



# European Security and Defence Policy

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## 1 Introduction and Executive Summary

Although originally a strictly economic partnership, after more than 67 years of European co-operation, the Union has developed several significant common approaches to foreign, security and defence policy. The EU is comprised 28 different member states with 28 different—sometimes even conflicting—views on foreign policy issues. Thus, establishing a common stance and sharing a common Representative on an international stage does not always go smoothly. Further, many Western and Eastern European members also share a commitment to NATO, that comes with certain political duties. These may not always be shared with the non-NATO members of the EU, such as Ireland and Austria, that would rather like to keep a neutral stance in international conflicts. Ultimately, European leaders will have to find a compromise, that does not infringe on member states' individual liberties and opinions, while at the same time guaranteeing the freedom and security of the EU's infrastructure (e.g. the single market) in particular and the whole of Europe in general.

In the debate you are tasked with

- assessing the current state of the European Defence Strategy,
- discussing the pros and cons of transferring more responsibilities to the EU, and
- establishing a common direction in which the EU's common foreign policy should go.

This document is an outline of the general history and elements of European foreign and defence policy. To further research individual positions or look for previous decisions on the matter, please consult the general study guide, the other country study guides or do some research on your own.

## 2 History

The European Union traces its roots back to the European Coal and Steel Community, that was founded after WWII by six European nations with the purpose of streamlining industrial production. As the continent was just recovering from the devastating results of the Second World War, at its foundation in 1951, there was no intent of finding a common stance on issues of security and defence. As the Community progressed, members started to co-operate and support each other in international trade negotiations. As trade and commerce can never be seen as singular issues, informal consultation on political matters between member states increased. Under the European Political Co-operation (EPC) in the seventies, a common approach to foreign policy issues, that promoted international co-operation, human rights, democracy, and the rule of law, was established.

Parallel to the economic progress in the European Economic Community (EEC), many of its core members co-founded or later joined NATO. While support among European members grew along with the development of the EEC, the Euro-American relationship ebbed and flowed, along with doubts over American foreign policy overseas, as well as the credibility of NATO defence against a Soviet



**Fig. 1:** Representing the European Union on a global stage: *left* High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Federica Mogherini, *right* President of the European Council Donald Tusk.

invasion.

With the collapse of the Warsaw Pact and the fall of the Iron Curtain, the Treaty's focus shifted focus. NATO and the Soviet Union agreed to military reduction across the continent. At that time, European countries accounted for 34% of NATO's military spending; by 2016, this had fallen to 26 percent. [1] NATO also began its gradual expansion toward Central and Eastern European nations, and extended its activities into political and humanitarian situations that had not formerly been NATO concerns.

Under the Maastricht Treaty in 1993, the European Union (EU) was established. Additionally to the already existing EEC, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters (PJCCM) as second and third pillar were established. The CFSP was based on intergovernmentalism, which meant unanimity between members in the Council of Ministers and little influence by the other institutions. Over the years, the office of the High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy was established, to co-ordinate and represent the EU's foreign policy.

With the Treaty of Lisbon in 2009 ended the pillar system. Instead, it created the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, which is in charge of the European External Action Service (EEAS). It essentially is intended to be a common Foreign Office or Diplomatic Corps for the European Union.

## 3 CFSP and CSDP [2]

The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), first introduced by the Maastricht Treaty, followed the European Political Cooperation (EPC), which was launched by the Member States of the European Economic Community (EEC) in the seventies. The Amsterdam and Nice Treaties further strengthened the CFSP, which was then further complemented by a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP/today CSDP), deemed necessary to boost the European Union's credibility as a security policy actor and full security partner

on the international stage.

The European Security Strategy, which defines the main political and security priorities of the EU and its Member States, is pivotal in this development process. The ARTEMIS operation in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and the PROXIMA operation in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM, today North Macedonia), run under the ESDP/CSDP, fostered and were testing grounds for the development of crisis management tools and capacities. Since then, military operations and European civil and police missions have taken place in Africa, the Balkans, the Middle East, Asia and Eastern Europe.

The Treaty of Lisbon retained the majority of provisions contained in the Constitution, including those connected with the CFSP and CSDP, especially the President of the European Council, the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, the European External Action Service (EEAS), stronger CFSP and ESDP institutions (though the ESDP acronym has now been supplanted by CSDP) and closer cooperation on defence matters.

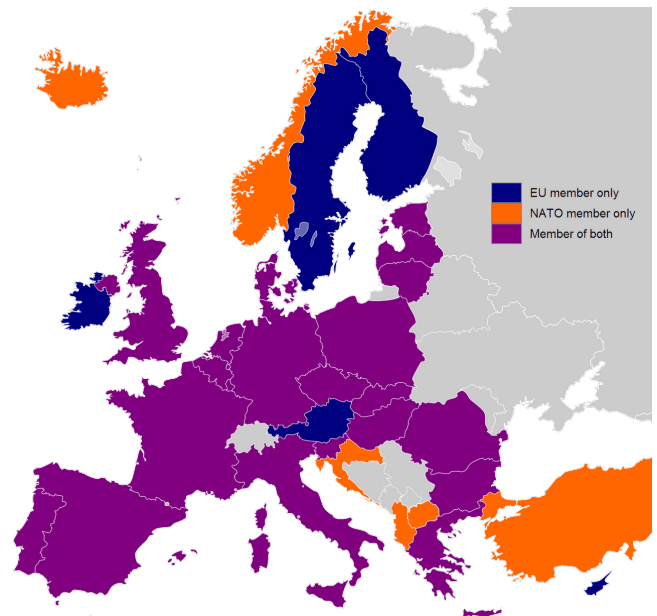
The Treaty of Lisbon provides the EU with modern institutions and optimal working methods for efficiently and effectively tackling the challenges in today's world, and it also gives Europe a clear voice in relations with its partners worldwide, harnessing the EU's economic, political, diplomatic and humanitarian strengths to promote European interests and values worldwide, while also respecting the particular foreign policy interests of the Member States. Foreign policy instruments are now bundled together, both in the development and adoption of new policies:

- The High Representative for the Union in Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, who is also Vice-President of the European Commission, represents the Union's interests in the international arena and enhancing its coherence and visibility. Incumbent since 2014 is Federica Mogherini.
- The European External Action Service (EEAS) works similar to a common Foreign Office or Diplomatic Corps for the European Union.
- The EU's single legal personality for the Union strengthens its leverage in negotiations, making it more effective on the world stage and a more visible partner for third countries and international organisations.
- The President of the European Council serves as the Union's representative in his or her sphere and capacity as the Union's external representative on CFSP-related matters, the President of the European Council serves as the Union's external representative, without encroaching on the powers assigned to the High Representative for the Union in Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.

Established in the year 2000 under the CFSP, the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) is the EU's main tool for defence and crisis management. The CSDP coordinates peace-keeping missions, provides conflict prevention and enables the EU to strengthen international security. It is an integral part of the EU's comprehensive approach towards crisis management, drawing on civilian and military assets.

Being a community of states, naturally the EU neither has an army, nor a drafting body at its disposal. Hence, CSDP-co-ordinated military missions are carried out by EU forces established with contributions from the member states' own armed forces. Similar to the Article 5 of the *North Atlantic Treaty*, the CSDP also entails collective self-defence amongst member states. Structural integration of national armed forces under the CSDP is pursued through the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO, see 5) in which 25 of the 28 national armed forces are involved.

The CSDP structure is headed by the Union's High Representative, who is responsible for proposing and implementing CSDP decisions. Such decisions are adopted unanimously by the



**Fig. 2:** EU and NATO Membership in Europe. ■ NATO only, ■ EU only, ■ member of both.

Foreign Affairs Council (FAC). The structure is comprised of the External Action Service (EEAS, "EU Foreign and Defence Ministry"), a number of FAC preparatory bodies, as well as four agencies, including the Defence Agency (EDA). This whole CSDP structure is sometimes referred to as the European Defence Union (EDU), especially in relation to its prospective development as the EU's defence arm.

#### 4 European Defence Fund [7]

In 2017, the Commission launched the European Defence Fund as a means of helping Member States spend taxpayer money more efficiently, reduce duplications in spending, and get better value for money. Announced by President Juncker in September 2016, and backed by the European Council in December 2016, the Fund will coordinate, supplement and amplify national investments in defence research, in the development of prototypes and in the acquisition of defence equipment and technology.

The European Defence Fund's annual budget of €5.5 bln. will be split over the two branches of Research and Development:

- **Research:** The EU offers grants for collaborative research in innovative defence technologies and products, fully and directly funded from the EU budget.
- **Development and Acquisition:** From 2019, the Fund will create incentives for Member States to cooperate on joint development and the acquisition of defence equipment and technology through co-financing from the EU budget and practical support from the Commission. Member States may for example jointly invest in developing drone technology or satellite communication, or bulk buy helicopters to reduce costs. Only collaborative projects will be eligible, and a proportion of the overall budget will be earmarked for projects involving cross-border participation of SMEs.

#### 5 PESCO [8]

To further enhance firepower of EU leadership when addressing both European and global security and defence concerns, the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) was established in December 2017. Under PESCO, a set of 17 projects was adopted in March



2018 raising the co-operation among the 25 participating EU Member States to a new level.

In general, military co-operation among EU Member States on defense is nothing new *per se* and has been conducted in different formats in the past including on joint training and exercise or acquisition and development of military equipment. PESCO builds on these examples but enhances the scope and outcome in three respects:

First, collaboration between participating EU Member States is no longer *ad hoc*, but formal, sustainable and binding. It is a framework and a structured process to gradually deepen defence cooperation in line with the identified capabilities needed in order to provide security to EU citizens, as well as international partners. Second, the majority of PESCO projects are linked to operational needs, with several stemming from lessons identified in the field. The projects also tackle security demands in areas of increasing relevance such as cybersecurity, maritime surveillance and training. Lastly, PESCO is not a stand-alone tool but one designed to complement other tools and instruments. For example, the European Defence Fund will support certain projects financially, while the Coordinated Annual Review on Defence (CARD) will support Member States' efforts to better identify opportunities for new collaborative initiatives (in particular PESCO projects) based on capability shortfalls. Thus, the latter provides a clear overview at EU level of defence spending, national investment and research efforts to avoid duplication and streamline resources.

## 6 EU-NATO Strategic Partnership [6]

On 8 July 2016, Presidents Juncker and Tusk and NATO Secretary General Stoltenberg signed a Joint Declaration to give new impetus and substance to the EU-NATO strategic partnership, outlining seven concrete areas to enhance cooperation. It outlined seven concrete areas where cooperation between the two organisations should be enhanced:

- countering hybrid threats;
- operational cooperation including at sea and on migration;
- cyber security and defence;
- defence capabilities;
- defence industry and research;
- exercises;
- supporting Eastern and Southern partners' capacity-building efforts.

In 2014, President Juncker remarked that in defence matters, it is not about establishing the European Union as an alternative model to NATO. Both have to work together and cooperate. In the defence sector we must have enhanced cooperation which the Lisbon Treaty also provides for. On procurement, in particular, we need to work together more rather than against each other, to obtain what we both need.

It is important to stress that not all EU members are also members of NATO and not all European NATO members are in the EU (see Figure 2).

## 7 Agenda

As the European Council does not write European legislation, but rather defines the overall course of the EU, we will look less at specific figures, and rather discuss the direction of European defence.

In his Sorbonne *Initiative for Europe*, President Macron said on defence that the EU needs to ensure "Europe's autonomous operating capabilities, in complement to NATO." With PESCO and the European Defence Fund, he sees a framework for the defence of Europe, that need to be filled with content by its member states. However, when moving together on an issue as significant to the

national states, as defence and foreign politics, certain political consequences arise, such as the neutrality of certain European states, the relationship to NATO and European overseas involvement.

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