National Defence — Défense nationale

Canadian Forces College

Collège des Forces Canadiennes

EUROPEAN PERMANENT STRUCTURED COOPERATION: WORK IN PROGRESS?

Lt Cdr P. W. Spillane

Canada

EUROPEAN PERMANENT STRUCTURED COOPERATION: WORK IN PROGRESS?

Lt Cdr P. W. Spillane

Word Count: 3236

Compte de mots: 3236

EUROPEAN PERMANENT STRUCTURED COOPERATION:
WORK IN PROGRESS?

INTRODUCTION

The history of the union of European States from 1951 to today is one of regular development. From the Paris Treaty in 1951, establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), to the Lisbon Treaty in 2009, implementing a new EU President and increased powers over nation states, there has been a constant evolution in the structure, responsibilities and power of the EU.[1]

From the creation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 to the adoption of the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) in 2017 this continual progression has been mirrored in the Defence and Security arena.[2] This is in spite of a failed attempt to create security cooperation at the time of the ECSC.[3] Incremental developments in this area between these key events feature the signing of the St Malo Declaration in 1998, the adoption of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) in 2003 and the formation of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) in 2009.[4]

This paper will demonstrate that the evolution of the EU, and its associated defence policy, is one of incremental and treaty-based change and will argue that the proposed Permanent

---

[1] CIViTAS, "History of the European Union," last accessed 9 April 2018, http://www.civitas.org.uk/eu-facts/eu-overview/history-of-the-european-union/
[2] Council of the European Union, "Timeline: EU cooperation on security and defence," last accessed 9 April 2018, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/defence-security/defence-security-timeline/
[3] A European Defence Council was proposed in 1952 however was not established. See Page 6.
[4] The European Institute, "European Defence Timeline," last accessed 10 April 2018, https://www.europeaninstitute.org/index.php/eu-facts/897-european-defence-timeline

Structured Cooperation is not innovative, rather something that has evolved from existing European defence structures.

The paper will be divided into three elements. Firstly will be a description of how the EU has evolved from the initial ECSC to the Lisbon Treaty. Next, it will demonstrate that EU defence policy has also developed incrementally, from the adoption of the CFSP in 1992 through to PESCO in 2017. Finally, the paper will investigate whether PESCO will really be "permanent" in EU Defence or just a stepping-stone towards a definitive, long lasting regional defence organization.

EUROPEAN UNION HISTORY

The history of the EU is one of evolution. As it has expanded from six to 28 states, there has been a drive to continually develop structures, responsibilities and policies.[5] Its history is defined by the treaties that have shaped it, namely the Treaties of Paris, Rome, Maastricht, Amsterdam, Nice, Lisbon and the Single European Act.

Paris Treaty

The Paris Treaty of 1951 established the ECSC between six nations.[6] Designed to promote closer economic ties by sharing coal and steel resources, it also had a security agenda; with Germany and France economically linked, it aimed to prevent future wars between them. Even this early, its founders believed that it was the start of closer European cooperation. Jean

---

[5] The European Union, "Countries," last accessed 11 April 2018, https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/countries_en

[6] Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

Monnet, the French foreign minister and architect of the ECSC said, "We can never sufficiently emphasise (sic) that the six Community countries are the forerunners of a broader, united Europe."[7] This view was shared with the co-founder of the ECSC, Robert Schuman, who stated:

> Through the consolidation of basic production and the institution of a new High Authority, whose decisions will bind France, Germany and the other countries that join, this proposal represents the first concrete step towards a European federation [and] imperative for the preservation of peace.[8]

As ardent internationalists, Monnet and Schuman foresaw closer European integration. As a collection of independent nation states, integration was neither guaranteed nor simple, but was more-or-less achieved through the implementation of further treaties.

Rome Treaty

The first of the subsequent treaties was the Rome Treaty of 1957. It was the founding treaty of the European Economic Community (EEC). Its outcome was the establishment of the European Commission, a Council of Ministers, a European Parliament and a European Court of Justice.[9] The Institute for the Study of Civil Society (CIViTAS), a politically neutral think-tank, summarizes that at its heart the treaty was "determined to lay the foundations of an ever-closer

---

[7] European Union World, "European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)," last accessed 10 April 2018, http://www.europeanunionworld.com/135-european-union-as-a-journey/394-6-european-coal-and-steel-community-ecsc.html

[8] Historiasiglo20.org, "Jean Monnet 1888-1979," last accessed 11 April 2018, http://www.historiasiglo20.org/europe/monnet.htm

[9] CIViTAS, "Treaty of Rome," last accessed 10 April 2019, http://www.civitas.org.uk/eu-facts/eu-overview/treaty-of-rome/

union among the peoples of Europe" and was the basis of subsequent EU treaty law.[10] As a

fledgling organization, the EEC fell short of Monnet's vision of a federated Europe.[11] Steps

towards this would follow, but not for 29 years.

Single European Act

In 1986 the first major amendment to the Rome Treaty, the Single European Act (SEA),

was signed. It was required as the now twelve-member EEC frequently disagreed on new

directives and regulations.[12] The SEA's purpose was to create a single market by 1992. It also

made it easier to pass laws in the European Parliament, increasing the institution's supranational

power.[13] The SEA ensured integration and the emergence of a fledgling federalist institution.

Maastricht Treaty

In 1992 further steps towards the creation of a federalist super state were taken with the

signing of the Maastricht Treaty. It set out the future of Europe under three pillars: the European

Communities, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and cooperation in the field of

Justice and Home Affairs.[14] This treaty amended the Rome Treaty to officially create the EU and

began the process of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), leading to the adoption of the Euro

---

[10] The European Union, "Treaty of Rome," last accessed 11 April 2018, https://ec.europa.eu/romania/sites/romania/files/tratatul_de_la_roma.pdf

[11] CIViTAS, "Treaty of Rome," last accessed 10 April 2019, http://www.civitas.org.uk/eu-facts/eu-overview/treaty-of-rome/

[12] The original six nations plus Denmark, Greece, Great Britain, Ireland, Portugal and Spain. These additional countries joined for economic integration reasons or to avoid political isolation; CIViTAS, "Single European Act," last accessed 11 April 2018, http://www.civitas.org.uk/eu-facts/eu-overview/single-european-act-2/

[13] The European Union, "The Single European Act," last accessed 11 April 2018, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=LEGISSUM:xy0027&from=EN

[14] The European Union, "Treaty on European Union," last modified 7 February 1992, https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europaeu/files/docs/body/treaty_on_european_union_en.pdf

in the countries signed up to it.[15] This ensured closer monetary integration which made closer political cooperation a vital requirement. As Jacques Delors, the EU Commission President, said in 1993, "We're not just here to make a single market, but a political union."[16] With the Maastricht Treaty signed, the EU had taken another incremental and pivotal step towards integration.

Amsterdam, Nice and Lisbon Treaties

From 1993 to 2009 there were three further treaties, Amsterdam (1997), Nice (2001) and Lisbon (2009). Interposed between the fall of the Soviet Union and the reunification of Germany, they increased EU supranational power. The Amsterdam and Nice treaties embraced the new member states now disassociated from the former Soviet Bloc. In terms of defence, the Amsterdam Treaty was important. It created a 'High Representative' to take responsibility for EU foreign affairs and speak with one voice.[17]

The Lisbon Treaty introduced the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), established a President of the European Council and a permanent foreign policy post replacing the High Representative established earlier by the Amsterdam Treaty.[18] The latter gave the EU an official Head of Foreign Affairs, able to talk on behalf of the EU without recourse to member

---

[15] British Broadcasting Corporation, "Glossary: EU Jargon," last accessed 11 April 2018, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3595155.stm#s23

[16] CIViTAS, "Treaty of Maastricht," last accessed 10 April 2018," http://www.civitas.org.uk/eu-facts/eu-overview/treaty-of-maastricht/

[17] CIViTAS, "Treaty of Amsterdam," last accessed 12 April 2018, http://www.civitas.org.uk/eu-facts/eu-overview/treaty-of-amsterdam/ ; The European Union, "Treaty of Amsterdam." last accessed 11 April 2018, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/topics/treaty/pdf/amst-en.pdf

[18] CIViTAS, "Treaty of Lisbon," last accessed 12 April 2018, http://www.civitas.org.uk/eu-facts/eu-overview/the-treaty-of-lisbon/ ; The European Union, "Treaty of Lisbon," last accessed 11 April 2018, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:12007L/TXT&from=EN

states, exemplifying the EU increasing its supranational power in the Security and Defence arena. The Lisbon Treaty was part-way realizing Jean Monnet's vision of the 1950s.

Ongoing Adaption

With the Cold War ending, the Berlin Wall falling with the reunification of Germany and a new era with the United States' as the single superpower, the EU had to adapt. Seeing the benefits of membership, many states on the outside wanted to join.[19] The expansion of the EU over 60 years forced change to ensure the Community and later the Union ran efficiently. What started as a purely economic enterprise, sharing scarce post-war resources, expanded into a thriving economic region.[20] It can be argued that without the supranational agenda, the Union would have been bogged down with inter-state national issues.[21] With the introduction of the monetary and customs union, the region functioned well, with each state benefitting from a symbiotic relationship with its European partners. To achieve this, nations had to forfeit some elements of sovereignty and economic independence. These have been the incremental changes, via treaty, that the states within the EU have seen over the last 60 years.

From its humble beginnings as a union between coal and steel communities, the EU has adapted to an ever changing political climate. This evolution has been possible through incremental treaty based changes that have helped the community remain relevent as the wider

---

[19] Foreignpolicy.com, "Why Would Anyone Want to Join the EU?" last modified 14 March 2012, http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/03/14/why-would-anyone-want-to-join-the-eu/

[20] Quartz, "For the first time in a long time, every EU economy is growing at the same time," last modified 14 February 2017, https://qz.com/909088/for-the-first-time-in-a-long-time-every-eu-economy-is-growing-at-the-same-time/

[21] Stephanie Anderson, *Crafting EU Security Policy: In Pursuit of a European Identity*. London: Lynne Rienner. 2008, 55.

world around it changed. Seemingly, within the Defence and Security arena, incremental changes have mirrored general EU development.

EUROPEAN UNION DEFENCE HISTORY

When the ECSC was created, a European Defence Community (EDC) was proposed. This would involve "the creation, for common defence, of a European Army under the authority of the political institutions of Europe."[22] This was a radical proposal, given the world wars of the first half of the 20th Century. However, it never came to fruition as the French Assembly voted against it in 1954. This led to the Rome Treaty focusing purely on economic and commercial integration, with subsequent treaty based evolution. EU defence history from the late 20th Century to the present is analogous to this, all changes being driven as elements of the same treaties. Administered under the umbrella of the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP),[23] EU Defence really started to be thought about in the early 1990's.

Common Foreign and Security Policy

The CSFP is the agreed foreign policy of the EU, dealing predominantly in security and defence diplomacy. It aims "to strengthen the EU's external ability to act through the development of civilian and military capabilities in Conflict Prevention and Crisis

---

[22] European Union World, "European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)," last accessed 10 April 2018, http://www.europeanunionworld.com/135-european-union-as-a-journey/394-6-european-coal-and-steel-community-ecsc.html
[23] The European Union, "Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)," last accessed 12 April 2018, https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/420/common-foreign-and-security-policy-cfsp_en

Management."[24] The CFSP was established in 1992 within the Maastricht Treaty. It attempted to

set the security roadmap for the future. The Treaty states that the EU is

> Resolved to implement a common foreign and security policy including the
> eventual framing of a common defence policy, which might in time lead to a
> common defence thereby reinforcing the European identity and its independence
> in order to promote peace, security and progress in Europe and in the world.[25]

In terms of defence policy and EU military activity, the aftermath of CFSP adoption was quiet,

arguably due to the change in world order following the fall of the Soviet Union and the Balkans

conflict of the 1990s. New energy, however, was injected in 1998 with the St Malo Declaration.

St Malo Declaration and the European Security and Defence Policy

The St Malo Declaration followed the basic foreign policy provisions in the Amsterdam

Treaty a year earlier. It stated "the Union must have the capacity for autonomous action, backed

up by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and a readiness to do so, in order

to respond to international crises."[26] Europe needed the ability for self-determining military

decision-making and action, without recourse to NATO. This was an incremental development

from the CFSP and led to the adoption of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) in

2003. Arguably the most controversial development as a result of the ESDP was the EU

Battlegroup initiative of 2007. Successful as a tool for defence cooperation and transformation it

---

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] The European Union, "Treaty on European Union," last modified 7 February 1992,
https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europaeu/files/docs/body/treaty_on_european_union_en.pdf

[26] CVCE.eu, "Franco–British St. Malo Declaration (4 December 1998)," last accessed 12 April 2018,
https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/franco_british_st_malo_declaration_4_december_1998-en-f3cd16fb-fc37-4d52-936f-
c8e9bc80f24f.html

has not been used operationally, with the EU leadership itself quoting "political will, usability, and financial solidarity have prevented them from being deployed."[27] The ephemeral and rather minimal impact that a single battlegroup can have in actual terms of defence, resulted in the richer nations considering the risk vs reward vs financial commitment ratio unfavorable to them.[28] The ESDP signaled the arrival of an institution, hitherto purely a civilian player on the international stage, now ready to get involved militarily.[29] The European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS) stated, "the ESDP has had some impressive results […] some 23 missions since the first was launched in 2003."[30] In 2009 the Lisbon Treaty used the ESDP as the bedrock for what followed.

Common Security and Defence Policy

The Lisbon Treaty introduced the CSDP in 2009 as a development of the ESDP. It recognized that member states would continue to be responsible for their own territorial defence on the assumption that NATO, to which most EU members belonged, would be responsible for continental defence.[31] However, with the last of the major treaties enacted, the EU still had no standing, readily deployable army. Giovanni Faleg, an academic at the Centre for European Policy Studies in Brussels, stated that with the CSDP, EU security policy evolved into a softer, more-civilian-than-military focused entity. Noting that the first decade of the 2000s was marked

---

[27] The European Union, "EU Battlegroups," https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headQuarters-homepage/33557/eu-battlegroups_en

[28] Christopher Meyer, *The quest for a European strategic culture : changing norms on security and defence in the European Union*. New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, 177.

[29] Joylon Howorth *Security and defence policy in the European Union*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, 2;

[30] Giovanni Grevi, Damien Helly, and Daniel Keohane, Daniel. *European Security and Defence Policy – The First 10 Years (1999-2009)*. Paris: EUISS, 2009, 13.

[31] Joylon Howorth, *Security and defence policy in the European Union*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, 141.

by the civilian aspects of CSDP, with the civilian deployments outnumbering the military ones,

Faleg argues that a rebalancing was needed, leading to integrated structures, missions and

capabilities.[32] As this paper will cover later, Jean-Claude Juncker, the EU Commission President,

shared this view.

Collective Agreement

Despite the lack of a standing force, and EU Battlegroup deployment issues, there have

been successful military initiatives including naval counter-piracy operations in the Gulf of Aden

from 2008 to the present, and other successful international deployments.[33] This demonstrates

that strategic and operational planning and tactical integration and cooperation is possible

between EU militaries and could be a significant blueprint for the future.

EU Defence has evolved from a mutial security idea in the 1950s through formal

recognition in the ESDP to specific policies of the CSDP. It can be argued that this development

of policies and capability could not have happened in any other way, as the basis of EU

integration is collective agreement, despite the huge inequalities in military capability and

economic power across the member states. Perhaps there was an assumption from the outset that

NATO would intervene if the continent was threatened, deeming a unilateral EU defence policy

unnecessary.[34] However, in light of the St Malo Declaration where the EU recognized it needed

---

[32] Falag, Giovani, "The EU's common security and defence policy : learning communities in international organizations European Union security and defence policy," Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, 189.

[33] Since 2003 the EU has carried out some 30 civilian missions and military operations on three continents. As examples, peacekeeping missions have been sent to Georgia and Kosovo and crises responses have included post-tsunami peace building in Indonesia, protecting refugees in Mali & the Central African Republic and fighting piracy off Somalia and the Horn of Africa. Source: The European Union, "Security and Foreign Policy," last accessed 12 April 2018, https://europa.eu/european-union/topics/foreign-security-policy_en

[34] Joylon Howorth *Security and defence policy in the European Union*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, 5.

to be more involved internationally, collective agreement had to be reached, and thus the development from then has mirrored general EU development: consensus through ratified treaty.[35] This development has taken significant time and could be the reason why no standing EU Defence Force is currently established. Does the PESCO agreement aim to remedy this?

FROM THE LISBON TREATY TO THE PERMANENT STRUCTURED COOPERATION

On 13 November 2017, twenty-three EU states signed a joint notification on the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO). Subsequently, on 11 December 2017 the Council of the EU adopted a decision to establish PESCO, creating formal security cooperation between member states.[36] But will it be truly permanent?

Background

The legal ability to alter the structure of security and defence within the EU was addressed in the Lisbon Treaty, ratified in 2009. Article 42 of the treaty states:

> Those Member States whose military capabilities fulfil higher criteria and which have made more binding commitments to one another in this area with a view to the most demanding missions shall establish permanent structured cooperation within the Union framework.[37]

---

[35] *Ibid.*, 2.
[36] The European Union, "Permanent Structured Cooperation – PESCO," last accessed 13 April 2018, https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/eu_factsheet_pesco_permanent_structured_cooperation_en_0.pdf
[37] Lisbon Treaty.org, "Article 42," last accessed 18 April 2018, http://www.lisbon-treaty.org/wcm/the-lisbon-treaty/treaty-on-european-union-and-comments/title-5-general-provisions-on-the-unions-external-action-and-specific-provisions/chapter-2-specific-provisions-on-the-common-foreign-and-security-policy/section-2-provisions-on-the-common-security-and-defence-policy/129-article-42.html

Despite this clause, it was not acted upon. In late 2013, four years later, the European Council

discussed defence and identified priority actions for stronger cooperation, namely "increasing the

effectiveness, visibility and impact of [the] Common Security and Defence Policy, enhancing the

development of capabilities and strengthening Europe's defence industry."[38] In 2014 no

permanent defence force was discussed, just increased cooperation. Realizing that more needed

to be done, what had become known as the "Sleeping Beauty of the Lisbon Treaty"[39] was

awakened when Jean-Claude Juncker, the President of the European Commission stated,

> We need to work on a stronger Europe when it comes to security and defence
> matters. […] The Treaty of Lisbon provides for the possibility that those Member
> States who wish to pool their defence capabilities in the form of a permanent
> structured cooperation. More cooperation in defence procurement is the call of the
> day, and if only for fiscal reasons.[40]

EU Foreign and Security Policy Strategy

In June 2015, the European Council mandated the High Representative to prepare a new

EU global strategy on foreign and security policy. The strategy was presented in June 2016,

reflecting the expressed collective views and offering a strategic vision for the EU's global role.

It aimed to highlight common ground and presented a way forward.[41] Its highlights were the

requirement to "develop the capacity for rapid response" and ensuring "enhanced cooperation

---

[38] The European Union, "Timeline: EU Cooperation on security and defence," last accessed 19 April 2018, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/defence-security/defence-security-timeline/

[39] Alice Billon-Galland and Martin Quencez, "Policy Brief: Can France and Germany Make PESCO Work as a Process Toward EU Defense?" German Marshall Fund of the United States, Security and Defense Policy Program, 2017 No 033, 1.

[40] The European Commission, "Towards a European Defence Union: Permanent Structured Cooperation and the European Defence Fund," last accessed 14 April 2018, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/defence-union_en.pdf

[41] The European Union, "Timeline: EU Cooperation on security and defence," last accessed 19 April 2018, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/defence-security/defence-security-timeline/

between Member States" such that "if successful and repeated over time, this might lead to a more structured form of cooperation, making full use of the Lisbon Treaty's potential."[42] Juncker echoed this in his 2016 State Of the Union speech, stating:

> To guarantee our collective security, we must invest in the common development of technologies and equipment of strategic importance – from land, air, sea and space capabilities to cyber security. It requires more cooperation between Member States and greater pooling of national resources. If Europe does not take care of its own security, nobody else will do it for us. A strong, competitive and innovative defence industrial base is what will give us strategic autonomy.[43]

His wishes soon came to fruition with the establishment of the European Defence Action Plan.

European Defence Action Plan and European Defence Fund

The European Commission noted that "following the EU Global Strategy in the security and defence area, the Commission adopted the European Defence Action Plan (EDAP)."[44] This intended to strengthen European defence policy. The EDAP's aim is to "support Member States' more efficient spending in joint defence capabilities, strengthen European citizens' security and foster a competitive and innovative industrial base."[45] Establishing a bespoke defence fund was a

---

[42] The European Union, "Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe: A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign And Security Policy," last accessed 19 April 2018, http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/top_stories/pdf/eugs_review_web.pdf

[43] The European Union, "State of the Union 2016," last accessed 19 April 2018, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/state-union-2016_en

[44] Statewatch.Org, "Launching the European Defence Fund," last accessed 13 April 2018, http://www.statewatch.org/news/2017/jun/eu-com-defence-fund-communication-com-295-final.pdf

[45] The European Commission, "European Defence Action Plan: Towards a European Defence Fund," last modified 30 November 2016, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-16-4088_en.htm

priority, as the EU realized, "to be ready to face tomorrow's threats and to protect its citizens, Europe needs to enhance its strategic autonomy. This requires the development of key technologies in critical areas and strategic capabilities to ensure technological leadership."[46]

The European Defence Fund (EDF) was launched in 2017, with a budget of €25M and planned increases in 2018 and 2019.[47] The fund is for research and development, with a collective purchasing mechanism aiming to reduce the number of bespoke capabilities. This will eventually enable better military integration and thus overall capability.

Permanent Structured Cooperation

In late 2016 and 2017 France and Germany discussed the idea of formally enacting Article 42 of the Lisbon Treaty. Emboldened by the election of Emmanuel Macron in mid-2017, France wanted to focus on "the initiative's potential for ambition and efficiency, pushing for high entry criteria and strong operational commitments."[48] The Germans, however, wanted inclusiveness, wary that "setting standards for PESCO that were too high would in fact create new divisions within the EU and alienate a great number of member states."[49] These differing visions were source of serious disagreements between the two countries. The final ratification, between twenty-five member states, was a compromise. PESCO planned to use the EDF to promote inclusiveness of poorer member states whilst aiming to achieve excellence through

---

[46] The European Commission, "Launching the European Defence Fund," last modified 7 June 2017, https://ec.europa.eu/transparency/regdoc/rep/1/2017/EN/COM-2017-295-F1-EN-MAIN-PART-1.PDF

[47] The European Commission, "Launching the European Defence Fund," last modified 7 June 2017, https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/launching_the_european_defence_fund.pdf

[48] The new French President was a fan of the "European Project" and keen to see closer cooperation in the security and defence arena. Source: Alice Billon-Galland and Martin Quencez, "Policy Brief: Can France and Germany Make PESCO Work as a Process Toward EU Defense?" German Marshall Fund of the United States, Security and Defense Policy Program, 2017 No 033, 2.

[49] *Ibid.*, 2.

research and development of cutting-edge capability.[50] PESCO was not, though, a permanent

defence force on call for Europe's bidding.

Other Defence Arrangements

The EU leadership's realization that enhanced Defence is beneficial for collective

security is encouraging. The EU, despite supranational ambitions, is not a super-state and

therefore Brussels does not have the power to arbitrarily form a standing defence force.

However, they can establish an agreement that enhances cooperation and provides funding

through the EDF for more capability and less duplication. NATO has similar agreements, its

difference being that it has an established command structure, standing Land, Air and Maritime

forces and an agenda that is not solely Europe focused.[51] Like PESCO's aims, many NATO

countries already share development projects to enhance interoperability. [52] It could be argues

that because NATO was established to address different threats, member states feel more

committed. Military capacities developed within PESCO will remain in the hands of Member

States, ensuring they are available in other contexts such as NATO or the UN.[53] Any allocation

or priority issue in the time of conflict that NATO is not involved in will allow PESCO to "make

European defence more efficient and to deliver more output by providing enhanced coordination

and collaboration in the areas of investment, capability development and operational

---

[50] The participating Member States are: 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. Source: The European Union, "Permanent Structured Cooperation – Factsheet," last accessed 13 April 2018, https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-Homepage/34226/permanent-structured-cooperation

[51] Normally on a six month rotational cycle.

[52] Examples being predominant in the air domain, such as Tornado, Typhoon and F35.

[53] The European Union, "Permanent Structured Cooperation – Factsheet," last accessed 13 April 2018. https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-Homepage/34226/permanent-structured-cooperation

readiness."[54] PESCO is not designed to be a standing EU Defence Force, more an enabler for collaborative defence projects, partially funded centrally.

In late 2017, German Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel, speaking about EU Defence, stated that "the EU spends 50 percent as much as the United States on defense (sic) yet only has 15 percent of its military efficiency."[55] Whilst PESCO aims to increase efficiency, it cannot ensure homogeneity. In that sense PESCO is unlikely to be permanent and more likely to be a stepping-stone towards something else. Given EU development history, PESCO may just be an incremental organization, replaced by new policies and institutions in the future.

CONCLUSION

The history of the EU has been marked by periods of rapid change followed by periods of uncertainty. Monnet and Schuman's aspiration of a "European Federation"[56] has been partially realized. Through treaty change the institution has morphed from a six nations sharing resources into 28 members of a pseudo-federalist organization with some supranational powers.

Collaborative security in the EU has evolved from having a basic foreign and defence policy to be able to deploy small forces, force generated and funded nationally. The EU is unable at present to generate and operate a large joint force. It could be argued whether they want to, or would they prefer to continue fielding small forces on peace support missions?[57]

---

[54] The European Union, "Permanent Structured Cooperation – PESCO," last accessed 13 April 2018, https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/eu_factsheet_pesco_permanent_structured_cooperation_en_0.pdf

[55] Politico.eu, "Mogherini hails historic defence pact" last modified 22 November 2017, https://www.politico.eu/article/federica-mogherini-defense-hails-historic-eu-defense-pact-as-23-countries-sign-up/

[56] Historiasiglo20.org, "Jean Monnet 1888-1979," last accessed 11 April 2018, http://www.historiasiglo20.org/europe/monnet.htm

[57] Christopher Meyer, *The quest for a European strategic culture : changing norms on security and defence in the European Union*. New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, 172-174.

PESCO is not a defence force. It does not have committed forces or a command structure. EU defence development has led to PESCO, inasmuch as nations have grasped the opportunity ratified in the Lisbon Treaty with collaboration that has evolved from existing European foreign and security policies. As a method by which contributing nations can take part on a level playing field in cooperative projects, it is progress; however what it won't achieve is the formation of a European army.

The EU is not a super-state. One day it may be, but at present the lack of comprehensive sovereignty over its member states prevents it establishing a standing defence force, an Army of Europe. PESCO is a step forward, meeting the aspirations of Article 42 of the Lisbon Treaty. As the treaty itself does not allow for a supranational defence force able to operate without recourse to member states, a new treaty will be required to include this. This seems likely, given general EU history. Therefore in 2018, PESCO is potentially just another step to something else, when the EU deems it necessary to evolve further.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, Stephanie. *Crafting EU Security Policy: In Pursuit of a European Identity*. London: Lynne Rienner. 2008.

Billon-Galland, Alice and Martin Quencez. "Policy Brief: Can France and Germany Make PESCO Work as a Process Toward EU Defense?" German Marshall Fund of the United States. Security and Defense Policy Program. 2017 No 033.

British Broadcasting Corporation. "Glossary: EU Jargon." Last accessed 11 April 2018. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3595155.stm#s23

CIViTAS. "History of the European Union." Last accessed 9 April 2018. http://www.civitas.org.uk/eu-facts/eu-overview/history-of-the-european-union/

CIViTAS. "Single European Act." Last accessed 11 April 2018. http://www.civitas.org.uk/eu-facts/eu-overview/single-european-act-2/

CIViTAS. "Treaty of Amsterdam." Last accessed 12 April 2018. http://www.civitas.org.uk/eu-facts/eu-overview/treaty-of-amsterdam/

CIViTAS. "Treaty of Lisbon." Last accessed 12 April 2018. http://www.civitas.org.uk/eu-facts/eu-overview/the-treaty-of-lisbon/

CIViTAS. "Treaty of Maastricht." Last accessed 10 April 2018. http://www.civitas.org.uk/eu-facts/eu-overview/treaty-of-maastricht/

CIViTAS. "Treaty of Rome." Last accessed 10 April 2018. http://www.civitas.org.uk/eu-facts/eu-overview/treaty-of-rome/

Council of the European Union. "Timeline: EU cooperation on security and defence." Last accessed 9 April 2018. http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/defence-security/defence-security-timeline/

CVCE.eu. "Franco–British St. Malo Declaration (4 December 1998)." Last accessed 12 April 2018. https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/franco_british_st_malo_declaration_4_december_1998-en-f3cd16fb-fc37-4d52-936f-c8e9bc80f24f.html

Dijkstra, Hylke. *Policy-Making in EU Security and Defense*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2013.

European Union World. "European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)." Last accessed 10 April 2018. http://www.europeanunionworld.com/135-european-union-as-a-journey/394-6-european-coal-and-steel-community-ecsc.html

Falag, Giovani. *The EU's common security and defence policy : learning communities in international organizations European Union security and defence policy*. Palgrave Macmillan. 2017.

Foreignpolicy.com. "Why Would Anyone Want to Join the EU?" Last modified 14 March 2012. http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/03/14/why-would-anyone-want-to-join-the-eu/

Grevi, Giovanni, Damien Helly, and Daniel Keohane. Daniel. *European Security and Defence Policy – The First 10 Years (1999-2009)*. Paris: EUISS. 2009.

Historiasiglo20.org. "Jean Monnet 1888-1979." Last accessed 11 April 2018. http://www.historiasiglo20.org/europe/monnet.htm

Howorth, Joylon. *The European Union and national defence policy: The State and the European Union*. London: Routledge. 1997.

Howorth, Joylon. *Security and defence policy in the European Union*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2007.

Lisbon Treaty.org. "Article 42." Last accessed 18 April 2018. http://www.lisbon-treaty.org/wcm/the-lisbon-treaty/treaty-on-european-union-and-comments/title-5-general-provisions-on-the-unions-external-action-and-specific-provisions/chapter-2-specific-provisions-on-the-common-foreign-and-security-policy/section-2-provisions-on-the-common-security-and-defence-policy/129-article-42.html

Meyer, Christopher. *The quest for a European strategic culture : changing norms on security and defence in the European Union*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2006.

Paul, Derek. *Defending Europe: Options for Security*. London: Taylor & Francis. 1985.

Politico.eu. "Mogherini hails historic defence pact" Last modified 22 November 2017. https://www.politico.eu/article/federica-mogherini-defense-hails-historic-eu-defense-pact-as-23-countries-sign-up/

Quartz. "For the first time in a long time, every EU economy is growing at the same time," Last modified 14 February 2017. https://qz.com/909088/for-the-first-time-in-a-long-time-every-eu-economy-is-growing-at-the-same-time/

Statewatch.Org. "Launching the European Defence Fund." Last accessed 13 April 2018. http://www.statewatch.org/news/2017/jun/eu-com-defence-fund-communication-com-295-final.pdf

The European Commission. "European Defence Action Plan: Towards a European Defence Fund." Last modified 30 November 2016. http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-16-4088_en.htm

The European Commission. "Jean Monnet: the unifying force behind the birth of the European Union." Last accessed 11 April 2018. https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europaeu/files/docs/body/jean_monnet_en.pdf

The European Commission. "Launching the European Defence Fund." Last modified 7 June 2017. https://ec.europa.eu/transparency/regdoc/rep/1/2017/EN/COM-2017-295-F1-EN-MAIN-PART-1.PDF

The European Commission. "Launching the European Defence Fund." Last modified 7 June 2017. https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/launching_the_european_defence_fund.pdf

The European Commission. "Towards a European Defence Union: Permanent Structured Cooperation and the European Defence Fund." Last accessed 14 April 2018. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/defence-union_en.pdf

The European Institute. "European Defence Timeline." Last accessed 10 April 2018. https://www.europeaninstitute.org/index.php/eu-facts/897-european-defence-timeline

The European Parliament. "Changed rules for qualified majority voting in the Council of the EU." Last accessed 12 April 2018. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2014/545697/EPRS_ATA%2820 14%29545697_REV1_EN.pdf

The European Union. "Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)." Last accessed 12 April 2018. https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/420/common-foreign-and-security-policy-cfsp_en

The European Union. "Countries." Last accessed 11 April 2018. https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/countries_en

The European Union. "EU Battlegroups." https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headQuarters-homepage/33557/eu-battlegroups_en

The European Union. "Permanent Structured Cooperation – Factsheet." Last accessed 13 April 2018. https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-Homepage/34226/permanent-structured-cooperation

The European Union. "Permanent Structured Cooperation – PESCO." Last accessed 13 April 2018. https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/eu_factsheet_pesco_permanent_structured_cooperation_en_0.pdf

The European Union. "Security and Foreign Policy." Last accessed 12 April 2018. https://europa.eu/european-union/topics/foreign-security-policy_en

The European Union. "Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe: A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign And Security Policy." Last accessed 19 April 2018. http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/top_stories/pdf/eugs_review_web.pdf

The European Union. "State of the Union 2016." Last accessed 19 April 2018.
    https://ec.europa.eu/commission/state-union-2016_en

The European Union. "The Single European Act." Last accessed 11 April 2018. https://eur-
    lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=LEGISSUM:xy0027&from=EN

The European Union. "Timeline: EU Cooperation on security and defence." Last accessed 19
    April 2018. http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/defence-security/defence-
    security-timeline/

The European Union. "Treaty of Amsterdam." Last accessed 11 April 2018.
    http://www.europarl.europa.eu/topics/treaty/pdf/amst-en.pdf

The European Union. "Treaty of Lisbon." Last accessed 11 April 2018. https://eur-
    lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:12007L/TXT&from=EN

The European Union. "Treaty of Nice." Last accessed 11 April 2018. https://eur-
    lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:12001C/TXT&from=EN

The European Union. "Treaty of Rome." Last accessed 11 April 2018.
    https://ec.europa.eu/romania/sites/romania/files/tratatul_de_la_roma.pdf

The European Union. "Treaty on European Union." Last modified 7 February 1992.
    https://europa.eu/european-
    union/sites/europaeu/files/docs/body/treaty_on_european_union_en.pdf