

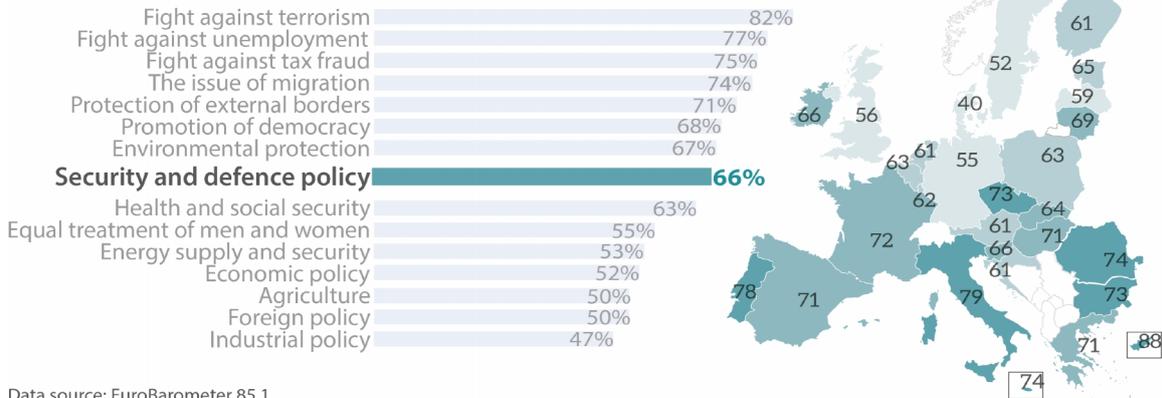
Security and defence policy

OVERVIEW

Decisions on security and defence policy are, most of the time, taken by the EU-28's national governments and usually without public scrutiny. Yet, almost two thirds of EU citizens would like the EU to intervene in this policy area more than it does at present. Since the introduction of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in the Treaty of Maastricht, the EU has made substantial progress in assuming its role as a regional security provider. Although significantly strengthened by the Treaty of Lisbon, this policy area continues to be hampered by the Member States' lack of will to make better use of the existing legal framework, and by inadequate funding mechanisms.

Public expectations and EU commitment regarding security and defence: is there a gap?

Percentage of respondents who would like the EU to intervene more than at present



Data source: EuroBarometer 85.1

Approximately two thirds of EU citizens would like to see greater EU engagement in matters of security and defence policy, according to a new Eurobarometer survey of the European Parliament on '[perceptions and expectations](#)'. This is significant support, but still somewhat lower than the support for increased EU action on more concrete issues perceived as related to security, such as terrorism and migration. Support is very unevenly spread across the EU. It is lowest in Denmark (40%), Sweden (52%), Germany (55%) and the UK (56%), none of them is directly exposed to the Union's southern or eastern external borders, and, as a whole, strongest in Cyprus (88%). About 51% of EU citizens deem the EU's current involvement in this policy area as insufficient. One particular issue closely related to the issue of the EU's involvement in security and defence is the mutual assistance clause, requiring Member States to help each other in crises. Only 31% of EU citizens are aware of this clause, yet 85% of those who are aware of it deem it good or very good. Support for a greater EU role in security and defence is weakest among women and men under 24 and above 75 years of age.

EU citizens' preferences regarding how much of the EU budget should be spent on security and defence have changed over the years, mirroring changes in the perceived security situation. Among the most preferred categories of EU spending, the defence and security budget ranked eighth in [2008](#) (with 17% of citizens perceiving it as a top priority), tenth in [2011](#) (with 14% of supporters) and seventh in [2015](#) (with 19% of supporters).

Legal framework

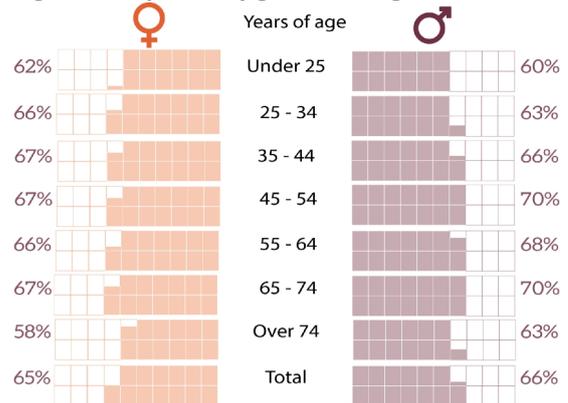
Security and [defence cooperation](#) among EU Member States has always been among the most complicated issues on their common agenda. The [foundations](#) of the existing framework for defence cooperation were laid down in the [Maastricht Treaty](#) of 1993, with the introduction of the pillar structure, and in the [Amsterdam Treaty](#) of 1998, with the codification of new structures and tasks for CFSP, including the creation of the post of EU High Representative. Article 17 of the Amsterdam Treaty stated that 'the Common Foreign and Security Policy shall include all questions relating to the security of the Union, including the progressive framing of a common defence policy', and incorporated the [Petersberg tasks](#) into the Treaty. The current legal framework for the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) is laid down in Title V of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) as amended in [Lisbon](#) in 2007, as well as in Protocols 10 and 11 and Declarations 13 and 14 on CFSP. The most important defence-related changes introduced in Lisbon include: the creation of a framework for Permanent Structured Cooperation (Articles 42(6) and 46 TEU and Protocol 10), the introduction of a mutual assistance clause (Article 42(7) TEU) and a solidarity clause (Article 222 TFEU), enhanced cooperation (Article 20 TEU), and the expansion of the Petersberg tasks (Article 43 TEU). The Treaty also stipulates that the European Defence Agency (EDA) shall contribute to a regular assessment of the Member States' contributions. Despite almost permanent reform, defence cooperation remains the sole competence of the individual Member States.

Current implementation and EU action

Since the establishment of the Common Security and Defence Policy, the EU has carried out 32 CSDP [missions and operations](#), 21 of them civilian and 11 military. In addition, several documents of strategic importance have been adopted to frame the EU's security posture, including [the EU's comprehensive approach](#) to external conflicts and crises (2011), the Strategy for Security and Development in the [Sahel](#) (2011), a Strategic Framework for the [Horn of Africa](#) (2011), the [Cybersecurity](#) Strategy (2013), and the Regional Strategy for [Syria](#) (2014). Following the November 2015 terrorist attacks in Paris, the French government requested the activation of the [mutual assistance clause](#) – the only such request to date. In addition, the Group of Personalities, appointed by the European Commission to recommend a long-term vision for EU-funded CSDP-related research for boosting European defence cooperation, presented its [report](#) in February 2016. Following the [mandate](#) provided to her by the European Council of June 2015, EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Federica Mogherini, is expected to present an EU global strategy on foreign and security policy in June 2016. The Commission's 2016 [work programme](#) also focuses on [capacity-building](#) in third countries and on an EU-wide strategic framework for supporting [Security Sector Reform](#). The Commission is also working on a [European Defence Action Plan](#) aimed at bringing together core elements of the existing EU defence policies on the internal market, industrial policy and research, and to combine them with new initiatives to provide synergies between security and defence.

The European Parliament has produced a number of detailed analyses on the implementation of the [European Council conclusions](#) and [Lisbon Treaty provisions](#) concerning CSDP. The results

Figure 1 – Opinion by generation, gender



Data source: EuroBarometer 85.1

suggest that many mechanisms provided for in the Treaty of Lisbon have not yet, despite their potential positive impact on EU security, been fully implemented. Furthermore, a 2013 [Cost of Non-Europe](#) report estimated that gains from closer European cooperation on security and defence could range between €26 and €130 billion a year.

Potential for better implementation and further EU action

The Commission's European Political Strategy Centre published two position papers promoting [closer defence cooperation](#) between Member States and the creation of a '[Security Union](#)' on the basis of Articles 88(1), 222(1) and 352 TFEU. The first paper prioritises the need to enhance the EU's resilience and security from within, as well as to address the root causes of its failure to benefit fully from the legal framework provided in the Treaties. The paper also proposes a number of concrete operational solutions (for instance, establishing Operational Headquarters and introducing a 'European Semester process on defence capabilities').

Parliament has adopted a number of resolutions concerning the future of European security and defence cooperation: on the [mutual assistance clause](#), on the impact of developments in [European defence markets](#) on the security and defence capabilities in Europe, on the [implementation](#) of the Common Security and Defence Policy, and on the High Representative's [Annual Report](#) to the Parliament. Concrete recommendations put forward by the Parliament for further actions by the EU and Member States aim in particular to strengthen the use of the existing Treaty-based instruments and their implementation (for instance, Article 41 TEU on a start-up fund; Article 46 TEU on permanent structured cooperation; Article 222 TFEU on the solidarity clause; Article 42(7) TEU on the mutual assistance clause; and Article 44 TEU on entrusting CSDP operations to a group of Member States). Parliament also recommends concrete measures to improve defence cooperation between Member States, including strengthening the European Defence Agency, reviewing the Athena financing mechanism to further increase common financing of CSDP military operations, closer cooperation with NATO and strengthening the European technological and industrial base and defence research.

The EU budget and the security and defence policy

Determining the precise amount of [total EU spending](#) on security and defence policy is a complicated task, mainly because security funding is often covered by broader policy frameworks while responsibilities are distributed among several Commission departments and [Member States](#). In the current Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF), support for conflict prevention and resolution, and peace and security-related activities is [enshrined](#) in nine national and eight regional or thematic programmes. Possible support for transition from missions and operations under CSDP to other instruments is also included in 45 country-specific programmes. Nonetheless, the main sources of funding for security and defence policy at EU level include:

- **the Common Foreign and Security Policy – CFSP** (under MFF Heading 4, 'Global Europe'): aims to preserve peace, prevent conflicts and contribute to global peace and security. It is dedicated to a great extent, although not entirely, to security and defence policy. The financial envelope for CFSP in the 2014-2020 MFF is **€2 338.7 million** (at current prices), 0.22% of the MFF. The CFSP budget is divided into eight budget lines, reflecting the different types of actions. Those broadly referring to security and defence objectives include: (1) **EU civilian crisis management missions and activities** ([CSDP](#) missions). CSDP missions were allocated a total of **€281.4 million** (at current prices) for 2016, compared to €258.25 million in 2015; (2) 'Emergency measures' intended to cover unforeseen requirements and act as an element of flexibility in the CFSP budget. The 2016 budget for Emergency measures amounts to €37 million (at current prices), or €17 million more than in 2015; (3) 'Preparatory and follow-up measures' where commitments amount to €8 million in 2016 and €5.2 in 2015; (4) 'Support to non-proliferation and disarmament', amounting to €19 million (up €2 million from 2015).

- the Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace – [IcSP](#) (under MFF Heading 4, 'Global Europe'): finances, among other things, the fight against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, counter-terrorism, capacity-building in terms of cross-border threats and pre-/post-crisis preparedness. The total IcSP budget for 2014–2020 amounts to **€2 338.7 million** and will be allocated according to the priorities identified in the [Thematic Strategy Paper](#) 2014–2020. The appropriations for global, trans-regional and emerging threats amount to €64.4 million in 2016, a slight increase compared to 2015.

Financial instruments outside the EU budget

Operations in the military domain or having military implications cannot be funded by the EU budget. However, to ensure solidarity between Member States, some common costs relating to military operations are [financed](#) through the **Athena financing mechanism**. Except for Denmark, which has opted out of CSDP military activities, Member States contribute an annual share to the mechanism in accordance with their gross national income. Common costs managed by the mechanism represent only a small share (estimated at approximately 10-15%) of the overall costs of military operations, while the overwhelming bulk of expenditure is shouldered by the participating states. In 2015, the budget for five Athena military operations was [estimated](#) at approximately €76 million compared to €78 million in 2014. As of May 2016, the EU was involved in [six](#) military missions and operations.

Potential for further financing at EU level

Several resolutions adopted by Parliament in 2015 – on the [Implementation of the CSDP](#), the [Financing of the CSDP](#), and the [Annual Report from the HR/VP on CFSP](#) – acknowledged the achievements with regard to the CSDP, but called for more flexibility in the EU's financial rules to enable a quick response to crisis situations. Parliament suggested a long-term approach in financing CSDP missions and operations, emphasising the importance of transparency. Moreover, it stressed the lack of adequate burden-sharing in covering common costs of military operations through the Athena mechanism. Lastly, Parliament called for the creation of a start-up fund for the urgent financing of the initial phases of military operations. Some Member States are also [discussing](#) the creation of a European investment fund for defence, which would allow contributing EU governments to borrow and thus ensure funds are always available for joint defence programmes. Thus far, the EU's response to potential security challenges stemming from the migration crisis also suggests an increasing tendency to rely on EU [trust funds](#) (such as the [Madad Fund](#), the [Facility](#) for Refugees in Turkey), which allow for more coordinated, joined-up, speedier, and more flexible aid delivery in emergencies and post-emergency situations. New opportunities result from a [decision](#) by the members of the OECD Development Assistance Committee to update the existing approach so as to report expenditure for peace and security as official development assistance (ODA).

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eprs@ep.europa.eu

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