

Forum: Disarmament and International Security Committee (GA1)

Issue: The Question of the Expansion of the common EU defense policy

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INTRODUCTION

The topic under discussion is one that has concerned many EU countries for decades, and it can be considered as one of the most important issues that is being debated in the Council of the European Union. As the EU is integrating into an ever-closer union, the question of the expansion of the common EU defense force digs up. The goal of the European Defense Cooperation is to assure and strengthen Europe's defense from internal and external threats and conflicts. Hence, the EU has managed to either found some organs that will help Europe's defense or cooperate with already existing organizations so as to achieve the aforementioned goal.

All in all, European defense has always been a topic under consideration, especially when thinking of all the problems the EU should face, such as the threat of uncontrolled refugee influx and tensions caused by non-members of the EU. In the last decades, the European Union has tried to establish a common defense policy with the aim of responding to any external conflicts and crises as well as to protect all EU citizens, in a regimented way. Especially in the last few years, the Council of the EU has tried to promote the already existing common EU defense policy, seeing that the defense cooperation of all EU countries in the past has already solved some of its problems. Nevertheless, there are a lot of other problems that remain unsolved and in some cases may not be solved until an expansion of the common EU defense policy is granted.

DEFINITION OF KEY-TERMS

The Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP)



EUROPEAN UNION CSDP MISSIONS AND OPERATIONS 2020

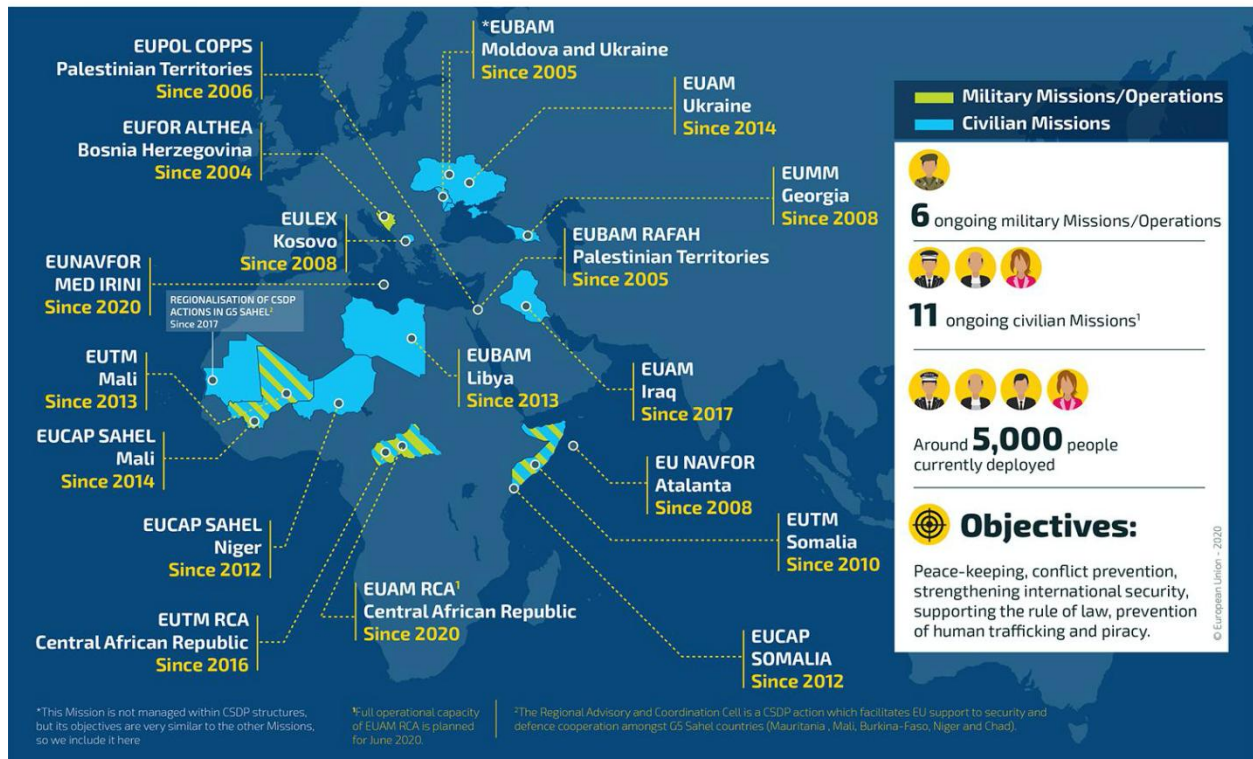


FIGURE 1: CSDP MISSIONS AND OPERATIONS

"The Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) enables the Union to take a leading role in peacekeeping operations, conflict prevention and the strengthening of international security. It is an integral part of the EU's comprehensive approach towards crisis management, drawing on civilian and military assets."¹

European Defense Agency (EDA)

"The European Defense Agency is an agency of the European Union that promotes and facilitates integration between member states within the European Union's Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP). The EDA is headed by the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and reports to the Council."²

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

"The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is an intergovernmental military alliance between 29 North American and European countries. As far as NATO's military section is concerned, it is committed to the peaceful resolution of disputes. If diplomatic efforts fail, it has the military power to undertake crisis-management operations. NATO promotes democratic values and enables members to consult and cooperate with each

¹ "The Common Security And Defence Policy (CSDP)". *EEAS - European External Action Service - European Commission*, 2020, https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/common-security-and-defence-policy-csdp/431/common-security-and-defence-policy-csdp_en.

² "European Defence Agency". *Eda.Europa.Eu*, 2020, <https://www.eda.europa.eu/home>.

other on defense and security-related issues to solve problems, build trust and, in the long run, prevent conflict."³

Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)

According to the Treaty on European Union, "the Common Foreign and Security Policy encompasses all areas of foreign and security policy. The civilian and military assets and capabilities of Common Security and Defense Policy are at its disposal. Common foreign and security policy is often concerned with preventing and dealing with crises as well as post-conflict peace-building."⁴



FIGURE 2: TASKS OF THE EU'S COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY (CFSP)

European Defense Fund (EDF)

³ "What Is NATO?". *What Is NATO?*, 2020, <https://www.nato.int/nato-welcome/index.html>.

⁴ Amt, Auswärtiges. "Aims And Characteristics Of The CFSP". *German Federal Foreign Office*, 2020, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aussenpolitik/europa/aussenpolitik/gasp/-/228304>.

"The European Defense Fund is a fund managed by the European Union, which tries to coordinate and increase investment in defense research and to improve relations between national forces."⁵

Coordinated Annual Review on Defense (CARD)

"The Coordinated Annual Review on Defense is a process of monitoring the defense plans of each European Union member state to help coordinate spending and identify possible collaborative projects."⁶

Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO)

"The Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) in the area of security and defense policy was established by a Council decision on December 11th 2017, with 25 EU Member States participating. The possibility for Member States to engage in PESCO - on a voluntary basis - was introduced by article 42(6) of the Lisbon Treaty on European Union (TEU) which provides that those Member States whose military capabilities fulfill higher criteria, and which have made more binding commitments to one another in this area, shall establish a permanent structured cooperation within the EU framework. PESCO allows thus willing and able member states to jointly plan, develop and invest in shared capability projects, and enhance the operational readiness and contribution of their armed forces."⁷

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The European Defense Community (EDC)

The European Defense Community was created in the aftermath of the World War II. In practical terms, western European powers along with the support of the United States attempted to form a supranational European army in order to equalize the profuse military ascendancy of the Soviet Union in Europe. The fear of a potential Soviet invasion was increasing; hence European countries had to tackle this issue.

The idea of creating an EU force was formally introduced at the Hague Conference of 1948. The idea originated from the Korean War and the French political

⁵ "All You Want To Know About The EU Defence Fund, And Why This Is Not Good For Peace Nor For Jobs And Growth | European Network Against Arms Trade". *Enaat.Org*, 2020, <http://enaat.org/eu-defence-fund>.

⁶ *Eda.Europa.Eu*, 2020, <https://www.eda.europa.eu/what-we-do/our-current-priorities/coordinated-annual-review-on-defence->.

⁷ "Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO)". *Eda.Europa.Eu*, 2020, [https://www.eda.europa.eu/what-we-do/our-current-priorities/permanent-structured-cooperation-\(PESCO\)](https://www.eda.europa.eu/what-we-do/our-current-priorities/permanent-structured-cooperation-(PESCO)).

René Pleven, heavily influenced by this specific historical event, gradually developed a plan that could fit in the European Union, which was later on put forward Robert Schuman, the French minister, and presented at Council of Europe in 1951.

The opinions about this project varied: some of the weaker members of NATO supported this idea wholeheartedly; however, northern states such as Sweden and Finland opposed to this idea. Nevertheless, the Treaty establishing the European Defense Community was signed between France, Italy, West Germany and Benelux (Luxembourg, Belgium and the Netherlands). As of 1954, the necessity for the newly created Community seemed to diminish. The EDC failed and states such as France have not successfully ratified the Treaty, which established it.⁸

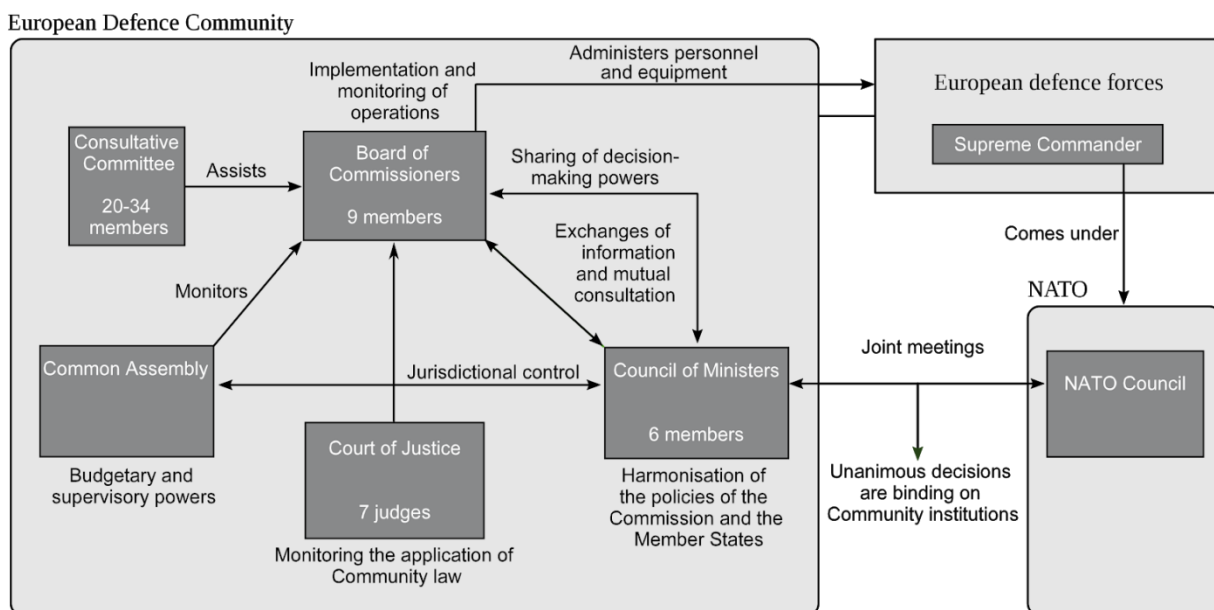


FIGURE 3: DIAGRAM SHOWING THE FUNCTIONING OF THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE EUROPEAN DEFENSE COMMUNITY (EDC), THE PLACING OF MEMBER STATES' ARMED FORCES (EUROPEAN DEFENSE FORCES) AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE COMMUNITY, AND THE LINK BETWEEN THE EDC AND THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO).

European Deterrence Initiative (EDI)

Following the Annexation of Crimea in 2014, the White House introduced a new initiative, called "European Reassurance Initiative", in order to strengthen the U.S. participation in the security and defense sectors of the European Union. President Trump announced his intentions to increase funding. The name "European Deterrence Initiative" was proposed in 2017 and since then, this is the new name used for this

⁸ "European Defense Community". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/European-Defense-Community>.

initiative. In 2019 President Trump announced that some of the funding will be diverted into his project, the "Trump wall", in the US-Mexico borders.

European Defense Fund (EDF)

The European Defense Fund was an idea of the Commission president, which was proposed in 2016 and established in July 2017. EDF aims at co-financing joint defense industrial projects and supporting collaborative defense research across the European Union. Together with CARD and PESCO, EDF forms a new defense package for the European Union. Last year, the Commission introduced the first EU-funded joint defense related industrial projects through the EDF Industrial Development Program.

Military Planning and Conduct Capability (MPCC)

On June 8th, 2017, the Council of the EU established the Military Planning and Conduct Capability. It was created to manage and further improve the EU's crisis management structures. As the Council's decision mentions, "the MPCC will be the static, out-of-area command and control structure at the military-strategic level, responsible for the operational planning and conduct of non-executive missions, including the building up, launching, sustaining and recovery of European Union forces."⁹

Migration Crisis

The Crisis in Syria and the political tensions in the Middle East and Northern Africa have caused an enormous refugee influx. According to the International Organization for Migration (IMO), more than two hundred thousand migrants and immigrants in 2014 and three to four times more entered the EU in 2015. Those people are mainly following the Central Mediterranean, Eastern Mediterranean and Western Balkan routes and the majority of them pass through Greece, Italy, Malta and Turkey.

The main reason behind the constantly increasing number of people entering the EU is the fact that the EU lacks a particular system through which the Member States may share the number of people entering in a more "fair" way. In addition, the need for better border security and harmonized process for asylum seekers between the Member states has increased in the past years.

Terror Threat

International terrorism is something that affects millions of people and is a constantly growing phenomenon, especially within the EU borders. Since 2013, the

⁹ Lenzu, Maria. "EU Defence Cooperation: Council Establishes A Military Planning And Conduct Capability (MPCC)". *Consilium.Europa.Eu*, 2020, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2017/06/08/military-mpcc-planning-conduct-capability/>.

issues of radicalization and foreign terrorist fighters have been common topics under discussion on the agenda of the Council of the European Union. After the terrorist attacks in France and Belgium, the European Union decided to reinforce its policy concerning terrorism. As of February 12th, 2015, EU leaders have agreed upon three areas of action in order to tackle security risks caused by terrorism. Those areas were first of all the protection of the citizens, the prevention of radicalization and cooperation



with international partners.

FIGURE 4: MAP SHOWING THE THREAT LEVELS ACROSS THE EU AND NORTHERN AFRICA

MAJOR COUNTRIES AND ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED

France

The idea of a Common European Defense Force was announced by the President of France, Emmanuel Macron, on November 6th 2018. He stated that only a Common European Defense Force would be able to protect Europe in the light of China

and Russia's arms race, the rise of the Islamic terrorist threat, and the unprecedented disengagement of the US from its European allies.

Germany

On November 13th, 2018, Angela Merkel, Germany's Chancellor, stated during her speech to the European Parliament, that she also wants to create an "actual European army". That been said, many can understand that Germany has been engaged in the topic of European Defense and that can be proved by the numerous actions Germany has taken. For instance, the agreement between Germany and France not only to join the European Intervention Initiative but also to be, alongside with France, the center of the force, can show how much Germany is involved with the European Defense.

United Kingdom (UK)

The United Kingdom has always been an active member of discussions about European defense. This can be identified by the fact that the UK has signed the Saint-Mali Declaration and agreed upon the fact that the UK will provide the EU with military forces in case they are asked to do so. Nevertheless, Brexit has affected relationships between the EU and the UK in the defense sector as well. Currently, the future involvement of the UK remains unclear. It is up to the Member States of the EU to decide whether they want third-party involvement in EU-led initiatives such as PESCO and European Defense Fund or not.

Italy

As far as European Defense Cooperation is concerned, Italy plays a major role. In recent years, especially due to the migration and refugees flows in the Mediterranean, Italy has increased annual funding for the industry of European defense. In 2019 the Italian Government approved funding for a program called "CAMM-ER". "This program is a joint program between MBDA Italy and MBDA UK (MBDA Missile Systems: European developer and manufacturer of missiles), and its subsequent integration into the Italian services' short- to medium-range air-defense systems."¹⁰

United States of America (U.S.)

The U.S. is involved in the European defense sector, since it is member of both NATO and other initiatives that have the aim to achieve security in the EU. The U.S. created the "European Deterrence Initiative", under which various projects are being established. The main project founded under "EDI" is the "Operation Atlantic Resource", which is an armed mission in Ukraine. It was established in 2014 after Russia's action,

¹⁰ "Italian Parliament Approves Funding For CAMM-ER Missile Program". *Defense-Aerospace.Com*, 2020, https://www.defense-aerospace.com/articles-view/feature/5/207899/italian-parliament-green_lights-camm_er-missile-program.html.

mainly after the War in Donbass. As far as Trump's Administration view's over the EU's security and defense initiatives is concerned, he has been negative towards those projects. When it comes to PESCO, Trump supports it, as long as it doesn't take the influence and funds of NATO.¹¹

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

NATO plays, of course, a major role in the European defense sector. Two joint declarations between the EU and NATO have been signed in the past, aiming at strengthening cooperation in military sectors. The EU and NATO work together in sectors such as tackling the refugee crisis, protection of cybersecurity, maritime security, etc.

TIMELINE OF EVENTS

DATE	DESCRIPTION OF EVENT
April 4th 1949	North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was formed
May 27th 1952	The Treaty establishing the European Defense Community was signed
1954	France failed to ratify the Treaty establishing the European Defense Community
December 9th 1991	The European Council lays the foundation for a Common Foreign and Security Policy during a summit in Maastricht
December 26th 1991	Disolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R)

¹¹ Brattberg, Erik. "How Washington Views New European Defense Initiatives". *Carnegie Endowment For International Peace*, 2020, <https://carnegieendowment.org/2020/03/03/how-washington-views-new-european-defense-initiatives-pub-81229>.

June 19th 1992	Petersburg Declaration is being signed
December 1998	The Saint-Malo Declaration is signed between France and the U.K.
June 3rd 1999	The European Security and Defense Policy is being reinforced
1999	The European Council set the Helsinki Headline Goal
December 16th 2002	The Berlin Plus arrangement is signed, allowing the use of NATO structures, mechanisms and assets to carry out ESDP missions.
July 12th 2004	The European Union established the European Defense Agency
December 1st 2009	The Treaty of Lisbon comes into force, Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) replaced the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP)
June 2014	Following the Annexation of Crimea, the U.S.White House introduced a new initiative, the European Deterrence Initiative
July 8th 2016	The first EU-NATO joined declaration is being signed
September 14th 2016	Frontex (European Border and Coast Guard Agency) is being created with Regulation (EU) 2016/1624

November 30th 2016	The European Defense Action Plan is being presented by the European Commission
December 11th 2017	The Council of the European Union establishes PESCO with 25 member states participating
July 10th 2018	A new EU-NATO joined declaration is being signed
November 19th 2018	17 new projects of PESCO are introduced

RELEVANT UN RESOLUTIONS, TREATIES AND EVENTS

Treaty on the European Union (TEU)

The current version of the TEU entered into force in 2009 and is one of the EU's primary treaties. It is divided into 6 parts and further chapters. Chapter II of the fifth part and more specifically articles 42-46 define the provisions on the EU's common security and defense policy.

Maastricht Treaty

The Maastricht Treaty was signed on February 7, 1992, and it actually established the European Union in the form it is known nowadays. This treaty is composed of three main pillars. The first one is the European Communities, the second one enhances the closer collaboration in home affairs and justice and the third one, the one that is important for this topic, the establishment of a common foreign and security policy. The sign of this Treaty created the European citizenship and allowed all citizens to move freely between the Member States. The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) exists alongside the foreign policies of the individual EU Member States, which are obliged to support it and refrain from any action which contradicts to its interests. Article 21 of the Treaty on European Union has the goal to secure, promote, and safeguard the Union's values, fundamental interests, security, independence and integrity. Lastly, it aims at preserving peace, preventing conflicts, strengthening international security.

PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE ISSUE

Establishment of a Common Foreign and Security Policy

The European Council posited back in 1991 in Maastricht the foundations for a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) as well as for a common defense policy. This was the first time of common action in the defense sector by the EU Member States after the Cold War between the US and the Russian Federation.

Petersburg Declaration

On June 19th, 1992, the Ministers of the Western European Union agreed upon military tasks and declared their readiness to make available military units in order to tackle issues such as conflicts and provide the Union and NATO with humanitarian assistance, if needed. The name "Petersburg" derives from Hotel Petersburg in Bonn, where those discussions took place. The tasks were subsumed in the Treaty of the European Union during the European Summit in Amsterdam in 1997.

Saint-Malo Declaration

In December 1998, the then British prime minister, Tony Blair, and one of the former French presidents, Jacques Chirac, signed the Saint-Malo Declaration, which promised to provide the EU with autonomous defense structures. It is said that this declaration was signed as a response to the conflict taking place in Kosovo, seeing that the international community and especially the European Union has failed to provide humanitarian assistance and put an end to it.

Helsinki Headline Goal

The Helsinki Headline Goal was proposed and set by the European Council on the 1999 Summit, which was held in Helsinki. The idea behind this goal was firstly introduced during the formal discussions about the Saint-Malo Declaration. The Helsinki Headline Goal expected the creation of a common European Force with up to 60000 troops till the end of 2003. As of 2004, the EU Council decided to further develop the EU's crisis management mechanism by setting a new Headline Goal, the Headline Goal 2010.

Berlin Plus Arrangement

On December 16th, 2002, the EU and NATO agreed upon some facts on European defense. More specifically, the Berlin Plus Arrangement granted the European Union the use of NATO mechanisms, structures and assets in order to carry

out European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) missions. This was the first actual cooperation between the EU Member States and NATO in terms of defense and security.

NATO-EU Joint Declaration

Cooperation between the EU and NATO in the security and defense sector has always been good since the European Union has not any military force; thus, cooperation with other organizations is needed.

In the past years, two Joint Declarations between EU and NATO have been signed.

The first one was signed at the NATO summit in Warsaw on July 8th, 2016. The President of the European Council, the President of the European Commission, and the NATO Secretary General signed a joint declaration on EU-NATO cooperation. Its aims were to further strengthen the cooperation between the European Union and NATO and to reinforce the strategic partnership between the EU and NATO.



On July 10th, 2018, the European Union and NATO signed a new joint declaration ahead of the NATO summit, which has held on July 11-12, 2018, in Brussels. The outcome of this summit was, as mentioned, a new declaration, which underlined the importance of cooperation between the EU and NATO and set out a shared vision of harmonized actions against common security threats.

Establishment of Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO)

FIGURE 5: COOPERATION BETWEEN EU AND NATO IN THE AREAS BEING SHOWED

PESCO was established in December 2017 by the European Council and was introduced by the Lisbon Treaty, and more specifically in Articles 42.6, 46 and in Protocol 10. The aim of PESCO is to raise and push for cooperation between the 25 participating members of the EU (Malta and Denmark are not members of

PESCO). Currently, there are 47 projects to be developed by PESCO in several areas such as cybersecurity, space surveillance, autonomous maritime systems, etc.¹²

As far as the future of PESCO is concerned, the 25 member states subscribed to more binding commitments such as to invest, plan, develop and operate defense capabilities, within the European Union's framework. PESCO has already and will increase the EU's capacity as an international security actor, contribute to the protection of the EU citizens and maximize the effectiveness of defense spending in the near future.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

The creation of an EU army: Is this possible to be achieved in the near future?

Many EU leaders have called upon the creation of a Common European Defense Force which essentially means that national armies should be used for a federal one, based on the American Model. Although a Common European Defense Force might sound a good idea for the EU's future, it is impossible to be created soon, because of the current political status of the European Union. Still, the fact that the leaders of the two most powerful countries of the EU, more specifically the President of France and the Chancellor of Germany stated that a Common Defense Force is essential, shows a strong awareness. In fact, Europe can no longer rely only on NATO and the US. In addition, the appearance of new threats, such as China and Russia, leads to the need of reinforcement of the defense efforts. However, a rise within the expenditure effort in the short term, combined with a stronger logistic assistance and support, can give a progressive convergence towards a Europe with a powerful and independent defense.

Further integration and expansion of the EU's defense policy

On the one hand, there are several Member States that are willing to further integrate into sectors such as security and defense sector. Countries that host a large number of immigrants and migrants belong to this sector, seeing that they need better protection of the borders, especially when taking into consideration that those borders are the EU's external ones as well.

On the other hand, there are other Member States that do not want to depend on the European Union and prefer to establish and implement their own defense policy. Such countries can be either the ones that do not face serious security risks or states

¹² "PESCO | Member States Driven". *Pesco.Europa.Eu*, 2020, <https://pesco.europa.eu>.

that should face alarming security issues that have to be tackled immediately and thus cannot wait until the bureaucracy, which should be faced in the EU procedures for such an issue, is finished until such an Army is established. In addition to that, many countries believe that deeper integration indicates limited sovereignty over national interest.

Euroscepticism and Financial Crisis

Currently there are many member-states of the EU that are considering leaving the Union, since they believe that they are not benefited from the European Union and are ready to hold referendums so as to exit it. Euroscepticism refers to the act of questioning European Union's power and as a result its member-states want to withdraw or halt their membership. It is a term different from "anti- Europeanism". Anti-Europeanism refers to the rejection of European Union's values and culture, as well as, strongly questioning EU's authority over its member-states. Euroscepticism is an idea that is widely spread throughout the political parties, especially radical and right-wing parties in Europe, and has led to their rise, as well as the rise of political radicalism. Euroscepticism may also lead to lack of solidarity among the EU nations, which is a key when it comes to common defense policy. Hence, Euroscepticism directly affects the question of deeper integration and therefore, it hinders the European Union's plan of action when it comes to defense policy and border protection. Lastly, the unwillingness of many countries to financially contribute to organizations such as NATO and to other initiatives such as PESCO, etc. negatively affects the actions taken already.

Key points a resolution should include

As far as the resolution that has to be prepared is concerned, delegates could elaborate more on the following points:

First and foremost, a question that has to be answered is how will EU leaders increase the European security and how should sovereignty-related concerns be tackled. Furthermore, should the EU enforce cooperation with third countries and organizations in order to step up the external action to counter terrorism and if yes, how could the EU achieve that? In addition, the question of expansion is a difficult one, since nobody is sure whether it can be achieved by strengthening the already existing regulations and institutions or new ones should be created. Lastly, seeing that the EU has neither an army nor military personnel, who will be the granter of this personnel and how will the EU Member States ensure that the training and the movement of military assets across the continent will be efficient?

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