



# Colloquium NWC-CHEM: Concept



## EUROPEAN DEFENCE INITIATIVES

**IS EUROPE ON THE WAY TO – FINALLY -  
BE ABLE TO DEFEND ITSELF?**



Brussels 14 April 2021

F R E D E R I C  
M A U R O

1. European defence initiatives since 2014

2. Is Europe (the EU) on the way to be able to defend itself?

3. Way ahead

# EUROPEAN DEFENCE INITIATIVES SINCE 2014

## A few reminders about the EU competences in the field of defence

Treaty of Lisbon 2007 – entry into force 2009

Treaty on the functioning of the European Union (TFEU) former Rome Treaty 1957

### Community

Treaty on the European Union (TEU) former Maastricht Treaty 1992

### Intergovernmentalism

Remit

no competence in defence

Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)  
Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)

Main actors

The European Commission  
The European Parliament

The European Council/The EU Council = MS  
The European External Affairs Service/HR-VP  
EUMC (military committee)/EUMS (military staff)  
EDA (European Defence Agency)

Rules of functioning

Majority (or Qualified majority)

Unanimity with few exceptions

Budget

EU MFF 2021-2027 = EUR 1 210 Bn.  
For 2021 EUR 163 Bn

CSFP = EUR 2,6 Bn (taken from EU MFF)  
For 2021 EUR 352 M

## European defence in context

2014 : March Ukraine - November election of Jean-Claude Juncker Head of EC

2015: Beginning of terrorist attacks on European soil (Paris, London, Nice, Köln etc)

2016: Brexit

2016: Failed coup in Turkey – new orientations for Recep Tayyip Erdogan

2016: Election of Donald J. Trump

## Three series of initiatives

- A. Initiatives taken by the Commission and the European Parliament
- B. Initiatives within the Remit of the European Council
- C. Initiatives coming from the Member States

## A. Initiatives taken by the EU Commission and EU Parliament

It is the first time that the Union intervenes in defence: kind of Copernican revolution

The entry point is (defence) **research** and (defence) **industry** in which the EU as such has competence

It is the first time that the Union puts **money** on the table



### Actions in favour of European Defence

- 2015 pilot project European Parliament (Michael Gahler) EUR 1,5 M
- 2017-2019 **PADR** (preparatory action on defence research) EUR 90 M
- 2019-2020 **EDIP** (European Defence Industry Development plan) EUR 500 M
- 2021-2027 **EDF** (European Defence Fund) EUR 8 billion (EUR 1,1 bn per year)



**European Peace Facility** – 2021-2027 EUR 5 billion (ceiling) out of EU budget









Action plan in favour of **Military Mobility** – 2021-2027 EUR 1,7

EUR 14,6 Bn / 7 years

EUR 2 Bn / year

## B. Initiatives within the remit of the Council and EEAS

	2016	<b>EU Global Strategy</b> (HR/VP) <b>Implementation Plan for Defence and Security</b> (Council) - 'Level of Ambition' CSDP/Capability Building for partners/'Protecting Europe and its citizens'
	2017	<b>MPCC</b> (Military Planning and Conduct Capability) (EUMS)
	2017-2018	<b>Headline Goal Process</b> [EUMC/EUMS]
	2017-2018	<b>Capability Development Plan</b> [EDA]
	2018-2020	<b>CARD</b> (Coordinated Annual Review on Defence) [EDA/EUMS]
	2020-2022	<b>Threat analysis</b> (2020) <b>Strategic Dialogue</b> (2021) <b>Strategic Compass</b> (2022) [Council]

## C. Initiatives coming from the Member States



2016/2018

**EU- NATO cooperation Warsaw Summit** - 74 measures in two waves



2017

**Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO)** [25 Member States]  
(in the framework of the TEU, but in the hands of MS)



2018-2020

**European Intervention Initiative (E2I)** [9 MS] the only  
initiative with the UK



## What should we think of all these initiatives?

- A. The cons: much ado about nothing: a lot of paper, lack of coherence, money remain scarce, no capability in sight. PESCO as it stands is not a capability process; the EDF is a complicated tool whose success is no guaranteed ; EU defence planning process remains bogged and useless
- B. The pros: too soon to tell – structuring initiatives always take time

## What would it take to get a real EU defence?

- A. The intention for the EU to defend itself
- B. The capacity to act
- C. The ability to decide

## A. The intention for EU to defend itself?

Not only there is no consensus on the threat analysis – which is detrimental to build a defence apparatus



Eastern and Nordic countries see Russia as an imminent threat



France (and to a lesser extent SP and IT) is more concerned with Middle East – Africa and terrorism



Some countries have very specific threats such as Greece: Turkey



A lot of countries do not feel threatened (Benelux, Germany, Portugal...) and are very happy to keep the *status quo*: an American protectorate for Europe

There is no consensus on the idea of European defence as such



At the beginning (1992-1998) European defence is limited to crisis management outside the Union = CSPD = 'capacity for autonomous action' = 'strategic autonomy' ; with the perspective (rather vague) of a 'common defence'



Today, the concept itself of 'strategic autonomy' is contested (Germany defence's minister says it is an 'illusion') or highly criticized. PESCO has been distorted

# IS EUROPE ON ITS WAY TO DEFEND ITSELF?

## B. The capacity to act

Forget about money  
and the “ridiculous” 2% metrics

[Anthony Cordesman CSIS 2019](https://www.csis.org/analysis/natos-pointless-burden-sharing-debates-need-replace-mathematically-ridiculous-2-gdp-goal)

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2019	US \$ IN Bn
EU 26 (without DK)	219,2
UK	54,8
Russia	61,6
China	181,1
US	684,6

Source London IISS – For EU - EDA



= \* 3,5 EU only  
4,4 with UK  
15,5 NATO

However, it is equally true that some MS underspend and are free riders – the same are usually staunch supporters of the transatlantic link (GER, BENELUX, PT etc. )

It's all about expenditure **efficiency** and thus organisation/ integration (output rather than input)

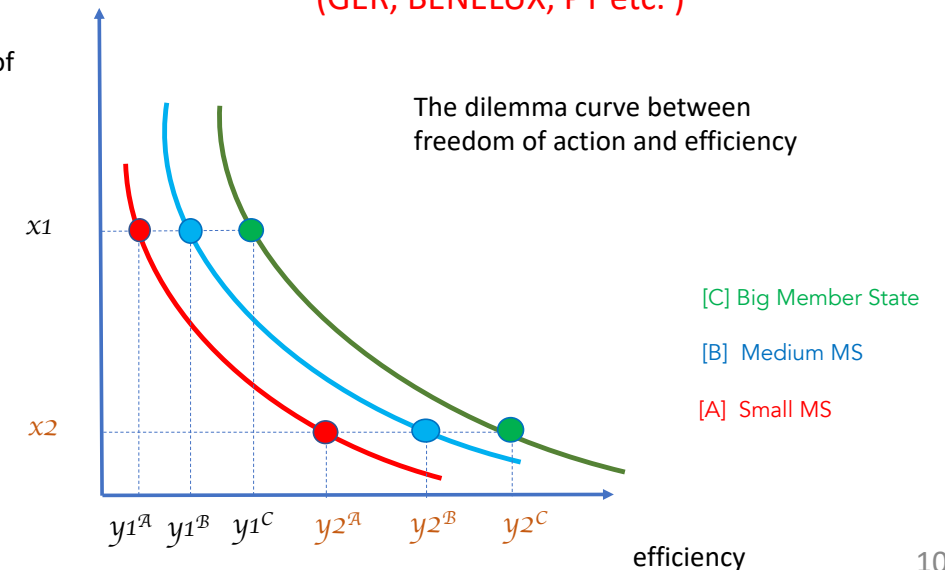
EU = 27 MS = 27 MoD it cannot work even if everybody spend 2 %

**Problem: EU countries do not want to integrate between themselves**

Freedom of action

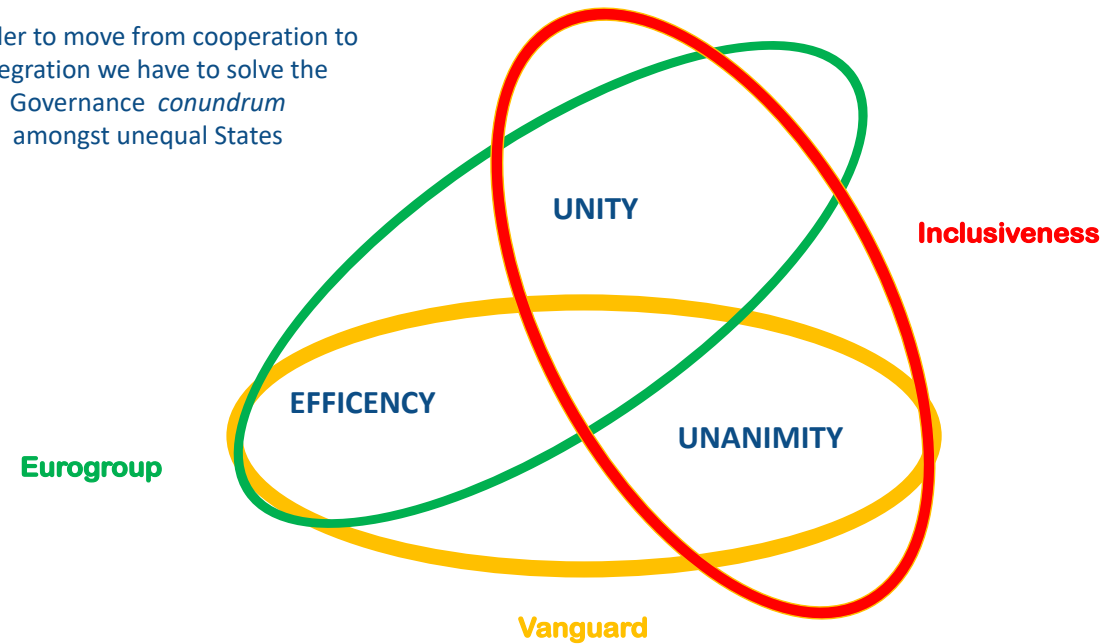
The more you want to retain your freedom of action, the less efficient you are

You can gain efficiency in sharing the decisions *ie* integrating



## C. The ability to decide

In order to move from cooperation to integration we have to solve the Governance *conundrum* amongst unequal States



Revision of the treaties to go to Qualified Majority? Highly unlikely



Vanguard of the willing and the able? E.g., Lancaster House Treaty UK-FR: does not work



A defence Eurogroup? Remains to be seen

## EU-NATO relationship: at the core of the problem



### Option 1: **CSDP redux**

#### Clear division of labour

Alliance's territory  
Collective defence inc. Nuclear  
With the US in the lead

Europe's neighbourhood  
Crisis management  
With the EU in the lead

**Problem: nobody seems really interested, except France**

### Option 2: **European Pillar of NATO**

Europe is (at least partly) able to defend itself

**Problem: that supposes that EU or Europe (inc.U.K) takes the lead in Europe = European SACEUR – not sure that the US is ready to accept it, nor all the Europeans to want it**

### Option 3: The **status quo**

Europe is an American protectorate

**US has vassals to protect that can buy their military equipment but not ally on which it can rely  
EU might be threaten in its own existence if the US use its own might to thwart EU economic power, as Trump did (extraterritorial sanctions, withdrawal of forces...)**

In the meantime: two possible ways ahead

Short term: the **Strategic compass** first semester 2022

might answer to the question: what do we want to do together  
(the port of destination)

Medium term: a **European Security Council** (after German and French elections) 2023

Out of the Treaties' framework; not all MS; qualified majority; budget  
Could answer the question:



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## QUESTIONS



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