global warming. The second set is presented as combination of instruments supposed to countervail, diminish or eliminate those harmful effects and is referred as "soft security issues to be engaged in" or "soft security cooperation" and concerns such social practices as (a) engagement in "soft security" issues, such as development, reconstruction and long-term peace building, all activities for which military forces do not typically train; (b) addressing "soft security" issues ….. in cooperation with the OSCE and other international fora; (c) analysis, planning and training in relation to conflict prevention and peace-keeping, reconciliation process, humanitarian assistance and other aspects of "soft" security co-operation; (d) good governance, Human Rights, sustainable development, social equity and poverty reduction at the centre, rather than focusing on the power, the territorial integrity or the military security of the state.

Table No 5 encompasses characteristics in respect of notion "soft power".

Table 5. **Description of social practices related to "soft power"**

Document No.	Description
52009SC0831	Development and external assistance are now central policies of the EU. They are major components of its international influence and effective instruments of its soft power.
52007DC0242	Europe's cultural richness and diversity is closely linked to its role and influence in the world. The European Union is not just an economic process or a trading power, it is already widely - and accurately - perceived as an unprecedented and successful social and cultural project. The EU is, and must aspire to become even more, an example of a "soft power" founded on norms and values such as human dignity, solidarity, tolerance, freedom of expression, respect for diversity and intercultural dialogue, values which, provided they are upheld and promoted, can be of inspiration for the world of tomorrow.
52006DC0649	Enlargement has been at the heart of the EU's development over several decades. The very essence of European integration is to overcome the division of Europe and to contribute to the peaceful unification of the continent. Politically, EU enlargement has helped respond to major changes such as the fall of dictatorships and the collapse of communism. It has consolidated democracy, human rights and stability across the continent. Enlargement reflects the EU's essence as a soft power, which has achieved more through its gravitational pull than it could have achieved by other means.
52005SC0892	In 2004, the Commission financially supported initiatives undertaken by European development NGOs in areas where the beneficiary populations are the poorest, the most vulnerable and the most marginalized. This area of activity is significant in size (budget €200 million) and in geographical scope (206 new projects in over 100 developing countries in 2004), and is viewed by other stakeholders like the European Parliament, the Member States and the international donor community as a fundamental component of the soft-power projection of the European Union.
52004IE0855	2.5 Although Americans were more internationalist in 2002 than prior to September 11, 2001, Americans and Europeans differ widely on foreign policy issues such as US global leadership or on how to respond to threats(7). Both Americans and Europeans see unilateralism as a problem. Both view the United Nations favorably and want to strengthen it, but Americans are willing to bypass the UN if required by national interest. Although soft power grows out of both US culture and US policies(8), Europe places a greater emphasis on it(9) and large majorities on both sides of the Atlantic say that the EU's soft power can have influence to solve world problems through diplomacy, trade or development aid(10).

Analogically, some of abovementioned features are noticeable and also applicable to the texts related to the notion of "soft power": it is presented as referring to certain non-military social practises (social actions, social processes, or social systems). In one of the documents "soft power" is defined as related to certain norms and values (such as human dignity, solidarity, etc.). From the point of view of functional relationship those characteristics as well can be divided into two groups (sets) of specific social practices. One of them relates to the description of problematic social processes and social systems: (a) dictatorships, communism, (b) poverty, vulnerability and marginalization of certain populations. They are viewed as producing certain threats and challenges which can be met with the help of the instruments related to "soft power". Second set is description of those instruments and their application (reflected as "soft power projection", "inspiration", "achieving through gravitational pull') and refers to: (a) development and external assistance; (b) initiatives undertaken by European development NGOs as a fundamental component of the soft-power projection of the European Union; (c) diplomacy, trade or development aid…. (d) EU enlargement which reflects the EU's essence as a soft power, (e) EU norms and values such as human dignity, solidarity, tolerance, freedom of expression, respect for diversity and intercultural dialogue.

Table No 5 also provides reference to "soft power" as a product of US culture and US policies which, though, received greater emphasis within EU policies.

It is important to note, that description of "soft power" includes attempts to present its positive role and comparative strength based on its attractiveness in achieving policy goals by the EU. This has never been the case in the texts related to concept of "soft security". It should be also noted that in one of the reviewed documents, which contains the notion "soft power", an attempt is made at comparing EU and USA in terms of their attitude and resources allocated to this form of power as well as the similarity of their views in respect of this kind of power. However, certain sets of organized activities that produce risks and threats to societies and are mentioned in the texts containing "soft security" (drug trafficking for example) are never presented as related to "soft power". The latter is projected towards long – term processes and political systems (dictatorships, communism, poverty, vulnerability and marginalization of certain populations) that are viewed as producing certain threats and challenges which can be met with the help of "soft power" related instruments.

Conclusions

1. On one hand, the analysis shows that the notions of "soft power" and "soft security" of EU documents are not yet clearly defined. Variety of terms that are used in numerous EU cultural – linguistic contexts and their descriptions within EU documentations in many cases is very broad. On the other hand it suggests that there is an overall shared understanding that the concepts of "soft security" and "soft power" are associated with sets of certain non – military social practices. Usually those sets are regarded as belonging to two different groups. One set is regarded as EU international

policy issues and external instability management targets embedding certain risks and threats, which are supposed to be countervailed by "soft measures". Another is reviewed as particular set of instruments for countervailing, minimizing and elimination of those risks and threats. As far as "soft" (security or power) related international policy and management targets are concerned, their scope and content is very broad and is described by mentioning a number of examples of social practices which are viewed as problematic issues that could be solved without application of "hard" measures. Function of "soft" (security or power) related instruments of international policies and management is attributed to certain non-military forms and patterns of social practices which also are described as an extensive list of examples.

2.   Interpretation of the notions involves not only a large domain of associated phrases and their meanings but also some contradictions: while instruments associated with "soft power" are generally valued as beneficial and positive (political statements refer to "soft power's" comparative strength based on its attractiveness in achieving policy goals), "soft security" is interpreted, in some linguistic cases, as "insignificant", "weak", "low", "less critical", "simpler", "less important (serious)", "secondary". Such scepticism in respect of "soft security" related instruments could be caused by several factors, such as an evidence of low efficiency or failure of some "soft security" related EU programmes and projects, and/or the stereotypes and pre-assumptions attributing strength to "hard" (power or security) and weakness to "soft" measures. Nevertheless "soft power" and "soft security" related instruments are actively promoted and expanded by EU programmes and projects outside its borders.

3.   Contradicting tendencies reflected in EU documents could be regarded as reflection of EU political debate in which EU member states attempt to harmonize their goals (and their means of realizing those goals) while maintaining their sphere of influence and meeting contemporary challenges to peace and security. On the one hand, this shows that albeit the process of convergence of underlying assumptions, views and cultures exists, they in some aspects remain polarized as different agents seek to find new political tools to replace or complement existing ones. On the other hand, these contradicting views and evaluations call for deeper and more extensive debates and research, which could enhance efficiency of the "soft" security and power instruments and thus provide better opportunities for effective EU foreign policy.

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COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CONCEPTS "SOFT SECURITY" AND "SOFT POWER" IN EU LEGISLATION

Sigita Kavaliūnaitė

Summary

The aim of an article is to reveal opinions of politicians representing European Union (EU) member states concerning the concepts of "soft security" and "soft power" as well as underlying assumptions and principles in respect of the relationship between those notions and EU policy and management instruments used for increasing international influence and strengthening stability. The research, based on discourse analysis, has shown large variety of descriptions of social realities "captured" by those concepts as well as terminology in national languages used for translation of those terms that have been "imported" from Anglo-Saxon cultural-linguistic tradition. There is an overall shared understanding that the concepts of "soft security" and "soft power" reflect certain forms and patterns of social practices which exclude military dimension. In majority cases notions of "soft security" and "soft power" refer to two different sets of social realities with one of those sets being considered as generator of harmful effects and the second being presented as combination of instruments supposed to countervail, diminish or eliminate those harmful effects. "Soft power" and "soft security" related instruments are actively promoted and expanded by EU programmes and projects outside its borders. The scope and content of those social practises is very broad, while evaluation of their significance and role as policy and management tools reflects dualistic approach.

SĄVOKŲ „MINKŠTASIS (ŠVELNUSIS) SAUGUMAS" IR „MINKŠTOJI (ŠVELNIOJI) GALIA" ES TESĖS AKTUOSE LYGINAMOJI ANALIZĖ

Sigita Kavaliūnaitė

Santrauka

Straipsnio tikslas – atskleisti Europos Sąjungai (ES) atstovaujančių politikų nuomones, išreikštas vartojant sąvokas „minkštasis (švelnusis) saugumas" ir „minkštoji (švelnioji) galia", taip pat prielaidas bei principus, kuriais vadovaujamasi vartojant šias sąvokas, siejamas su ES tarptautinės įtakos didinimo ir stabilumo stiprinimo politikos ir valdymo instrumentais. Tyrimas, atliktas remiantis diskurso analize, atskleidė

didelę socialinės realybės, kurią atspindi šios sąvokos, aprašymų bei terminų, var-tojamų perkeliant šias sąvokas iš anglosaksų lingvistinės tradicijos į ES nacionlines kalbas, įvairovę. Tačiau visuomet šios sąvokos siejamos su tam tikromis socialinės praktikos formomis bei struktūromis, nesusijusiomis su kariniu aspektu. Daugeliu atvejų sąvokos „minkštasis (švelnusis) saugumas" ir „minkštoji (švelnioji) galia" sie-jamos su dviem socialinės realybės veiksniais: vienas iš jų suvokiamas kaip žalingo poveikio generatorius, o kitas pateikiamas kaip instrumentų, kurie turėtų sumažinti ar pašalinti šiuos žalingus poveikius, derinys. Su „minkštąja (švelniąja) galia" ir su „minkštuoju (švelniuoju) saugumu" susiję instrumentai aktyviai skatinami ir plėtoja-mi už ES ribų per įvairias ES programas ir projektus. Šios socialinės praktikos rūšys pagal veikimo sritis ir turinį yra apibūdinamos labai plačiai, o jų, kaip politikos ir valdymo įrankių, svarba ir vaidmuo vertinami dvejopai.

Sigita Kavaliūnaitė is a doctoral student of Mykolas Romeris University, Faculty of Politics and Management, Department of Political Sciences.
E. mail: sigita.kavaliunaite@urm.lt
Sigita Kavaliūnaitė – Mykolo Romerio universiteto Politikos ir vadybos fakulteto Politikos mokslų katedros doktorantė.
E. paštas sigita.kavaliunaite@urm.lt