COMMON SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY

The Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) sets the framework for EU political and military structures and for military and civilian missions and operations abroad. The 2016 EU Global Strategy lays out the strategy underlying the CSDP, while the Lisbon Treaty provides legal clarity on institutional aspects and strengthens the role of the European Parliament. The CSDP has undergone major strategic and operational changes recently. Faced with security challenges and popular demand for increased EU responses, the CSDP is continuing to evolve.

LEGAL BASIS

The Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) is an integral part of the Union’s Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).[1] The CSDP is framed by the Treaty on European Union (TEU). Article 41 outlines the funding of the CFSP and CSDP, and the policy is further described in Articles 42 to 46, in Chapter 2, Section 2 of Title V (‘Provisions on the Common Security and Defence Policy’), and in Protocols 1, 10 and 11 and Declarations 13 and 14. The particular role of the European Parliament in the CFSP and CSDP is described in Article 36 of the TEU.

PARTICULARITIES OF THE CSDP

Decisions relating to the CSDP are taken by the European Council and the Council of the European Union (Article 42 TEU). They are taken by unanimity, with some notable exceptions relating to the European Defence Agency (EDA, Article 45 TEU) and permanent structured cooperation (PESCO, Article 46 TEU), to which majority voting applies. Proposals for decisions are normally made by the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, who also acts as Vice-President of the European Commission (the VP/HR, now Federica Mogherini).

The Lisbon Treaty introduced the notion of a European capabilities and armaments policy (Article 42(3) TEU), though this has yet to be framed. It also established a link between the CSDP and other Union policies by requiring that the EDA and the Commission work in liaison when necessary (Article 45(2) TEU). This concerns in particular the Union’s research, industrial and space policies, through which Parliament was empowered to seek to develop a much stronger bearing on the CSDP than it has had in the past.

ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Parliament has the right to scrutinise the CSDP and to take the initiative of addressing the VP/HR and the Council on it (Article 36 TEU). It also exercises authority over the policy’s budget (Article 41 TEU). Twice a year, Parliament holds debates on progress in implementing the CFSP

and the CSDP, and adopts reports: one on the CFSP, drafted by the Committee on Foreign Affairs and including elements relating to the CSDP where necessary; and one on the CSDP, drafted by the Subcommittee on Security and Defence.

Since 2012 the European Parliament and the Member States’ national parliaments have organised two interparliamentary conferences every year to debate matters of CFSP. Interparliamentary cooperation in these areas is provided for by Protocol 1 to the Lisbon Treaty, which describes the role of the national parliaments in the EU.

Innovations in the Lisbon Treaty have provided an opportunity to improve the political coherence of the CSDP. The VP/HR occupies the central institutional role, chairing the Foreign Affairs Council in its ‘Defence Ministers configuration’ (the EU’s CSDP decision-making body) and directing the EDA. The political framework for consultation and dialogue with Parliament is evolving in order to allow Parliament to play a full role in developing the CSDP. Under the Lisbon Treaty, Parliament is a partner shaping the Union’s external relations and addressing the challenge described in the 2008 Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy. That report states: ‘Maintaining public support for our global engagement is fundamental. In modern democracies, where media and public opinion are crucial to shaping policy, popular commitment is essential to sustaining our commitments abroad. We deploy police, judicial experts and soldiers in unstable zones around the world. There is an onus on governments, parliaments and EU institutions to communicate how this contributes to security at home.’

**ISSUES OF INTEREST TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT**

Parliament examines developments in the CSDP in terms of institutions, capabilities and operations, and ensures that security and defence issues respond to concerns expressed by the EU’s citizens. Deliberations, hearings and workshops are held regularly, devoted to topics including: civilian and military CSDP missions, international crises with security and defence implications, multilateral frameworks for security, arms control and non-proliferation issues, the fight against terrorism and organised crime, good practices to improve the effectiveness of security and defence, and EU legal and institutional developments in these fields.

Following the VP/HR’s 2010 declaration on political accountability, Parliament participates in Joint Consultation Meetings (JCMs) held on a regular basis to exchange information with the Council, the EEAS and the Commission. Given the key role that the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) plays in underwriting European security, Parliament participates in the NATO Parliamentary Assembly with a view to developing the EU-NATO relationship while respecting the independent nature of both organisations.

**CSDP IN 2015/2016 — A POLICY IN RAPID EVOLUTION**

While the CSDP did not change substantially in the first few years following the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty in 2009, it has a great potential to evolve, both politically and institutionally. The principal achievements of the CSDP up to 2014 have been the consolidation of related EU structures under the aegis of the EEAS, and the Council’s definition of the EDA’s statute, seat and operational rules, as provided for in Article 45(2) TEU.

A number of opportunities to advance the CSDP have been missed: attempts to launch operations have either failed, as in Lebanon and Libya, or lagged, as in Mali. As a result, EU Battlegroups[2]

[2]The EU Battlegroup Concept provides a CSDP instrument for early and rapid military crisis responses. A Battlegroup is a force package — composed of about 1 500 (normally multinational) personnel (a minimum to ensure
have not been deployed, and the permanent headquarters for EU operations has yet to be instituted.

Parliament has taken the lead in scrutinising the advancement of the CSDP and analysing the policy’s setbacks. Parliament has also been urging the Council and the Member States to improve the policy’s effectiveness.

Recognising the need to provide a strategic impetus for heads of state or government, the European Council set a number of initial targets in December 2013 to advance the CSDP. It focused on three areas: increasing the effectiveness and impact of the CSDP; enhancing the development of defence capabilities; and strengthening Europe’s defence industry. It also tasked the VP/HR and the Commission with making an assessment of the impact of changes in the global environment of the EU, with a view to reporting on the challenges and opportunities arising for the Union, in particular in terms of security developments.

The deterioration of the security situation in 2014 and early 2015 shed a different light and a sense of renewed urgency on the various documents delivered in 2015 in the area of the CSDP, which include:


— a joint VP/HR-Commission proposal for a policy to help build the capacity of partner countries and regional organisations: ‘Capacity building in support of security and development – Enabling partners to prevent and manage crises’ (28 April 2015).

To maintain momentum on these issues, the European Council had asked the VP/HR to report on the state of implementation of the December 2013 Council conclusions targets, and to make initial proposals for the way forward. At the European Council of 25-26 June 2015, the VP/HR was tasked with the drafting of an ‘EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy’ ahead of the European Council of June 2016. The Council reaffirmed the three main CSDP targets fixed in 2013. In its conclusions, it also insisted on: the financing of the defence dimension (Member States’ expenditure on defence; EU budget to kick-start the work on CSDP-related research), the need for defence cooperation to solve the capabilities issue, with EU instruments as a facilitator, the usefulness of CSDP missions/operations in countering hybrid threats, and the importance of partnerships with other organisations or countries, including by capacity-building, in order to prevent or manage crises.

While recent developments seem to be moving things in this direction, political will and coherent and sustained initiatives are required to address the required enhancements to the CSDP. Parliament has, for its part, demonstrated its will to act and to pursue political initiatives in this field. As a first practical outcome, Parliament proposed funding a pilot project on CSDP research from the EU’s 2015 budget. This pilot project, approved by Parliament and the Council in December 2014, means that, for the first time, EU funds will be transferred to the EDA to conduct research on military requirements.
THE EU GLOBAL STRATEGY, CSDP AND THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

On 28 June 2016 the Global Strategy for the European Union’s Foreign and Security Policy was presented to the European Council by High Representative Federica Mogherini. With its emphasis on security, its ambition for strategic autonomy and its principled yet pragmatic approach to Europe’s environment, the EU Global Strategy signifies an important change of philosophy from the 2003 European Security Strategy. The EU Global Strategy identifies five priorities for EU foreign policy: the security of the Union; state and societal resilience to the East and South of the EU; the development of an integrated approach to conflicts; cooperative regional orders; and global governance for the 21st century.

In order to give effect to the new strategy, the EU will revise existing sectoral strategies and devise and implement new thematic or geographical strategies in line with the EUGS’s priorities. Among these will be a sectoral strategy specifying the EU’s civil-military level of ambition, tasks, requirements and capability priorities. The EUGS was welcomed by the European heads of state or government, and in July 2016, Ministers of Foreign Affairs expressed their readiness to continue the work in the implementation phase. To ensure a solid follow-up, the implementation of the Global Strategy will be reviewed annually in consultation with the Council, the Commission and the European Parliament.

On 14 November 2016, the Council was presented with an ‘Implementation Plan on Security and Defence’, meant to operationalise the vision set out in the Strategy with regard to defence and security issues. This document, prepared by the VP/HR, was welcomed by the Council. The Implementation Plan identifies three sets of priorities that each CSDP mission can contribute to: responding to external conflicts and crises; capacity building of partners; and protecting the Union and its citizens. To implement the EUGS in the area of security and defence and to match the new level of ambition, the Plan also sets out 13 proposals, among which: a coordinated annual review of defence spending; a better EU rapid response, including through the use of EU Battlegroups; and a new single Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) for those Member States willing to undertake higher commitments on security and defence. The European Council will discuss these proposals at its meeting of 15 December 2016.

On its side, Parliament has continued to call for strengthened cooperation between EU Member States in the defence area, as well as for the full implementation of the Treaty of Lisbon as far as security and defence are concerned. In particular, in its resolution on CSDP implementation, Parliament noted ‘the ongoing initiatives, which should be followed through with concrete measures at the December 2016 European Council on Defence’. It also requested that sufficient funding and coordinated investments be made in the security and defence areas. Last but not least, in a November 2016 resolution on a European Defence Union, Parliament asked for a political decision to be made as far as implementing the Lisbon Treaty’s potential was concerned, identifying PESCO and crisis management capacity as key concrete elements of such a step forward. Parliament ‘encourage[d] the European Council to lead the progressive framing of a common Union defence policy and to provide additional financial resources to ensure its implementation’.

Parliament will continue to act at its level and within its competences as a stimulator to help achieve the EU’s objectives as a security provider in an effective and visible manner, as requested by EU citizens.

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