

## **For a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) Capable to Act**

Resolution of the Party Conference of CDU Germany in Essen from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> of April 2000 prepared by the two national committees of CDU Germany for European respectively Foreign and Security policies (chaired by Elmar Brok MEP and Dr. Friedbert Pflüger MP respectively)  
(Courtesy Translation).

The development of a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) as a fully integrated element of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) of the European Union gained in momentum in the last months. The NATO summit of April 1999 in Washington, D.C. and the conclusions of the European Councils in Cologne and Helsinki laid the foundation of strengthening the CFSP in the sphere of security and defence. Now, the institutional and operational conclusions have to be taken and put into practise. The most urgent tasks are the followings:

1. The creation of military capacity to act of the European Union starting in the field of the Petersberg Tasks
2. The development of instruments and mechanisms of military and non-military crisis management including the policies of prevention
3. Transfer of the automatic military assistance clause according to article 5 of the WEU-treaty into the EU-treaty.

The solution of these tasks is the precondition for creating a European Space of Freedom, Security, and Lawfulness that strengthens the external and internal security for the citizens. All deliberations on ESDP have the aim to further European integration and to enable the Europeans especially the European Union and its members states to meet the demands more obviously of its increased responsibility for security in close co-operation with NATO. An ESDP capable to act serves the reduction of the strategic asymmetry between the European and North American NATO partners and contributes both to strengthening NATO and deepening of the European integration process.

### **Military capacity to act**

The tragic events in former Yugoslavia have demonstrated that Europe must be able to common military actions in order to add to its CFSP the necessary degree of credibility and power to achieve its political aims. Such a capacity of Europe to act should, will or cannot replace or duplicate NATO especially in the field of collective defence. NATO is still necessary to keep the power of balance in Europe. Therefore CDU Germany continues to be in favour of an adequate military presence of the USA on the European continent. On the contrary, NATO will be relieved and strengthened, if Europe will adopt in the field of keeping and creating peace, confidence building measures, early warning, crisis prevention and management and the ensuring of humanitarian missions in accordance with NATO greater responsibilities. It is not so much about creating the own military instruments and structures for the Europeans, but to create common procedures for political decision taking and organisation of military forces in the EU frame work on the basis of existing NATO structures. NATO can thus gain additional vitality by improving internal burden sharing and by creating a direct transparent co-ordination and co-operation mechanism with the European Union.

The precondition for common military actions in the framework of the CFSP is the full integration of the WEU into the EU including article 5 (clause of automatic military assistant) as an annex to the EU treaty for the NATO members of the European Union. The CDU welcomes that a personal union of the High Representatives for the CFSP with the office of the General Secretary of the WEU could be achieved as a first step. The functions of the Parliamentary Assembly of the WEU should be transferred to the European Parliament with the integration of the WEU into the EU. The European Parliament should be the parliamentary body that controls the CFSP and defence policies in the long run. The parliamentary control of military missions should remain with the national parliaments.

To put the EU into position to carry out military operations in the framework of the Petersberg tasks autonomously these further conditions have to be fulfilled:

1. The military capacities of the Europeans have to be organised more efficiently on the bases of existing national, bilateral, and multinational arrangements such as

especially the Euro-Corps and other military divisions under of the WEU. This is especially true in the field of logistic and intelligence capacities as well as the delivery of police security forces to supervise peace accords. There could well be at the end of this development forms of common European military and police forces.

2. The technological and industrial base of the military capacity to act must be strengthened. The creation of a European armament industry and policy especially in the field of setting standards and procurement is a decisive factor for the efficiency of an ESDP. The European Commission can and must deliver an essential contribution in that field by e.g. measures of industrial policy in public procurement, competition policies, research, as well as controls of imports and exports. The Commission should therefore produce a "White Book" for those projects. The CDU demands the establishment of a European Armament Agency in order to achieve those aims better.

The European Union must further extend, improve, and develop its non-military instruments of crisis prevention and management parallel to the extension of its military capacities. It must intensify the co-ordination with the national instruments of the single member states. This is a special and important responsibility of the European Commission, too. It can contribute decisively within its responsibilities especially in external trade, development policies, the technical and financial co-operation, the humanitarian support, the clearing of mines, migration politics, the protection and support of human rights and democratic reforms including the support and observations of elections.

### **Decision-making**

The ESDP must be developed in the institutional framework of the CSFP and in close co-operation with the European Commission and with full information of the European Parliament. By doing so the capacities of the High Representative of the CFSP and the General Secretary of the Council and his Planning and Early Warning Unit must be used efficiently and comprehensively and in close co-operation with the commissioner for external affairs and his units of the Commission especially responsible for conflict prevention and crisis management. The High Representative should take all tasks that cannot be sensibly fulfilled by a rotating

presidency and should adopt a participating role in shaping policies towards the presidency.

The declaration of the European Council of Cologne and the coming into office of the High Representative of the CFSP in October 1999, the resolutions of the European Council of Helsinki in December 1999 as well as the creation of the preliminary council bodies of the ESDP (Preliminary Political and Security Committee and Preliminary Military Body) in March 2000 have created a new dynamism that should enable the European Council to take the decisions at its summit in Nice in December 2000 to pass formal resolutions for the realisation of the essential institutional preconditions of a military security policy within the EU framework. Those decisions should be the following:

- ? Regular common session of the foreign and defence ministers as a Council for Security Policy
- ? The replacement of the Political Committee by a Permanent Committee of Security Policy
- ? The establishment of a Military Committee that is working together with the advisers of the CSFP of the member states for the Permanent Committee of Security Policy
- ? The creation of a European Military Staff and of a Security Situation Room (also working for the European Commission) that should closely work together with the Planning and Early Warning Unit of the High Representative
- ? The extension of necessary intelligence and analysis capacities such as a Satellite Centre and an Institute for Security Policies

The working group for ESDP called in by the Declaration of Cologne must be instructed to prepare the declarations for the transfer of the tasks of WEU to the EU in such a way that the European Council of Nice in December 2000 can make final decisions.

The High Representative for the CFSP should have the chair in those council bodies (e.g. the General Council of foreign ministers, Common Council of Foreign and Defence Ministers) that deal with the foreign and security political agenda of Europe.

The High Representative should have an initiative right to deal with foreign and security policy issues of the Council.

The co-operation between EU and NATO should be improved. Those European NATO partners that are not members of the European Union as well as other European states who wish to do so should be able to take part in military measures of the European Union without putting into question the decision autonomy of the European Union. Negotiations over a formal co-operation between EU and NATO should be initiated well in time to enable that the correspondent mechanisms are ready to work at the latest when the WEU functions are taken over by the European Union.

Those measures mentioned above as well as the decisions of the European Council of Nice in December 2000 have to be prepared well in time so that they can be integrated into the EU treaty by proposals introduced into the running Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) 2000.