
DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUROPEAN DEFENSE POLICY

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Abstract: European Union member states have always recognized the need to act together in foreign policy and defense matters, but this has proved to be a difficult challenge and hard to achieved. The principle of a common foreign and security policy (CFSP) was formalized for the first time in 1992 by the Treaty of Maastricht, but creation of formal secondary instruments for diplomacy and intervention were needed pursuant to regional conflicts in the 1990s. Such decisive actions are the European Union peacekeeping missions to several of the world's trouble spots which promote development of the European Security and Defense Policy and design of European military structure. The first Europe defense agreement was sign on 17 of March 1948 in Brussels establishing the Western European Union. Together with the NATO Agreement they create the defense policy of Europe. In this context, the research paper aims is to explore the development of the Western European Union as a cradle for the birth of the European Union security and defense policy and the difference between the policies that are in the Union competence and the one exclusively to the Member States.

Keywords: Western European Union, European Union, Defense and Security Policy.

1 INTRODUCTION

The world is constantly change and Europe as part of it, faces a more complex and uncertain safety environment. The European Union as the largest trading and economic bloc in the world has a need to become capable of acting as a global actor (political and military). For that purpose, the Union has a unique range of tools to help in the promotion of peace and security where needed. From the very beginning since 1957 with the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community and the establishment of the Community, was the beginnings of a common foreign policy and external representation through initial cooperation between Member States when they negotiate as a bloc in international trade negotiations under predetermined common commercial policy.¹¹² After a decade in 1970 with the establishment of European Political Cooperation (EPC) a step was made for broader coordination in foreign affairs, which creates an informal consultation process between the Member States, in order to establish a common foreign policy. In 1987 with the Single European Act the European political cooperation is formalized and regulated in the Treaty establishing the Community, when it begins to operate on a formal and legal basis. After the catastrophic events of the First and Second World War, in the consciousness of European nations increased aspiration for establishing the European Community (similar to the US), driven by the desire for a united Europe and to eliminate the possibility of a new war on the European continent. However, taking into account the heterogeneous set of languages and cultures in the integration of Europe could not start with cultural, military and political integration. So initially only integrated economic policies of a number of countries in Europe, starting in 1957 with the signing of the Treaty establishing the European Community (Treaty of Rome), which is the supreme act in the legal framework for the existence of the community and where the main goal is the creation of single market (first pillar). In the following decades the legal architecture of the Community experiencing significant upgrades more amendments and supplements to the basic agreement with the agreements of Maastricht, Amsterdam, Nice, etc. that in several legal actions fields the EU and transferred considerable sovereign to EU.¹¹³ However, in the area of common foreign and security policy (second pillar) there is not made significant progress over the difficulties of reaching consensus. After first serious attempts were made by the Treaty of Lisbon, which provides significant reforms, especially in the creation of their mutual security policy through the introduction of a new chapter in the original contract, and it is "common security and defense policy." In 1992 with the Treaty of Maastricht, the European political cooperation was renamed the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) with the aim to promote the interests of the EU, as well as those of the international community which includes the promotion of international cooperation, respect for human rights, democracy and the rule of law. It should be noted that the

¹¹² Consolidated version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, Official Journal of the European Union C 83, 30.03.2010, p. 1-388.

¹¹³ The European Security Strategy (ESC) on "Safe Europe in a Better World", adopted by the European Council of 12 December 2003, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pd>.

security policy of the European Union is envisaged for the development of a single military component (military). The founders of the European Union does not envisioned it as a strong military alliance, because the period after World War II with the prevailing mistrust between European countries in order to create mutual military (similar to the US), while NATO security system is largely seen as appropriate and sufficient for defensive purposes. Towards that comes the fact that the 21 EU members are also members of NATO, while other European countries follow a policy of neutrality. Since the creation of the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) as part of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) of the European Union (EU), there has never been noted that there will be a military component in any way that will be parallel to that US and threaten its global ambitions.¹¹⁴ In many occasions stated that the direction has to resolve regional crises and in no way implies the creation of a European army and police. With the end of the Cold War, Americans and Europeans repeatedly entered in conflict about the need for the existence of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and US domination in it. This dilemma was quickly solved with the wars in Yugoslavia, where for the first time since its establishment, NATO structures took over the military action, which justified its existence.¹¹⁵ Unlike previous relationship, marking the intervention in Iraq, created division in transatlantic relations between the European Union and the United States, which was the reason the Union began seriously building coherence and credibility of the European CFSP. Europe increasingly emphasizes the need for autonomy for European defense and security system, despite strong ties with NATO and the dominant role of the US in it. Taking into account all the circumstances, serious development of ESDP was looking after the Kosovo crisis in 1999, which later was the impetus for the spectacular growth of the second pillar. After the war in Kosovo in 1999, the European Council agreed that "the Union must have the capacity for autonomous action, backed by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and a willingness to do so, in order to respond international crises without prejudice to actions by NATO. In 1999, with the European Council in Cologne, the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP or) becomes a significant part of the CFSP, nonetheless with limited capabilities because Member States are responsible for their own territorial defense, where most of the states are also members of NATO, which is responsible for the defense of Europe. Furthermore, the European Council in Helsinki, made a number of efforts to increase of the military capability of the EU. So by 2003, the EU ESDP began to function effectively implementing its first military and police missions in the Balkans, particularly the European and international level beyond the European continent, such as the Middle East and Africa. Parallel to the NATO and EU security policy is the existence of the Western European Union (WEU) from 1948 to Brussels Treaty as a purely European security organization. In 1992, the ratio of WEU and EU was contractually defined, that the WEU was awarded with the implementation of the "Petersburg tasks" (humanitarian missions such as peacekeeping and crisis management) in the world's trouble spots outside the EU, in addition to previous tasks of defense against aggression on European soil. With the Treaty of Amsterdam these tasks were later formally transferred from WEU to EU as part of the new CFSP and Common Security and Defense Policy.¹¹⁶ This element of the WEU were merged into the EU CFSP High Representative who is also the President of the WEU. Finally, in 2010 by the Treaty of Lisbon merged the Western European Union as a military alliance with the European Union, whose role remains transferred within the EU.¹¹⁷

2 WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION

Treaty of Brussels, signed on 17 March 1948 by Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France and Britain are considered a precursor to the NATO agreement. Treaty of Brussels and the Soviet intervention in Berlin led to the creation of the Western European Union in September 1948, as defense system between the countries of Western Europe. However, the participation US (the only nuclear power in the world in those times) was necessary in order to resist the military power of the USSR. That is why almost immediately began negotiations for a new military alliance, i.e. NATO. For more than 60 years of existence, the Western European Union (WEU) terminate its final residual activities in June 2011, after a decade of political and operational function within the European security and defense policy of the EU. This open the question what finally led to the lifting of Western Union and what does this mean for future of the European defense and security. What was their useful legacy and what was right to the EU to lead the European defense, and is there anything that the EU has failed to learn from the experience of Western

¹¹⁴ Professor Alyson Bailes, *The Demise of the Western European Union: Lessons for European Defense*, 10 May 2011, page 2

¹¹⁵ *Planning of European Union military operations*, Louis Simon, Institute for Security Studies of the European Union, Occasional Issues No. 81, Paris 2010,

¹¹⁶ *Treaty of Amsterdam Amending the Treaty on European Union*, Official Journal C 340, 10 November 1997

¹¹⁷ *Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community*, signed at Lisbon on 13 December 2007, Official Journal of the European Union C 306, 17.12.2007

European Union. The European security and defense policy more, earlier served as the Western European Union, and it stop its activities in 2011. What will be the impact of the loss of the parliamentary assembly that was separated from the EU authorities to discuss defense issues, and which opened its doors to countries such as Turkey, Norway, Albania and Ukraine, just as the closure of the Western European Union are marked with parliamentary ceremony. The History of Western Union can be summed up in four main periods. First, in the immediate post-war era when the organization was created till 1954 with the first modifying the Treaty of Brussels. After serving a very useful role for the unification of European countries and mitigate the likelihood of a resurgence of Nazi threat in Germany, WEU "go to sleep until the mid-1980s."¹¹⁸ It then reappears as a European Union defense and many believes that it is useful to start building a common European position during the change of US / European tensions. In the early 1990s, WEU enter the third stage, 'function' phase, marked by some success in adapting to the post-Cold War period. There we have expansion missions with Petersburg tasks, restructuring the weapons standards, as well as the new line of cooperation with NATO and the EU. Finally, in December 1999, WEU changed the political and operational affairs of the EU (and the European Security and Defense Policy - now known as the Common Security and Defense Policy). Its role and responsibilities of the arms were later transferred to the EU Agency for European defense, while its Assembly kept their parliamentary duties until mid-2011.¹¹⁹ The organization was based in Brussels, with a staff of 65 and an annual budget of 13.4 million euro. It was made by the Council of the Western European Union (Council) and the Assembly of Western European Union (Parliament). Western Union was led by the Council of Ministers, with the assistance of the Council of permanent representatives at ambassadorial level. Social and cultural aspects of the Treaty of Brussels, were handed over to the Council of Europe to avoid duplication of responsibilities in Europe. A Parliamentary Assembly (composed of delegations of Member States of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe) had oversight of the work of the Council, but not obligations of the Council. Assembly of Western European Union was consultative institution. According to Graham Messervy-Whiting, the main weakness of the Western European Union was that it was not accepted as capable enough to be trusted to take the serious operational operations and crisis management. However, WEU provided for some positive foundations, and one of the most important mission of the WEU was to develop the security and defense culture in Europe. With its comprehensive and flexible membership, WEU played a very important role in this respect the European Security and Defense Policy, which helped and spread such a culture outside of Brussels. Given the prominent elements, inter-military relations were fundamental within the WEU. Western Union retained a small number of skills that have not been transferred to the European Union: Article V of the Treaty of Brussels: mutual assistance in case of an armed attack on one of the countries of the Treaty; Article IX of the Treaty of Brussels: delivering the annual parliamentary report on the activities of the WEU, especially for gun control; Assembly consisted of the Brussels Treaty, powers of officials who are multinational body composed of members of the Member States, administrative tasks (access to archives, building management and pensions of its agents EU). The clause on mutual assistance in the event of armed aggression, according to the Treaty of Lisbon, and it is now included in the Treaty on European Union in Article 42. Western Union had 10 members, 6 associate members, observers 5 countries and 7 associate partner countries.¹²⁰ All member states of the WEU, the members of NATO and the European Union. They are the only countries that have full right out loud. Accompanied is created to include European countries which are members of NATO but not of the European Union. Associate members Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary joined the EU in 2004.

3 THE ROLE OF WEU IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CFDP OF THE EU

The transition period when the EU has taken most jurisdictions of the WEU was a key moment. Although willing to build on the strengths of the WEU, the EU had to start from scratch. It is important not to be too open to borrowing from the WEU as the skepticism WEU activated in some circles. In particular, the relations with NATO had to start over again, where NATO has long been considered to be quite problematic with the WEU junior partner.¹²¹ Therefore, it seems wiser in time for the EU to present ESDP as a new beginning. From the beginning WEU was not set as a part of the European Union institutions, never the less it had position of an organization that implement the decisions of the Union in the field of Common Defense and Security Policy, that had security implications. Before the Treaty of Maastricht, the member states agreed on Declaration, which was condition for the existence of

¹¹⁸Planning of European Union military operations, Louis Simon, Institute for Security Studies of the European Union, Occasional Issues No. 81, Paris 2010,

¹¹⁹ Andrew A.Mihota, Alliance Boundaries - US, NATO and EU in North and Central Europe, Ars Lamina, 2009, Skopje

¹²⁰ CFDP was an integral part of the European Union, in contrast to the WEU.

¹²¹ Jean Claude, European Law, Congress Service Center, Skopje 2006

the Common Defense and Security Policy, that differed the connection of the EU and WEU and cleared that the Union wanted clear European defense and not the use of WEU (because for example Turkey was part of the WEU but not of the EU). With the Treaty of Maastricht, the WEU became as an “integral part of the development of the EU”, where in article J(4) of the 1992 version is said that “The Union will search from the WEU to elaborate and implement the decisions that have security implications”. Concerning the cooperation with both entities, it is considered that the Council could make the necessary arrangements with the WEU. It was reflection of the traditional withhold of the countries to be involved in the security cooperation. This is the case with EU activities in Mostar (Bosnia and Herzegovina) where the WEU implemented the Unions decisions in the CFSP, with the mission of the police security.¹²² Work experience is another area in which the WEU was useful. Although small, the police mission launched in Albania in 1997, were included 60 police officers from 20 countries, supported by the other 40, and was intended to further test the extension of police efforts in the Balkans. Logistical experience of the Western European Union has proved very important for the EU. In terms of command, control and communications, WEU put in place at the annual conference for all people involved in crisis management and operations, and who helped to develop operational procedures and missions.

Western Union has developed a catalog or menu of power available in each country, where gaps will be identified and reported to the political authorities. The fact that Helsinki set of goals of the EU, was created by the ESDP only a few months after its creation it is a clear indication of the heritage of the WEU. Also, intelligence capacity of the WEU (monitoring security situations in the former Yugoslavia and in some parts of Africa especially,) are not lost when the EU took over, as some senior personnel were transferred to the EU. Finally WEU developed solid resources in crisis management, exercise and training. Given the difficulties of this planning cycle, it is essential for the EU to be able to draw on the work of the WEU to be able to start to work on these elements. In conclusion, the extent to which the EU has attracted the WEU's operational and military experience were quite significant to the EU and allow it to develop its security and defense duties in a very short period of time.

4 POLICIES OF THE WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION

Unwisely, Washington stick to outdated policies of the Cold War, instead to devise new policies that will better address security requirements of America in the post-Cold War. However there is more appearance in efforts to maintain and even expand NATO, even though the enemy was created to face it, the Soviet Union no longer exists, and the United States and Europe now have a relatively small number of common safety interests. The security arm of the European Union should replace NATO as the primary guarantor of European security and WEU would have a number of advantages over NATO.¹²³ WEU Member States have many common security interests, apart from various American and European perspectives are already making serious unrest in NATO. Western European countries have abundant economic resources and are able to provide for their own defense without US assistance and finally, Moscow is seen as less provocative US and dominates NATO expanded version that will extend the borders of Russia. Keeping NATO as primary European security institution is expensive and have many risks in military instability, even when it is vital US interests are at stake. Replacement of NATO by WEU and EU would emphasize that most disputes in Central and Eastern Europe are more relevant to the people of Europe than in America, and that dealing with such problems is proper European responsibility. Moreover, one of Western Europe development is a full independent military capability, where WEU and EU will be a strong partner in the event of a threat to the future in each US-European security interests. Western European Union had rotating presidency for six months. A country that chairs the European Union was also the president of the Western European Union. When a country which is not a member of the Western European Union becomes president, previous country which is a member of both organizations continues to serve as president. EUROFOR was a fighting unit Western European Union alliance. They took the battle lines in June 1998. The delegation of EUROFOR is derived from the countries of France, Italy, Spain and Portugal by the Council of Ministers of the EU in May 15, 1995 in Lisbon.

5 CONCLUSION

Foreign and security policy is an attribute of statehood which represents the strongest tool in international relations. The desire of the European Union to take a greater part of the global security burden and be real active subject in sustaining the world security can be real when foreign and security policy will be transferred from the Member States of the EU level in order for it to be effective. Further European integration and the creation of a supranational

¹²² The European Union in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Powers, Decisions and Legitimacy, Bart MJ Szweczyk, Union Institute for Security Studies, Occasional Paper n ° 83 March 2010, Paris, 2010.

¹²³ <http://www.cato.org/publications/policy-analysis/western-european-union-natos-successor>

foreign policy of the European Union creates duplication of NATO resources in Europe and the reduction of bilateral engagements US government whose benefits US enjoy long. Subsequent adoption of the Single European Act, generally renewed the interest in the "Europeanization", and further bolstered the WEU with the Maastricht treaty in 1991. However it was the Soviet Union, which had so long ensure the primacy of NATO in Europe. There is no question that the WEU developed better military capabilities and strengthen internal cohesion and be ready to take responsibility for European defense. Continued emphasis on NATO, however, increases the disadvantages of WEU in both of these areas. The symbolic nature, European security structures limit their ability to replace NATO in its key role in European security. As long as Western Europe continued to lead the Common Foreign And Security Policy primarily as a means of measuring progress towards European unity, rather than to be tangible tool for the defense of Europe, the WEU forces will nor larger qualify to replace the Atlantic Alliance with European. Europe is unlikely to cross that border with US security that will be further withdrawn.

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