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**CURRENT SHORTFALLS INSIDE THE COMMON
SECURITY DEFENSE POLICY**

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Abstract: Starting with 2014 and following the Crimea Crisis, Defense Expenditures have increased for European Union Member States who are also part of NATO. The European Union has developed its own defense agenda since 2010 when the European Commission appointed a new vice-president for this specific task. With worries that the CSDP might duplicate NATO burden sharing, while member states of both organization are being confronted with gaps in reaching the needed capabilities, it is the aim of this paper to analyze the current shortfalls, the major issues and possible future directions that the European Union might face and solve while developing a Common Security Defense Policy. Throughout the paper a comparison between the CSDP capability development and the NATO Defense Planning Process will also be realized in trying to provide relevant information on whether the two organization EU and NATO can collaborate or not in issuing Defense Policies.

Key words: *defense expenditures, defense planning, capabilities, security policy, global strategy*

1. Introduction

Over the years there have been several occasions when the European Union has found interest and Security and Defense. The first mention of the two concepts happened during the European Union's Amsterdam Treaty in 2001.

In the years that followed the initiatives from 2001 manifested in 2003 the first EU Security and Defense structures were created. The initial structures worth mentioning are:

- PSC (Political and Security Committee)
- EUMC (European Union Military Committee)
- EUMS (European Union Military Staff)

No further steps were taken in developing the EU defense and security strategies, although in 2009 the European Union's first military operations and well as the first civilian missions were launched.

The Common Security and Defense Policy in its current form was developed during the Lisbon Treaty in 2010 when a decision to establish the European External

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Action Service was taken. It was also during the treaty that a High Representative, the Vice President of the European Union Commission was set in charge for Security and Defense issues inside the EU, with Federica Mogherini being the one appointed to supervise the ongoing process of developing the CSDP starting with 2014.

2. CSDP as a European Union Project

Starting from 2014 a framework has been developed to help implement a Common Security and Defense Policy inside the EU for all member states. Similar to the NDPP and the National Defense Strategies for member states, several documents have been created to help CSDP develop inside the EU. At a strategic level the **Global Strategy for the EU's Foreign & Security Policy (EUGS)** was developed. Following the requirements inside the EUGS, the **Headline Goal & EU Civilian and Military Capability Development beyond 2010 (LoA)** and **Capability Development Mechanism (CDM)** were created. These documents have the purpose of creating a foundation on which the *Level of Ambition* and the *Future Capabilities in the EU* should be developed. In order for the member states to understand what capabilities they should designate to common European structures a document entitled the **EU Military Capability Development Process** was created. [1] This document follows the following key principles:

- Voluntary contributions – non binding
- Forces potentially available for EU CSDP operations
- Contributions not to be used for operational planning
- Capability development is a Member States responsibility

One of the projects developed from the increased interest in Defense and Security inside the EU is PESCO. The Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) in the area of security and defence policy was established by a Council decision on 11 December 2017, with 25 EU Member States participating: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Croatia, Cyprus, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia, Spain and Sweden [2].

The means by which member states are involved in PESCO can be seen in the Figure 1.

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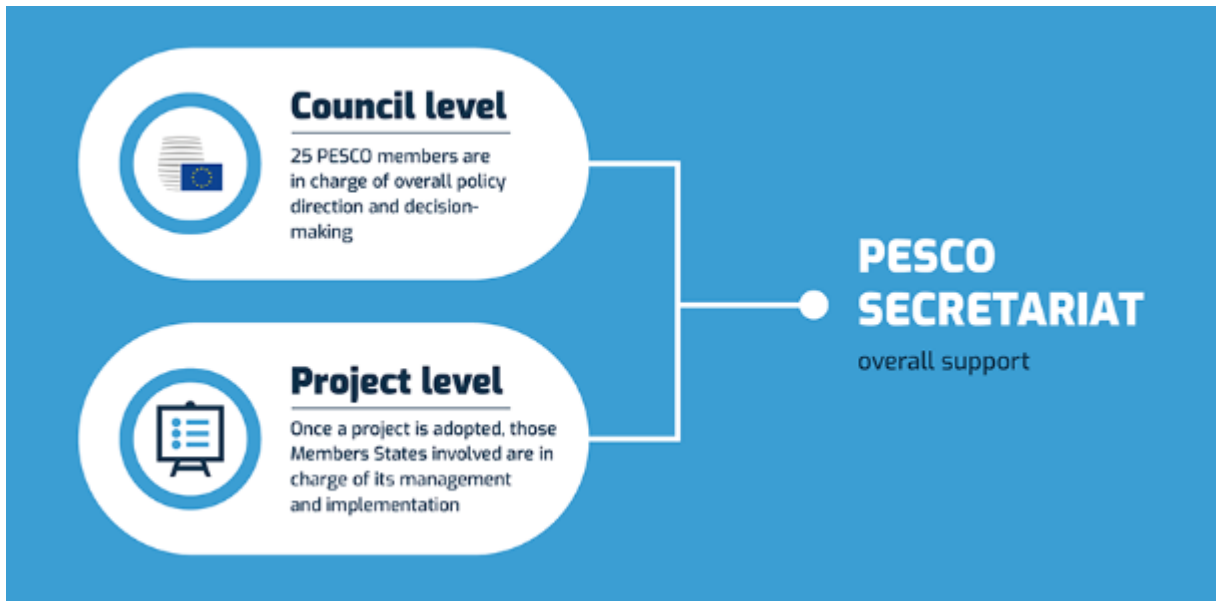


Fig.1 How PESCO works

One of the outlines of PESCO is to address in the future that all acquisitions for capabilities developed inside this project be “European”. This would address one of the major shortfalls of the CSDP, the lack of a common defense industry to support all European initiatives in security and defense. [3]

3. CSDP and the European Defense Industry

So far there are few mentions of a common Defense Industry inside the briefings regarding CSDP. The only mentioning on the Defense Industry in Europe is inside the European Defense Action Plan (EDAP). There are several steps to be developed inside the EDAP as follows:

- Develop and provide the capabilities needed
- EU Defense Fund
- Strong European defense industrial base
- Competitive EU defense market

Speaking about a defense market and a defense industrial base is of vital importance if the CSDP is going to have any success in the global context. But besides the mention in the PESCO for the desire to buy European and the steps presented inside the EDAP there is no other realistic plan to build a common defense industry that would support the CSDP. Looking back at the Eurofighter Typhoon project, that will go out of production in 2020, we can see an example of collaboration between member states of the EU that started on a positive trend but ended abruptly because of lack of planning on long term and poor common development between Germany, UK, Spain and Italy, the four member states involved in the project.

While there is a lack of planning concerning the defense part of readiness inside the CSDP, the capabilities required from the major states have already been designed and are to be shared by the militaries inside the EU countries.

An example of the capabilities required by the European Union are as follows:

- 60.000 troops within 60 days for a major operation

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- 2 major stabilization and reconstruction operations (10.000)
- 2 rapid response operations using inter alia EU battlegroups
- 1 emergency evacuation operation (in less than 10 days)
- 1 maritime or air interdiction operation
- 1 civ-mil humanitarian assistance operation
- ≈ 12 CSDP civilian missions (up to 3000 experts) lasting for several years.

An opinion could be made that there some steps concerning the CSDP, like the capabilities development that are ahead of others, like any planning for a common defense industry.

Inside the CSDP a framework with the necessary steps for funding has also been developed. In order to develop the capabilities presented earlier three steps have been identified:

1. *Research*, which will be founded by the European Union
2. *Development*, with common pooling from the member states and European Union Funds
3. *Acquisition*, with practical support from the European Commission

In Figure 2 the illustration for the steps available for funding can be observed:

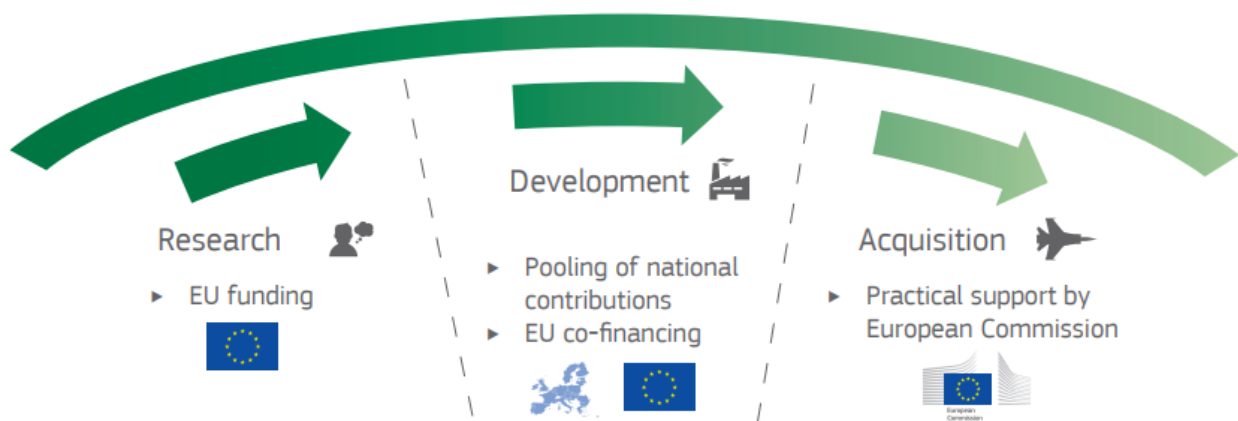


Fig2. The framework and steps for EU Defense Funding

Another challenge or shortfall for member states might be the way that funding and spending are split. As it can be seen in Figure 3, even though the European Union is currently investing up to 90 million Euro in Defense and is expected to invest up to 500 million Euro after 2020, the burden for member states will be increased, as they have to finance up to 500 million Euro in Development until 2020, and even more, up to 1 billion Euro after 2020.

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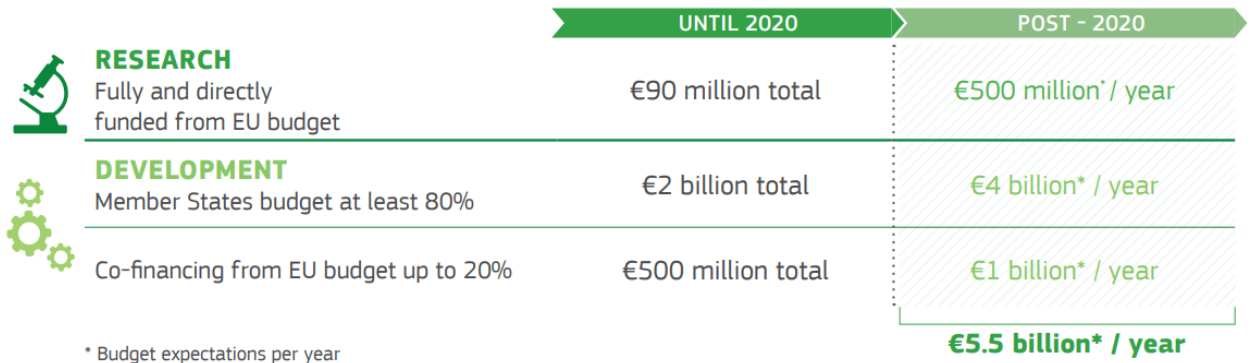


Fig3. Budget Share inside the EU Defense Funding Programs

A conclusion can be drawn from this chapter that from an economic point of view, the lack of a common defense industry and the increased spending for Member States might cause challenges from a financial point of view in developing the CSDP. [4]

4. CSDP in relationship with NATO

In theory the CSDP should correlate and integrate the relationship between EU and NATO. There are several reasons for that. The most important of those reasons is that a mutually agreed framework between the two organizations exists in regard to the development of a common EU-NATO Capability Group and Staff-to-Staff Contacts designed to avoid any duplicates for member states of both organizations when sharing the burden to fulfill all the capabilities that the two organizations require.[5]

The already mentioned EU / NDPP Capability Development has the purpose of harmonizing the use of:

- Similar software tool (adapted to EU specific needs);
- Same capability language (CCS);
- Time alignment of EUMCQ and NATO DPCS;

It is worth mentioning that because of NATO's higher experience in defense and security tasks the *European Union Military Staff* and the *European Defense Agency* have been invited to observe the *NATO Defense Planning Process* in several meetings.

With the ongoing collaboration, there still exists a risk in duplicating forces for both capabilities and even if this risk is coped with, there already exists a shortfall in bureaucratic duplications, due to the fact that now specialists inside the member states of both organizations must fill double the documents for both EU and NATO in which they present the current forces and equipment they have available for the capabilities required.

5. Conclusions

For the time being the CSDP remains a EU process based on member states voluntary contributions. Member States have one single set of forces and capabilities that will be assigned to the CSDP. Regarding NATO there is a EU-NATO cooperation in Capabilities Development. One of the major desire by member states of both organizations is the necessity to avoid the duplication of efforts. Member states have also asked for inclusiveness, reciprocity and the decision-making autonomy. In order for a coherence of output to exist a Coordinated Annual Review on Defence (CARD) has been developed.

The desire to face the challenges of security and defense inside the EU, the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) has been created and is currently under

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development. In order to fill in the steps for Capability Development a European Defense Fund (EDF) is required with insight on future expenditures for each member state of the EU.

At the moment there are at least the major shortfalls, one regarded to the lack of any foreseeable plans regarding a common defense industry that would make all member states involved in the CSDP process; the second regarding the funding for the CSDP, which would involve an extra burden for member states that already developing NATO capabilities; and a third concerning the risk of duplicates between the capabilities requested by NATO inside the NDPP process and the capabilities required by the EU in the context of developing the CSDP.

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