

CERPESC

ANALYSES

The ESS

The first Security Strategy

Page 3

The EUGS

The new EU Global Strategy

Page 6

Conclusion

For a better strategy

Page 13

Annexes

Basic Documents

Page 14

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THE DEFICIENCIES, MISTAKES AND CONTRADICTIONS OF THE NEW EU FOREIGN AND SECURITY STRATEGY

Evolution or Devolution? From the « Solana Paper » to the « Mogherini Paper »



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CERPESC ANALYSES

Introduction¹

The events of the last 20 years, the first operations and missions, show that the Common Security and Defense Policy, the CSDP (the European Security and Defense Policy: the ESDP, before 2009) does not exist only on paper. Europe must act to prevent wars and crises or to stop them.

The European Union and its member countries are confronted with decisive choices for the future of Europe as a political entity. The external (and above all, energy) dependence of the Union is particularly emphasized by the European security strategies².

The documents that function as strategies (the first, the 2003 ESS³ and the most recent, 2016 EUGS⁴) of the European Union are quite poor in terms of content and objectives. They list the challenges, without drafting the places and means of the overall strategic presence.

The purpose of this analysis is to examine the major development issues of EU strategic thinking during the period 2003-2016. Can we talk about development, stagnation, or devolution? Is the new strategy capable of fulfilling its role and can really serve as the basis of our ambitions?

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² TÜRKE, András István, *La politique européenne de sécurité et de défense - Quel bilan après dix ans? Quelles nouvelles orientations?*, Paris :L'Harmattan, 2012. p. 7., pp. 258-259. et p. 261.

³ *A Secure Europe in a Better World: European Security Strategy* (ESS, "Solana Paper"). Brussels, December 12, 2003. and *Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy - Provide Security in a Changing World*. Brussels, December 22, 2008. (downloadable from the CERPESC website, www.pesc.eu)

⁴ *Shared Vision, Common Action : A Stronger Europe – A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy*. (EUGS) Brussels, June 28, 2016., *Implementation Plan on Security and Defence*. (IPSD) Brussels, November 14, 2016 and *European Defence Action Plan: Towards a European Defence Fund*, Brussels, November, 30, 2016.

CERPESC ANALYSES

I. The European Security Strategy (ESS, 2003)

Advantages and disadvantages of the strategy

To better understand the current strategy, we need to take a short look at the Solana Paper (*A Secure Europe in a Better World: European Security Strategy, ESS*) of an already "historical" dimension.

In 2003 the conflict in Iraq reinforced the sense of reality in Europe and in May 2003 the High Representative of the CFSP, Javier Solana, proposed the implementation of a security strategy for the EU. This idea started at the IGC in Greece on 20 June 2003. The Draft Strategy, which has only a political and not a judicial effect, was presented to the European Council on 12 December 2003⁵.

One of the biggest advantages of the text is its brevity with very little duplication, compared to several EU documents⁶. On the other hand, "Solana Paper" is not a strategy, but rather a fundamental concept of the development of the CFSP.

The concept is clear and well structured, but also contains elements very close to a political statement and some superfluous banalities:

"(Organized crime) can have links with terrorism." (p. 4.) or *"A new dimension to organised crime which will merit further attention is the growth in maritime piracy."* (p. 5.) Maritime piracy has existed since ancient times, and its "new form" since the second half of the 20th century especially in Indonesia.) However, the text in 2003 predicted the upsurge of crimes related to piracy on

the Somali coast: A strong point of the strategy)⁷. *"We live in a world that holds brighter prospects but also greater threats than we have known."* (p. 6.) (We believe that the threat of an apocalyptic nuclear war resulting from the millions of victims is not necessarily less "greater" than terrorist attacks.)

In the concept the text seeks to be anchored in the strategic culture of the EU. The concept is based on a premise of an EU with 25 Member States and 450 million inhabitants and counts with 1/4 GDP of the world.

It begins with a brief historical introduction, referring to the violence of the 20th century and the stabilizing role of the EU (and the fundamental guarantee: the United States), whose power has increasingly increased: the EU has also participated in the operations outside Europe: Afghanistan, East Timor and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The interests of the EU have become wider⁸.

The Grounds of the Strategy

The two key elements, rather fundamental to the strategy (unfortunately well hidden and scattered in the strategy) consist of two brief analyzes of the current situation. They complement those of the NATO Strategy (1999):⁹

"Our traditional concept of self-defence – up to and including the Cold War – was based on the threat of invasion. With the new threats, the first line of defence will often be abroad." (Explanation of the active, "expansive" conception of the EU. After the collapse of the Soviet Union to the Russian intervention in Georgia (South Ossetia) in 2008, and the Crimean crisis of 2014, the

⁵ REITER Erich, « Die Sicherheitsstrategie der EU », *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, le 19 janvier 2004, BPB., p. 26.

⁶ See the Cotonou Agreement between the EU and ACP countries

⁷ En 1961 l'ex-commandant portugais, Henrique Galvao, et ces compagnons ont occupé un navire portugais, Santa Maria, au mer de Caraïbe. L'action selon des normes juridique faisait partie de la notion de piraterie (Convention de Genève /1958/ 15.§)

⁸ ESS, 2003., p. 1-2

⁹ ESS, op. cit. p. 8.

CERPESC ANALYSES

traditional threat by traditional military forces, remained underestimated in Europe: a weak point of the strategy.)

"In contrast to the massive visible threat in the Cold War, none of the new threats is purely military; nor can any be tackled by purely military means." (p.7.) (This is the reason for the link between internal and external policy into a new strategic design incorporating multilateral responses to new threats.)

A conclusion (negative or rather realistic) concerning the effectiveness of international military operations focuses on these two aspects. It also contains the basic foundation of "made in Europe" crisis management:

"In almost every major intervention, military efficiency has been followed by civilian chaos. We need greater capacity to bring all necessary civilian resources to bear in crisis and post crisis situations."¹⁰ (p. 12.)

It is clear that in 2003 Operation Artemis in the DRC and especially Concordia in FYROM were based on this principle.

The document is divided into 3 titles:

I. The Security Environment: Global Challenges and Key Threats

II. Strategic Objectives

III. Policy Implications for Europe

The description of the geopolitical Framework

The first part of the present strategy presents the most important (current) problems (famine, poverty, competition for natural resources, but also EU energy dependency). According to the calculation the natural dependence of the EU will increase: in 2030 the EU will be the main importer

of gas, its imports increase from 50% to 70%. The text cites terrorism as a global threat and puts it in a more complex global context:¹¹

"Europe is both a target and a base for such terrorism: European countries are targets and have been attacked. Logistical bases for Al Qaeda cells have been uncovered in the UK, Italy, Germany, Spain and Belgium. Concerted European action is indispensable."¹²

The strategy acknowledged the increased threat of international terrorism (a strong point), even if, for example, France became targeted by Islamist terrorist groups only after its intervention in Mali (again the Islamic State in Azawad) in 2013-2014. So States have their own responsibility in this point.

But the strategy has a rather serious strategic error: it makes a direct link between religion (Islam is not mentioned, but suggested) and crime (terrorism) by speaking of *"violent religious extremism"* (p. 2.) There is a lack of strategic sensitivity towards Islamic countries and the text is unaware of the strategic importance of forging close and strong relations with moderate Islamists to fight terrorism based on the false interpretation of Holy Quran.

It is obvious that religion (Islam) is not fundamentally violent. The terrorists' objectives are political, economic (etc.) and religion is no more than an instrument of cohesion, an ideology in this struggle. The terrorists largely benefited from the massacre of the editors of Charlie Hebdo. Because the *"Je suis Charlie"* has suggested that Europeans share ideas of the blasphemy of this smear-sheet - and so the moderate Islamists have been threatened, considered suspicious and pushed more towards the extremists than towards the "Christians". A very big mistake in the strategy.

¹⁰ ESS, op. cit., 2003 p. 13.

¹¹ Reiter, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

¹² ESS, op. cit., 2003., p. 4.

CERPESC ANALYSES

The strategy considers the expansion of weapons of mass destruction as the potentially greatest threat. Regional conflicts in Somalia, Liberia and Afghanistan affected more or less European interests. Organized crime is the next section of Part One, including trafficking in drugs and women, illegal migration, illegal trafficking in armed forces, state failure, mismanagement of public affairs (etc.)

The 3 strategic objectives

In the second part, the strategic objectives were defined: We must ensure a better future, both think globally and agitate locally. Three strategic goals were formulated:¹³

1, First of all you have to **addressing the threats** (terrorism, arms proliferation). We need to strengthen for exemple the International Atomic Energy Agency and export. Aid for reconstruction (in the Balkan) can also reduce these risk factors. It can not be said that *de facto* the European Union has politically reinforced the role of international organizations (the UN, the African Union) or the Member States have strengthened the role of EU diplomacy since the birth of the strategy. On the other hand concerning the rather military side, the launch of missions and operations the balance sheet is rather positive.

2, The second strategic goal is to ensure safety in the European neighborhood. The enlargement of the EU can not solve new strict borders in Europe. Strategic priorities include: Eastern European neighbors, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the Southern Mediterranean. (Through enlargement to the east the EU has become safer, but with regard to the Israeli-Palestinian territories and North Africa, European diplomacy is a failure.)

3, The third goal is an international order based on the multilateralism. The development of international law and the Charter of the United Nations must be guaranteed. One of the most important priorities is the strengthening of the United Nations. Regional organizations and the International Criminal Court should also be assisted¹⁴. (The record is ambiguous.)

The third part takes into account the realization of European policy between 1991-2003: operations were concentrated in the Balkan region. The concrete goal was a union that spends 160 billion euros on defense, and has 2 million soldiers and can manage several actions at the same time.

The European armies should be transformed and in such a transformation the keyword will be the *flexibility*. At the same time, developing EU's diplomatic capacity to strengthen the transatlantic partnership remains essential¹⁵. Here, solemn declarations, "lovely" clichés are not lacking. And at the same time, concrete proposals for implementation are ignored, as usual.

The catalog of criteria that this strategy does not fulfill

The EU's 'Solana paper' strategy is not a strategy rather a fundamental concept of CFSP development. According to Reiter, a true defense strategy must meet the following criteria¹⁶:

- definition of security and geographic frameworks
- risk analysis
- the appointment of civilian and military means
- the fixing of local and regional European interests
- a catalog of priorities
- a catalog of the criteria for a European commitment

¹³ Reiter, op. cit., pp. 27-28

¹⁴ ESS, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

¹⁵ Reiter, op. cit., p. 28

¹⁶ Reiter, op. cit., p. 30.

CERPESC ANALYSES

- a description of the form in which the EU wants to use its means
- explanation of the cohesion between internal and external security
- sharing of duties between the EU, the United States and NATO¹⁷.

Moreover, the European Union's Strategy Paper (2003) offers no scenario. On the European scene, the importance of a White Paper that lists possible scenarios has been widely debated, stemming from the cultural difference in the strategic thinking of European countries. Even if those who affirm that *"a strategy is always prepared for the past, taking examples of past events, and it will be overcome from its birth"* are close to the truth, the development of scenarios is necessary. They are useful in order to evaluate our strength and lead us towards a "common vision on security"¹⁸.

The New Strategy (2016)

After the birth of the first "Solana Paper", after 13 years of waiting, to develop a common basic strategic document concerning our role and global presence and actions, we are still far from being proud of this "strategy" which should be the basis for a European Defense White Paper¹⁹.

It is a collection of obsessive banalities with a cruel lack of concrete measures or a little more concretized measures, except the supplements of the Lisbon Treaty (solidarity clause, reinforced cooperation, mutual defense, etc.) already widely known and debated, which are a real plus, compared to the first strategy. However, it seems that the strategy uses massively (by simple copy/paste ?) existing text templates of common foreign policy's measures with sentences, pre-written paragraphs, available to formulate any official texts of the EU by simply replacing some key words.

The most important paragraphs, which should be found in the preface to a strategy, form part of the corpus: *"Internal and external security are ever more intertwined: our security at home entails a parallel interest in peace in our neighbouring and surrounding regions. It implies a broader interest in preventing conflict, promoting human security, addressing the root causes of instability and working towards a safer world."* (p. 14.) and *"while a prosperous Union is the basis for a stronger Europe in the world, prosperity must be shared and requires fulfilling the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) worldwide, including in Europe."* (p. 14.)

¹⁷ Reiter, op. cit., p. 31.

¹⁸ András István Türke, *La politique européenne de sécurité et de défense: quel bilan après 10 ans ? Quelles nouvelles orientations ?* Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012., pp. 258-259.

¹⁹ see also *Note d'information* du 13 octobre 2016, du Conseil des Affaires étrangères, Lundi 17 octobre à Luxembourg, pp. 1-6., www.consilium.europa.eu

CERPESC ANALYSES

Concerning the concrete measures ignored, very few exceptions are the following: *"We reaffirm our collective commitment to achieve the 0.7% ODA/GNI target in line with DAC²⁰ principles."* or *"It means strengthening the participation of women in foreign policy-making."* and *"we will systematically mainstream human rights and gender issues < « égalité des sexes » : in the French version – A.I.T. > across policy sectors and institutions"*²¹ (in a union where until now, there were two female HR / VP and only one male).

The common text reminds us of a testament of a senile old man who repeatedly repeats the same thing several times (in order to arrive at a global strategy which, despite all this, contains only 42 pages with a 31 pages implementation strategy...). The keywords are repeated several times in such a context, for example "Interoperability" (pp. 23, 47, 50), "technology": 18 times, rapid(ly): 13 times. There is a relatively recent magic word "resilience" and repetition of old slogans, such as 12 times "a stronger Europe / union"²².

It has never been understood how the Union will be stronger by the only means if it is suggested by repeating this objective several times²³. In a context that is significantly different from reality, because it

emphasizes that *"In a more complex world, we must stand united."* (p. 8.) because *"the EU's credibility hinges on our unity"* (p. 10 and p. 44) while the decision on the opening of the BREXIT negotiations is a *fait accompli*²⁴.

Another factor "The EU will promote a rules-based global order." (p. 8.²⁵) In principle, this is a very important and majestic objective. However, the two-tier policy continues: Kosovo vs. Georgia vs. Crimea, Chad vs. Libya, Darfur vs. South-Sudan, international proliferation control / nuclear industry in Iran, North Korea and Israel (etc.).

An international actor can retain the value of his opinion if this opinion is in principle impartial. Otherwise, where Europeans are unable to carry out sovereign diplomacy, as they are not a sovereign entity (and so before a decision is taken, they must know the decision of certain powers), the EU states *"have missed an opportunity to be silent"*²⁶. Or, this is to be understood under the following explanatory sentence: *"Principled pragmatism will guide our external action in the years ahead."* (pp. 11. and 19.).

²⁰ Official Development Assistance (ODA), Development Assistance Committee (DAC)

²¹ *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe*, op. cit., pp. 48 and 51.

²² This statistic is based on the French version, the English version may be a little bit different because of synonyms.

²³ See the criticisms made by President Charles de Gaulle: *"So we have to take things the way they are, because we do not do politics other than on realities. Of course, one can jump on his chair like a goat saying "Europe! "" Europe! "" Europe! "But it does not work and it does not mean anything."* Television interview of December 14 1965, Site of the Charles de Gaulle Foundation,

<http://www.charles-de-gaulle.org/pages/l-homme/dossiers-thematiques/de-gaulle-et-le-monde/de-gaulle-et-lrsquoeeurope/documents/citations-du-general-de-gaulle-sur-l-europe-ii.php>

²⁴ Mogherini presented the strategy on 28 June and the referendum on the UK's membership of the European Union took place on 23 June 2016 with the victory of BREXIT's supporters (51.89%). See WEILER, Quentin., « La Stratégie Globale de l'UE : De quoi s'agit-il ? », *Diploweb.com*, 03/01/2017.

<http://www.diploweb.com/La-Strategie-Globale-de-l-UE-de.html>

²⁵ and : p. 4. *"international rule-based system"*; pp. 10. and 39.: *"multilateral rules-based order"*, p. 8, 15-16 and 18.: *"rules-based global order"* ;

²⁶ Famous bon mot of Jacques Chirac in 2003, criticizing many future member states of the European Union, which have signed the famous "letter of the eight" without any prior consultation (one principle of the common foreign policy) with their European partners. This letter was drafted by the United States to create a coalition of the willings (not having the decision of the UNSC) for an intervention in Iraq. QUATREMER J. – DUBOIS, N. « Jacques Chirac jette un froid à l'Est », *Libération.fr*, 19.02.2003., <http://www.liberation.fr/>

CERPESC ANALYSES

However, to find also positive elements, "suddenly" we come across a few sentences that have a closer relationship with reality: *"Finally, none of these conflicts can be solved by us alone."* (p. 10) and *"In particular, investment in security and defence is a matter of urgency."* (p. 8.). *"In this fragile world, soft power is not enough: we must enhance our credibility in security and defence. To respond to external crises, build our partners' capacities and protect Europe, Member States must channel a sufficient level of expenditure to defence, make the most efficient use of resources, and meet the collective commitment of 20% of defence budget spending devoted to the procurement of equipment and Research & Technology."* (p. 47.)

The problem is that we can imagine the development of efficiency by simply increasing the budget, and not by a radical change in the interpretation of defense and security concept in Europe. That the ability to defend ourselves leads to the capacity to act *"in full power"*, and consequently the diplomatic capacity of the EU gains a real weight on the international scene.

This PC text, whose content is mostly belongs to a "UN number two" rather than a real power, underlines several times the primacy of NATO and the responsibility of European states for their own defense, but forgets "charitably" to mention the fact that the financial contribution of European states to the common costs of NATO remains considerably lower and disproportionate compared to the United States of America.

Thus it is (would be) much more important what this "strategy" hides and ignores, the need for a common European army on which our diplomacy could be based (the "weight" behind the words, the capacity to act) and a global strategy, a global presence that defends our common interests and needs (and not only our values which, by contrast,

are mentioned several times) can be realized. Moreover, with regard to the latter, a significant decline is visible in relation to the strategy of Solana...

In which countries is a long-term strategic presence, by civilian and/or military personnel, desirable? The EU needs concretely what forces (what kind of common "army") to achieve these goals? We are quite far from the headline goals (Helsinki, 2010). What is the time and the space limit of these missions?

How should the different EU missions be followed for a long-term resolution? Should short-term and casual missions be promoted (see mostly the operations, ESDP / CSDP missions) or a sustainable presence?²⁷ Are there several cases, and if so, we will decide on which political principle between the different solutions?

How can we prevent that the other powers reap the benefits of our stabilizing activity? (See, for example, the presence and activity of China in the DRC.) What are our biggest foreign competitors on the ground, and how to settle disputes with them? Why do the missions, instead of competing with the UN missions? Without answers to these questions a strategy remains a circumlocution.

Goals in Africa, counter-terrorism and migration issues

In the mishmash of existing, umpteenth time repeated slogans and goals, (and sometimes never fully realized for 70 years, see the notion of interoperability), European goals concerning the African continents do not show any coherence either. Many circles of states are mentioned very quickly, often illogically.

²⁷ This issue is discussed very briefly on pages 50-51: *"Our peace policy must also ensure a smoother transition from short-term crisis management to long-term peacebuilding to avoid gaps along the conflict cycle."*

CERPESC ANALYSES

All this results in a confused African policy, with uncertain boundaries, groups and categories. Especially:

- *"It is in the interests of our citizens to invest in the resilience of states and societies to the east stretching into Central Asia, and to the south down to Central Africa."*²⁸ (Why to Central Africa and not to North Africa or South Africa?)
- *"The EU will follow five lines of action. First, in the Maghreb and the Middle East, the EU will support functional multilateral cooperation."*²⁹ (Are the authors aware that North Africa and MAGREB are not synonyms, the latter is a region of North Africa.)
- *"It means systematically addressing cross-border dynamics in North and West Africa, the Sahel and Lake Chad regions through closer links with the African Union, the Economic Community of Western African States (ECOWAS) and the G5 Sahel."*³⁰ (New geographical disturbance: Lake Chad is part of the Sahel region, which is often interpreted as part of North Africa ...)
- *"The SDGs will inform the post-Cotonou partnership and drive reform in development policy, including the EU Consensus on Development."*³¹ (The group of ACP countries is also another category ...)
- *"On the vast majority of global governance issues, we will work with the UN as the framework of the multilateral system and a*

*core partner for the Union, with other core partners such as the US, with regional organisations, and with like-minded and strategic partners in Asia, Africa and the Americas."*³² (In this case the entire African continent is affected.)

- *"We will also further develop human rights-compliant anti-terrorism cooperation with North Africa, the Middle East, the Western Balkans and Turkey, among others, and work with partners around the world to share best practices and develop joint programmes on countering violent extremism and radicalisation."*³³ (Why does terrorism stop at the southern borders of North African states, and countries in Central Africa remain excluded?)

In these rather confusing frameworks, all we know about our actions in Africa are as follows, on the level of a political statement: *"...we will invest in African peace and development as an investment in our own security and prosperity. We will intensify cooperation with and support for the African Union, as well as ECOWAS, the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development in eastern Africa, and the East African Community, among others < sic, the strategy is unable to give us the list of our most important partners in Africa – A.I.T. > .*

We must enhance our efforts to stimulate growth and jobs in Africa. The Economic Partnership Agreements can spur African integration and mobility, and encourage Africa's full and equitable participation in global value chains. A quantum leap in European investment in Africa is also needed to support sustainable development. We will

²⁸ *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe*, op. cit., p. 12.

²⁹ *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe*, op. cit., p. 37.

³⁰ *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe*, op. cit., p. 35.

³¹ *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe*, op. cit., p. 40 ; SDGs : Sustainable Development Goals

³² *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe*, op. cit., p. 43.

³³ *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe*, op. cit., p. 16.

CERPESC ANALYSES

build stronger links between our trade, development and security policies in Africa, and blend development efforts with work on migration, health, education, energy and climate, science and technology, notably to improve food security.

We will continue to support peace and security efforts in Africa, and assist African organisations' work on conflict prevention, counter-terrorism and organised crime, migration and border management. We will do so through diplomacy, CSDP and development, as well as trust funds to back up regional strategies. ³⁴

Apart from sustainable development and economic cooperation, the strategy focuses on two major security-related issues, although sometimes the text does not specifically mention interactions with African partners.

"The European secret weapon" against terrorism (see above) is the deepening of work on education, communication, culture, youth and sport to combat violent extremism, and we must combat radicalization by expanding our partnerships with civil society, social actors, the private sector and victims of terrorism, as well as through inter-cultural and inter-religious dialogue³⁵.

The "soft" means, but in no way the basic courses on counter-terrorism or basic elements of self-defense for the population (see the case of Israel or Switzerland) or in education. It is more important that the fight against terrorism must be "human rights-compliant".

The second element, the fight against migration is similarly ill-targeted. The text ignores several decisive factors concerning the subject. Firstly, according to several analyzes, we are well aware of the unfortunate fact, that as so the development in an African country accelerates, the population prefers rather migration (because they are able to

finance it) to the North or the West than to stay in place. It is the great vicious circle and it is very difficult to overcome this challenge. The second factor is that by the war against Libya (of Gaddafi) and by the transitions consequential effect of the Arab Spring, the "first filter" or "deposit" role of North African states (especially Libya) has been eliminated:

"Together with countries of origin and transit, we will develop common and tailor-made approaches to migration featuring development, diplomacy, mobility, legal migration, border management, readmission and return. Through development, trust funds, preventive diplomacy and mediation we will work with countries of origin to address and prevent the root causes of displacement, manage migration, and fight trans-border crime." ³⁶

Moreover, the "strategy" does not hide at all what is reminded us of the slogan of President Sarkozy who emphasized a "selective immigration" (*immigration choisie*) a brain drain favorable for Europeans, but much less favorable for our African partners:

"We must stem irregular flows by making returns more effective as well as by ensuring regular channels for human mobility. This means enhancing and implementing existing legal and circular channels for migration. It also means working on a more effective common European asylum system which upholds the right to seek asylum by ensuring the safe, regulated and legal arrival of refugees seeking international protection in the EU." (p. 28.)

At this point, the interests of African partners are completely ignored, despite tons of documents emphasizing the importance of dialogue and cooperation with them. Once the European interest

³⁴ *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe*, op. cit., p. 29.

³⁵ *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe*, op. cit., p. 21.

³⁶ *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe*, op. cit., p. 22.

CERPESC ANALYSES

predominates the Africans are omitted ; see the launching of the war against Libya, despite the negative opinion of the African Union... Thanks to this attitude, according to the text, the African partners are not called to participate or to co-operate in maritime safety on the African coasts, which should also be left to their own devices: *"The EU will contribute to global maritime security, building on its experience in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean, and exploring possibilities in the Gulf of Guinea, the South China Sea and the Straits of Malacca."* (p. 41.)

In summary, we can say that the document presents an incoherent and troubled African policy without conception, with some elements of a certain power politics of the former colonizers. Where is the red line of the countries of our partners in Africa? Either a geographical approach (North Africa? MAGREB? Central Africa?) or an approach based on common values (etc.)? Does the European Union handle Africa as a whole? Or is it the regional approach that dominates? Or does it mix the two, and if so, why, for what solutions?

Which African states have strategic importance to our supplies in Europe, or have a strategic (or cultural) importance so that the Europeans can achieve a "global presence" (etc. etc.)? With what strategic partnerships, on what mutual basis, with how many staffs on which theaters?

How could the strategic presence of certain Member States (France, United Kingdom, Portuguese, etc.), should, could be harmonized with the common objectives within the EU? Of course, the European "strategy" ignores completely these issues and, as we have seen, guaranteeing gender equality at the diplomatic level is a much more important issue ...

Compared to this poor strategy of the European Union, it must be said that China and India (and even Russia) face the same challenges and already have effective strategies to follow³⁷.

There is also very little concrete evidence in the strategy's implementation plan, with the multiplication of additional documents that remain on the level of "we have to act and our capacities should be strengthened". However, at some points the document clearly sees the minimum what needs to be done immediately for an "update" of everything that has been included under the CSDP so far - but no more:

- The revision of Santa Maria da Feira's (19-20 June 2000) priority areas for civilian missions, taking into account the deeply modified security environment³⁸
- The necessary capacity assessment in INTCEN and EUMS INT³⁹
- Preparation of short-, medium- and long-term proposals for Member States' consideration to improve their capacities in relation to the level of ambition.
- Strengthening links between INTCEN / EUMS INT and other EU and Member States' entities that provide situational awareness to further support the development of a European hub for strategic information, early warning and in-depth analysis⁴⁰.

These are the concrete cases for the planned developments, in order that the EU can achieve a threefold objective:

(A) responding to external conflicts and crises,

³⁷ See in particular the role of China and Russia in Africa in the book : TÜRKE, András István, *La géopolitique des premières missions de l'Union européenne en Afrique*. Paris :L'Harmattan, (Nouvelle édition), 2016.

³⁸ *Implementation Plan on Security and Defence. op. cit.*, p. 4.

³⁹ EU INTCEN - EU Intelligence Analysis Centre, EUMS INT - EUMS Intelligence Directorate (source : www.pesc.eu)

⁴⁰ *Implementation Plan on Security and Defence. op. cit.*, p. 5.

CERPESC ANALYSES

- (B) building the capacity of partners, and
- (C) protecting the Union and its citizens.

Implementation of the strategy seeks to strengthen the humanitarian dimension (by competing for the UN and increasingly to the detriment of the "traditional" operations/missions of the former ESDP) and to integrate more and more elements of the former third pillar (AFSJ, The area of Freedom, Security and Justice since the Treaty of Lisbon) to the former second pillar (CFSP), although the relationship between internal and external security has not been a miracle for a long time.

The PESCO (Permanent Structured Cooperation, CSP in French) has been a striking proof of European immobility since the drafting and entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon (ie almost 10 years ago) because the text proposes to realize it⁴¹.

According to the European Defense Action Plan⁴², the European Commission has proposed the creation of a European Defence Fund to support investment in joint research and the joint development of defence equipment and technologies with

- a "research window" (with an estimated annual budget of EUR 500 million) to finance collaborative research in innovative defense technologies such as electronics, metamaterials, encrypted software or robotics; and
- a "capability window" (with an estimated annual budget of EUR 5 billion), which would serve as a financial instrument enabling the participating Member States to acquire certain assets (eg UAVs or helicopters) while reducing their costs.

It also plans to promote investment in SMEs, start-ups, mid-sized companies and other suppliers in the defense industry and to strengthen the Single Market for defense.

⁴¹ *Implementation Plan on Security and Defence. op. cit.*, p. 9., p. 10 et p. 30.

⁴² Plan d'action européen de la défense : vers un Fonds européen de la défense Bruxelles, le 30 novembre 2016

CERPESC ANALYSES

Conclusion

As regards the poor quality of the new Global Strategy of the European Union, it is an incontestable step backwards from the European Security Strategy. A serious disappointment for those, who thought that after 2003, within reasonable time, the European Union will have a concrete and utilizable vision of its place in the world, and real capacities to fulfill its role.

Strategy talks to the wind, with few concrete things, dates and deadlines. The text is plain of banalities, at the level of a political speech. It contains no novelty compared to the other documents of the European Union.

It is much more important the elements, aspects ignored by the authors. An effective strategy need not necessarily be a public strategy. But as far as this final product is concerned, it has very little value, it is a displacement activity. Just to have one more document that can be considered as a "strategy".

We can not create a real, relevant strategy, if we can not answer the questions asked in the analysis. Without this we are only wasting our time.

Sources of images

- p. 1/1. - Source : The Lewis Chessman (British Museum), CM Dixon/Print Collector/Getty Images
<http://www.history.com>
- p. 1/2/ - EO Accelerator, Source :
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CERPESC ANALYSES

ANNEXES

(Source : <http://europavarietas.org/csdp/documents>)

A Secure Europe in a Better World - European Security Strategy (ESS, 12/12/2003) [EN](#) [FR](#)

Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy (2008) [EN](#) [FR](#)

Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe - A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign And Security Policy (EUGS, 28/06/2016) [EN](#) [FR](#) [HU](#)

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European Defence Action Plan: Towards a European Defence Fund (30/11/2016) [EN](#) [FR](#)

From Shared Vision to Common Action: Implementing the EU Global Strategy Year 1 (07/06/2017) [EN](#) [FR](#)

CERPESC ANALYSES

I.

A SECURE EUROPE IN A BETTER WORLD - EUROPEAN SECURITY STRATEGY

ESS, Brussels, 12 December 2003

Introduction

Europe has never been so prosperous, so secure nor so free. The violence of the first half of the 20th Century has given way to a period of peace and stability unprecedented in European history. The creation of the European Union has been central to this development. It has transformed the relations between our states, and the lives of our citizens. European countries are committed to dealing peacefully with disputes and to co-operating through common institutions. Over this period, the progressive spread of the rule of law and democracy has seen authoritarian regimes change into secure, stable and dynamic democracies. Successive enlargements are making a reality of the vision of a united and peaceful continent.

The United States has played a critical role in European integration and European security, in particular through NATO. The end of the Cold War has left the United States in a dominant position as a military actor. However, no single country is able to tackle today's complex problems on its own. Europe still faces security threats and challenges. The outbreak of conflict in the Balkans was a reminder that war has not disappeared from our continent. Over the last decade, no region of the world has been untouched by armed conflict. Most of these conflicts have been within rather than between states, and most of the victims have been civilians.

As a union of 25 states with over 450 million people producing a quarter of the world's Gross National Product (GNP), and with a wide range of instruments at its disposal, the European Union is inevitably a global player. In the last decade European forces have been deployed abroad to places as distant as Afghanistan, East Timor and the DRC. The increasing convergence of European

interests and the strengthening of mutual solidarity of the EU makes us a more credible and effective actor. Europe should be ready to share in the responsibility for global security and in building a better world.

I. THE SECURITY ENVIRONMENT: GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND KEY THREATS

Global Challenges

The post Cold War environment is one of increasingly open borders in which the internal and external aspects of security are indissolubly linked. Flows of trade and investment, the development of technology and the spread of democracy have brought freedom and prosperity to many people. Others have perceived globalisation as a cause of frustration and injustice. These developments have also increased the scope for non-state groups to play a part in international affairs. And they have increased European dependence – and so vulnerability – on an interconnected infrastructure in transport, energy, information and other fields.

Since 1990, almost 4 million people have died in wars, 90% of them civilians. Over 18 million people world-wide have left their homes as a result of conflict.

In much of the developing world, poverty and disease cause untold suffering and give rise to pressing security concerns. Almost 3 billion people, half the world's population, live on less than 2 Euros a day. 45 million die every year of hunger and malnutrition. AIDS is now one of the most devastating pandemics in human history and contributes to the breakdown of societies. New diseases can spread rapidly and become global threats. Sub-Saharan Africa is poorer now than it was 10 years ago. In many cases, economic failure is linked to political problems and violent conflict.

Security is a precondition of development. Conflict not only destroys infrastructure, including social infrastructure; it also encourages criminality, deters investment and makes normal economic activity

CERPESC ANALYSES

impossible. A number of countries and regions are caught in a cycle of conflict, insecurity and poverty.

Competition for natural resources - notably water - which will be aggravated by global warming over the next decades, is likely to create further turbulence and migratory movements in various regions.

Energy dependence is a special concern for Europe. Europe is the world's largest importer of oil and gas. Imports account for about 50% of energy consumption today. This will rise to 70% in 2030. Most energy imports come from the Gulf, Russia and North Africa.

Key Threats

Large-scale aggression against any Member State is now improbable. Instead, Europe faces new threats which are more diverse, less visible and less predictable.

Terrorism: Terrorism puts lives at risk; it imposes large costs; it seeks to undermine the openness and tolerance of our societies, and it poses a growing strategic threat to the whole of Europe. Increasingly, terrorist movements are well-resourced, connected by electronic networks, and are willing to use unlimited violence to cause massive casualties.

The most recent wave of terrorism is global in its scope and is linked to violent religious extremism. It arises out of complex causes. These include the pressures of modernisation, cultural, social and political crises, and the alienation of young people living in foreign societies. This phenomenon is also a part of our own society.

Europe is both a target and a base for such terrorism: European countries are targets and have been attacked. Logistical bases for Al Qaeda cells have been uncovered in the UK, Italy, Germany, Spain and Belgium. Concerted European action is indispensable.

Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction is potentially the greatest threat to our security. The international treaty regimes and export control arrangements have slowed the spread of WMD and delivery systems. We are now, however, entering a new and dangerous period that raises the possibility of a WMD arms race, especially in the Middle East. Advances in the biological sciences may increase the potency of biological weapons in the coming 4 EN years; attacks with chemical and radiological materials are also a serious possibility. The spread of missile technology adds a further element of instability and could put Europe at increasing risk.

The most frightening scenario is one in which terrorist groups acquire weapons of mass destruction. In this event, a small group would be able to inflict damage on a scale previously possible only for States and armies.

Regional Conflicts: Problems such as those in Kashmir, the Great Lakes Region and the Korean Peninsula impact on European interests directly and indirectly, as do conflicts nearer to home, above all in the Middle East. Violent or frozen conflicts, which also persist on our borders, threaten regional stability. They destroy human lives and social and physical infrastructures; they threaten minorities, fundamental freedoms and human rights. Conflict can lead to extremism, terrorism and state failure; it provides opportunities for organised crime. Regional insecurity can fuel the demand for WMD. The most practical way to tackle the often elusive new threats will sometimes be to deal with the older problems of regional conflict.

State Failure: Bad governance – corruption, abuse of power, weak institutions and lack of accountability - and civil conflict corrode States from within. In some cases, this has brought about the collapse of State institutions. Somalia, Liberia and Afghanistan under the Taliban are the best known recent examples. Collapse of the State can be associated with obvious threats, such as organised crime or terrorism. State failure is an alarming phenomenon, that undermines global governance, and adds to regional instability.

CERPESC ANALYSES

Organised Crime: Europe is a prime target for organised crime. This internal threat to our security has an important external dimension: cross-border trafficking in drugs, women, illegal migrants and weapons accounts for a large part of the activities of criminal gangs. It can have links with terrorism.

Such criminal activities are often associated with weak or failing states. Revenues from drugs have fuelled the weakening of state structures in several drug-producing countries. Revenues from trade in gemstones, timber and small arms, fuel conflict in other parts of the world. All these activities undermine both the rule of law and social order itself. In extreme cases, organised crime can come to dominate the state. 90% of the heroin in Europe comes from poppies grown in Afghanistan – where the drugs trade pays for private armies. Most of it is distributed through Balkan criminal networks which are also responsible for some 200,000 of the 700,000 women victims of the sex trade world wide. A new dimension to organised crime which will merit further attention is the growth in maritime piracy.

Taking these different elements together – terrorism committed to maximum violence, the availability of weapons of mass destruction, organised crime, the weakening of the state system and the privatisation of force – we could be confronted with a very radical threat indeed.

II. STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

We live in a world that holds brighter prospects but also greater threats than we have known. The future will depend partly on our actions. We need both to think globally and to act locally. To defend its security and to promote its values, the EU has three strategic objectives:

Addressing the Threats

The European Union has been active in tackling the key threats.

- It has responded after 11 September with measures that included the adoption of a European Arrest Warrant, steps to attack terrorist financing

and an agreement on mutual legal assistance with the U.S.A. The EU continues to develop cooperation in this area and to improve its defences.

- It has pursued policies against proliferation over many years. The Union has just agreed a further programme of action which foresees steps to strengthen the International Atomic Energy Agency, measures to tighten export controls and to deal with illegal shipments and illicit procurement. The EU is committed to achieving universal adherence to multilateral treaty regimes, as well as to strengthening the treaties and their verification provisions.

- The European Union and Member States have intervened to help deal with regional conflicts and to put failed states back on their feet, including in the Balkans, Afghanistan, and in the DRC. Restoring good government to the Balkans, fostering democracy and enabling the authorities there to tackle organised crime is one of the most effective ways of dealing with organised crime within the EU.

In an era of globalisation, distant threats may be as much a concern as those that are near at hand. Nuclear activities in North Korea, nuclear risks in South Asia, and proliferation in the Middle East are all of concern to Europe.

Terrorists and criminals are now able to operate world-wide: their activities in central or southeast Asia may be a threat to European countries or their citizens. Meanwhile, global communication increases awareness in Europe of regional conflicts or humanitarian tragedies anywhere in the world.

Our traditional concept of self-defence – up to and including the Cold War – was based on the threat of invasion. With the new threats, the first line of defence will often be abroad. The new threats are dynamic. The risks of proliferation grow over time; left alone, terrorist networks will become ever more dangerous. State failure and organised crime spread if they are neglected – as we have seen in West Africa. This implies that we should be ready to act

CERPESC ANALYSES

before a crisis occurs. Conflict prevention and threat prevention cannot start too early.

In contrast to the massive visible threat in the Cold War, none of the new threats is purely military; nor can any be tackled by purely military means. Each requires a mixture of instruments. Proliferation may be contained through export controls and attacked through political, economic and other pressures while the underlying political causes are also tackled. Dealing with terrorism may require a mixture of intelligence, police, judicial, military and other means. In failed states, military instruments may be needed to restore order, humanitarian means to tackle the immediate crisis. Regional conflicts need political solutions but military assets and effective policing may be needed in the post conflict phase. Economic instruments serve reconstruction, and civilian crisis management helps restore civil government. The European Union is particularly well equipped to respond to such multi-faceted situations.

Building Security in our Neighbourhood

Even in an era of globalisation, geography is still important. It is in the European interest that countries on our borders are well-governed. Neighbours who are engaged in violent conflict, weak states where organised crime flourishes, dysfunctional societies or exploding population growth on its borders all pose problems for Europe.

The integration of acceding states increases our security but also brings the EU closer to troubled areas. Our task is to promote a ring of well governed countries to the East of the European Union and on the borders of the Mediterranean with whom we can enjoy close and cooperative relations.

The importance of this is best illustrated in the Balkans. Through our concerted efforts with the US, Russia, NATO and other international partners, the stability of the region is no longer threatened by the outbreak of major conflict. The credibility of our foreign policy depends on the consolidation of our achievements there. The European perspective

offers both a strategic objective and an incentive for reform.

It is not in our interest that enlargement should create new dividing lines in Europe. We need to extend the benefits of economic and political cooperation to our neighbours in the East while tackling political problems there. We should now take a stronger and more active interest in the problems of the Southern Caucasus, which will in due course also be a neighbouring region.

Resolution of the Arab/Israeli conflict is a strategic priority for Europe. Without this, there will be little chance of dealing with other problems in the Middle East. The European Union must remain engaged and ready to commit resources to the problem until it is solved. The two state solution - which Europe has long supported- is now widely accepted. Implementing it will require a united and cooperative effort by the European Union, the United States, the United Nations and Russia, and the countries of the region, but above all by the Israelis and the Palestinians themselves. The

Mediterranean area generally continues to undergo serious problems of economic stagnation, social unrest and unresolved conflicts. The European Union's interests require a continued engagement with Mediterranean partners, through more effective economic, security and cultural cooperation in the framework of the Barcelona Process. A broader engagement with the Arab World should also be considered.

AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER BASED ON EFFECTIVE MULTILATERALISM

In a world of global threats, global markets and global media, our security and prosperity increasingly depend on an effective multilateral system. The development of a stronger international society, well functioning international institutions and a rule-based international order is our objective.

We are committed to upholding and developing International Law. The fundamental framework for

CERPESC ANALYSES

international relations is the United Nations Charter. The United Nations Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Strengthening the United Nations, equipping it to fulfil its responsibilities and to act effectively, is a European priority.

We want international organisations, regimes and treaties to be effective in confronting threats to international peace and security, and must therefore be ready to act when their rules are broken.

Key institutions in the international system, such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the International Financial Institutions, have extended their membership. China has joined the WTO and Russia is negotiating its entry. It should be an objective for us to widen the membership of such bodies while maintaining their high standards.

One of the core elements of the international system is the transatlantic relationship. This is not only in our bilateral interest but strengthens the international community as a whole. NATO is an important expression of this relationship.

Regional organisations also strengthen global governance. For the European Union, the strength and effectiveness of the OSCE and the Council of Europe has a particular significance. Other regional organisations such as ASEAN, MERCOSUR and the African Union make an important contribution to a more orderly world.

It is a condition of a rule-based international order that law evolves in response to developments such as proliferation, terrorism and global warming. We have an interest in further developing existing institutions such as the World Trade Organisation and in supporting new ones such as the International Criminal Court. Our own experience in Europe demonstrates that security can be increased through confidence building and arms control regimes. Such instruments can also make an important contribution to security and stability in our neighbourhood and beyond.

The quality of international society depends on the quality of the governments that are its foundation. The best protection for our security is a world of well-governed democratic states. Spreading good governance, supporting social and political reform, dealing with corruption and abuse of power, establishing the rule of law and protecting human rights are the best means of strengthening the international order.

Trade and development policies can be powerful tools for promoting reform. As the world's largest provider of official assistance and its largest trading entity, the European Union and its Member States are well placed to pursue these goals.

Contributing to better governance through assistance programmes, conditionality and targeted trade measures remains an important feature in our policy that we should further reinforce. A world seen as offering justice and opportunity for everyone will be more secure for the European Union and its citizens.

A number of countries have placed themselves outside the bounds of international society. Some have sought isolation; others persistently violate international norms. It is desirable that such countries should rejoin the international community, and the EU should be ready to provide assistance. Those who are unwilling to do so should understand that there is a price to be paid, including in their relationship with the European Union.

III. POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR EUROPE

The European Union has made progress towards a coherent foreign policy and effective crisis management. We have instruments in place that can be used effectively, as we have demonstrated in the Balkans and beyond. But if we are to make a contribution that matches our potential, we need to be more active, more coherent and more capable. And we need to work with others.

More active in pursuing our strategic objectives. This applies to the full spectrum of instruments for crisis management and conflict prevention at our

CERPESC ANALYSES

disposal, including political, diplomatic, military and civilian, trade and development activities. Active policies are needed to counter the new dynamic threats. We need to develop a strategic culture that fosters early, rapid, and when necessary, robust intervention.

As a Union of 25 members, spending more than 160 billion Euros on defence, we should be able to sustain several operations simultaneously. We could add particular value by developing operations involving both military and civilian capabilities.

The EU should support the United Nations as it responds to threats to international peace and security. The EU is committed to reinforcing its cooperation with the UN to assist countries emerging from conflicts, and to enhancing its support for the UN in short-term crisis management situations.

We need to be able to act before countries around us deteriorate, when signs of proliferation are detected, and before humanitarian emergencies arise. Preventive engagement can avoid more serious problems in the future. A European Union which takes greater responsibility and which is more active will be one which carries greater political weight.

More Capable. A more capable Europe is within our grasp, though it will take time to realise our full potential. Actions underway – notably the establishment of a defence agency – take us in the right direction.

To transform our militaries into more flexible, mobile forces, and to enable them to address the new threats, more resources for defence and more effective use of resources are necessary.

Systematic use of pooled and shared assets would reduce duplications, overheads and, in the medium-term, increase capabilities.

In almost every major intervention, military efficiency has been followed by civilian chaos. We need greater capacity to bring all necessary civilian resources to bear in crisis and post crisis situations.

Stronger diplomatic capability: we need a system that combines the resources of Member States with those of EU institutions. Dealing with problems that are more distant and more foreign requires better understanding and communication.

Common threat assessments are the best basis for common actions. This requires improved sharing of intelligence among Member States and with partners.

As we increase capabilities in the different areas, we should think in terms of a wider spectrum of missions. This might include joint disarmament operations, support for third countries in combating terrorism and security sector reform. The last of these would be part of broader institution building.

The EU-NATO permanent arrangements, in particular Berlin Plus, enhance the operational capability of the EU and provide the framework for the strategic partnership between the two organisations in crisis management. This reflects our common determination to tackle the challenges of the new century.

More Coherent. The point of the Common Foreign and Security Policy and European Security and Defence Policy is that we are stronger when we act together. Over recent years we have created a number of different instruments, each of which has its own structure and rationale.

The challenge now is to bring together the different instruments and capabilities: European assistance programmes and the European Development Fund, military and civilian capabilities from Member States and other instruments. All of these can have an impact on our security and on that of third countries. Security is the first condition for development.

Diplomatic efforts, development, trade and environmental policies, should follow the same agenda. In a crisis there is no substitute for unity of command.

CERPESC ANALYSES

Better co-ordination between external action and Justice and Home Affairs policies is crucial in the fight both against terrorism and organised crime.

Greater coherence is needed not only among EU instruments but also embracing the external activities of the individual member states. Coherent policies are also needed regionally, especially in dealing with conflict. Problems are rarely solved on a single country basis, or without regional support, as in different ways experience in both the Balkans and West Africa shows.

Working with partners There are few if any problems we can deal with on our own. The threats described above are common threats, shared with all our closest partners. International cooperation is a necessity. We need to pursue our objectives both through multilateral cooperation in international organisations and through partnerships with key actors.

The transatlantic relationship is irreplaceable. Acting together, the European Union and the United States can be a formidable force for good in the world. Our aim should be an effective and balanced partnership with the USA. This is an additional reason for the EU to build up further its capabilities and increase its coherence.

We should continue to work for closer relations with Russia, a major factor in our security and prosperity. Respect for common values will reinforce progress towards a strategic partnership.

Our history, geography and cultural ties give us links with every part of the world: our neighbours in the Middle East, our partners in Africa, in Latin America, and in Asia. These relationships are an important asset to build on. In particular we should look to develop strategic partnerships, with Japan, China, Canada and India as well as with all those who share our goals and values, and are prepared to act in their support.

Conclusion

This is a world of new dangers but also of new opportunities. The European Union has the potential to make a major contribution, both in dealing with the threats and in helping realise the opportunities. An active and capable European Union would make an impact on a global scale. In doing so, it would contribute to an effective multilateral system leading to a fairer, safer and more united world.

CERPESC ANALYSES

II.

Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy

- Providing Security in a Changing World -

Brussels, 11 December 2008 S407/08

Executive Summary

Five years on from adoption of the European Security Strategy, the European Union carries greater responsibilities than at any time in its history.

The EU remains an anchor of stability. Enlargement has spread democracy and prosperity across our continent. The Balkans are changing for the better. Our neighbourhood policy has created a strong framework for relations with partners to the south and east, now with a new dimension in the Union for the Mediterranean and the Eastern Partnership. Since 2003, the EU has increasingly made a difference in addressing crisis and conflict, in places such as Afghanistan or Georgia.

Yet, twenty years after the Cold War, Europe faces increasingly complex threats and challenges.

Conflicts in the Middle East and elsewhere in the world remain unsolved, others have flared up even in our neighbourhood. State failure affects our security through crime, illegal immigration and, most recently, piracy. Terrorism and organised crime have evolved with new menace, including within our own societies. The Iranian nuclear programme has significantly advanced, representing a danger for stability in the region and for the whole non-proliferation system.

Globalisation has brought new opportunities. High growth in the developing world, led by China, has lifted millions out of poverty. But globalisation has also made threats more complex and interconnected. The arteries of our society - such as information systems and energy supplies - are more vulnerable. Global warming and environmental degradation is altering the face of our planet. Moreover, globalisation is accelerating shifts in

power and is exposing differences in values. Recent financial turmoil has shaken developed and developing economies alike.

Europe will rise to these new challenges, as we have done in the past.

Drawing on a unique range of instruments, the EU already contributes to a more secure world. We have worked to build human security, by reducing poverty and inequality, promoting good governance and human rights, assisting development, and addressing the root causes of conflict and insecurity. The EU remains the biggest donor to countries in need. Long-term engagement is required for lasting stabilisation.

Over the last decade, the European Security and Defence Policy, as an integral part of our Common Foreign and Security Policy, has grown in experience and capability, with over 20 missions deployed in response to crises, ranging from post-tsunami peace building in Aceh to protecting refugees in Chad.

These achievements are the results of a distinctive European approach to foreign and security policy. But there is no room for complacency. To ensure our security and meet the expectations of our citizens, we must be ready to shape events. That means becoming more strategic in our thinking, and more effective and visible around the world. We are most successful when we operate in a timely and coherent manner, backed by the right capabilities and sustained public support.

Lasting solutions to conflict must bind together all regional players with a common stake in peace. Sovereign governments must take responsibility for the consequences of their actions and hold a shared responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity.

It is important that countries abide by the fundamental principles of the UN Charter and OSCE principles and commitments. We must be clear that respect for the sovereignty, independence

CERPESC ANALYSES

and territorial integrity of states and the peaceful settlement of disputes are not negotiable. Threat or use of military force cannot be allowed to solve territorial issues - anywhere.

At a global level, Europe must lead a renewal of the multilateral order. The UN stands at the apex of the international system. Everything the EU has done in the field of security has been linked to UN objectives. We have a unique moment to renew multilateralism, working with the United States and with our partners around the world. For Europe, the transatlantic partnership remains an irreplaceable foundation, based on shared history and responsibilities. The EU and NATO must deepen their strategic partnership for better co-operation in crisis management.

The EU has made substantial progress over the last five years. We are recognised as an important contributor to a better world. But, despite all that has been achieved, implementation of the ESS remains work in progress. For our full potential to be realised we need to be still *more capable, more coherent and more active*.

Introduction

The European Council adopted the European Security Strategy (ESS) in December 2003. For the first time, it established principles and set clear objectives for advancing the EU's security interests based on our core values. It is comprehensive in its approach and remains fully relevant.

This report does not replace the ESS, but reinforces it. It gives an opportunity to examine how we have fared in practice, and what can be done to improve implementation.

I. GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND KEY THREATS

The ESS identified a range of threats and challenges to our security interests. Five years on, these have not gone away: some have become more significant, and all more complex.

Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction

Proliferation by both states and terrorists was identified in the ESS as 'potentially the greatest threat to EU security'. That risk has increased in the last five years, bringing the multilateral framework under pressure. While Libya has dismantled its WMD programme, Iran, and also North Korea, have yet to gain the trust of the international community. A likely revival of civil nuclear power in coming decades also poses challenges to the non-proliferation system, if not accompanied by the right safeguards.

The EU has been very active in multilateral fora, on the basis of the WMD Strategy, adopted in 2003, and at the forefront of international efforts to address Iran's nuclear programme. The Strategy emphasises prevention, by working through the UN and multilateral agreements, by acting as a key donor and by working with third countries and regional organisations to enhance their capabilities to prevent proliferation.

We should continue this approach, with political and financial action. A successful outcome to the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference in 2010, with a view in particular to strengthening the non-proliferation regime, is critical. We will endeavour to ensure that, in a balanced, effective, and concrete manner, this conference examines means to step up international efforts against proliferation, pursue disarmament and ensure the responsible development of peaceful uses of nuclear energy by countries wishing to do so.

More work is also needed on specific issues, including: EU support for a multilateral approach to the nuclear fuel cycle; countering financing of proliferation; measures on bio-safety and bio-security; containing proliferation of delivery systems, notably ballistic missiles. Negotiations should begin on a multilateral treaty banning production of fissile material for nuclear weapons.

CERPESC ANALYSES

Terrorism and Organised Crime

Terrorism, within Europe and worldwide, remains a major threat to our livelihoods. Attacks have taken place in Madrid and London, while others have been foiled, and home-grown groups play an increasing role within our own continent. Organised crime continues to menace our societies, with trafficking in drugs, human beings, and weapons, alongside international fraud and money-laundering.

Since 2003, the EU has made progress in addressing both, with additional measures inside the Union, under the 2004 Hague Programme, and a new Strategy for the External Dimension of Justice and Home Affairs, adopted in 2005. These have made it easier to pursue investigations across borders, and co-ordinate prosecution. The EU CounterTerrorism Strategy, also from 2005, is based on respect for human rights and international law. It follows a four-pronged approach: preventing radicalisation and recruitment and the factors behind them; protecting potential targets; pursuing terrorists; and responding to the aftermath of an attack. While national action is central, appointment of a Counter-Terrorism Co-ordinator has been an important step forward at the European level.

Within the EU, we have done much to protect our societies against terrorism. We should tighten co-ordination arrangements for handling a major terrorist incident, in particular using chemical, radiological, nuclear and bioterrorism materials, on the basis of such existing provisions as the Crisis Coordination Arrangements and the Civil Protection Mechanism. Further work on terrorist financing is required, along with an effective and comprehensive EU policy on information sharing, taking due account of protection of personal data.

We must also do more to counter radicalisation and recruitment, by addressing extremist ideology and tackling discrimination. Inter-cultural dialogue, through such fora as the Alliance of Civilisations, has an important role.

On organised crime, existing partnerships within our neighbourhood and key partners, and within the UN, should be deepened, in addressing movement of people, police and judicial cooperation. Implementation of existing UN instruments on crime is essential. We should further strengthen our counter-terrorism partnership with the United States, including in the area of data sharing and protection. Also, we should strengthen the capacity of our partners in South Asia, Africa, and our southern neighbourhood. The EU should support multilateral efforts, principally in the UN.

We need to improve the way in which we bring together internal and external dimensions. Better co-ordination, transparency and flexibility are needed across different agencies, at national and European level. This was already identified in the ESS, five years ago. Progress has been slow and incomplete.

Cyber security

Modern economies are heavily reliant on critical infrastructure including transport, communication and power supplies, but also the internet. The EU Strategy for a Secure Information Society, adopted in 2006 addresses internet-based crime. However, attacks against private or government IT systems in EU Member States have given this a new dimension, as a potential new economic, political and military weapon.

More work is required in this area, to explore a comprehensive EU approach, raise awareness and enhance international co-operation.

Energy Security

Concerns about energy dependence have increased over the last five years. Declining production inside Europe means that by 2030 up to 75% of our oil and gas will have to be imported. This will come from a limited number of countries, many of which face threats to stability. We are faced therefore with an array of security challenges, which involve the responsibility and solidarity of all Member States.

CERPESC ANALYSES

Our response must be an EU energy policy which combines external and internal dimensions. The joint report from the High Representative and Commission in June 2006 set out the main elements. Inside Europe, we need a more unified energy market, with greater inter-connection, particular attention to the most isolated countries and crisis mechanisms to deal with temporary disruption to supply.

Greater diversification, of fuels, sources of supply, and transit routes, is essential, as are good governance, respect for rule of law and investment in source countries. EU policy supports these objectives through engagement with Central Asia, the Caucasus and Africa, as well as through the Eastern Partnership and the Union for the Mediterranean. Energy is a major factor in EU-Russia relations. Our policy should address transit routes, including through Turkey and Ukraine. With our partners, including China, India, Japan and the US, we should promote renewable energy, low-carbon technologies and energy efficiency, alongside transparent and well-regulated global markets.

Climate change

In 2003, the ESS already identified the security implications of climate change. Five years on, this has taken on a new urgency. In March 2008, the High Representative and Commission presented a report to the European Council which described climate change is a "threat multiplier". Natural disasters, environmental degradation and competition for resources exacerbate conflict, especially in situations of poverty and population growth, with humanitarian, health, political and security consequences, including greater migration. Climate change can also lead to disputes over trade routes, maritime zones and resources previously inaccessible.

We have enhanced our conflict prevention and crisis management, but need to improve analysis and early warning capabilities. The EU cannot do this alone. We must step up our work with countries most at risk by strengthening their capacity to cope.

International co-operation, with the UN and regional organisations, will be essential.

II. BUILDING STABILITY IN EUROPE AND BEYOND

Within our continent, enlargement continues to be a powerful driver for stability, peace and reform.

With Turkey, negotiations started in 2005, and a number of chapters have been opened since. Progress in the Western Balkans has been continuous, if slow. Accession negotiations with Croatia are well advanced. The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has obtained candidate status. Stabilisation and Association agreements have been signed with the other Western Balkan countries. Serbia is close to fulfilling all conditions for moving towards deeper relations with the EU. The EU continues to play a leading role in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but, despite progress, more is required from local political leaders to overcome blockage of reforms.

We are deploying EULEX, our largest civilian ESDP mission to date, in Kosovo and will continue substantial economic support. Throughout the region, co-operation and goodneighbourly relations are indispensable.

It is in our interest that the countries on our borders are well-governed. The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), launched in 2004, supports this process. In the east, all eligible countries participate except Belarus, with whom we are now taking steps in this direction.

With Ukraine, we have gone further, with a far-reaching association agreement which is close to being finalised. We will soon start negotiations with the Republic of Moldova on a similar agreement. The Black Sea Synergy has been launched to complement EU bilateral policies in this region of particular importance for Europe.

New concerns have arisen over the so-called "frozen conflicts" in our eastern neighbourhood. The situation in Georgia, concerning Abkhazia and

CERPESC ANALYSES

South Ossetia, has escalated, leading to an armed conflict between Russia and Georgia in August 2008. The EU led the international response, through mediation between the parties, humanitarian assistance, a civilian monitoring mission, and substantial financial support. Our engagement will continue, with the EU leading the Geneva Process. A possible settlement to the Transnistrian conflict has gained impetus, through active EU participation in the 5+2 negotiation format, and the EU Border Assistance Mission.

The Mediterranean, an area of major importance and opportunity for Europe, still poses complex challenges, such as insufficient political reform and illegal migration. The EU and several Mediterranean partners, notably Israel and Morocco, are working towards deepening their bilateral relations. The ENP has reinforced reforms originally started under the Barcelona process in 1995, but regional conflict, combined with rising radicalism, continues to sow instability.

The EU has been central to efforts towards a settlement in the Middle East, through its role in the Quartet, co-operation with Israel and the Palestinian Authority, with the Arab League and other regional partners. The EU is fully engaged in the Annapolis Process towards a two-state solution, and is contributing sustained financial and budgetary support to the Palestinian Authority, and capacity-building, including through the deployment of judicial, police and border management experts on the ground. In Lebanon, Member States provide the backbone of the UNIFIL peacekeeping mission. On Iraq, the EU has supported the political process, reconstruction, and rule of law, including through the EUJUST LEX mission.

Since 2003, Iran has been a growing source of concern. The Iranian nuclear programme has been subject to successive resolutions in the UNSC and IAEA. Development of a nuclear military capability would be a threat to EU security that cannot be accepted. The EU has led a dual-track approach, combining dialogue and increasing pressure, together with the US, China, and Russia.

The High Representative has delivered a far-reaching offer for Iran to rebuild confidence and engagement with the international community. If, instead, the nuclear programme advances, the need for additional measures in support of the UN process grows. At the same time, we need to work with regional countries including the Gulf States to build regional security.

The ESS acknowledged that Europe has security interests beyond its immediate neighbourhood. In this respect, Afghanistan is a particular concern. Europe has a longterm commitment to bring stability. EU Member States make a major contribution to the NATO mission, and the EU is engaged on governance and development at all levels. The EU Police Mission is being expanded. These efforts will not succeed without full Afghan ownership, and support from neighbouring countries: in particular Pakistan, but also India, Central Asia and Iran. Indeed, improved prospects for good relations between India and Pakistan in recent years have been a positive element in the strategic balance sheet.

Security and development nexus

As the ESS and the 2005 Consensus on Development have acknowledged, there cannot be sustainable development without peace and security, and without development and poverty eradication there will be no sustainable peace. Threats to public health, particularly pandemics, further undermine development. Human rights are a fundamental part of the equation. In many conflict or post-conflict zones, we have to address the appalling use of sexual violence as a weapon of intimidation and terror. Effective implementation of UNSCR 1820 on sexual violence in situations of armed conflict is essential.

Conflict is often linked to state fragility. Countries like Somalia are caught in a vicious cycle of weak governance and recurring conflict. We have sought to break this, both through development assistance and measures to ensure better security. Security Sector Reform and Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration are a key part of postconflict

CERPESC ANALYSES

stabilisation and reconstruction, and have been a focus of our missions in Guinea-Bissau or DR Congo. This is most successful when done in partnership with the international community and local stakeholders.

Ruthless exploitation of natural resources is often an underlying cause of conflict. There are increasing tensions over water and raw materials which require multilateral solutions. The Kimberley Process and Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative offer an innovative model to address this problem.

Piracy

The ESS highlighted piracy as a new dimension of organised crime. It is also a result of state failure. The world economy relies on sea routes for 90% of trade. Piracy in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden has made this issue more pressing in recent months, and affected delivery of humanitarian aid to Somalia. The EU has responded, including with ATALANTA, our first maritime ESDP mission, to deter piracy off the Somali coast, alongside countries affected and other international actors, including NATO.

Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW), Cluster Munitions and Landmines

In 2005, the European Council adopted the EU Strategy to combat illicit accumulation and trafficking of SALW and their ammunition. In the context of its implementation, the EU supports the UN Programme of Action in this field. The EU will continue to develop activities to combat threats posed by illicit SALW.

The EU has given strong support to the concept of an international Arms Trade Treaty and has decided to support the process leading towards its adoption. The EU is also a major donor to anti-mine action. It has actively supported and promoted the Ottawa Convention on Anti-Personnel Landmines worldwide. The Oslo Convention on Cluster Munitions, agreed at Dublin in May 2008, represents an important step forward in responding

to the humanitarian problems caused by this type of munitions, which constitute a major concern for all EU Member States. The adoption of a protocol on this type of munitions in the UN framework involving all major military powers would be an important further step.

III. EUROPE IN A CHANGING WORLD

To respond to the changing security environment we need to be more effective - among ourselves, within our neighbourhood and around the world.

A. A more effective and capable Europe

Our capacity to address the challenges has evolved over the past five years, and must continue to do so. We must strengthen our own coherence, through better institutional co-ordination and more strategic decision-making. The provisions of the Lisbon Treaty provide a framework to achieve this.

Preventing threats from becoming sources of conflict early on must be at the heart of our approach. Peace-building and long-term poverty reduction are essential to this. Each situation requires coherent use of our instruments, including political, diplomatic, development, humanitarian, crisis response, economic and trade co-operation, and civilian and military crisis management. We should also expand our dialogue and mediation capacities. EU Special Representatives bring EU influence to bear in various conflict regions. Civil society and NGOs have a vital role to play as actors and partners. Our election monitoring missions, led by members of the European Parliament, also make an important contribution.

The success of ESDP as an integral part of our Common Foreign and Security Policy is reflected by the fact that our assistance is increasingly in demand. Our Georgia mission has demonstrated what can be achieved when we act collectively with the necessary political will. But the more complex the challenges we face, the more flexible we must be. We need to prioritise our commitments, in line with resources. Battlegroups and Civilian Response Teams have enhanced our capacity to react rapidly.

CERPESC ANALYSES

Appropriate and effective command structures and headquarters capability are key. Our ability to combine civilian and military expertise from the conception of a mission, through the planning phase and into implementation must be reinforced. We are developing this aspect of ESDP by putting the appropriate administrative structures, financial mechanisms, and systems in place. There is also scope to improve training, building on the European Security and Defence College and the new European young officers exchange scheme, modelled on Erasmus.

We need to continue mainstreaming human rights issues in all activities in this field, including ESDP missions, through a people-based approach coherent with the concept of human security. The EU has recognised the role of women in building peace. Effective implementation of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security and UNSCR 1612 on Children and Armed Conflict is essential in this context.

For civilian missions, we must be able to assemble trained personnel with a variety of skills and expertise, deploy them at short notice and sustain them in theatre over the long term. We need full interoperability between national contingents. In support of this, Member States have committed to draw up national strategies to make experts available, complemented by more deployable staff for mission support, including budgeting and procurement. The ways in which equipment is made available and procured should be made more effective to enable timely deployment of missions.

For military missions, we must continue to strengthen our efforts on capabilities, as well as mutual collaboration and burden-sharing arrangements. Experience has shown the need to do more, particularly over key capabilities such as strategic airlift, helicopters, space assets, and maritime surveillance (as set out in more detail in the Declaration on the Reinforcement of Capabilities). These efforts must be supported by a competitive and robust defence industry across Europe, with greater investment in research and development. Since 2004, the European Defence

Agency has successfully led this process, and should continue to do so.

B. Greater engagement with our neighbourhood

The ENP has strengthened individual bilateral relationships with the EU. This process now needs to build regional integration.

The Union for the Mediterranean, launched in July 2008, provides a renewed political moment to pursue this with our southern partners, through a wide-ranging agenda, including on maritime safety, energy, water and migration. Addressing security threats like terrorism will be an important part.

The Eastern Partnership foresees a real step change in relations with our Eastern neighbours, with a significant upgrading of political, economic and trade relations. The goal is to strengthen the prosperity and stability of these countries, and thus the security of the EU. The proposals cover a wide range of bilateral and multilateral areas of cooperation including energy security and mobility of people.

Lasting stability in our neighbourhood will require continued effort by the EU, together with UN, OSCE, the US and Russia. Our relations with Russia have deteriorated over the conflict with Georgia. The EU expects Russia to honour its commitments in a way that will restore the necessary confidence. Our partnership should be based on respect for common values, notably human rights, democracy, and rule of law, and market economic principles as well as on common interests and objectives.

We need a sustained effort to address conflicts in the Southern Caucasus, Republic of Moldova and between Israel and the Arab states. Here, as elsewhere, full engagement with the US will be key. In each case, a durable settlement must bring together all the regional players. Countries like Turkey, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Qatar have played an increasingly important role in the region, whereas this has not been the case with Iran. There is a particular opportunity to work with

CERPESC ANALYSES

Turkey, including through the Alliance of Civilisations.

C. Partnerships for Effective Multilateralism

The ESS called for Europe to contribute to a more effective multilateral order around the world. Since 2003, we have strengthened our partnerships in pursuit of that objective. The key partner for Europe in this and other areas is the US. Where we have worked together, the EU and US have been a formidable force for good in the world.

The UN stands at the apex of the international system. Everything the EU has done in the field of security has been linked to UN objectives. The EU works closely in key theatres, including Kosovo, Afghanistan, DRC, Sudan/Darfur, Chad and Somalia, and has improved institutional links, in line with our joint 2007 EU-UN Declaration. We support all sixteen current UN peacekeeping operations.

The EU and NATO have worked well together on the ground in the Balkans and in Afghanistan, even if formal relations have not advanced. We need to strengthen this strategic partnership in service of our shared security interests, with better operational co-operation, in full respect of the decision-making autonomy of each organisation, and continued work on military capabilities. Since 2003, we have deepened our relationship with the OSCE, especially in Georgia and Kosovo.

We have substantially expanded our relationship with China. Ties to Canada and Japan are close and longstanding. Russia remains an important partner on global issues. There is still room to do more in our relationship with India. Relations with other partners, including Brazil, South Africa and, within Europe, Norway and Switzerland, have grown in significance since 2003.

The EU is working more closely with regional organisations, and in particular the African Union. Through the Joint Africa-EU Strategy, we are supporting enhanced African capacities in crisis management, including regional stand-by forces

and early warning. We have deepened links with our Central Asia partners through the Strategy adopted in 2007, with strengthened political dialogue, and work on issues such as water, energy, rule of law and security. Elsewhere, the EU has developed engagement with ASEAN, over regional issues such as Burma, with SAARC, and Latin America. Our experience gives the EU a particular role in fostering regional integration. Where others seek to emulate us, in line with their particular circumstances, we should support them.

The international system, created at the end of the Second World War, faces pressures on several fronts. Representation in the international institutions has come under question. Legitimacy and effectiveness need to be improved, and decision-making in multilateral fora made more efficient. This means sharing decisions more, and creating a greater stake for others. Faced with common problems, there is no substitute for common solutions.

Key priorities are climate change and completion of the Doha Round in the WTO. The EU is leading negotiations for a new international agreement on the former, and must use all its levers to achieve an ambitious outcome at Copenhagen in 2009. We should continue reform of the UN system, begun in 2005, and maintain the crucial role of the Security Council and its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The International Criminal Court should grow further in effectiveness, alongside broader EU efforts to strengthen international justice and human rights. We need to mould the IMF and other financial institutions to reflect modern realities. The G8 should be transformed. And we must continue our collective efforts to meet the Millennium Development Goals.

These issues cross boundaries, touching as much on domestic as foreign policy. Indeed, they demonstrate how in the twenty-first century, more than ever, sovereignty entails responsibility. With respect to core human rights, the EU should continue to advance the agreement reached at the UN World Summit in 2005, that we hold a shared

CERPESC ANALYSES

responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity.

Maintaining public support for our global engagement is fundamental. In modern democracies, where media and public opinion are crucial to shaping policy, popular commitment is essential to sustaining our commitments abroad. We deploy police, judicial experts and soldiers in unstable zones around the world. There is an onus on governments, parliaments and EU institutions to communicate how this contributes to security at home.

Five years ago, the ESS set out a vision of how the EU would be a force for a fairer, safer and more united world. We have come a long way towards that. But the world around us is changing fast, with evolving threats and shifting powers. To build a secure Europe in a better world, we must do more to shape events. And we must do it now.

CERPESC ANALYSES

III.

Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe

A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign And Security Policy

EUGS, June 2016

Foreword by Federica Mogherini High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Vice-President of the European Commission

The purpose, even existence, of our Union is being questioned. Yet, our citizens and the world need a strong European Union like never before. Our wider region has become more unstable and more insecure. The crises within and beyond our borders are affecting directly our citizens' lives. In challenging times, a strong Union is one that thinks strategically, shares a vision and acts together. This is even more true after the British referendum. We will indeed have to rethink the way our Union works, but we perfectly know what to work for. We know what our principles, our interests and our priorities are. This is no time for uncertainty: our Union needs a Strategy. We need a shared vision, and common action.

None of our countries has the strength nor the resources to address these threats and seize the opportunities of our time alone. But as a Union of almost half a billion citizens, our potential is unparalleled. Our diplomatic network runs wide and deep in all corners of the globe. Economically, we are in the world's G3. We are the first trading partner and the first foreign investor for almost every country in the globe. Together we invest more in development cooperation than the rest of the world combined. It is also clear, though, that we are not making full use of this potential yet. A vast majority of our citizens understands that we need to collectively take responsibility for our role in the world. And wherever I travel, our partners expect the European Union to play a major role, including as a global security provider. We will deliver on our citizens' needs and make our partnerships work

only if we act together, united. This is exactly the aim of the Global Strategy for European Foreign and Security Policy.

“Global” is not just intended in a geographical sense: it also refers to the wide array of policies and instruments the Strategy promotes. It focuses on military capabilities and anti-terrorism as much as on job opportunities, inclusive societies and human rights. It deals with peace-building and the resilience of States and societies, in and around Europe. The European Union has always prided itself on its soft power – and it will keep doing so, because we are the best in this field. However, the idea that Europe is an exclusively “civilian power” does not do justice to an evolving reality. For instance, the European Union currently deploys seventeen military and civilian operations, with thousands of men and women serving under the European flag for peace and security – our own security, and our partners'. For Europe, soft and hard power go hand in hand.

The Strategy nurtures the ambition of strategic autonomy for the European Union. This is necessary to promote the common interests of our citizens, as well as our principles and values. Yet we know that such priorities are best served when we are not alone. And they are best served in an international system based on rules and on multilateralism. This is no time for global policemen and lone warriors. Our foreign and security policy has to handle global pressures and local dynamics, it has to cope with super-powers as well as with increasingly fractured identities. Our Union will work to strengthen our partners: We will keep deepening the transatlantic bond and our partnership with NATO, while we will also connect to new players and explore new formats. We will invest in regional orders, and in cooperation among and within regions. And we will promote reformed global governance, one that can meet the challenges of this 21st century. We will engage in a practical and principled way, sharing global responsibilities with our partners and contributing to their strengths. We have learnt the lesson: my neighbour's and my partner's weaknesses are my own weaknesses. So we will invest in win-win

CERPESC ANALYSES

solutions, and move beyond the illusion that international politics can be a zero-sum game.

All of this will make each of our Member States – and each citizen of our Union – better off. All these goals can only be achieved by a truly united and committed Europe. Joining all our cultures together to achieve our shared goals and serve our common interests is a daily challenge, but it is also our greatest strength: diversity is what makes us strong.

Yes, our interests are indeed common European interests: the only way to serve them is by common means. This is why we have a collective responsibility to make our Union a stronger Union. The people of Europe need unity of purpose among our Member States, and unity in action across our policies. A fragile world calls for a more confident and responsible European Union, it calls for an outward- and forward-looking European foreign and security policy. This Global Strategy will guide us in our daily work towards a Union that truly meets its citizens' needs, hopes and aspirations; a Union that builds on the success of 70 years of peace; a Union with the strength to contribute to peace and security in our region and in the whole world.

Federica Mogherini

Executive Summary

We need a stronger Europe. This is what our citizens deserve, this is what the wider world expects.

We live in times of existential crisis, within and beyond the European Union. Our Union is under threat. Our European project, which has brought unprecedented peace, prosperity and democracy, is being questioned. To the east, the European security order has been violated, while terrorism and violence plague North Africa and the Middle East, as well as Europe itself. Economic growth is yet to outpace demography in parts of Africa, security tensions in Asia are mounting, while climate change causes further disruption. Yet these

are also times of extraordinary opportunity. Global growth, mobility, and technological progress – alongside our deepening partnerships – enable us to thrive, and allow ever more people to escape poverty and live longer and freer lives. We will navigate this difficult, more connected, contested and complex world guided by our shared interests, principles and priorities. Grounded in the values enshrined in the Treaties and building on our many strengths and historic achievements, we will stand united in building a stronger Union, playing its collective role in the world.

1. Our Shared Interests and Principles

The European Union will promote peace and guarantee the security of its citizens and territory. Internal and external security are ever more intertwined: our security at home depends on peace beyond our borders.

The EU will advance the prosperity of its people. Prosperity must be shared and requires fulfilling the Sustainable Development Goals worldwide, including in Europe. A prosperous Union also hinges on an open and fair international economic system and sustainable access to the global commons. The EU will foster the resilience of its democracies. Consistently living up to our values will determine our external credibility and influence.

The EU will promote a rules-based global order. We have an interest in promoting agreed rules to provide global public goods and contribute to a peaceful and sustainable world. The EU will promote a rules-based global order with multilateralism as its key principle and the United Nations at its core.

We will be guided by clear principles. These stem as much from a realistic assessment of the current strategic environment as from an idealistic aspiration to advance a better world. Principled pragmatism will guide our external action in the years ahead.

In a more complex world, we must stand united. Only the combined weight of a true union has the

CERPESC ANALYSES

potential to deliver security, prosperity and democracy to its citizens and make a positive difference in the world.

In a more connected world, the EU will engage with others. The Union cannot pull up a drawbridge to ward off external threats. To promote the security and prosperity of our citizens and to safeguard our democracies, we will manage interdependence, with all the opportunities, challenges and fears it brings about, by engaging the wider world.

In a more contested world, the EU will be guided by a strong sense of responsibility. We will engage responsibly across Europe and the surrounding regions to the east and south. We will act globally to address the root causes of conflict and poverty, and to promote human rights.

The EU will be a responsible global stakeholder, but responsibility must be shared. Responsibility goes hand in hand with revamping our external partnerships. In the pursuit of our goals, we will reach out to states, regional bodies and international organisations. We will work with core partners, like-minded countries and regional groupings. We will deepen our partnerships with civil society and the private sector as key players in a networked world.

2. The Priorities of our External Action

To promote our shared interests, adhering to clear principles, the EU will pursue five priorities. The Security of our Union.

The EU Global Strategy starts at home. Our Union has enabled citizens to enjoy unprecedented security, democracy and prosperity. Yet today terrorism, hybrid threats, economic volatility, climate change and energy insecurity endanger our people and territory. An appropriate level of ambition and strategic autonomy is important for Europe's ability to promote peace and security within and beyond its borders. We will therefore enhance our efforts on defence, cyber, counterterrorism, energy and strategic

communications. Member States must translate their commitments to mutual assistance and solidarity enshrined in the Treaties into action. The EU will step up its contribution to Europe's collective security, working closely with its partners, beginning with NATO.

State and Societal Resilience to our East and South. It is in the interests of our citizens to invest in the resilience of states and societies to the east stretching into Central Asia, and to the south down to Central Africa. Under the current EU enlargement policy, a credible accession process grounded in strict and fair conditionality is vital to enhance the resilience of countries in the Western Balkans and of Turkey. Under the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), many people wish to build closer relations with the Union: our enduring power of attraction can spur transformation in these countries. But resilience is also a priority in other countries within and beyond the ENP. The EU will support different paths to resilience, targeting the most acute cases of governmental, economic, societal and climate/energy fragility, as well as develop more effective migration policies for Europe and its partners.

An Integrated Approach to Conflicts. When violent conflicts erupt, our shared vital interests are threatened. The EU will engage in a practical and principled way in peacebuilding, and foster human security through an integrated approach. Implementing the 'comprehensive approach to conflicts and crises' through a coherent use of all policies at the EU's disposal is essential. But the meaning and scope of the 'comprehensive approach' will be expanded. The EU will act at all stages of the conflict cycle, acting promptly on prevention, responding responsibly and decisively to crises, investing in stabilisation, and avoiding premature disengagement when a new crisis erupts. The EU will act at different levels of governance: conflicts such as those in Syria and Libya have local, national, regional and global dimensions which must be addressed. Finally, none of these conflicts can be solved by us alone. Sustainable peace can only be achieved through comprehensive agreements rooted in broad, deep and durable

CERPESC ANALYSES

regional and international partnerships, which the EU will foster and support.

Cooperative Regional Orders. In a world caught between global pressures and local pushback, regional dynamics come to the fore. Voluntary forms of regional governance offer states and peoples the opportunity to better manage security concerns, reap the economic gains of globalisation, express more fully cultures and identities, and project influence in world affairs. This is a fundamental rationale for the EU's own peace and development in the 21st century, and this is why we will support cooperative regional orders worldwide. In different regions – in Europe; in the Mediterranean, Middle East and Africa; across the Atlantic, both north and south; in Asia; and in the Arctic – the EU will be driven by specific goals.

Global Governance for the 21st Century. The EU is committed to a global order based on international law, which ensures human rights, sustainable development and lasting access to the global commons. This commitment translates into an aspiration to transform rather than to simply preserve the existing system. The EU will strive for a strong UN as the bedrock of the multilateral rules-based order, and develop globally coordinated responses with international and regional organisations, states and non-state actors.

3. From Vision to Action

We will pursue our priorities by mobilising our unparalleled networks, our economic weight and all the tools at our disposal in a coherent way. To fulfil our goals, we must collectively invest in a credible, responsive and joined-up Union.

A Credible Union. To engage responsibly with the world, credibility is vital. The EU's credibility hinges on our unity, on our many achievements, our enduring power of attraction, the effectiveness and consistency of our policies, and adherence to our values. A stronger Union also requires investing in all dimensions of foreign policy. In particular, investment in security and defence is a matter of urgency. Full spectrum defence capabilities are

necessary to respond to external crises, build our partners' capacities, and to guarantee Europe's safety. Member States remain sovereign in their defence decisions: nevertheless, to acquire and maintain many of these capabilities, defence cooperation must become the norm. The EU will systematically encourage defence cooperation and strive to create a solid European defence industry, which is critical for Europe's autonomy of decision and action.

A Responsive Union. Our diplomatic action must be fully grounded in the Lisbon Treaty. The Common Security and Defence Policy must become more responsive. Enhanced cooperation between Member States should be explored, and might lead to a more structured form of cooperation, making full use of the Lisbon Treaty's potential. Development policy also needs to become more flexible and aligned with our strategic priorities.

A Joined-up Union. We must become more joined up across our external policies, between Member States and EU institutions, and between the internal and external dimensions of our policies. This is particularly relevant to the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals, migration, and security, notably counter-terrorism. We must also systematically mainstream human rights and gender issues across policy sectors and institutions.

This Strategy is underpinned by the vision of and ambition for a stronger Union, willing and able to make a positive difference in the world. Our citizens deserve a true Union, which promotes our shared interests by engaging responsibly and in partnership with others. It is now up to us to translate this into action.

We need a stronger Europe. This is what our citizens deserve, this is what the wider world expects. We live in times of existential crisis, within and beyond the European Union. Our Union is under threat. Our European project, which has brought unprecedented peace, prosperity and democracy, is being questioned. To the east, the European security order has been violated, while

CERPESC ANALYSES

terrorism and violence plague North Africa and the Middle East, as well as Europe itself. Economic growth is yet to outpace demography in parts of Africa, security tensions in Asia are mounting, while climate change causes further disruption. Yet these are also times of extraordinary opportunity. Global growth, mobility, and technological progress – alongside our deepening partnerships – enable us to thrive, and allow ever more people to escape poverty and live longer and freer lives. We will navigate this difficult, more connected, contested and complex world guided by our shared interests, principles and priorities. Grounded in the values enshrined in the Treaties and building on our many strengths and historic achievements, we will stand united in building a stronger Union, playing its collective role in the world.

1.A Global Strategy to Promote our Citizens' Interests

Our interests and values go hand in hand. We have an interest in promoting our values in the world. At the same time, our fundamental values are embedded in our interests. Peace and security, prosperity, democracy and a rules-based global order are the vital interests underpinning our external action.

Peace and Security The European Union will promote peace and guarantee the security of its citizens and territory. This means that Europeans, working with partners, must have the necessary capabilities to defend themselves and live up to their commitments to mutual assistance and solidarity enshrined in the Treaties.

Internal and external security are ever more intertwined: our security at home entails a parallel interest in peace in our neighbouring and surrounding regions. It implies a broader interest in preventing conflict, promoting human security, addressing the root causes of instability and working towards a safer world.

Prosperity

The EU will advance the prosperity of its people. This means promoting growth, jobs, equality, and a safe and healthy environment. While a prosperous Union is the basis for a stronger Europe in the world, prosperity must be shared and requires fulfilling the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) worldwide, including in Europe. Furthermore, with most world growth expected to take place outside the EU in near future, trade and investment will increasingly underpin our prosperity: a prosperous Union hinges on a strong internal market and an open international economic system. We have an interest in fair and open markets, in shaping global economic and environmental rules, and in sustainable access to the global commons through open sea, land, air and space routes. In view of the digital revolution, our prosperity also depends on the free flow of information and global value chains facilitated by a free and secure Internet.

Democracy

The EU will foster the resilience of its democracies, and live up to the values that have inspired its creation and development. These include respect for and promotion of human rights, fundamental freedoms and the rule of law. They encompass justice, solidarity, equality, nondiscrimination, pluralism, and respect for diversity. Living up consistently to our values internally will determine our external credibility and influence.

To safeguard the quality of our democracies, we will respect domestic, European and international law across all spheres, from migration and asylum to energy, counter-terrorism and trade. Remaining true to our values is a matter of law as well as of ethics and identity. A Rules-Based Global Order The EU will promote a rules-based global order with multilateralism as its key principle and the United Nations at its core. As a Union of medium-to-small sized countries, we have a shared European interest in facing the world together. Through our combined weight, we can promote

CERPESC ANALYSES

agreed rules to contain power politics and contribute to a peaceful, fair and prosperous world. The Iranian nuclear agreement is a clear illustration of this fact. A multilateral order grounded in international law, including the principles of the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is the only guarantee for peace and security at home and abroad. A rules-based global order unlocks the full potential of a prosperous Union with open economies and deep global connections, and embeds democratic values within the international system.

2.The Principles Guiding our External Action

We will be guided by clear principles. These stem as much from a realistic assessment of the strategic environment as from an idealistic aspiration to advance a better world. In charting the way between the Scylla of isolationism and the Charybdis of rash interventionism, the EU will engage the world manifesting responsibility towards others and sensitivity to contingency. Principled pragmatism will guide our external action in the years ahead.

Unity

In a more complex world of global power shifts and power diffusion, the EU must stand united. Forging unity as Europeans – across institutions, states and peoples – has never been so vital nor so urgent. Never has our unity been so challenged. Together we will be able to achieve more than Member States acting alone or in an uncoordinated manner. There is no clash between national and European interests. Our shared interests can only be served by standing and acting together. Only the combined weight of a true union has the potential to deliver security, prosperity and democracy to its citizens and make a positive difference in the world. The interests of our citizens are best served through unity of purpose between Member States and across institutions, and unity in action by implementing together coherent policies.

Engagement

In a more connected world, the EU will reach out and engage with others. In light of global value chains, galloping technological advances and growing migration, the EU will participate fully in the global marketplace and co-shape the rules that govern it. The Union cannot pull up a drawbridge to ward off external threats. Retreat from the world only deprives us of the opportunities that a connected world presents.

Environmental degradation and resource scarcity know no borders, neither do transnational crime and terrorism. The external cannot be separated from the internal. In fact, internal policies often deal only with the consequences of external dynamics. We will manage interdependence, with all the opportunities, challenges and fears it brings about, by engaging in and with the wider world.

Responsibility

In a more contested world, the EU will be guided by a strong sense of responsibility. There is no magic wand to solve crises: there are no neat recipes to impose solutions elsewhere. However, responsible engagement can bring about positive change. We will therefore act promptly to prevent violent conflict, be able and ready to respond responsibly yet decisively to crises, facilitate locally owned agreements, and commit long-term. We will take responsibility foremost in Europe and its surrounding regions, while pursuing targeted engagement further afield. We will act globally to address the root causes of conflict and poverty, and to champion the indivisibility and universality of human rights.

Partnership

The EU will be a responsible global stakeholder, but responsibility must be shared and requires investing in our partnerships. Co-responsibility will be our guiding principle in advancing a rules-based global order.

CERPESC ANALYSES

In pursuing our goals, we will reach out to states, regional bodies and international organisations. We will work with core partners, like-minded countries and regional groupings. We will partner selectively with players whose cooperation is necessary to deliver global public goods and address common challenges. We will deepen our partnerships with civil society and the private sector as key actors in a networked world. We will do so through dialogue and support, but also through more innovative forms of engagement.

3. The Priorities of our External Action

To promote our shared interests, adhering to clear principles, we will pursue five broad priorities.

3.1 The Security of Our Union

The EU Global Strategy starts at home. Over the decades, our Union has enabled citizens to enjoy unprecedented security, democracy and prosperity. We will build on these achievements in the years ahead. Yet today terrorism, hybrid threats, climate change, economic volatility and energy insecurity endanger our people and territory. The politics of fear challenges European values and the European way of life. To preserve and develop what we achieved so far, a step change is essential. To guarantee our security, promote our prosperity and safeguard our democracies, we will strengthen ourselves on security and defence in full compliance with human rights and the rule of law. We must translate our commitments to mutual assistance and solidarity into action, and contribute more to Europe's collective security through five lines of action.

Security and Defence

As Europeans we must take greater responsibility for our security. We must be ready and able to deter, respond to, and protect ourselves against external threats. While NATO exists to defend its members – most of which are European – from external attack, Europeans must be better equipped, trained and organised to contribute decisively to such collective efforts, as well as to act

autonomously if and when necessary. An appropriate level of ambition and strategic autonomy is important for Europe's ability to foster peace and safeguard security within and beyond its borders. Europeans must be able to protect Europe, respond to external crises, and assist in developing our partners' security and defence capacities, carrying out these tasks in cooperation with others. Alongside external crisis management and capacity-building, the EU should also be able to assist in protecting its Members upon their request, and its institutions.

This means living up to our commitments to mutual assistance and solidarity and includes addressing challenges with both an internal and external dimension, such as terrorism, hybrid threats, cyber and energy security, organised crime and external border management. For instance, Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) missions and operations can work alongside the European Border and Coast Guard and EU specialised agencies to enhance border protection and maritime security in order to save more lives, fight cross-border crime and disrupt smuggling networks.

When it comes to collective defence, NATO remains the primary framework for most Member States. At the same time, EU-NATO relations shall not prejudice the security and defence policy of those Members which are not in NATO. The EU will therefore deepen cooperation with the North Atlantic Alliance in complementarity, synergy, and full respect for the institutional framework, inclusiveness and decision-making autonomy of the two. In this context, the EU needs to be strengthened as a security community: European security and defence efforts should enable the EU to act autonomously while also contributing to and undertaking actions in cooperation with NATO. A more credible European defence is essential also for the sake of a healthy transatlantic partnership with the United States.

Member States need the technological and industrial means to acquire and sustain those capabilities which underpin their ability to act autonomously. While defence policy and spending

CERPESC ANALYSES

remain national prerogatives, no Member State can afford to do this individually: this requires a concerted and cooperative effort. Deeper defence cooperation engenders interoperability, effectiveness, efficiency and trust: it increases the output of defence spending. Developing and maintaining defence capabilities requires both investments and optimising the use of national resources through deeper cooperation.

The EU will assist Member States and step up its contribution to Europe's security and defence in line with the Treaties. Gradual synchronisation and mutual adaptation of national defence planning cycles and capability development practices can enhance strategic convergence between Member States. Union funds to support defence research and technologies and multinational cooperation, and full use of the European Defence Agency's potential are essential prerequisites for European security and defence efforts underpinned by a strong European defence industry.

Counter-terrorism

Major terrorist attacks have been carried out on European soil and beyond. Increased investment in and solidarity on counter-terrorism are key. We will therefore encourage greater information sharing and intelligence cooperation between Member States and EU agencies. This entails shared alerts on violent extremism, terrorist networks and foreign terrorist fighters, as well as monitoring and removing unlawful content from the media. Alongside, the EU will support the swift recovery of Member States in the event of attacks through enhanced efforts on security of supply, the protection of critical infrastructure, and strengthening the voluntary framework for cyber crisis management. We will deepen work on education, communication, culture, youth and sport to counter violent extremism. We will work on counter-radicalisation by broadening our partnerships with civil society, social actors, the private sector and the victims of terrorism, as well as through inter-religious and inter-cultural dialogue. Most crucially of all, the EU will live up to its values internally and externally: this is the

strongest antidote we have against violent extremism. We will also further develop human rights-compliant anti-terrorism cooperation with North Africa, the Middle East, the Western Balkans and Turkey, among others, and work with partners around the world to share best practices and develop joint programmes on countering violent extremism and radicalisation.

Cyber Security

The EU will increase its focus on cyber security, equipping the EU and assisting Member States in protecting themselves against cyber threats while maintaining an open, free and safe cyberspace. This entails strengthening the technological capabilities aimed at mitigating threats and the resilience of critical infrastructure, networks and services, and reducing cybercrime. It means fostering innovative information and communication technology (ICT) systems which guarantee the availability and integrity of data, while ensuring security within the European digital space through appropriate policies on the location of data storage and the certification of digital products and services. It requires weaving cyber issues across all policy areas, reinforcing the cyber elements in CSDP missions and operations, and further developing platforms for cooperation. The EU will support political, operational and technical cyber cooperation between Member States, notably on analysis and consequence management, and foster shared assessments between EU structures and the relevant institutions in Member States. It will enhance its cyber security cooperation with core partners such as the US and NATO. The EU's response will also be embedded in strong public-private partnerships. Cooperation and information-sharing between Member States, institutions, the private sector and civil society can foster a common cyber security culture, and raise preparedness for possible cyber disruptions and attacks.

Energy Security

The Energy Union represents an integrated effort to work on the internal and external dimensions of European energy security. In line with the goals of

CERPESC ANALYSES

the Energy Union, the EU will seek to diversify its energy sources, routes and suppliers, particularly in the gas domain, as well as to promote the highest nuclear safety standards in third countries. Through our energy diplomacy, we will strengthen relations worldwide with reliable energy-producing and transit countries, and support the establishment of infrastructure to allow diversified sources to reach European markets.

However, binding infrastructure agreements with third countries can have a differentiated impact on the security of supply within the Union or hinder the functioning of the internal energy market. Therefore, such agreements must be transparent and any new infrastructure must be fully compliant with applicable EU law, including the Third Energy Package. Internally, the EU will work on a fully functioning internal energy market, focus on sustainable energy and energy efficiency, and develop coherently reverse flow, interconnection, and liquefied natural gas (LNG) storage infrastructure.

Strategic Communications

The EU will enhance its strategic communications, investing in and joining up public diplomacy across different fields, in order to connect EU foreign policy with citizens and better communicate it to our partners. We will improve the consistency and speed of messaging on our principles and actions. We will also offer rapid, factual rebuttals of disinformation. We will continue fostering an open and inquiring media environment within and beyond the EU, also working with local players and through social media.

3.2 State and Societal Resilience to our East and South

It is in the interests of our citizens to invest in the resilience of states and societies to the east stretching into Central Asia, and south down to Central Africa. Fragility beyond our borders threatens all our vital interests. By contrast, resilience – the ability of states and societies to reform, thus withstanding and recovering from

internal and external crises – benefits us and countries in our surrounding regions, sowing the seeds for sustainable growth and vibrant societies. Together with its partners, the EU will therefore promote resilience in its surrounding regions. A resilient state is a secure state, and security is key for prosperity and democracy. But the reverse holds true as well. To ensure sustainable security, it is not only state institutions that we will support. Echoing the Sustainable Development Goals, resilience is a broader concept, encompassing all individuals and the whole of society. A resilient society featuring democracy, trust in institutions, and sustainable development lies at the heart of a resilient state.

Enlargement Policy

Any European state which respects and promotes the values enshrined in our Treaties may apply to become a Member of the Union. A credible enlargement policy grounded on strict and fair conditionality is an irreplaceable tool to enhance resilience within the countries concerned, ensuring that modernisation and democratisation proceed in line with the accession criteria. A credible enlargement policy represents a strategic investment in Europe's security and prosperity, and has already contributed greatly to peace in formerly war-torn areas.

Within the scope of the current enlargement policy, the challenges of migration, energy security, terrorism and organised crime are shared between the EU, the Western Balkans and Turkey. They can only be addressed together. Yet the resilience of these countries cannot be taken for granted. The EU enjoys a unique influence in all these countries. The strategic challenge for the EU is therefore that of promoting political reform, rule of law, economic convergence and good neighbourly relations in the Western Balkans and Turkey, while coherently pursuing cooperation across different sectors.

EU policy towards the candidate countries will continue to be based on a clear, strict and fair accession process. It will focus on fundamental requirements for membership first and feature greater scrutiny of reforms, clearer reform

CERPESC ANALYSES

requirements, and feedback from the European Commission and Member States, as well as local civil societies. At the same time, EU support for and cooperation with these countries must deliver concrete benefits today, and must be communicated well. This means cooperating on counter-terrorism, security sector reform, migration, infrastructure, energy and climate, deepening people-to-people contacts, and retailoring some of the EU's assistance with the aim of visibly improving citizens' wellbeing.

Our Neighbours

State and societal resilience is our strategic priority in the neighbourhood. Many people within the scope of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) both to the east and to the south wish to build closer relations with the Union. Our enduring power of attraction can spur transformation and is not aimed against any country. Within this group are currently countries such as Tunisia or Georgia, whose success as prosperous, peaceful and stable democracies would reverberate across their respective regions. The ENP has recommitted to Eastern Partnership and southern Mediterranean countries wishing to develop stronger relations with us. We will support these countries in implementing association agreements, including Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Areas (DCFTAs). We will also think creatively about deepening tailor-made partnerships further. Possibilities include the creation of an economic area with countries implementing DCFTAs, the extension of Trans-European Networks and the Energy Community, as well as building physical and digital connections. Societal links will also be strengthened through enhanced mobility, cultural and educational exchanges, research cooperation and civil society platforms. Full participation in EU programmes and agencies will be pursued alongside strategic dialogue with a view to paving the way for these countries' further involvement in CSDP.

Resilience is a strategic priority across the EU's east and south both in countries that want stronger ties with the EU and in those – within and beyond

the ENP – that have no wish to do so. The EU will support different paths to resilience to its east and south, focusing on the most acute dimensions of fragility and targeting those where we can make a meaningful difference.

Resilience in our Surrounding Regions

The EU will pursue a multifaceted approach to resilience in its surrounding regions. While repressive states are inherently fragile in the long term, there are many ways to build inclusive, prosperous and secure societies. We will therefore pursue tailor-made policies to support inclusive and accountable governance, critical for the fight against terrorism, corruption and organised crime, and for the protection of human rights. Repression suffocates outlets for discontent and marginalises communities. The EU will therefore promote human rights through dialogue and support, including in the most difficult cases. Through long-term engagement, we will persistently seek to advance human rights protection. We will pursue locally owned rights-based approaches to the reform of the justice, security and defence sectors, and support fragile states in building capacities, including cyber. We will work through development, diplomacy, and CSDP, ensuring that our security sector reform efforts enable and enhance our partners' capacities to deliver security within the rule of law. We will cooperate with other international players, coordinating our work on capacity-building with the UN and NATO in particular.

States are resilient when societies feel they are becoming better off and have hope in the future. Echoing the Sustainable Development Goals, the EU will adopt a joined-up approach to its humanitarian, development, migration, trade, investment, infrastructure, education, health and research policies, as well as improve horizontal coherence between the EU and its Member States. We will fight poverty and inequality, widen access to public services and social security, and champion decent work opportunities, notably for women and youth. We will foster an enabling environment for new economic endeavours, employment and the

CERPESC ANALYSES

inclusion of marginalised groups. Development funds should catalyse strategic investments through public-private partnerships, driving sustainable growth, job creation, and skills and technological transfers. We will use our trade agreements to underpin sustainable development, human rights protection and rules-based governance.

Societal resilience will be strengthened by deepening relations with civil society, notably in its efforts to hold governments accountable. We will reach out more to cultural organisations, religious communities, social partners and human rights defenders, and speak out against the shrinking space for civil society including through violations of the freedoms of speech and association. Positive change can only be home-grown, and may take years to materialise. Our commitment to civil society will therefore be long-term. We will nurture societal resilience also by deepening work on education, culture and youth to foster pluralism, coexistence and respect.

Finally, the EU will seek to enhance energy and environmental resilience. Energy transition is one of the major challenges in our surrounding regions, but must be properly managed to avoid fuelling social tensions. Climate change and environmental degradation exacerbate potential conflict, in light of their impact on desertification, land degradation, and water and food scarcity. Mirroring security sector reform efforts, energy and environmental sector reform policies can assist partner countries along a path of energy transition and climate action. Through such efforts, we will encourage energy liberalisation, the development of renewables, better regulation and technological transfers, alongside climate change mitigation and adaptation. We will also support governments to devise sustainable responses to food production and the use of water and energy through development, diplomacy and scientific cooperation.

A More Effective Migration Policy

A special focus in our work on resilience will be on origin and transit countries of migrants and refugees. We will significantly step up our humanitarian efforts in these countries, focusing on

education, women and children. Together with countries of origin and transit, we will develop common and tailor-made approaches to migration featuring development, diplomacy, mobility, legal migration, border management, readmission and return. Through development, trust funds, preventive diplomacy and mediation we will work with countries of origin to address and prevent the root causes of displacement, manage migration, and fight trans-border crime. We will support transit countries by improving reception and asylum capacities, and by working on migrants' education, vocational training and livelihood opportunities. We must stem irregular flows by making returns more effective as well as by ensuring regular channels for human mobility. This means enhancing and implementing existing legal and circular channels for migration. It also means working on a more effective common European asylum system which upholds the right to seek asylum by ensuring the safe, regulated and legal arrival of refugees seeking international protection in the EU. At the same time, we will work with our international partners to ensure shared global responsibilities and solidarity. We will establish more effective partnerships on migration management with UN agencies, emerging players, regional organisations, civil society and local communities.

3.3 An Integrated Approach to Conflicts and Crises

We increasingly observe fragile states breaking down in violent conflict. These crises, and the unspeakable violence and human suffering to which they give rise, threaten our shared vital interests. The EU will engage in a practical and principled way in peacebuilding, concentrating our efforts in surrounding regions to the east and south, while considering engagement further afield on a case by case basis. The EU will foster human security through an integrated approach.

All of these conflicts feature multiple dimensions – from security to gender, from governance to the economy. Implementing a multi-dimensional approach through the use of all available policies and instruments aimed at conflict prevention,

CERPESC ANALYSES

management and resolution is essential. But the scope of the ‘comprehensive approach’ will be expanded further. There are no quick fixes to any of these conflicts. Experience in Somalia, Mali, Afghanistan and elsewhere highlights their protracted nature. The EU will therefore pursue a multi-phased approach, acting at all stages of the conflict cycle. We will invest in prevention, resolution and stabilisation, and avoid premature disengagement when a new crisis erupts elsewhere. The EU will therefore engage further in the resolution of protracted conflicts in the Eastern Partnership countries. None of these conflicts plays out at a single level of governance. Conflicts such as those in Syria and Libya often erupt locally, but the national, regional and global overlay they acquire is what makes them so complex. The EU will therefore pursue a multi-level approach to conflicts acting at the local, national, regional and global levels. Finally, none of these conflicts can be solved by the EU alone. We will pursue a multi-lateral approach engaging all those players present in a conflict and necessary for its resolution. We will partner more systematically on the ground with regional and international organisations, bilateral donors and civil society. Greater cooperation will also be sought at the regional and international levels. Sustainable peace can only be achieved through comprehensive agreements rooted in broad, deep and durable regional and international partnerships.

Pre-emptive Peace

It has long been known that preventing conflicts is more efficient and effective than engaging with crises after they break out. Once a conflict does erupt, it typically becomes ever more intractable over time. The EU enjoys a good record on pre-emptive peacebuilding and diplomacy. We will therefore redouble our efforts on prevention, monitoring root causes such as human rights violations, inequality, resource stress, and climate change – which is a threat multiplier that catalyses water and food scarcity, pandemics and displacement.

Early warning is of little use unless it is followed by early action. This implies regular reporting and proposals to the Council, engaging in preventive diplomacy and mediation by mobilising EU Delegations and Special Representatives, and deepening partnerships with civil society. We must develop a political culture of acting sooner in response to the risk of violent conflict.

Security and Stabilisation

The EU will engage more systematically on the security dimension of these conflicts. In full compliance with international law, European security and defence must become better equipped to build peace, guarantee security and protect human lives, notably civilians. The EU must be able to respond rapidly, responsibly and decisively to crises, especially to help fight terrorism.

It must be able to provide security when peace agreements are reached and transition governments established or in the making. When they are not, the EU should be ready to support and help consolidating local ceasefires, paving the way for capacity building. At the same time, through a coherent use of internal and external policies, the EU must counter the spill-over of insecurity that may stem from such conflicts, ranging from trafficking and smuggling to terrorism.

When the prospect of stabilisation arises, the EU must enable legitimate institutions to rapidly deliver basic services and security to local populations, reducing the risk of relapse into violence and allowing displaced persons to return. We will therefore seek to bridge gaps in our response between an end of violence and long-term recovery, and develop the dual – security and development – nature of our engagement.

Conflict Settlement

Each conflict country will need to rebuild its own social contract between the state and its citizens. The Union will support such efforts, fostering inclusive governance at all levels. When the “centre” is broken, acting only top-down has

CERPESC ANALYSES

limited impact. An inclusive political settlement requires action at all levels. Through CSDP, development, and dedicated financial instruments, we will blend top-down and bottom-up efforts fostering the building blocks of sustainable statehood rooted in local agency. Working at the local level – for instance with local authorities and municipalities – can help basic services be delivered to citizens, and allows for deeper engagement with rooted civil society. Working in this direction will also improve our local knowledge, helping us distinguish between those groups we will talk to without supporting, and those we will actively support as champions of human security and reconciliation.

The EU will also foster inclusive governance at all levels through mediation and facilitation. At the same time, we will develop more creative approaches to diplomacy. This also means promoting the role of women in peace efforts – from implementing the UNSC Resolution on Women, Peace and Security to improving the EU's internal gender balance. It entails having more systematic recourse to cultural, inter-faith, scientific and economic diplomacy in conflict settings.

Political Economy of Peace

The EU will foster the space in which the legitimate economy can take root and consolidate. In the midst of violent conflict, this means ensuring humanitarian aid access to allow basic goods and services to be provided.

It also means working to break the political economy of war and to create possibilities for legitimate sustenance to exist. This calls for greater synergies between humanitarian and development assistance, channelling our support to provide health, education, protection, basic goods and legitimate employment. When the prospects for stabilisation arise, trade and development – working in synergy – can underpin long-term peacebuilding.

Restrictive measures, coupled with diplomacy, are key tools to bring about peaceful change. They can

play a pivotal role in deterrence, conflict prevention and resolution. Smart sanctions, in compliance with international and EU law, will be carefully calibrated and monitored to support the legitimate economy and avoid harming local societies. To fight the criminal war economy, the EU must also modernise its policy on export control for dual-use goods, and fight the illegal trafficking of cultural goods and natural resources.

3.4 Cooperative Regional Orders

In a world caught between global pressures and local pushback, regional dynamics come to the fore. As complex webs of power, interaction and identity, regions represent critical spaces of governance in a de-centred world. Voluntary forms of regional governance offer states and peoples the opportunity to better manage security concerns, reap the economic gains of globalisation, express more fully cultures and identities, and project influence in world affairs. This is a fundamental rationale for the EU's own peace and development in the 21st century. This is why we will promote and support cooperative regional orders worldwide, including in the most divided areas. Regional orders do not take a single form. Where possible and when in line with our interests, the EU will support regional organisations. We will not strive to export our model, but rather seek reciprocal inspiration from different regional experiences. Cooperative regional orders, however, are not created only by organisations. They comprise a mix of bilateral, subregional, regional and inter-regional relations. They also feature the role of global players interlinked with regionally-owned cooperative efforts. Taken together these can address transnational conflicts, challenges and opportunities. In different world regions, the EU will be driven by specific goals. Across all regions, we will invest in cooperative relationships to spur shared global responsibilities.

The European Security Order

The sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of states, the inviolability of borders and the peaceful settlement of disputes are key

CERPESC ANALYSES

elements of the European security order. These principles apply to all states, both within and beyond the EU's borders. However, peace and stability in Europe are no longer a given. Russia's violation of international law and the destabilisation of Ukraine, on top of protracted conflicts in the wider Black Sea region, have challenged the European security order at its core. The EU will stand united in upholding international law, democracy, human rights, cooperation and each country's right to choose its future freely.

Managing the relationship with Russia represents a key strategic challenge. A consistent and united approach must remain the cornerstone of EU policy towards Russia. Substantial changes in relations between the EU and Russia are premised upon full respect for international law and the principles underpinning the European security order, including the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter. We will not recognise Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea nor accept the destabilisation of eastern Ukraine. We will strengthen the EU, enhance the resilience of our eastern neighbours, and uphold their right to determine freely their approach towards the EU. At the same time, the EU and Russia are interdependent. We will therefore engage Russia to discuss disagreements and cooperate if and when our interests overlap.

In addition to those foreign policy issues on which we currently cooperate, selective engagement could take place over matters of European interest too, including climate, the Arctic, maritime security, education, research and cross-border cooperation. Engagement should also include deeper societal ties through facilitated travel for students, civil society and business.

Spanning the region, the EU will foster cooperation with the Council of Europe and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The OSCE, as a Europe-wide organisation stretching into Central Asia with a transatlantic link, lies at the heart of the European security order. The EU will strengthen its contribution within and its cooperation with the OSCE as a pillar of European security.

A Peaceful and Prosperous Mediterranean, Middle East and Africa

The Mediterranean, Middle East and parts of sub-Saharan Africa are in turmoil, the outcome of which will likely only become clear decades from now. Solving conflicts and promoting development and human rights in the south is essential to addressing the threat of terrorism, the challenges of demography, migration and climate change, and to seizing the opportunity of shared prosperity. The EU will intensify its support for and cooperation with regional and sub-regional organisations in Africa and the Middle East, as well as functional cooperative formats in the region. However, regional organisations do not address all relevant dynamics, and some reflect existing cleavages. We will therefore also act flexibly to help bridge divides and support regional players in delivering concrete results. This will be achieved by mobilising our bilateral and multilateral policies and frameworks as well as by partnering with civil societies in the region.

The EU will follow five lines of action. First, in the Maghreb and the Middle East, the EU will support functional multilateral cooperation. We will back practical cooperation, including through the Union for the Mediterranean, on issues such as border security, trafficking, counter-terrorism, nonproliferation, water and food security, energy and climate, infrastructure and disaster management. We will foster dialogue and negotiation over regional conflicts such as those in Syria and Libya. On the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the EU will work closely with the Quartet, the Arab League and all key stakeholders to preserve the prospect of a viable two-state solution based on 1967 lines with equivalent land swaps, and to recreate the conditions for meaningful negotiations. The EU will also promote full compliance with European and international law in deepening cooperation with Israel and the Palestinian Authority.

Second, the EU will deepen sectoral cooperation with Turkey, while striving to anchor Turkish democracy in line with its accession criteria,

CERPESC ANALYSES

including the normalisation of relations with Cyprus. The EU will therefore pursue the accession process – sticking to strict and fair accession conditionality – while coherently engaging in dialogue on counter-terrorism, regional security and refugees. We will also work on a modernised customs union and visa liberalisation, and cooperate further with Turkey in the fields of education, energy and transport.

Third, the EU will pursue balanced engagement in the Gulf. It will continue to cooperate with the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and individual Gulf countries. Building on the Iran nuclear deal and its implementation, it will also gradually engage Iran on areas such as trade, research, environment, energy, anti-trafficking, migration and societal exchanges. It will deepen dialogue with Iran and GCC countries on regional conflicts, human rights and counter-terrorism, seeking to prevent contagion of existing crises and foster the space for cooperation and diplomacy.

Fourth, in light of the growing interconnections between North and subSaharan Africa, as well as between the Horn of Africa and the Middle East, the EU will support cooperation across these sub-regions. This includes fostering triangular relationships across the Red Sea between Europe, the Horn and the Gulf to face shared security challenges and economic opportunities. It means systematically addressing cross-border dynamics in North and West Africa, the Sahel and Lake Chad regions through closer links with the African Union, the Economic Community of Western African States (ECOWAS) and the G5 Sahel.

Finally, we will invest in African peace and development as an investment in our own security and prosperity. We will intensify cooperation with and support for the African Union, as well as ECOWAS, the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development in eastern Africa, and the East African Community, among others. We must enhance our efforts to stimulate growth and jobs in Africa. The Economic Partnership Agreements can spur African integration and mobility, and encourage Africa's full and equitable participation

in global value chains. A quantum leap in European investment in Africa is also needed to support sustainable development. We will build stronger links between our trade, development and security policies in Africa, and blend development efforts with work on migration, health, education, energy and climate, science and technology, notably to improve food security. We will continue to support peace and security efforts in Africa, and assist African organisations' work on conflict prevention, counterterrorism and organised crime, migration and border management. We will do so through diplomacy, CSDP and development, as well as trust funds to back up regional strategies.

A Closer Atlantic

The EU will invest further in strong bonds across the Atlantic, both north and south. A solid transatlantic partnership through NATO and with the United States and Canada helps us strengthen resilience, address conflicts, and contribute to effective global governance. NATO, for its members, has been the bedrock of Euro-Atlantic security for almost 70 years. It remains the strongest and most effective military alliance in the world. The EU will deepen its partnership with NATO through coordinated defence capability development, parallel and synchronised exercises, and mutually reinforcing actions to build the capacities of our partners, counter hybrid and cyber threats, and promote maritime security.

With the US, the EU will strive for a Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). Like the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) with Canada, TTIP demonstrates the transatlantic commitment to shared values and signals our willingness to pursue an ambitious rulesbased trade agenda. On the broader security agenda, the US will continue to be our core partner. The EU will deepen cooperation with the US and Canada on crisis management, counter-terrorism, cyber, migration, energy and climate action.

In the wider Atlantic space, the Union will expand cooperation and build stronger partnerships with Latin America and the Caribbean, grounded on

CERPESC ANALYSES

shared values and interests. It will develop multilateral ties with the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) and with different regional groupings according to their competitive advantage. We will step up political dialogue and cooperation on migration, maritime security and ocean life protection, climate change and energy, disarmament, non-proliferation and arms control, and countering organised crime and terrorism. We will pursue a free trade agreement with Mercosur, build on the Political Dialogue and Cooperation Agreement with Cuba, and invest in deeper socio-economic connections with Latin American and Caribbean countries through visa facilitation, student exchanges, twinning, research cooperation and technical projects. We will also actively support the negotiation and implementation of peace agreements in the region, as we are doing in Colombia.

A Connected Asia

There is a direct connection between European prosperity and Asian security. In light of the economic weight that Asia represents for the EU – and vice versa – peace and stability in Asia are a prerequisite for our prosperity. We will deepen economic diplomacy and scale up our security role in Asia.

The EU will engage China based on respect for rule of law, both domestically and internationally. We will pursue a coherent approach to China's connectivity drives westwards by maximising the potential of the EU-China Connectivity Platform, and the ASEM and EU-ASEAN frameworks. The EU will also deepen trade and investment with China, seeking a level playing field, appropriate intellectual property rights protection, greater cooperation on high-end technology, and dialogue on economic reform, human rights and climate action. In parallel, the EU will deepen its economic diplomacy in the region, working towards ambitious free trade agreements with strategic partners such as Japan and India, as well as ASEAN member states, with the goal of an eventual EU-ASEAN agreement.

We will also develop a more politically rounded approach to Asia, seeking to make greater practical contributions to Asian security. We will expand our partnerships, including on security, with Japan, the Republic of Korea, Indonesia and others. We will continue to support state-building and reconciliation processes in Afghanistan together with our regional and international partners. We will promote non-proliferation in the Korean peninsula. In East and Southeast Asia, we will uphold freedom of navigation, stand firm on the respect for international law, including the Law of the Sea and its arbitration procedures, and encourage the peaceful settlement of maritime disputes. We will help build maritime capacities and support an ASEAN-led regional security architecture. In Central and South Asia, we will deepen cooperation on counter-terrorism, anti-trafficking and migration, as well as enhance transport, trade and energy connectivity. Across the Indo Pacific and East Asian regions, the EU will promote human rights and support democratic transitions such as in Myanmar/Burma.

A Cooperative Arctic

With three Member States and two European Economic Area members being Arctic states, the EU has a strategic interest in the Arctic remaining a low-tension area, with ongoing cooperation ensured by the Arctic Council, a well-functioning legal framework, and solid political and security cooperation. The EU will contribute to this through enhanced work on climate action and environmental research, sustainable development, telecommunications, and search & rescue, as well as concrete cooperation with Arctic states, institutions, indigenous peoples and local communities.

3.5 Global Governance for the 21st Century

Without global norms and the means to enforce them, peace and security, prosperity and democracy – our vital interests – are at risk. Guided by the values on which it is founded, the EU is committed to a global order based on international law, including the principles of the UN Charter, which

CERPESC ANALYSES

ensure peace, human rights, sustainable development and lasting access to the global commons. This commitment translates into an aspiration to transform rather than simply preserve the existing system. The EU will strive for a strong UN as the bedrock of the multilateral rules-based order, and develop globally coordinated responses with international and regional organisations, states and non-state actors.

Reforming

A commitment to global governance must translate in the determination to reform the UN, including the Security Council, and the International Financial Institutions (IFIs). Resisting change risks triggering the erosion of such institutions and the emergence of alternative groupings to the detriment of all EU Member States. The EU will stand up for the principles of accountability, representativeness, responsibility, effectiveness and transparency. The practical meaning of such principles will be fleshed out case-by-case. We will continue to call upon members of the UN Security Council not to vote against credible draft resolutions on timely and decisive action to prevent or end mass atrocities. Across multilateral fora – and in particular the UN, the IFIs and the international justice organisations – the EU will strengthen its voice and acquire greater visibility and cohesion. We will work towards an increasingly unified representation of the euro area in the International Monetary Fund.

Investing

Believing in the UN means investing in it, notably in its peacekeeping, mediation, peacebuilding and humanitarian functions. The EU and its Member States, as already the first contributor to UN humanitarian agencies, will invest even further in their work. CSDP could assist further and complement UN peacekeeping through bridging, stabilisation or other operations. The EU will also enhance synergy with UN peacebuilding efforts, through greater coordination in the planning, evolution and withdrawal of CSDP capacity-building missions in fragile settings.

Implementing

The EU will lead by example by implementing its commitments on sustainable development and climate change. It will increase climate financing, drive climate mainstreaming in multilateral fora, raise the ambition for review foreseen in the Paris agreement, and work for clean energy cost reductions. The SDGs will inform the post-Cotonou partnership and drive reform in development policy, including the EU Consensus on Development. Moreover, implementing the SDGs will require change across all internal and external policies, galvanising public-private partnerships, and leveraging the experience of the European Investment Bank (EIB) in providing technical assistance and building capacities in developing and middle income countries.

Deepening

As the world's largest economy, the EU is a prime mover in global trade and investment, areas in which rules can be deepened further. Our prosperity hinges on an open and rules-based economic system with a true level playing field, which our economic diplomacy will further promote. We will pursue comprehensive free trade agreements with the US, Japan, Mercosur, India, ASEAN and others as building blocks of global free trade. Ambitious agreements built on mutual benefits such as TTIP and CETA can promote international regulatory standards, consumer protection, as well as labour, environmental, health and safety norms. New generation trade agreements which include services, the digital economy, energy and raw materials can reduce legal fragmentation and barriers, and regulate access to natural resources. The EU will ensure that all its trade agreements are pursued in a manner that supports returning the World Trade Organisation (WTO) to the centre of global negotiations. Connected to the EU's interest in an open and fair economic system is the need for global maritime growth and security, ensuring open and protected ocean and sea routes critical for trade and access to natural resources. The EU will contribute to global maritime security, building on its experience in the Indian Ocean and the

CERPESC ANALYSES

Mediterranean, and exploring possibilities in the Gulf of Guinea, the South China Sea and the Straits of Malacca. As a global maritime security provider, the EU will seek to further universalise and implement the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, including its dispute settlement mechanisms. We will also promote the conservation and sustainable use of marine resources and biological diversity and the growth of the blue economy by working to fill legal gaps and enhancing ocean knowledge and awareness.

Widening

We will seek to widen the reach of international norms, regimes and institutions. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems remains a growing threat to Europe and the wider world. The EU will strongly support the expanding membership, universalisation, full implementation and enforcement of multilateral disarmament, nonproliferation and arms control treaties and regimes. We will use every means at our disposal to assist in resolving proliferation crises, as we successfully did on the Iranian nuclear programme. The EU will actively participate in export control regimes, strengthen common rules governing Member States' export policies of military – including dual-use – equipment and technologies, and support export control authorities in third countries and technical bodies that sustain arms control regimes. The EU will also promote the responsibility to protect, international humanitarian law, international human rights law and international criminal law. We will support the UN Human Rights Council and encourage the widest acceptance of the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court and the International Court of Justice.

Developing

At the frontiers of global affairs, rules must be further developed to ensure security and sustainable access to the global commons. The EU will be a forward-looking cyber player, protecting our critical assets and values in the digital world, notably by promoting a free and secure global

Internet. We will engage in cyber diplomacy and capacity building with our partners, and seek agreements on responsible state behaviour in cyberspace based on existing international law. We will support multilateral digital governance and a global cooperation framework on cybersecurity, respecting the free flow of information. In space, we will promote the autonomy and security of our space-based services and work on principles for responsible space behaviour, which could lead to the adoption of an international voluntary code of conduct. On energy, we will encourage multilateral mechanisms aimed at ensuring sustainable energy patterns both by developing our own sustainable policies and by deepening dialogue with major energy consumers and producers. On health, we will work for more effective prevention, detection and responses to global pandemics. Global rules are also necessary in fields such as biotechnology, artificial intelligence, robotics and remotely piloted systems, to avoid the related security risks and reap their economic benefits. On all such issues, the EU will promote exchanges with relevant multilateral fora to help spearhead the development of rules and build partnerships at the frontiers of global affairs.

Partnering

The EU will lead by example on global governance. But it cannot deliver alone. It will act as an agenda-shaper, a connector, coordinator and facilitator within a networked web of players. It will partner with states and organisations, but also with the private sector and civil society. On the vast majority of global governance issues, we will work with the UN as the framework of the multilateral system and a core partner for the Union, with other core partners such as the US, with regional organisations, and with like-minded and strategic partners in Asia, Africa and the Americas. The EU will also invest in pivotal non-state actors, particularly within civil society. In spite of increasing repression, global civil society is growing and fostering new types of activism. The EU will sharpen the means to protect and empower civic actors, notably human rights defenders, sustaining a vibrant civil society worldwide.

CERPESC ANALYSES

The format to deliver effective global governance may vary from case to case. On cyber, global governance hinges on a progressive alliance between states, international organisations, industry, civil society and technical experts. On maritime multilateralism, the EU will work with the UN and its specialised agencies, NATO, our strategic partners, and ASEAN. On humanitarian action, sustainable development and climate change, the EU will partner with the UN and the G20, as well as new donors, civil society and the private sector. On counterterrorism, we will deepen dialogue with the UN, while building broad partnerships with states, regional organisations, civil society and the private sector on issues such as countering violent extremism and terrorist financing.

4. From Vision to Action

We will pursue our priorities by mobilising our unparalleled networks, our economic weight and all the tools at our disposal in a coherent and coordinated way. To fulfil our goals, however, we must collectively invest in a credible, responsive and joined-up Union.

A Credible Union

To engage responsibly with the world, credibility is essential. The EU's credibility hinges on our unity, on our many achievements, our enduring power of attraction, the effectiveness and consistency of our policies, and adherence to our values. A stronger Union requires investing in all dimensions of foreign policy, from research and climate to infrastructure and mobility, from trade and sanctions to diplomacy and development.

In this fragile world, soft power is not enough: we must enhance our credibility in security and defence. To respond to external crises, build our partners' capacities and protect Europe, Member States must channel a sufficient level of expenditure to defence, make the most efficient use of resources, and meet the collective commitment of 20% of defence budget spending devoted to the procurement of equipment and Research &

Technology. Capabilities should be developed with maximum interoperability and commonality, and be made available where possible in support of EU, NATO, UN and other multinational efforts. While a sectoral strategy, to be agreed by the Council, should further specify the civil-military level of ambition, tasks, requirements and capability priorities stemming from this Strategy, some such areas can already be highlighted in line with commitments made by the European Council.

First, European security hinges on better and shared assessments of internal and external threats and challenges. Europeans must improve the monitoring and control of flows which have security implications. This requires investing in Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance, including Remotely Piloted Aircraft Systems, satellite communications, and autonomous access to space and permanent earth observation. As regards counter-terrorism, Member States must implement legislation concerning explosives, firearms and Passenger Name Records (PNRs), as well as invest in detection capabilities and the cross-border tracing of weapons. Second, Europeans must invest in digital capabilities to secure data, networks and critical infrastructure within the European digital space. We must develop capabilities in trusted digital services and products and in cyber technologies to enhance our resilience. We will encourage greater investments and skills across Member States through cooperative research and development, training, exercises and procurement programmes. Third, regarding high-end military capabilities, Member States need all major equipment to respond to external crises and keep Europe safe. This means having full-spectrum land, air, space and maritime capabilities, including strategic enablers.

To acquire and maintain many of these capabilities, Member States will need to move towards defence cooperation as the norm. Member States remain sovereign in their defence decisions: nevertheless, nationally-oriented defence programmes are insufficient to address capability shortfalls. We remain far from achieving our collective benchmarks, including 35% of total equipment

CERPESC ANALYSES

spending in collaborative procurement. The voluntary approach to defence cooperation must translate into real commitment. An annual coordinated review process at EU level to discuss Member States' military spending plans could instil greater coherence in defence planning and capability development. This should take place in full coherence with NATO's defence planning process. The European Defence Agency (EDA) has a key role to play by strengthening the Capability Development Plan, acting as an interface between Member States and the Commission, and assisting Member States to develop the capabilities stemming from the political goals set out in this Strategy.

Defence cooperation between Member States will be systematically encouraged. Regular assessments of EDA benchmarks can create positive peer pressure among Member States. Crucially, EU funding for defence research and technology, reflected first in the mid-term review of the Multiannual Financial Framework, and then in a fully-fledged programme in the next budget cycle, will prove instrumental in developing the defence capabilities Europe needs.

A sustainable, innovative and competitive European defence industry is essential for Europe's strategic autonomy and for a credible CSDP. It can also stimulate growth and jobs. A solid European defence, technological and industrial base needs a fair, functioning and transparent internal market, security of supply, and a structured dialogue with defence relevant industries. Furthermore, ensuring participation of small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) in the defence sector can improve innovation and investment in the military technologies of tomorrow.

A Responsive Union

We live in a world of predictable unpredictability. We will therefore equip ourselves to respond more rapidly and flexibly to the unknown lying ahead. A more responsive Union requires change. We need it in diplomacy, CSDP and development, as well as

investment in the knowledge base underpinning our external action.

First, our diplomatic action must be fully grounded in the Lisbon Treaty. EU foreign policy is not a solo performance: it is an orchestra which plays from the same score. Our diversity is a tremendous asset provided we stand united and work in a coordinated way. Cooperation between Member States can strengthen our engagement in the world. A Member State or a group of Member States who are willing and able to contribute may be invited by the High Representative (HR), under the responsibility of the Council, to implement agreed positions of the Council. The HR shall keep the Council fully informed and shall ensure consistency with agreed EU policies.

Second, CSDP must become more rapid and effective. Europeans must be ready to rapidly respond to crises in full compliance with the UN Charter. This requires Member States to enhance the deployability and interoperability of their forces through training and exercises. We must develop the capacity for rapid response also by tackling the procedural, financial and political obstacles which prevent the deployment of the Battlegroups, hamper force generation and reduce the effectiveness of CSDP military operations. At the same time, we must further develop our civilian missions – a trademark of CSDP – by encouraging force generation, speeding up deployment, and providing adequate training based on EU-wide curricula. A responsive CSDP also requires streamlining our institutional structure. We must strengthen operational planning and conduct structures, and build closer connections between civilian and military structures and missions, bearing in mind that these may be deployed in the same theatre. Enhanced cooperation between Member States should be explored in this domain. 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.

Third, development policy will become more flexible and aligned with our strategic priorities. We reaffirm our collective commitment to achieve the

CERPESC ANALYSES

0.7% ODA/GNI target in line with DAC principles. Development funds must be stable, but lengthy programming cycles limit the timely use of EU support, and can reduce our visibility and impact. The availability of limited sums for activities on the ground, notably for conflict prevention and civil society support, should be made more flexible. Across the Commission, flexibility will be built into our financial instruments, allowing for the use of uncommitted funds in any given year to be carried on to subsequent years to respond to crises. This will also help fill the gaps between financial instruments and budgetary headings. In parallel, the time has come to consider reducing the number of instruments to enhance our coherence and flexibility, while raising the overall amount dedicated to development.

Responsive external action must be underpinned by a strong knowledge base. Targeted approaches to resilience, conflict prevention and resolution require deeper situational awareness. The EU will invest in the EEAS and coordinate better across institutions and Member States. Putting our diverse national cultures at the service of our shared interests is a challenge, but the pool of talent available to us is unrivalled. To make the most of this, we will invest in people, particularly those on the ground. This means equipping our delegations with the necessary expertise, including on sectoral issues and in local languages, valuing experience in and of a region, beefing up the political sections of delegations, and encouraging operational staff to use their expertise more politically. It means strengthening the participation of women in foreign policy-making. It means investing in the EU Conflict Early Warning System, and making all our external engagement conflict and rights-sensitive. We will also pursue greater information sharing and joint reporting, analysis and response planning between Member State embassies, EU Delegations, Commission services, EU Special Representatives and CSDP missions. We will encourage cross-fertilisation between us and regional and international organisations, civil society, academia, think tanks and the private sector. We will do so both in traditional ways – through dialogue, cooperation and support – and through innovative

formats such as exchanges, embedded personnel and joint facilities, harnessing knowledge and creativity in our system.

A Joined-up Union

Finally, our external action will become more joined-up. Over the years, important steps have been taken to this effect: these include institutional innovations, such as the Lisbon Treaty's creation of the double-hatted High Representative and Vice President of the European Commission (HRVP) and the European External Action Service (EEAS). A strong EEAS working together with other EU institutions lies at the heart of a coherent EU role in the world. Efforts at coherence also include policy innovations such as the “comprehensive approach to conflicts and crises” and joint programming in development, which must be further enhanced. New fields of our joined-up external action include energy diplomacy, cultural diplomacy and economic diplomacy.

A more prosperous Union requires economic priorities to be set in relations with all countries and regions, and integrated into the external dimensions of all internal policies. A more prosperous Union calls for greater coordination between the EU and Member States, the EIB and the private sector. The Sustainable Development Goals also represent an opportunity to catalyse such coherence. Implementing them will generate coherence between the internal and external dimensions of our policies and across financial instruments. It allows us to develop new ways to blend grants, loans and private-public partnerships. The SDGs also encourage us to expand and apply the principle of policy coherence for development to other policy areas, and encourage joint analysis and engagement across Commission services, institutions and Member States.

We must become more joined-up across internal and external policies. The migration phenomenon, for example, requires a balanced and human rights-compliant policy mix addressing the management of the flows and the structural causes. This means overcoming the fragmentation of

CERPESC ANALYSES

external policies relevant to migration. In particular, we will develop stronger links between humanitarian and development efforts through joint risk analysis, and multiannual programming and financing. We will also make different external policies and instruments migration-sensitive – from diplomacy and CSDP to development and climate – and ensure their coherence with internal ones regarding border management, homeland security, asylum, employment, culture and education.

In security terms, terrorism, hybrid threats and organised crime know no borders. This calls for tighter institutional links between our external action and the internal area of freedom, security and justice. Closer ties will be fostered through joint Council meetings and joint task forces between the EEAS and the Commission. Defence policy also needs to be better linked to policies covering the internal market, industry and space. Member State efforts should also be more joined-up: cooperation between our law enforcement, judicial and intelligence services must be strengthened. We must use the full potential of Europol and Eurojust, and provide greater support for the EU Intelligence Centre. We must feed and coordinate intelligence extracted from European databases, and put ICT – including big data analysis – at the service of deeper situational awareness. Our citizens need better protection also in third countries through joint contingency plans and crisis response exercises between Member States.

We must become more joined-up in our security and development policies. CSDP capacity building missions must be coordinated with security sector and rule of law work by the Commission. Capacity Building for Security and Development can play a key role in empowering and enabling our partners to prevent and respond to crises, and will need to be supported financially by the EU. Our peace policy must also ensure a smoother transition from short-term crisis management to long-term peacebuilding to avoid gaps along the conflict cycle. Long-term work on pre-emptive peace, resilience and human rights must be tied to crisis

response through humanitarian aid, CSDP, sanctions and diplomacy.

Finally, we will systematically mainstream human rights and gender issues across policy sectors and institutions, as well as foster closer coordination regarding digital matters. Greater awareness and expertise on such issues is needed within the EEAS and the Commission. Better coordination between institutions would also add consistency and spread best practices, helping us build a stronger Union and a more resilient, peaceful and sustainable world.

The Way Ahead

This Strategy is underpinned by the vision of, and ambition for, a stronger Union, willing and able to make a positive difference to its citizens and in the world. We must now swiftly translate this into action. First, we will revise existing sectoral strategies, as well as devise and implement new thematic or geographic strategies in line with the political priorities of this Strategy. Such work must begin with clear procedures and timeframes agreed promptly by all relevant players. Second, the EU Global Strategy itself will require periodic reviewing in consultation with the Council, the Commission and the European Parliament. On a yearly basis we will reflect on the state of play of the Strategy, pointing out where further implementation must be sought. Finally, a new process of strategic reflection will be launched whenever the EU and its Member States deem it necessary to enable the Union to navigate effectively our times. Our citizens deserve a true Union, which promotes our shared interests by engaging responsibly and in partnership with others.

CERPESC ANALYSES

IV.

IMPLEMENTATION PLAN ON SECURITY AND DEFENCE

IPSD, Brussels, 14 November 2016, 14392/16

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Implementation Plan sets out proposals to implement the EU Global Strategy (EUGS) in the area of security and defence. It is presented by the HRVP / Head of the Agency for consideration and decision at the FAC in November and the European Council in December 2016.

It forms part of a wider package including the Commission's European Defence Action Plan and the follow-up of the Joint Declaration signed in Warsaw by the President of the European Council, the President of the European Commission and the Secretary General of NATO. It is also closely connected to other work strands to implement the EUGS, in line with the FAC Conclusions of 17 October 2016.

A New Level of Ambition

The proposed new Level of Ambition, for consideration and decision by the Council, aims to develop a stronger Union in security and defence, which is able to tackle today's threats and challenges more effectively, with the right capabilities, tools and structures to deliver more security for its citizens.

As set out in the EUGS, the EU must contribute to: (a) responding to external conflicts and crises, (b) building the capacities of partners, and (c) protecting the Union and its citizens. The proposed Level of Ambition outlines the goals that the EU and its Member States set out to achieve, including through CSDP and using the full potential of the EU Treaty, in order to contribute to these strategic priorities from a security and defence perspective. While respecting the autonomy of the EU's decision-making processes, the EU will continue to

work closely with its partners, particularly with the United Nations and NATO.

- Responding to external conflicts and crises covers the full range of CSDP tasks in civilian and military crisis management. The aim is to enhance CSDP's awareness and responsiveness in all phases of the conflict cycle, including conflict prevention, in order to promote peace and security within a rules-based global order. Evolutions in the security and defence environment, however, require us to reassess the goals of possible CSDP military operations and civilian missions with executive mandates in full respect of international law, and as part of an EU integrated approach to conflicts and crises.

– Capacity building of partners is the objective of CSDP missions/operations with tasks in training, advice and/or mentoring within the security sector. The aim is to strengthen CSDP's ability to contribute more systematically to the resilience and stabilisation of partner countries recovering from or threatened by conflict or instability, in synergy with other EU instruments and actors, notably along the nexus of security and development. CSDP can also be used to provide expertise and assistance to strengthen partners' resilience and counter hybrid threats.

– Protecting the Union and its citizens covers the contribution that EU and its Member States can make from a security and defence perspective, notably through CSDP in line with the Treaty, to tackle challenges and threats that have an impact on the security of the Union and its citizens, along the nexus of internal and external security. This priority will be pursued in cooperation with Freedom, Security and Justice (FSJ) actors. While CSDP missions and operations are deployed outside the Union, the EU can contribute from a security and defence perspective to strengthening the protection and resilience of its networks and critical infrastructure; the security of its external borders as well as building partners' capacities to manage their borders; civil protection and disaster response; ensuring stable access to and use of the global commons, including the high seas and space;

CERPESC ANALYSES

countering hybrid threats; cyber security; preventing and countering terrorism and radicalisation; combatting people smuggling and trafficking; building capacities to manage irregular migration flows; promoting compliance with non-proliferation regimes and countering arms trafficking and organised crime. Existing EU policies in these areas should be taken forward in a comprehensive manner.

The importance of Mutual Assistance and/or Solidarity in line with Article 42.7 TEU and Article 222 TFEU respectively is highlighted in this context as well. NATO remains the foundation for the collective defence for those States which are members of it. The specific character of the security and defence policy of all EU Member States will be fully respected.

These three priorities are mutually reinforcing. A single CSDP mission or operation in fact can potentially contribute to all three priorities: they constitute a coherent whole.

In carrying forward its actions, the EU will work with partners and actively enhance its partnerships, while strengthening its own ability to take responsibility and share the burden with our partners in security and defence. Europe's strategic autonomy entails the ability to act and cooperate with international and regional partners wherever possible, while being able to operate autonomously when and where necessary. This adds to the EU's credibility vis-à-vis partners. There is no contradiction between the two. Member States have a 'single set of forces' which they can use nationally or in multilateral frameworks. The development of Member States' capabilities through CSDP and using EU instruments will thus also help to strengthen capabilities potentially available to the United Nations and NATO.

Implementing the Level of Ambition

Concrete actions are necessary to implement the Level of Ambition together with the Member States in a credible way. Proposals are notably made on: – identifying the related capability development priorities:

1. EEAS to make proposals for Member States' consideration on revisiting the Feira priority areas for civilian missions in light of the profoundly changed security environment.

2. EEAS to make proposals on enhancing the responsiveness of civilian crisis management, building on ongoing work in this area including on the list of generic civilian CSDP tasks and identifying requirements needed.

3. Member States to agree to take forward work in the European Defence Agency (EDA) to specify and complement capability priorities based on the Level of Ambition and the EUGS, as part of the revision process of the Capability Development Plan (CDP).

4. Member States to agree to review the military requirements stemming from the EUGS and the Level of Ambition, in line with agreed procedures under the control of the Political and Security Committee as well as the EU Military Committee, as a contribution to the CDP.

– deepening defence cooperation and delivering the required capabilities together:

5. Member States to invite the HRVP / Head of the Agency to present proposals on detailed scope, modalities and content to Ministers in spring 2017 with a view of setting up the Coordinated Annual Review on Defence in concrete terms.

6. EDA with its participating Member States to develop further proposals concerning output-oriented capability development, Key Strategic Activities, R&T, more structured cooperation, critical enablers, and Security of Supply, and prepare for their implementation.

– adjusting the EU's structures for situational awareness, planning and conduct, as well as the rapid response toolbox:

7. Member States to agree to review the structures and capabilities available for the planning and conduct of CSDP missions and operations, in view

CERPESC ANALYSES

of enhancing civ/mil synergies, ensuring more seamless planning and conduct, and improving on current shortcomings. As a short term objective, address the gap at the strategic-level for the conduct of non-executive military CSDP missions from within EEAS structures.

8. EEAS to take stock of capabilities at hand in INTCEN and EUMS INT and develop short-, mid- and long-term proposals for Member States' consideration for upgrading such capabilities in line with the level of ambition. Reinforce links between INTCEN/EUMS INT with other EU and Member States' entities providing situational awareness in order to further support the development of a European hub for strategic information, early warning and comprehensive analysis.

9. Member States to consider relevant multinational structures or initiatives in the area of security and defence in view of reinforcing cooperation with the EU or deepening existing frameworks of cooperation. In particular, to consider developing a concept to make better use of existing national or multinational deployable headquarters made available to the EU, on a rotational basis, with a focus on training, mentoring and advising.

10. EEAS to present proposals on strengthening the relevance, usability and deployability of the EU's Rapid Response toolbox, including the EU Battlegroups and their modularity, particularly to reinforce their modularity, preparation and effective financing.

– increasing financial solidarity and flexibility, as well as ensuing a more seamless range of funding options as part of an integrated approach:

11. Member States to agree to consider financing in a comprehensive manner, reinforcing solidarity, effectiveness and flexibility to underpin the Level of Ambition and enhance CSDP responsiveness; to explore all funding options as well as to provide political guidance in view of an ambitious review of the Athena mechanism in 2017.

– making full use of the Treaty potential: Permanent Structured Cooperation:

12. Member States to agree to explore the potential of a single and inclusive PESCO based on the willingness of Member States to strengthen CSDP by undertaking concrete commitments. If so requested, the HRVP can provide elements and options for reflection.

– actively taking forward CSDP partnerships:

13. Take forward CSDP partnerships and EEAS to present options for a more strategic approach to CSDP partnership cooperation with partner countries which share EU values and are willing and able contribute to CSDP missions and operations, including considering possibilities to strengthen their resilience.

INTRODUCTION

1. The Global Strategy on EU Common Foreign and Security Policy (EUGS) provides a shared vision on the EU's role in the world and puts forward common actions. Based on the EUGS' definition of EU interests, principles and priorities, this Implementation Plan on Security and Defence responds to the call for the EU to become increasingly credible in security and defence, especially through the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP).

2. This Implementation Plan is presented by the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Vice President of the European Commission and Head of the European Defence Agency. It is based on Member States' inputs and contributions, fully acknowledging Member States' competences in security and defence. In line with the Council Conclusions on the EUGS follow-up of 17 October, it has been prepared for consideration and decision at the Foreign Affairs Council (including in its Defence composition) in November 2016 and the European Council in December 2016.

CERPESC ANALYSES

3. This Implementation Plan is part of wider package which includes:

- The Commission's forthcoming European Defence Action Plan, which will seek to support Europe's defence industry and capability development, also as a follow-up to the EUGS. As stated by the Council, it should propose instruments in support of priorities to be agreed. This should contribute to ensuring that the European defence technological and industrial base (EDTIB) can fully meet Europe's current and future security needs and, in that respect, enhance its strategic autonomy and strengthen its ability to act with partners. The Council has recalled that these efforts should be inclusive with equal opportunities for defence industry in the EU, balanced and in full compliance with EU law.

- The work taken forward in parallel on the implementation of the Joint Declaration signed in Warsaw in July 2016 by the President of the European Council, the President of the European Commission and the Secretary General of NATO, in view of presenting concrete options for implementation to the respective Councils in December 2016, in full respect of the decision-making autonomy of both organisations, based on the principle of inclusiveness and without prejudice to the specific character of the security and defence policy of all EU Member States (1).

4. This Implementation Plan is also closely connected to other ongoing work strands to implement the EUGS, in line with the Council Conclusions of 17 October, such as (1) building resilience and developing an integrated approach to conflicts and crises; (2) better coordination along the internal-external nexus in areas such as migration, as well as hybrid threats, counterterrorism and countering violent extremism (CT/CVE); (3) the review of existing sectoral strategies; and (4) stepping up public diplomacy efforts.

LEVEL OF AMBITION

5. The EU's Level of Ambition should outline the goals that the EU and its Member States set out to achieve, including through CSDP and using the full potential of the EU Treaty, in order to implement the EUGS in the area of security and defence. This is for the Council to decide upon. As set out in the EUGS, the EU must contribute to: (a) responding to external conflicts and crises, (b) building the capacities of partners, and (c) protecting the Union and its citizens. In fulfilling these three mutually reinforcing tasks, we should continue to work closely with our partners, particularly with the United Nations and NATO, while respecting the autonomy of the EU's decision-making processes.

a) Responding to external conflicts and crises covers the full range of CSDP tasks in civilian and military crisis management. The aim is to enhance CSDP's responsiveness in all phases of the conflict cycle, including conflict prevention, in order to promote peace and security within a rules-based global order underpinned by the United Nations. The EU's ambition remains to be able to respond with rapid and decisive action through the whole spectrum of crisis management tasks covered by Article 43 of the TEU.

b) The capacity building of partners is the objective of CSDP missions/operations with tasks in training, advice and/or mentoring within the security sector. The aim is to strengthen CSDP's ability to contribute more systematically to the resilience of partner countries recovering from or threatened by conflict or instability, in synergy with other EU instruments and actors, notably along the nexus of security and development. CSDP can also be used to provide expertise and assistance to strengthen partners' resilience and counter hybrid threats. This could include the areas of strategic communication, cyber security and border security. Promoting respect for international law, in particular international humanitarian and human rights law, as well as gender sensitivity, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and subsequent resolutions, protection of civilians, and principles

CERPESC ANALYSES

of democracy and good governance is integral to these efforts

c) Protecting the Union and its citizens covers the contribution that the EU and its Member States can make from a security and defence perspective, notably through CSDP in line with the Treaty, to tackle challenges and threats that have an impact on the security of the Union and its citizens, along the nexus of internal and external security. This priority will be pursued in cooperation with Freedom, Security and Justice (FSJ) actors. While CSDP missions and operations are deployed outside the Union, the EU can contribute from a security and defence perspective to strengthening the protection and resilience of its networks and critical infrastructure; the security of its external borders as well as building partners' capacities to manage their borders; civil protection and disaster response; ensuring stable access to and use of the global commons, including the high seas and space; countering hybrid threats; cyber security; preventing and countering terrorism and radicalisation; combatting people smuggling and trafficking; building capacities to manage irregular migration flows; promoting compliance with non-proliferation regimes and countering arms trafficking and organised crime. Existing EU policies in these areas should be taken forward in a comprehensive manner. The importance of Mutual Assistance and/or Solidarity in line with Article 42.7 TEU and Article 222 TFEU respectively is highlighted in this context as well. NATO remains the foundation for the collective defence for those States which are members of it. The specific character of the security and defence policy of all EU Member States will be fully respected.

6. These priorities are mutually reinforcing. CSDP missions or operations outside the EU's borders can, directly or indirectly, support Europe's own security needs by fostering human security, tackling root causes of conflict and thus resolving crises and their spill-over effects into the Union. Capacity building can contribute to the transition strategy of executive operations aimed at crisis response. A single CSDP mission or operation in fact can potentially contribute to

all three priorities: they constitute a coherent whole.

7. The EU has a unique range of tools and instruments which can contribute to the three strategic priorities. A more joined-up approach is the overall objective of the wider EUGS follow-up. This Level of Ambition focuses on the security and defence dimensions of such follow-up, and as such impacts on (1) the effectiveness, visibility and impact of CSDP, (2) capability development and European defence cooperation, (3) a stronger and more competitive EDTIB, which also contributes to strengthening Europe's strategic autonomy.

Responding to external conflicts and crises

8. Enhancing EU's responsiveness in all phases of the conflict cycle is a strategic priority. As a security provider, the EU must have a wide reach, while focusing on addressing conflicts, crises and instability in its surrounding regions through preventive action, mediation, crisis response, stabilisation operations and peacebuilding. The EU's ambition remains to be able to respond with rapid and decisive action through the whole spectrum of crisis management tasks covered by Article 43 the TEU.

9. Preventing conflicts from erupting or escalating remains of paramount importance. We need to improve our ability to respond early and effectively to conflicts and crises. To support anticipation and situational awareness, enhanced civil/military intelligence and strategic foresight is required. As it has done in the past, EU can contribute to conflict prevention by using a CSDP civilian mission or military operation to assist on Security Sector Reform (SSR) and/or providing security and preventing atrocity crimes in fragile settings such as in the context of elections, de-escalation and mediation efforts. Moreover, civilian or military experts can reinforce the EU Delegation's capacity of analysis and interaction in a state where there are risks of violence, instability or hybrid threats.

10. Evolutions in the security and defence environment require us to reassess the goals of

CERPESC ANALYSES

possible CSDP military operations and civilian missions with executive mandates in full respect of international law, and as part of an EU integrated approach to conflicts and crises. These may include:

- supporting conditions for achieving and implementing peace agreements and ceasefire arrangements, and/or rapidly providing EU bridging operations for the deployment of wider UN peacekeeping missions, including in non-permissive environments;
- temporarily substituting or reinforcing domestic civilian security, law enforcement or rule of law, in case of breakdown of normal state functions;
- projecting stability in order to re-establish security in a degrading humanitarian situation, by protecting civilians, denying a terrorist organisation or armed group a foothold in a fragile country, or creating a safe environment in which a country can recover from war and destabilisation;
- contributing to maritime security/surveillance worldwide but most immediately in areas relevant to Europe in the context of specific security needs, including with aerial and space capabilities;
- providing rapid support to national or UN actors involved in addressing massive health pandemics or the fall-out of national disasters, including situations of public disorder;
- supporting the evacuation of European citizens if required with military means.

Building capacities of partners

11. Another strategic priority is to enhance the resilience of partner countries by contributing to capacity building and reform of their security and defence sectors. Building on experience to date, CSDP should be prepared to contribute more systematically to such tasks, as part of wider EU country and regional strategies and along the nexus between security and development. In light of the changing security environment, CSDP can also be

used to provide expertise and assistance to strengthen partners' resilience and counter hybrid threats, including in the areas of strategic communication, cyber security and border security. Promoting respect for international law, in particular humanitarian and human rights law, gender perspectives, UNSCR 1325, and principles of democracy and good governance is integral to these efforts. In order to fulfil this priority, the EU may deploy non-executive CSDP civilian and military missions, upon invitation of the host country, to provide strategic advice, training, mentoring and monitoring. These missions may require robust force protection depending on the security situation on the ground. It could also take the form of security cooperation with relevant third state partners.

12. The EU must be able to deploy quality civilian crisis management capabilities rapidly, with the necessary support functions and equipment. Better coordination must be ensured between civilian and military capacity building efforts. In the same vein, synergies between CSDP and EU-funded programmes in related sectors should be promoted.

13. Civilian and military capacity building will be strengthened, based on an integrated and more flexible EU approach, in line with the EU-wide SSR framework and the Capacity Building for Security and Development (CBSD) concept with its flexible geographical scope, based on local ownership and buy-in. This would include:

- enhancing flexibility and adaptability e.g. through the rapid deployment of assessment teams as temporary support to EU Delegations;
- further developing regional approaches and civ/mil synergies;
- promoting access to suitable funding options and enhancing the effectiveness of the project cells of CSDP missions;
- developing security cooperation with key partners in surrounding regions, including in the framework of the reviewed European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP).

The provision of equipment and infrastructure is an indispensable part of training and capacity building

CERPESC ANALYSES

activities. It is crucial to allow the EU to provide this assistance in an effective, responsible and seamless way. In this context, the decision to take forward the initiative on CBSD as proposed in July 2016 should be supported by sustainable, long-term arrangements in order to further support partner countries to prevent and manage crises on their own.

Protecting the Union and its citizens

14. Protecting the Union and its citizens is an increasingly pressing strategic priority. The security of Member States is deeply interconnected. Any threat to one Member State is a threat to all others and to all EU citizens and no Member State can meet today's threats and challenges alone. We should commit to a vision of Member States working together to enhance their political solidarity and mutual assistance, based on a shared strategic interest in providing security for EU citizens while contributing to peace beyond our borders.

15. This strategic priority focuses on the continuum between internal and external security – as evidenced by the violent acts of terrorism, cyber and hybrid threats by state and non-state actors, as well as illicit trafficking and smuggling. Furthermore, our security and prosperity increasingly rely on the protection of networks, critical infrastructure and energy security, on preventing and addressing proliferation crises, as well as on secure access to the global commons (cyber, airspace, maritime, space) on which our modern societies depend in order to thrive. Countering disinformation and effectively communicating our actions internally and externally is crucial. In all these areas, the EU will intensify the coordination between its internal and external instruments, tools and policies. For the EU as a whole this priority is not new, but from an EU security and defence perspective it is a consequence of the deteriorated and more unpredictable security environment and builds on relevant CSDP developments in recent years. CSDP indeed is an integral part of the Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and

an essential part of the EU's external action more broadly. This work will also be pursued in cooperation with NATO, which remains the foundation for the collective defence for those States which are members of it. The specific character of the security and defence policy of all EU Member States will be fully respected. Duplications will be avoided in view of Member States' single set of forces.

16. On the basis of all these parameters, the EU and its Member States can contribute to the protection of the Union and its citizens from a security and defence perspective, including through CSDP whose missions are deployed outside EU borders, by:

- supporting partner countries in the fight against terrorism, organised crime (e.g. smuggling / trafficking of humans, arms, drugs, etc.) and hybrid threats, including through building capacities and enhancing maritime or cyber security, while further considering how to better link CSDP with EU migration policies (building on the cases of Niger and Mali);
- further developing CSDP's links to the implementation of the Internal Security Strategy, respecting the roles of the different instruments and under the joint lead of the Political and Security Committee and the Committee on Operational Cooperation on Internal Security (COSI) in shaping the way ahead, and with participation of the EEAS and Commission services.
- reinforcing CSDP's ties with Freedom/Security/Justice (FSJ) actors, notably the European Border and Coast Guard Agency and Europol, at the strategic level and in the field, to support the monitoring and security of land, sea and air borders in light of security needs;
- building Europe's strength and resilience, including by enhancing civilian and military capabilities, ensuring security of supply, protecting networks and infrastructure, and promoting technological innovation and defence investment;

CERPESC ANALYSES

- taking forward the cross-cutting strategies in the domain of cyber security (including the Cyber Defence Policy Framework), maritime security and space (including in relation to the Copernicus and Galileo programmes) and their links to CSDP;

- ensuring the follow-up to the Joint Communication on countering hybrid threats to the EU, its Member States and partners from state and non-state actors within and beyond our borders, including through CSDP;

- prioritising strategic foresight, anticipation and situational awareness, e.g. through the Hybrid Fusion Cell and CT analytical capacity in the INTCEN, and by making full use of the EU Satellite Centre;

- underlining the relevance of the Mutual Assistance Clause of the Treaty (Article 42.7 TEU) as well as the Solidarity Clause (Article 222 TFEU) and explore the possibilities, if so requested, for the EU to contribute including through CSDP options.

18. In carrying forward its actions, the EU will work with partners and actively enhance its partnerships, while strengthening its own ability to take responsibility and share the burden with our partners in security and defence. Europe's strategic autonomy entails the ability to act and cooperate with international and regional partners wherever possible, while being able to operate autonomously when and where necessary. This adds to the EU's credibility vis-à-vis partners. There is no contradiction between the two. Member States have

Types of possible CSDP civilian missions and military operations derived from the Level of Ambition

To be able to undertake rapid and decisive action in support of the Level of Ambition and its three strategic priorities, across the whole spectrum of crisis management tasks covered by Article 43 of the TEU, CSDP needs to be backed up by credible, deployable, interoperable, sustainable and multifunctional civilian and military capabilities. As a security provider, the EU should have a wide reach, while focusing on its surrounding regions. It will act with partners wherever possible, and always in compliance with international law. Based on previously agreed goals and commitments (2), the EU should thus be capable to undertake the following types of CSDP civilian missions and military operations outside the Union, a number of which may be executed concurrently, in different scenarios (3), including in situations of higher security risk and underdeveloped local infrastructure:

- Joint crisis management operations in situations of high security risk in the regions surrounding the EU;
- Joint stabilisation operations, including air and special operations;
- Civilian and military rapid response, including military rapid response operations inter alia using the EU Battlegroups as a whole or within a mission-tailored Force package;
- Substitution/executive civilian missions;
- Air security operations including close air support and air surveillance;
- Maritime security or surveillance operations, including longer term in the vicinity of Europe;
- Civilian capacity building and security sector reform missions (monitoring, mentoring and advising, training) inter alia on police, rule of law, border management, counter-terrorism, resilience, response to hybrid threats, and civil administration as well as civilian monitoring missions;
- Military capacity building through advisory, training, and mentoring missions, including robust force protection if necessary, as well as military monitoring/observation missions. This non-exhaustive list provides input for the follow-on work to derive requirements based on a review of the Illustrative Scenarios, in line with agreed procedures under the Capability Development Mechanism, under the control of the Political and Security Committee (see Action 4 below).

CERPESC ANALYSES

a 'single set of forces' which they can use nationally or in multilateral frameworks such as the United Nations, NATO, EU or ad hoc coalitions as well in support of regional organisations such as the OSCE. The development of Member States' capabilities through CSDP and using EU instruments will thus also help to strengthen capabilities potentially available to the United Nations and NATO. Mutual reinforcement, complementarity and coherence will be ensured, including through the implementation of the Joint Declaration signed by the leaders of the Institutions of EU and NATO in Warsaw on 8 July 2016 as well as through the framework of the EU-UN cooperation on crisis management.

Implementing the Level of Ambition

19. Concrete actions are necessary to implement the Level of Ambition in a credible way, notably by: (1) identifying the related capability development priorities; (2) deepening defence cooperation and delivering the required capabilities together; (3) adjusting the EU's structures for situational awareness, planning and conduct, as well as the rapid response toolbox; (4) increasing financial solidarity and flexibility, as well as ensuing a more seamless range of funding options as part of an integrated approach; and (5) actively taking forward CSDP partnerships.

20. The Conclusions from the European Council in December 2013 and June 2015, as well as the CSDP Council Conclusions adopted in November 2013, November 2014 and May 2015 provide the political framework for the work ahead and should be fully implemented.

21. CSDP missions and operations should continue to form part of an integrated EU approach, which will be further developed as a separate work strand. Throughout, it is critical to integrate full respect for international law, in particular obligations under relevant human rights and humanitarian law,

mainstream gender perspectives and expertise, adhere to the highest standards of conduct, discipline and accountability, as well as promote the respect for international law among the EU's international partners when carrying out CSDP mandates.

22. The Level of Ambition needs to be underpinned by the necessary financial coverage, in particular considering the deteriorating security environment. A stronger Union in security and defence requires each Member State to do its fair share and invest more in sustainable security for future European generations. Member States are called upon to allocate a sufficient level of expenditure for defence and make the most effective use of resources, as recalled by the European Council in June 2015, and thus aim to meet the voluntary and collective benchmarks agreed in the European Defence Agency, which are qualitative and cooperation driven.⁴ They should also consider reinforcing financial solidarity and burden sharing. Finally, availability, flexibility and eligibility of EU financial instruments to support security and defence should be enhanced.

23. We should continue to analyse jointly the threats, risks and challenges faced by the EU, and regularly review our priority actions. This could lead to regular high-level meetings (European Council or Foreign Affairs Council, including in Defence format or jointly with other relevant Council formations) to address internal and external security and defence issues facing the Union.

ACTIONABLE PROPOSALS

Setting Capability Development Priorities

24. In light of more than a decade of experience and the changed security environment, the Feira priority areas of civilian CSDP missions should be revisited to identify how civilian CSDP could better

> Action 1: EEAS to make proposals for Member States' consideration on revisiting the Feira priority areas in light of the profoundly changed security environment.

CERPESC ANALYSES

respond to current challenges related to migration, hybrid threats, cyber, terrorism, organised crime and border management. Doing so will also contribute to the EU's internal security and protection.

25. The Civilian Capability Development process should be reinvigorated to better reflect current needs and lessons learned, but also to take on board the new Level of Ambition. Civilian capabilities should be considerably enhanced including by:

- building on the work of establishing a List of Generic civilian CSDP tasks common to all missions, the required capabilities should be identified;
- ensure more effective and rapid force generation, including by deploying specialised teams of experts: the possibility to use teams is linked both to the phase of the mission (for instance in start-up mode) and to the mandate (e.g. the need for formed police units or monitoring teams);
- strengthen capacities available for the generic functions common to all missions, such as in the area of command and control, information/strategic communication, mission support, including logistics (e.g. Mission Support Platform, a more ambitious warehouse concept) and duty of care;
- improve the training of mission staff including through the forthcoming new CSDP Training Policy.

> Action 2: EEAS to make proposals on enhancing the responsiveness of civilian crisis management, building on ongoing work in this area, including on the list of generic civilian CSDP tasks and identifying requirements needed.

26. The EUGS sets out the need for Member States to collectively retain and further develop fullspectrum military land, air, space and maritime capabilities. Echoing relevant capability priorities out of the Capability Development Plan (CDP) 2014, it highlights a number of defence capability

priority areas in which Europe needs to invest and develop collaborative approaches:

- Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance, Remotely Piloted Aircraft Systems, satellite communications, and autonomous access to space and permanent earth observation;
- high-end military capabilities, including strategic enablers;
- cyber and maritime security.

These initial priority areas include the four flagship capability projects supported by the European Council in 2013, namely regarding Air-to-Air Refuelling (AAR), Remotely Piloted Aircraft Systems (RPAS), Cyber, and Satellite Communication (GovSatCom). Additional and complementary capability requirements and priorities based on the EUGS and the new Level of Ambition will be identified within the revision process of the CDP. Capability priorities identified by Member States will provide guidance to the European Defence Action Plan. The future EU Defence Research Programme should finance research projects from priority areas to be agreed by Member States. Moreover, a European Defence Fund could support the financing of capabilities commonly agreed by Member States and with recognised EU added value.

> Action 3: Member States to agree to take forward work in EDA to specify and complement capability priorities based on the Level of Ambition and the EUGS, as part of the revision process of the CDP.

27. Military capability requirements need to be derived from the EUGS and the Level of Ambition, based on a review of the Illustrative Scenarios and Strategic Planning Assumptions, leading to the identification of prioritised shortfalls as input for the CDP. We should build on previously agreed political ambitions and goals, including those agreed by the European Council in December 2008,

CERPESC ANALYSES

as a baseline for this work and take into account the persisting shortfalls. The three strategic priorities as developed above must be taken into account. Coherence with NATO's Defence Planning Process (in its timelines and outcomes), where requirements overlap, will continue to be ensured throughout this process.

> Action 4: Member States to agree to review the military requirements stemming from the EUGS and the Level of Ambition, in line with agreed procedures under the control of the Political and Security Committee as well as the EU Military Committee, as a contribution to the CDP.

Deepening defence cooperation

28. Deepening defence cooperation is increasingly important for Member States to develop economies of scale and use resources more efficiently. This is in view of the rising cost of advanced defence technology and the need to retain full spectrum armed forces. There are many positive examples of Member States pursuing closer defence cooperation – even integration – including through bilateral or regional clusters. Yet, 80% of defence investment in Europe is still spent nationally and our collective output needs to be increased substantially. For both strategic and economic reasons, we need to reverse the long-standing fragmentation of Europe's defence sector to enhance our collective output and performance.

29. Achieving the objectives set out in the EUGS and the new Level of Ambition will require developing a coherent set of capabilities based on an end-to-end cooperative approach. More needs to be done to make cooperation the norm. Increasing incentives, transparency, convergence, and top-down political commitment remain essential. The EDA has a key role to play by assisting Member States to develop the required capabilities, strengthening the CDP and acting as an interface between Member States and the Commission without being a substitute for national positions

being conveyed to the Commission through other channels.

30. To deliver together the required capabilities for the Level of Ambition and foster strategic coherence, an intergovernmental "Coordinated Annual Review on Defence" could be set up. The aim would be to develop on a voluntary basis a more structured way of developing the required capabilities, based on greater transparency and commitments from the Member States, for example by:

- taking stock of the implementation of CDP priorities;
- sharing national plans and intentions and how they link to the common effort, based on existing reporting;
- identifying possible gaps in the tackling of capability shortfalls and considering lead nations for taking the work forward;
- ensuring predictable budget planning related to collaborative projects and seizing opportunities for cooperation.

Such transparency and visible commitment would increase output, collaboration and mutual accountability, while ensuring coherent output with NATO processes. It would also foster a gradual synchronisation and mutual adaptation of national defence planning cycles and capability development practices, which should also enable more systematic cooperation. As part of this, the voluntary provisions of the Policy Framework for Systematic and Long-term Cooperation could be rendered more structured, more specific, and based on a higher level of commitment.

> Action 5: Member States to invite the HRVP / Head of the Agency to present proposals on detailed scope, modalities and content to Ministers in spring 2017 with a view of setting up the Coordinated Annual Review on Defence in concrete terms.

CERPESC ANALYSES

31. Moreover, the following proposals should be further developed to support Member States to deliver more cooperation and output:

a) Output-oriented Capability Development:

- Develop the CDP as the central tool within the EU to translate the identified defence capability priorities into concrete European collaborative capability development or procurement programmes, involving interested Member States and making use of relevant EU funding instruments in support of required industrial and technological efforts.

- Better connect the collectively identified capability priorities to Member States' national defence planning to promote coherence and convergence.

b) Key Strategic Activities:

- Identify the Key Strategic Activities (KSA) – i.e. technologies, skills, industrial manufacturing capacities – based on the revised capability priorities in order to promote and guide investment drawing on relevant EU funding instruments, starting with a suitable pilot case. Identifying and promoting KSA, including in a structured dialogue between Member States and Industry, is crucial to ensure an appropriate level of European strategic autonomy.

c) Better alignment of defence R&T efforts:

- Ensure coherence and complementarity of Research & Technology undertaken in different fora (national, EDA ad hoc research, the Preparatory Action and the potential future European Defence Research Programme) including by coordinated prioritisation, guided by Member States.

- The results of R&T conducted at European level should be systematically taken up by collaborative capability programmes in support of CDP priorities. This should be complemented by a wider Innovation Initiative on managing potentially disruptive technologies, directed towards the EDTIB.

d) Concrete models of European cooperation:

- Investigate replicating the successful model of the multinational European Air Transport Command in Eindhoven in other areas in order to ensure increased efficiency and effectiveness of related capabilities (e.g. Surface Movement of Military Assets, Logistics at Sea and on Land).

- Explore the creation of a European Medical Command with a view to enhance synergies and interoperability of the different services; work on a European logistic hub.

- Develop proposals on a European barter mechanism (e.g. exchange of services) designed to optimise the use of existing capabilities

e) Critical enablers for cooperation: standardisation, certification, test & evaluation, training

- Derive standardisation needs and opportunities from the CDP, the Collaborative Database and other projects (such as in R&T), and mainstream the use of the European Defence Standards Reference System (EDSTAR) and civilian / military standards in view of enhancing interoperability and efficiency and deepening defence cooperation, in coherence with NATO.

- Develop harmonised certification requirements and coordinated approaches towards their implementation in the land, air and sea domains, with an initial focus on ammunition and (military) airworthiness.

- Develop full spectrum test & evaluation capabilities in Europe based on a fully coordinated network of national centres. This entails fostering collaborative activities among Test Centres, creating networks of excellence and systematically relating them to EDA projects.

- Support the development of a European training framework among Member States, focusing on high-end capabilities based on training curricula and making best use of national training centres.

f) Improved Security of Supply

CERPESC ANALYSES

> Action 6: EDA with its participating Member States to develop further proposals concerning output-oriented capability development, Key Strategic Activities, R&T, more structured cooperation, critical enablers, and Security of Supply, and prepare for their implementation.

- Move towards enhanced security of supply at European level based on Member States' political commitment and existing sector- or system/programme-specific Security of Supply mechanisms.

Adjusting structures, tools, and (financial) instruments

32. There is scope to improve the EU's capacity to plan and conduct civilian and military missions and operations with the overall objective to provide a faster, more effective and more seamless response, in full respect of the role of the PSC under Article 38 TEU and of the military and civilian chains of command and without duplication of NATO structures. (5)

Stronger links and support from structures in Brussels to both military missions and operations is essential in order to overcome shortcomings in the provision of political and technical advice, provide continuity, facilitate relations with third States and international organisations, as well as with Member States, and handling better administrative and financial procedures. This would also contribute to ensure that corporate experience and knowledge is consolidated and that support is available in times of surge or crisis. Whereas all this is crucial in the conduct phase, improving the existing integrated civilian-military strategic planning structure would also enhance the EU's ability to plan and decide more swiftly and comprehensively on CSDP missions and operations, while facilitating a seamless transition from planning to the conduct of civilian or military missions and operations.

Building on existing structures, the objective is therefore to incrementally strengthen our ability to plan and conduct such missions and operations, thus providing a faster and more effective response

and a more integrated approach to civilian and military deployments.

> Action 7: Member States to agree to review the structures and capabilities available for the planning and conduct of CSDP missions and operations, in view of enhancing civ/mil synergies, ensuring more seamless planning and conduct, and improving on current shortcomings. As a short term objective, address the gap at the strategic-level for the conduct of non-executive military CSDP missions (EUTM type) from within EEAS structures.

33. Improving CSDP responsiveness requires enhanced civil/military intelligence to support anticipation and situational awareness, through the Single Intelligence Analysis Capacity (SIAC) as the main European hub for strategic information, early warning and comprehensive analysis. This includes horizon scanning, updated situational assessment in support of political/strategic decision-making, and granular civil/military 24/7 situational awareness for the planning and conduct of missions/operations. There is scope to better link the EU's Early Warning System and joint conflict analysis tools to support CSDP horizon scanning, decisionmaking, conflict-sensitive planning and implementation. The EU Intelligence Assessment and Situation Centre (EU INTCEN) and the Intelligence Directorate of the European Military Staff (EUMS INT) need to be adapted accordingly in scope, functionality and technical assets. Furthermore, interaction with other EU bodies must be enhanced in order to facilitate the implementation of an integrated approach to conflicts and crises. Interaction with NATO bodies should be improved as well.

34. To enhance responsiveness and reinforce defence cooperation in Europe, dialogue and cooperation between the EU and relevant multinational structures and initiatives could be further developed. This could build on existing models of cooperation such as with Eurocorps, the European Gendarmerie Force, and the European Air Transport Command. In the same vein, the dialogue with regional 'clusters' of (defence)

CERPESC ANALYSES

cooperation among EU Member States could be fostered.

> Action 8: EEAS to take stock of capabilities at hand in INTCEN and EUMS INT and develop short-, mid- and long-term proposals for Member States consideration for upgrading such capabilities in line with the level of ambition. Reinforce links between INTCEN/EUMS INT with other EU and Member States' entities providing situational awareness in order to further support the development of a European hub for strategic information, early warning and comprehensive analysis.

> Action 9: Member States to consider relevant multinational structures or initiatives in the area of security and defence in view of reinforcing cooperation with the EU or deepening existing frameworks of cooperation. In particular, to consider developing a concept to make better use of existing national or multinational deployable headquarters made available to the EU, on a rotational basis, with a focus on training, mentoring and advising.

Rapid Response

35. Rapid response underpins the EU's responsiveness. The EU must be able to rapidly assess crises, swiftly plan and decide upon its response, and speedily deploy its missions and operations in general, and rapid response operations in particular. To this end, the EU should improve the usability and deployability of the EU's rapid response toolbox, including the EU Battlegroups by considering for example:

- evaluating the EU rapid response toolbox in light of the evolving security threats and challenges;
- in order to enhance usability in a broader range of scenarios, with a focus on the initial phase of EU operations including bridging to wider UN peacekeeping missions: explore ways to make the EU Rapid Response database more usable and responsive, especially with regards to maritime and air rapid response assets, and reinforce the modular

approach to the EU Battlegroups; a modular use of EUBG should be based on a national decision of the Member States providing the BG on stand-by and should not implicate a constraint for following EUBG;

- carry out large-scale and regular 'live' (civ/mil) exercises;
- seeking synergy with other high readiness initiatives, notably within NATO;
- developing a rapidly available common pool of strategic lift assets for the deployment of EU Battlegroups (instead of leaving this to each BG Framework Nation);
- enlarging the scope for common funding through Athena for the use of EU Battlegroups, as they are provided by a small group of Member States but deployed on behalf of the Union, building on the Declaration for the deployment cost of Battlegroups (which expires in December 2016) and bringing it permanently into the Athena mechanism;
- exploring the link to the possible use of Article 44 TEU, in line with the modalities and recommendations agreed by PSC in 2015, to speed up planning, decision-making and force generation.

Financing

36. Enhancing the responsiveness and effectiveness of CSDP missions and operations also hinges on increased financial incentives and solidarity, more flexibility as well as a more seamless range of funding options:

> Action 10: EEAS to present proposals on strengthening the relevance, usability and deployability of the EU's Rapid Response toolbox, including the EU Battlegroups particularly to reinforce their modularity, their preparation and their effective financing.

- a) The current arrangements provide insufficient incentives for Member States to engage: the common costs covered by the Athena mechanism

CERPESC ANALYSES

amounted to a small fraction of the total costs of an operation (i.e. the adopted budget for 2016 was 64.9 million euros in payments in 2016 for all military missions, operations and exercises). There is scope to reinforce solidarity: especially when deploying EUFOR-type operations or using EU Battlegroups – which are provided by a small group of Member States but deployed for the Union as whole – more common costs must be shared, while bearing in mind as well the impact on national defence resources;

b) Especially in the area of civilian and military capacity building for partner states or regional organisations a more seamless range of funding options needs to be available to support EU agreed objectives;

c) Ensuring flexibility in mobilising the CFSP budget is necessary to support a more rapid deployment of civilian CSDP missions, building on the work that has been carried out to date (CSDP warehouse, new paradigm for the preparatory measures, more flexible procurement rules, etc.).

Drawing on the full potential of the Treaty: PESCO

37. The Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO), as defined in Articles 42.6 and 46 of the TEU and Protocol 10, has the potential to generate a more binding commitment as regards capability development, improving output and strengthening CSDP. The process leading to a decision to establish PESCO, by Qualified Majority Voting, would be open to any Member State who would be willing to undertake higher commitments and concrete measures in line with the Protocol. The

Action 11: Member States to agree to consider financing in a comprehensive manner, reinforcing solidarity, effectiveness and flexibility to underpin the Level of Ambition and enhance CSDP responsiveness; to explore all funding options as well as to provide political guidance in view of a comprehensive review of the Athena mechanism in 2017.

aim would be to gather as many Member States to join in stepping up their security and defence commitments as an inclusive effort to strengthen CSDP. Within this 'single' PESCO, there would be scope for both common elements to which all participating Member States would subscribe as well as a modular and differentiated approach as regards concrete projects and cooperative initiatives which smaller groups of Member States would be free to pursue unhindered by other PESCO members. PESCO could cover commitments on defence expenditures, capability development and operational engagement e.g. through multinational formations, thus opening the prospect of deeper cooperation in defence matters. It is underlined that this depends on what Member States would be willing to commit to.

Actively Taking Forward CSDP Partnerships

38. In light of the EUGS and evolving priorities, the CSDP Partnership policy needs to be further enhanced and adjusted both as regards cooperation with partner organisations and with partner countries, within the respective frameworks and respecting the principles of decisionmaking autonomy and inclusiveness:

a) Strengthen the unique and long-standing cooperation with the United Nations by implementing the jointly agreed priority areas for strengthening the UN-EU Strategic Partnership on Peacekeeping and Crisis Management until 2018, in view of exploring possibilities for a next step to enhance this partnership.

Action 12: Member States to agree to explore the potential of a single and inclusive PESCO based on the willingness of Member States to strengthen CSDP by undertaking concrete commitments. If so requested, the HRVP can provide elements and options for reflection.

b) Take forward cooperation with NATO, strategically in areas of mutual interest and operationally in areas where EU and NATO are both deployed, as well as on military capability development; develop concrete options for

CERPESC ANALYSES

implementation to be presented to the respective Councils by December 2016 in follow-up to the Joint Declaration of 8 July in the seven identified areas of cooperation, in full respect to the principles of inclusiveness and decision-making autonomy of each organisation and without prejudice to the specific character of the security and defence policy of any of our members.

c) Further cooperation should be explored with other regional organisations in particular the OSCE and the African Union. The EU and the OSCE should enhance their common work on operational capabilities, promotion of stability, inviolability of borders, human rights and fundamental freedoms, rule of law, media freedom, and fair democratic elections. The next EU-Africa Summit offers a potential opportunity to reconsider the Peace and Security Partnership between the two sister organisations in light of the renewed approach to Capacity Building in the field of security.

d) Contributions from partner countries to CSDP missions and operations reinforce legitimacy, open paths for further cooperation and enlarge the pool of available capabilities. The EU will continue developing these partnerships including through (Framework) Participation Agreements. The existing modalities for participation of invited countries will be fully applied, including as regards sharing information on the planning of our missions and operations, while respecting rules and procedures on the exchange of information and the autonomy of EU decision-making. Consideration should be given to use CSDP partnerships with partner countries that share EU values and are able and willing to contribute to CSDP missions and operations also to promote resilience in the EU's surrounding regions, taking into account the importance of security in the ENP review and the forthcoming initiative on resilience-building as part of the broader implementation of the EUGS.

Next steps

39. Subject to the guidance by the Council in November, implementation should start without delay, working closely with Member States. A first report on progress should be submitted by June

2017, as part of the overall implementation process of the EUGS.

> Action 13: Take forward CSDP partnerships and EEAS to present options for a more strategic approach to CSDP partnership cooperation with partner countries which share EU values and are willing and able to contribute to CSDP missions and operations, including considering possibilities to strengthen their resilience.

- (1) In all areas identified in the Joint Declaration: 1) countering hybrid threats, 2) operational cooperation including at sea and on migration, 3) cyber security and defence, 4) defence capabilities, 5) defence industry and research, 6) exercises, 7) supporting Eastern and Southern partners' capacity building efforts.
- (2) Including the Headline Goal 2010, the Civilian Headline Goal 2010 as well as the ambition agreed by the European Council in December 2008.
- (3) As appropriate, some of these missions and operations may also be deployed to provide assistance in the context of a global response to natural disasters and pandemics outside the EU, in particular when such situations can lead to large scale destabilisation.
- (4) Notably spending 20% of the defence budget spending on procurement of equipment and Research & Technology, and 35% of total equipment expenditure through European collaboration, as recalled in the Council conclusions on CSDP of May 2015.
- (5) Civilian CSDP missions are operationally planned and run by the Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability (CPCC) in the EEAS. For military executive operations, the EU relies fundamentally on ad hoc activated military OHQs, in particular those provided by Member States (DE, FR, IT, EL, UK), by NATO through Berlin + arrangements and the EU Operations Centre (in line with its 2004 ToRs). Current CSDP military nonexecutive missions (such as training missions in CAR, Mali and Somalia) only have Mission Headquarters in the field.

CERPESC ANALYSES

V.

European Defence Action Plan: Towards a European Defence Fund

Brussels, 30 November 2016

The European Commission proposes a European Defence Fund and other actions to support Member States' more efficient spending in joint defence capabilities, strengthen European citizens' security and foster a competitive and innovative industrial base.

The European Commission proposes a European Defence Fund and other actions to support Member States' more efficient spending in joint defence capabilities, strengthen European citizens' security and foster a competitive and innovative industrial base.

In his 2016 State of the Union speech, President Jean-Claude Juncker highlighted the importance of a strong Europe that can defend and protect its citizens at home and abroad - an ambition which cannot be achieved without innovating and pooling resources in the European defence industry. The European Defence Action Plan adopted by the Commission today delivers on that vision.

European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker said: *"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."*

Under the European Defence Action Plan, the Commission proposes to:

1 - Set up a European Defence Fund to support investment in joint research and the joint

development of defence equipment and technologies: the proposed Fund would include two "windows" which are complementary but different in their legal structure and budget sourcing.

- A "research window" to fund collaborative research in innovative defence technologies such as electronics, metamaterials, encrypted software or robotics. The Commission has already proposed EUR 25 million for defence research as part of the 2017 EU budget, and expects that this budget allocation could grow to a total of EUR 90 million until 2020. Under the post-2020 EU multiannual financial framework, the Commission intends to propose a dedicated defence research programme with an estimated amount of EUR 500 million per year.

- A "capability window" which would act as a financial tool allowing participating Member States to purchase certain assets together to reduce their costs. The capabilities would be agreed by the Member States, who would own the technology and equipment. For example, Member States may jointly invest in drone technology or bulk buy helicopters to reduce costs. As an order of magnitude, this window should be able to mobilise about EUR 5 billion per year. The Commission will launch a scoping study to refine this estimate.

2 - Foster investments in SMEs, start-ups, mid-caps and other suppliers to the defence industry: The European Structural and Investment Funds and European Investment Bank (EIB) group already provide financial support for the development of a number of dual-use activities. The Commission will support EIB efforts to improve access to funding by the defence supply chains. It will promote EU co-financing of productive investment projects and the modernisation of the defence supply chains. Under the 'Blueprint for Sectoral Co-operation on Skills' the Commission will support cooperation in the defence sector to ensure people have the right skills and technological ability to generate innovation.

3 - Strengthen the Single Market for defence: The Commission will strengthen the conditions for an

CERPESC ANALYSES

open and competitive defence market in Europe to help companies operate across borders and help Member States get best value for money in their defence procurement. To do so, the Commission will push ahead with the effective application of the two Directives on defence and security procurement and on EU transfers, facilitate the cross-border participation in defence procurement, support the development of industry standards, and promote the contribution of sectoral policies, such as EU space programmes, to common security and defence priorities.

Next steps: The Commission will now present and discuss these proposals, in particular the creation of a European Defence Fund, with all stakeholders. The European Council on 15-16 December will be a key milestone.

Background

In his political guidelines in June 2014, President Juncker stated "I believe that we need to work on a stronger Europe when it comes to security and defence matters. Yes, Europe is chiefly a 'soft power'. But even the strongest soft powers cannot make do in the long run without at least some integrated defence capacities."

In his State of the Union speech from 14 September 2016, President Juncker announced that "Europe can no longer afford to piggy-back on the military might of others or let France alone defend its honour in Mali. (...) "For European defence to be strong, the European defence industry needs to innovate. That is why we will propose before the end of the year a European Defence Fund, to turbo boost research and innovation."

Over the last decade EU Member States have decreased defence spending by nearly 12% in real terms, but this has not been compensated by more European cooperation. The lack of cooperation between Member States in the field of defence and security is estimated to cost annually between EUR 25 billion and EUR 100 billion (see Annex).

At the Bratislava Summit in September 2016, the leaders of 27 Member States concluded: "*We need the EU not only to guarantee peace and democracy but also the security of our people.*" In a challenging geopolitical environment, they agreed on the need to strengthen EU cooperation on external security and defence. Concretely, the December 2016 European Council should "*decide on a concrete implementation plan on security and defence and on how to make better use of the options in the Treaties, especially as regards capabilities.*"

The European Defence Action Plan is closely linked with and complementary to the Global Strategy's Implementation Plan on Security and Defence, which sets out a new level of ambition for the Union and identifies actions to fulfil it, as well as with the implementation of the EU-NATO Joint Declaration signed by the President of the European Council, the President of the Commission and the Secretary-General of NATO. The actions proposed in this European Defence Action Plan will lead to a stronger European Union in defence, which ultimately means a stronger NATO.

The Action Plan is also linked to the April 2016 Joint Framework to counter hybrid threats and foster the resilience of the EU, its Member States and partner countries while increasing cooperation with NATO on countering these threats, which in turn builds on the European Agenda on Security adopted by the Commission in April 2015.

(...)

ANNEX

The business case for more efficient spending on defence: Collectively, Europe is the world's second largest military spender, behind the US. However, defence budgets in Europe have been shrinking in recent years, while other global actors (China, Russia and IP/16/4088 Saudi Arabia) have been upgrading their defence. Saudi Arabia have been upgrading their defence sectors on an unprecedented scale. In 2015, the US invested

CERPESC ANALYSES

more than twice as much as the total spending of EU Member States on defence. China has increased its defence budget by 150% over the past decade. By contrast, over the last decade EU Member States have decreased defence spending by nearly 12% in real terms.

This decrease in national spending in defence has not been compensated by more European cooperation. Europe suffers from inefficiency in spending due to duplications, a lack of interoperability, technological gaps and insufficient economies of scale for industry and production. Around 80% of defence procurement is run on a purely national basis, leading to a costly duplication of military capabilities. The lack of cooperation between Member States in the field of defence and security is estimated to cost annually between EUR 25 billion and EUR 100 billion.

Without a sustained investment in defence, the European industry risks lacking the technological ability to build the next generation of critical defence capabilities. Ultimately, this will affect the strategic autonomy of the Union and its ability to act as a security provider.

More Europe in defence will have a positive spill-over effect on the European economy. The European defence industry generates a total turnover of EUR 100 billion per year and 1.4 million highly skilled people directly or indirectly employed in Europe. Each euro invested in defence generates a return of 1,6 – in particular in skilled employment – research and technology and exports.

(...)

CERPESC ANALYSES

VI.

From Shared Vision to Common Action: Implementing the EU Global Strategy Year 1 A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy

7 June 2017

Foreword by Federica Mogherini

High Representative of the Union for foreign and security policy Vice-President of the European Commission

We have lived through an eventful year in Europe and beyond. If I think back to June 2016, when I presented the Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy, the world was a very different place. Since then, the Global Strategy has helped us steer the course of our foreign and security policy through difficult times.

First of all, the Global Strategy has served as a springboard to relaunch the process of European integration after the British referendum. One year ago, after that referendum, many predicted an "inevitable" decline of the European Union, and imagined that the Global Strategy would stay in a drawer or would very soon look outdated. Others told us that the change the Global Strategy advocated for would have taken years to turn into reality, or might simply never happen. This has not been the case. On the contrary, we have moved fast – and united – on concrete implementation, starting with security and defence. In this field, more has been achieved in the last ten months than in the last ten years. The new command centre for EU military training and advisory missions is now reality. A coordinated annual review of national defence budgets is taking shape. Preparations for a Permanent Structured Cooperation on defence among interested Member States are moving forward.

Far from being outdated, the Global Strategy has stood to the test of time in a very dense year. The Global Strategy's push for a European Union of

security and defence, in complementarity with NATO and all our partners, anticipated the debate on military burden-sharing across the Atlantic. In a moment when the crucial role of the United Nations' system, the importance of development cooperation, or the reality of climate change are put into question, the Global Strategy has been a reminder of the European Union's strategic interest in a cooperative world order. It has helped us swim against the tide, keeping our unity and building strong global alliances around our key priorities.

The Global Strategy has shown to our partners that the European Union will continue to be a reliable global power and a strong security provider. Over the last year our cooperation with the UN has been closer than ever, and the Global Strategy's demand for reformed global governance resonates with the ambitious reform agenda for the UN system pushed forward by the new UN Secretary General, António Guterres. Our support to the Paris agreement on climate change, the Sustainable Development Goals or to peacekeeping operations represents a point of reference for our partners around the world. Today, the European Union is increasingly perceived as a strong and indispensable partner for peace, security and human development worldwide.

But the Global Strategy is not only about keeping a straight bar in difficult circumstances. It is also about change. It is about fulfilling the potential of our foreign policy to make Europe stronger, our world more peaceful, and our citizens more secure. The Global Strategy points at a very simple truth: in a world of giants and global challenges, we can only make a difference if we stand together as a Union. Our joint potential is indeed unparalleled. For instance, the European Union and its Member States invest more in development cooperation than the rest of the world combined. This year, for the first time ever, we have managed to agree on a common development policy – the EU Consensus on Development – for all European institutions and Member States. From a shared vision stems common action.

CERPESC ANALYSES

We are also changing the way we approach conflicts and crises. On top of crisis management, we are putting stronger emphasis on preventing new wars, new humanitarian disasters, new refugee crises. And we are doing more to plan in due time for post-crisis reconstruction, from Syria and Iraq to Nigeria – because if we want peace, we must prepare for peace. The Global Strategy notes that events outside our border impact directly on our own security. So we have increased cooperation with our neighbours and partners, from the fight against terrorism to a better management of migration flows. Things can change – when we work united, with a clear objective, to turn a vision into action.

This first progress Report on the Global Strategy's implementation maps this year's achievement, and helps us chart the path ahead. A stronger and safer European Union is possible: together, we are making it happen.

-

1/ Introduction

We have lived through an eventful year within and beyond our European Union. Internally, we faced the United Kingdom's referendum, a succession of key elections in several European countries, the beginning of a sustained economic recovery, and the 60th anniversary of the Rome Treaties, which both celebrated our past and projected our hopes into the future. The new US Administration is reshaping America's role in the international arena. Ongoing conflicts and tensions near and far, and the persisting threat of terrorism across all continents, including in the heart of Europe, continue to affect the daily life of ordinary citizens.

All these trends and events have made the EU Global Strategy for the European Union's foreign and security policy (EUGS), presented by High Representative and Vice President of the European Commission (HRVP) Federica Mogherini to the European Council in June 2016, a timely tool to tackle complexity within and beyond the EU's borders. As the title of the EUGS itself suggests –

Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe – the work was not meant to stop with the elaboration of a shared vision, but to trigger a new beginning through common action. This is why EU Heads of State and Government welcomed the presentation of the Strategy and invited the High Representative, the Commission and the Council to take the work forward.

This year's events have nothing but confirmed the priorities we identified in the EUGS, and sped up the tempo of our work. Our push for stronger EU cooperation on security and defence, in constant dialogue with NATO and all our partners, anticipated the debate on burden-sharing across the Atlantic. Our collaboration with countries of origin and transit, to better manage migration flows, resonated with international calls for a global compact on refugees and migrants. Our focus on conflict prevention and post-conflict peacebuilding has gathered support among our partners, from Eastern Europe to the Middle East, from Africa to Latin America and Asia-Pacific. Our demand for reformed global governance was echoed by the ambitious reform agenda of the United Nations' system put forward by the new UN Secretary General, Antonio Guterres. Our investment in multilateralism and our commitment to the Paris Agreement on climate change and to the Sustainable Development Goals have cemented strong global alliances across the globe.

This work has pressed on at a rapid pace, building unity across all Member States and EU institutions. It is a common action that positions the Union ever more to play its full role on the global scene. And never more than now do Europeans and the wider world need a strong and united global Union.

The EUGS called for a yearly reflection “on the state of play of the Strategy, pointing out where further implementation must be sought”, a suggestion which was picked-up and endorsed by the Foreign Affairs Council in its October 2016 conclusions. Back then, the Council welcomed the HRVP's decision to submit a first yearly implementation report of the EUGS in June 2017. On that occasion, the Council, in parallel with the

CERPESC ANALYSES

European Commission's release of its yearly work programme, outlined the priorities for the first year of implementation, drawing on the Roadmap proposed by the HRVP to Member States in September 2016 (1). The priorities highlighted for 2016-17 selected a mix of goals and means: resilience, an integrated approach to conflicts and crises, and security and defence; as well as work on the internal-external nexus and public diplomacy to be streamlined across our external action. This Report reviews what has been done so far, suggesting possible leads for the work that lies ahead.

2/ Implementing the Goals of the EUGS

The EUGS is a “global” rather than an exclusively “security” strategy. Above all it provides a coherent perspective for the EU's external action as a whole, as warranted by the Treaty on European Union. Security and defence are essential components for a credible EU role in the world. But the full strength and value of such instruments are fulfilled only when they are deployed alongside other external policies – such as enlargement, development and trade – or policies with external aspects, including on migration, energy, climate, environment, culture and more. This unique mix of actions is the European way to foreign and security policy. The Council and the Commission concurred that such a “whole of the EU” approach should be pursued in the implementation phase of the EUGS as well, and has been reflected in the EU's regional and geographical priorities.

Resilience of states and societies to our East and South

Almost one fourth of the world's population lives in fragile states or societies (2). This year we have focused on preventing many of these fragile situations from turning into new wars, new humanitarian disasters, new refugee crises: we have worked to strengthen the resilience of states and societies to our East and South. We have engaged with governments and institutions as well as with civil society organisations and private actors. Our actions have spanned from security sector reform in

Ukraine to the training of the Libyan coastguard, from supporting Syrian refugees and their host communities to setting up a European External Investment Plan for private companies to safely invest in fragile parts of our surroundings.

Resilience is not a new concept. It is a notion that has been used for several years now amongst the humanitarian and development communities – starting with the 2012 Commission Communication on Resilience, the subsequent Council Conclusions and the Resilience Action Plan 2013-2020 – and more recently by the energy and climate as well as by the security and defence communities. To fully translate this common concept into common action, in June 2017 the Commission and the High Representative released a Joint Communication on Resilience (3). The Joint Communication builds on the ongoing experience in the humanitarian-development context and provides a shared policy framework within which different strands of work in the EU can become more effectively coordinated amongst themselves, and together with external partners.

A particular focus is placed on resilience in the EU's Eastern and Southern neighbouring countries. This reflects the special political commitments of the accession process and the EU's Neighbourhood Policy. The 2015 Review of the European Neighbourhood Policy was closely coordinated with work on the Global Strategy, and implementing the Review is a major part of our work on strengthening resilience in the region. A joint report on the implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy Review was published on 18 May 2017 (4).

The European Union adopts a transformational approach to resilience, aimed at protecting rights, building political participation, fostering sustainable development and security. We aim to do so in a manner that enables states and societies to withstand, adapt, recover and respond to shocks and crises if and when they arise.

The EU's multifaceted approach to resilience is well exemplified in the case of Ukraine. EU

CERPESC ANALYSES

financial support to Ukraine's reform process, including combating corruption, improving its public administration and judiciary, and supporting civil society, all strengthen Ukraine's resilience.

In Libya we are supporting communities to be resilient against the dual shocks of conflict and migration: we have worked in parallel with Libyan authorities – including local authorities and mayors – and with international organisations to ease the living conditions of migrants inside the country.

In Jordan and Lebanon, we have acknowledged the impressive solidarity demonstrated by local residents towards refugees, and the potentially destabilising impact of the Syrian crisis on neighbouring countries that were already under great pressure. On the one hand, we are working to make sure that Syrian children and youth are guaranteed good education and professional training: they need to know they will not be refugees forever. On the other hand, our assistance focuses on integrating refugees in a way that supports host communities and the wider economy.

As regards Iran, the EU, through the High Representative, has continued to play a key role in the implementation of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) as coordinator of the Joint Commission. In addition to that, and in line with the Foreign Affairs Council conclusions of November 2016, the EU has also stepped up its strategy of gradual engagement with Iran, following the joint statement agreed by the HRVP and Iranian Foreign Minister Zarif in April 2016.

The EU's support to Tunisia's civil administration reform is in line with our commitment to ensuring sustainable stability, which can only be based, in the long term, on accountable governance, the rule of law, and respect for human rights.

Our work on resilience is also showcased by the EU's contribution to stability in the Sahel region, where different instruments, including CSDP missions, complement each other in bolstering the resilience of local states and societies. Humanitarian aid helps tackle the immediate crisis

of displaced people, while development cooperation addresses the longer-term root causes of poverty, further complemented by actions for job creation, access to education, health and climate mitigation.

The EU's response to the crisis in Northern Nigeria provides another good example. It is based on joint analysis (together with the World Bank and the UN) and joint strategic planning: building on the existing emergency response, we are gradually moving into recovery and rehabilitation, using both humanitarian and development funds.

Resilience is also a guiding principle in the EU's work with Latin America and the Caribbean, especially on Citizen Security.

As the EUGS notes, there is no single recipe to becoming resilient. Resilience will be region, country and community specific: resilience is contextual. For this reason, we aim at developing better riskinformed analysis and monitoring, through an approach which is both deeper – exploring state, societal and communal strengths and vulnerabilities – as well as wider – addressing vulnerabilities across different sectors. We are also taking into account how external resilience can impact the EU's own resilience in areas such as hybrid threats, cyber security, strategic communications and counter-terrorism.

Early warning must then be followed by early action. To this end, the Joint Communication elaborates an EU strategy to promote resilience by working with its Member States to ensure timely and joined-up political/diplomatic responses to vulnerabilities, including emerging violent conflicts and their prevention. Resilience is a focus in EU programming and financing instruments, notably as related to political participation, socio-economic development, climate change and environmental protection, migration and forced displacement. The Joint Communication promotes enriched sectoral policy dialogue with partner countries drawing on the lessons learned from the EU's work to strengthen its own resilience, for instance in areas such as critical infrastructure, employment, energy,

CERPESC ANALYSES

climate adaptation, health and research. And it foresees the strengthening of the ongoing joint work on resilience with international partners, notably the UN and other international organisations.

An Integrated Approach to Conflicts and Crises

Our external action is increasingly attentive to conflict prevention and post-conflict peacebuilding, beyond mere crisis management. At the Brussels international conference on the future of Syria and the region, co-hosted by the EU in April 2017, the international community started to reflect also on the reconstruction of the country, which will have to begin when a political transition is firmly under way. Both regional actors and, crucially, representatives of Syrian civil society have welcomed this approach and praised its positive impact in support of peace.

In Colombia, we made sure that the moment a peace deal was signed, we could step in with financial support for reconciliation. In Afghanistan, we have coupled our work for stabilisation inside the country with a renewed diplomatic push with regional powers in support of peace.

The Integrated Approach builds on and succeeds the 2016-17 Action Plan on Comprehensive Approach (5). The HRVP established a dedicated division called PRISM (Prevention of conflict, Rule of Law/Security Sector Reform/Integrated Approach, Stabilisation and Mediation) as a focal point within the European External Action Service. PRISM, jointly with the Commission services, prepared an “EEAS – Commission services Issues Paper on the Integrated Approach” discussed with Member States in June 2017.

The Integrated Approach to conflicts and crises takes stock of the best practices already in place and entails a multi-dimensional approach through the use of all available policies and instruments; a multi-phased approach, acting at all stages of the conflict cycle; a multi-level approach acting at the local, national, regional and global levels of conflicts; and a multilateral approach engaging all

key players present in a conflict and necessary for its resolution. As a consequence, we are responding to the need for shared conflict analysis. We are also developing further our support to mediation in EU peace-related work and to security sector reform.

The Integrated Approach outlines how to ensure rapid and effective crisis response, from building greater synergies between the EEAS Crisis Response Mechanism, the European Commission’s Emergency Response Coordination Centre (ERCC) and other emergency response systems in different EU institutions, to the deployment of Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) crisis management or capacity building missions and operations. At the same time, we are placing greater emphasis on civil protection and humanitarian issues, while ensuring the link to development policies.

In key instances the Integrated Approach is already being implemented. We have put particular emphasis on the coherent use of security and development instruments. In the Sahel, for instance, we are supporting the establishment of the G5 Sahel Joint Military Force, while we continue to invest in the region’s development, from job creation to infrastructure, from health to education. This was particularly highlighted by the Ministers of the G5 Sahel during the 3rd EU-G5 Ministerial meeting held on June 5 in Bamako and co-chaired by the HRVP.

The EU Strategy for Syria blends work on a political solution at national, regional and international levels in the framework of the Geneva process, with local work with Syrian civil society, local councils, the Syrian interim government, and support for dialogue towards national reconciliation.

In Colombia, the EU combines its strong political support, including through the action of the HRVP’s Special Envoy Eamon Gilmore, with a whole set of projects: these projects range from rural development in formerly disputed territories to demining, supporting the reintegration of former child soldiers, and reconciliation activities. The

CERPESC ANALYSES

EU's Colombia Trust Fund was established with 19 participating Member States working on local development and reconciliation: it is a good example of the EU's leverage as a global mediator, stemming from the strategic and coordinated use of political, technical and security-related tools and activities.

The EU's approach to supporting a political solution to the crisis in Libya combines Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) operations together with the use of Union funding and policy instruments, as well as a strong diplomatic angle and a constant focus on human rights.

The EU is also stepping up its work on conflict analysis. Recent situational analysis on Jordan, Egypt and Burundi involved EU institutions and all Member States locally present. Also, the EU ensured participation of the UN, the World Bank and civil society organisations in these workshops. The EU has also reviewed its Early Warning System to shift the emphasis from early warning to early action. Both Member States Embassies and EU Delegations are now more involved in the process to drive integrated action on the ground. The EU and the UN have agreed to hold quarterly Video Conferences on conflict prevention to develop cooperation and synergies. An EU office has been set up in Agadez, bringing under one roof the EU actors dealing together with security, migration and development.

The EU has dispatched integrated Security Sector Reform (SSR)- missions to the Central African Republic, Mali and Somalia. Responding to a call from the Central African Republic and the Nigerian authorities, the EU, together with the UN and the World Bank, has supported these authorities to conduct Recovery and Peace Building Assessments: these Assessments have been critical for their national development plans and for the EU's development support to these countries (as well as of the UN, the World Bank and other development partners).

The EU, together with its Member States, is preparing an innovative stabilisation action in

Central Mali to prevent further escalation of violence and increase human security. This will also facilitate the deployment of additional EU tools (development projects, CSDP operations) as well as Member States' initiatives. The idea is to second experts to local government structures to support the implementation of a peacebuilding plan. The preparations for this action are being undertaken in close coordination with the United Nations and the Malian authorities. Like resilience, the Integrated Approach is already a reality.

Security and Defence

In the area of security and defence, more has been achieved in the last ten months than in the last decade. Issues that only one year ago seemed out of reach – from a permanent planning and conduct capability for non-executive EU military missions to the activation of a Permanent Structured Cooperation between willing and able Member States – are fast becoming realities. The foundations of a European security and defence union are rapidly and solidly being built.

The EUGS called for “a sectoral strategy, to be agreed by the Council” specifying “the civil-military level of ambition, tasks, requirements and capability priorities stemming from this Strategy.” The Implementation Plan on Security and Defence (6) presented by the HRVP in November 2016 went far beyond this.

Drawing on the Implementation Plan on Security and Defence, the Foreign Affairs Council Conclusions in November 2016 agreed on a new level of ambition in security and defence, based on three strategic priorities derived from the EUGS: responding to external conflicts and crises, building capacities of partner countries, and protecting the EU and its citizens. Stemming from this, the Council outlined thirteen taskings aimed at equipping the EU to realise its declared level of ambition. In December 2016 this level of ambition and work plan were endorsed by the European Council, as part of a broader defence package which included as well the European Commission's European Defence Action Plan, (7) aimed at

CERPESC ANALYSES

facilitating and incentivising defence cooperation between Member States through the establishment of a research and of a capability window, and the implementation of the Warsaw Joint Declaration of EU and NATO leaders.

The first semester of 2017 saw rapid progress on several of the Council and European Council's taskings. The EU has established a military planning and conduct capability (MPCC) for its nonexecutive military missions within the EU Military Staff (EUMS), to be reviewed by end of 2018. The director of the MPCC has assumed the functions of missions' commander for the EU's non-executive military CSDP missions: at present the three EU Training Missions respectively deployed in the Central African Republic, Mali and Somalia. The Council also agreed to establish a Joint Support Coordination Cell to strengthen synergies between EU civilian and military missions. At the same time, the EU has reinforced its civil-military situational awareness through the joint work carried out by EU Intelligence and Situation Centre and the Intelligence Directorate of the EUMS within the EEAS.

As advocated by the EUGS, the Council also agreed to initiate a Coordinated Annual Review on Defence (CARD). This mechanism will facilitate regular and systematic sharing of information between Member States on their defence planning and the implementation of the Capability Development Plan. This will support delivering capabilities and actively promote enhanced defence cooperation among Member States. A CARD trial run will be launched as of autumn 2017, in view of Ministers of Defence being presented with a first CARD report within 2018.

Rapid response and civilian capabilities are two further action areas identified by the Council. On military rapid response, the Council has agreed to a number of actions to enhance the preparation, modularity and effective financing of the EU Battlegroups, in order to improve their deployability and flexibility. In terms of effective financing, the Council has provided orientations for the forthcoming revision of the Athena mechanism.

While having proven their value as a tool for cooperation and transformation, such steps forward are of critical importance for the credibility of EU's military rapid response capacity. On civilian capabilities, the High Representative has been tasked by the Council to work on a review of the Feira capability priority areas for civilian crisis management in light of the EUGS, the new level of ambition and current security challenges. Work is also ongoing to strengthen the responsiveness of civilian CSDP missions: proposals have been made to establish a core responsiveness capacity to allow for more rapid action on the ground.

Finally, and potentially most importantly, the Council agreed to explore the activation of a Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO). PESCO, as provided for in the Treaties, allows willing and able Member States to make more binding commitments to one another with a view to the most demanding missions. The Council agreed to explore a PESCO which would be both inclusive and ambitious, open to all those Member States willing to make the necessary commitments and meet the agreed criteria. Work is ongoing to define the governance structure of PESCO, the commitments, as well as the initial projects that could be developed in this framework. PESCO holds the potential to make the definitive leap forward in European security and defence. It would create a binding contractual framework in which participating Member States would commit to a shared common objective and ambition together.

While PESCO, CARD and the Commission's European Defence Fund each have their own merits, it is increasingly clear that they can mutually reinforce each other. PESCO could be a hub for cooperative projects matching EU priorities within a more binding framework. For its part, the Fund would coordinate, supplement and amplify national investments in defence research, in the development of prototypes and in the acquisition of defence equipment and technology, and would provide a valuable incentive to a more collaborative approach by Member States. PESCO, once activated, would run like a silver thread between the EU's operational capacities, capability

CERPESC ANALYSES

development initiatives and defence industrial and technological support – thus bringing European security and defence to a higher level.

The European Defence Agency has a key role in supporting all these initiatives. The Agency is also actively engaged in implementing other aspects of the work on security and defence, in particular the revision of the Capability Development Plan by spring 2018. Strengthening EU security and defence means strengthening NATO and EU-NATO cooperation too, as repeatedly stated by the HRVP and NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg. Testimony to this, the parallel qualitative leap forward made in EU-NATO relations in the last year. Stemming from the Warsaw Declaration, the EU and NATO are jointly implementing at full speed the 42 action points agreed in December 2016. A new European Centre for Countering Hybrid Threats was established in Helsinki, and joint work is ongoing on situational awareness, strategic communications, maritime operations in the Mediterranean, preparation for the first parallel and coordinated exercise in fall 2017, and capacity building of partner countries with Moldova, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Tunisia selected as pilot cases. In terms of defence capabilities, work is ongoing also to ensure output coherence between the NATO Defence Planning Process and the Capability Development Plan.

3/ Changing the way we work: a joined-up Union

The implementation of the EUGS has not only meant the activation of individual work strands on the strategic goals selected by the Strategy. It has also triggered the transformation of a method of work: of the way in which the EU does foreign policy. A leitmotif in the EUGS is the notion of a joined-up Union: the idea that the full potential for EU foreign policy can only be realised if the Union works jointly across policy sectors, institutions and Member States. In implementing the EUGS in all the work strands discussed above, such a joined-up approach was followed through. The work on security and defence for example has brought together the Council and Member States, the European Defence Agency and the Commission; it

has been discussed with the European Parliament and debated thoroughly by the expert community across most Member States.

The same approach applies to a number of initiatives, from regional strategies to thematic ones; from climate, energy, oceans governance and economic diplomacies, to culture in international relations, youth initiatives or the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights.

In order to deepen further this joined-up approach, the October 2016 Foreign Affairs Council selected two priorities for the first year of implementation which are horizontal by their very nature: the internal-external nexus and public diplomacy.

The internal-external nexus

Working on the internal-external nexus means that internal and external initiatives within the same policy domain must be coherent and mutually reinforcing.

Given the importance that the EUGS attaches to the United Nations' 2030 Agenda, achieving the Sustainable Development Goals is an integral part of implementing the Global Strategy. The new European Consensus on Development (8) promotes a coherent approach to people, planet, prosperity, peace and sustainability that is fully consistent with the EUGS, including its emphasis on building resilience at all levels. The Consensus was agreed by the European Commission, the European Parliament, the Council, as well as by the representatives of Member State governments meeting with the Council: for the first time ever, the Consensus applies in its entirety to EU institutions and to all EU Member States. Ensuring consistency between internal and external action is central to the implementation of the SDGs (9). For this reason, coordinated initiatives have been taken not only on the external implementation of the 2030 Agenda, but also to ensure consistent implementation through EU internal policies. This has been recently highlighted in the Council conclusions on "A sustainable European future: the

CERPESC ANALYSES

EU response to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development” (10).

The internal-external nexus is key on migration too. Over the last year the EU has put in place short, medium and long-term measures to tackle migration and its root causes. At the global level, the EU helped deliver the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants at the UN Summit in September 2016, and it is now working with Member States on the development of Global Compacts. In parallel, the Union draws on a menu of funding instruments, such as the EU Trust Fund for Africa and the European External Investment Plan. The innovative External Investment Plan is expected to help address the roots causes of irregular migration by boosting private investment and job creation, notably in fragile parts of Africa and the EU's neighbourhood. The EU Trust Fund for Africa turned out to be a powerful tool to deliver targeted action in a speedy manner in several migration related areas. To this date, over EUR 1.7 billion has been committed and approximately EUR 800 million contracted within its framework. Substantial support has also been provided through the EU regional trust fund in response to the Syria crisis, through Compacts concluded with Lebanon and Jordan and through the Facility for Refugees in Turkey. The Facility for Refugees in Turkey is a coordination mechanism set up by the European Union early in 2016 to enable the swift mobilisation of EUR 3 billion in assistance to refugees in Turkey.

In line with the EUGS, the EU's Partnership Framework on Migration (11) is based on the idea that migration can only be managed in partnership with the countries of origin and transit of migrants, in a sustainable, respectful and human manner. The Partnership Framework has contributed to developing the external aspects of EU migration policy, and has enhanced the links among a series of internal and external policies. It has become the reference for cooperation with our partners.

With Afghanistan, the EU has promoted a comprehensive migration dialogue, addressing not

only emigration to Europe but also to the neighbouring countries.

We have already started to reap the benefits of the Partnership Framework approach: the numbers of assisted voluntary returns of migrants from Libya to their countries of origin over the last three months, from March to May 2017, have surpassed the total amount of Assisted Voluntary Returns from Libya in 2016; we have increased enormously our cooperation with the International Organisation for Migration and UNHCR with a view to ensuring adequate protection to migrants held in Libyan detention centres; Operation Sophia continues its training of the Libyan Coast Guard, and the handing over of patrol vessels to the Libyan Coast Guard could soon put Libyan authorities in a position to regain control of their territorial waters; the EEAS, the Commission and Member States are fully engaged in developing an integrated border management system throughout Libya; local communities in Niger are being provided with alternative livelihoods, steering them away from smuggling and trafficking; the Joint Investigation Team in Niger, supported by the EU Trust Fund for Africa, has been operational since March 2017 and had its first success in dismantling a network of migrant smugglers operating in Tchin-Tabaraden; Nigerian liaison officers have been deployed in Italy to facilitate the identification of irregular migrants; Senegal is adopting an action plan for its national migration strategy; a proposal for an EU CFSP-stabilisation action to assist the re-establishment of civil administration to the centre of Mali has been tabled; and the HRVP has recently announced a EUR 50 million contribution to the G5-Sahel Joint Force, whose aim is to fight terrorism and trafficking (12).

The generation of synergies between our foreign policy and the external aspects of internal EU policies has been the underlying logic of the EU's action on migration at both the global and regional levels, always based on the respect of human rights and international law.

On top of this, important steps have been taken towards an effective and genuine EU Security

CERPESC ANALYSES

Union, notably in the area of counter-terrorism, human smuggling and organised crime.

On counterterrorism (CT), the High Representative in cooperation with the European Commission, the EU Counter Terrorism Coordinator and with the contribution of relevant Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) agencies (starting with Europol, Eurojust, CEPOL and Frontex) has strengthened cooperation with priority partners in the Middle East, North Africa, the Western Balkans and Turkey. We are supporting their efforts to overcome gaps in legislative frameworks and capabilities through upgraded and targeted CT Political Dialogues and the development of CT partnerships. We have also increased our outreach to the Arab world including through the Gulf Cooperation Council and the Arab League. EU internal security priorities are fully reflected in CT political dialogues with third countries and international organisations, with specific reference to law enforcement and judicial cooperation, border security, countering illicit trafficking of firearms, violent extremism and terrorist financing, and tackling the challenge of foreign terrorist fighters.

To further strengthen the internal-external nexus, the EEAS and Commission services have worked to facilitate cooperation between priority partners and relevant JHA agencies, within the limits of their mandates and capacities. This includes support to local CT capacity building initiatives, the secondment of JHA experts to CSDP missions, and a better use of the network of CT/Security experts already deployed in 13 EU delegations, including through sharing of reporting. Work to further enhance cooperation, including information exchange, between CSDP missions and JHA actors is underway.

Priorities linked to organised crime – such as fighting firearms trafficking in the Western Balkans – are fully reflected in our political dialogues with such third countries.

Finally, recent events have made it increasingly clear that cyber security is essential to the security of the EU. Work in the Commission is ongoing to

revise the EU's existing cyber security strategy and a cyber-diplomacy toolbox has been presented.

Public diplomacy

The elaboration of the EUGS involved an unprecedented public consultation, both within and outside the European Union. The HRVP herself has visited extensively Africa, Asia and Latin America to promote the cooperation envisaged by the Global Strategy.

We finally realise that it is essential not only to communicate the added-value of the EU's action, but also to open new channels for European and non-European citizens to engage with EU policymaking. Too many young people feel excluded from political processes, and struggle to find a place inside our societies. During this year, we have worked to invest in existing dialogue initiatives, but also to create new opportunities for young people to have a say and new channels of participation: this is the aim of the new Young Med Voices Plus initiative, launched by the HRVP, which has already brought a group of young people from Europe and the Mediterranean to discuss policy proposals and present them to representatives of the EU institutions. This kind of initiative can also help build a network of EU-minded opinion makers in our region.

The EEAS has increased its staffing with specific focus on improving outreach to the Arab world and the Western Balkans. It is also working to harness further the potential of the EU's 139 delegations worldwide, with better coordination, sharing best practices, and highlighting local success stories through communication activities.

The East StratCom Task Force is significantly improving the positive communication of EU policies towards the Eastern Partnership countries, whilst addressing disinformation activities, including through improving the resilience of media. Outreach efforts such as the “Stronger Together” campaign in Ukraine have reached a large audience, highlighting the concrete benefits of partnership with the EU and supporting the reform

CERPESC ANALYSES

agenda. The EEAS StratCom team is gearing up to develop a parallel work strand towards the Arab world and the Western Balkans. These will build on efforts already underway, such as the EU Delegation to Morocco's multi-faceted outreach campaign, which includes direct outreach, training and the mobilisation of networks.

The Commission's OPEN programme underpins these activities across neighbourhood countries. The OPEN EU Neighbours South project for example includes a digital campaign aiming to inform one million young people about the opportunities offered by the EU, and showcase the tangible results of cooperation. The digital campaign is complemented by events, organised thus far in Algiers, Beirut and Tunis, giving visibility to the beneficiaries of EU-funded projects.

The joined-up approach which underlies the EUGS applies also here. EEAS and Commission services work side by side in providing targeted assistance to our delegations' network. This is particularly true for the neighbouring countries, where regional seminars are organised jointly and where the EEAS StratCom team provides strategic guidance to Commission services' work and programmes. Strategic use is being made of a dedicated Public Diplomacy budget line (EUR 50.9 million) under the Partnership Instrument, which allows us to target communication activities to specific key target groups in strategic partner countries. The EEAS has strengthened also its cooperation with European Commission and Parliament representation offices in Member States, providing briefings on the EUGS and sharing communication campaigns and products. Steps have already been taken to involve directly Member States in this work. A seminar with communications staff of the EU28 foreign ministries was organised to help promote common messaging, in line with the priorities of the EUGS, and sharing products, particularly ahead and during major events (Eastern Partnership Summit, EU-Africa Summit, EU-CELAC Summit). Work is also ongoing to exploit the full potential of the EU Visitors Programme, the network of Jean Monnet chairs, the

Erasmus+ Programme and the Young Med Voices Plus initiative. A good example of public diplomacy is the recent compilation of best practices for follow-up to EU election observations missions, prepared by the EEAS through a multi-stakeholder process. Steps have been taken also to increase the capacity of our delegations in terms of public diplomacy through a pilot training scheme which will be extended.

4/ The Work Ahead

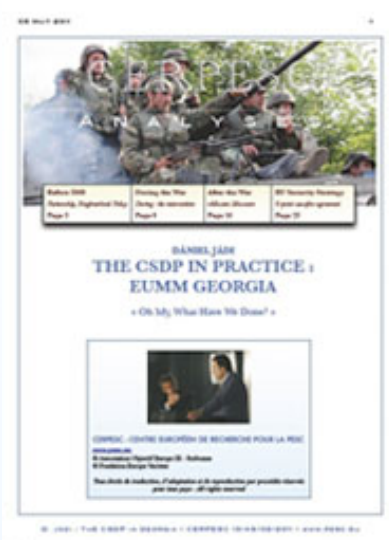
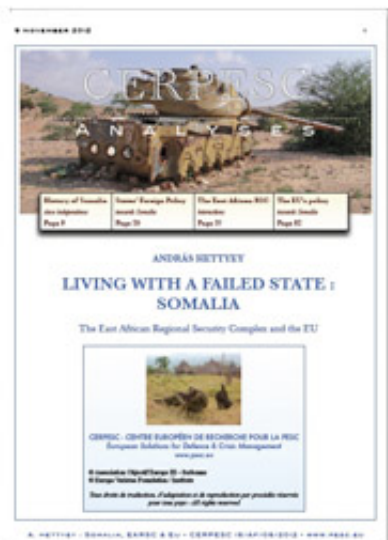
It was an intense first year in the implementation of the EU Global Strategy. This work does not and cannot stop here. In the year ahead, the EU will continue to pursue the work strands which have been opened so far, notably but not exclusively in the key field of security and defence. And it will continue to work in a joined-up manner, internally across institutions and Member States, along the internal-external policy nexus, or externally through its work on public diplomacy. The Council and the Commission may also consider exploring other fields for the implementation of the EUGS, possibly focusing on strategic goals such as the support for cooperative regional orders and global governance, as well as means such as the establishment or empowerment of more responsive and flexible tools in the fields of diplomacy and development, as advocated by the Strategy. The journey translating the EU Global Strategy from a shared vision into common action has begun. Let us keep up this momentum in the year ahead of us.

- (1) Roadmap on the follow-up to the EU Global Strategy, EEAS(2016)
- (2) States of Fragility 2016: Understanding violence, OECD(2016)
- (3) Joint Communication from the High Representative and the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council "A Strategic Approach to Resilience in the EU's external action", JOIN(2017) 21 final, 7.6. 2017
- (4) Joint Report to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions Report on the Implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy Review. JOIN(2017) 18 final

CERPESC ANALYSES

- (5) Joint Staff Working Document “Taking forward the EU’s Comprehensive Approach to external conflicts and crises - Action Plan 2016-17”, Brussels, 19 July 2016 (OR. en) 11408/16
- (6) Implementation Plan on Security and Defence, Brussels, 14 November 2016 (OR. en) 14392/16
- (7) Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, European Defence Action Plan, Brussels, 30.11.2016 COM(2016) 950 final
- (8) The new European Consensus on Development “Our World, Our Dignity, Our Future”, signed on 7 June 2017
- (9) Council conclusions on the EUGS, October 2016 Foreign Affairs Council (para 5); new European Consensus on Development, para 9
- (10) Communication “Next steps for a sustainable European future: European action for sustainability”, COM (2016) 739 of 22.11.2016.
- (11) Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council and the European Investment Bank on establishing a new Partnership Framework with third countries under the European Agenda on Migration, European Commission, Strasbourg, 7.6.2016 COM(2016) 385 final
- (12) “Fourth Progress Report on the Partnership Framework with third countries under the European Agenda on Migration”, COM(2017) 350 final of 13.6.2017.

CERPESC ANALYSES



CERPESC ANALYSES





CERPESC ANALYSES

CERPESC ANALYSES



Abstract

The events of the last 20 years, the first operations and missions, show that the Common Security and Defense Policy, the CSDP (the European Security and Defense Policy: the ESDP, before 2009) does not exist only on paper. Europe must act to prevent wars and crises or to stop them.

The European Union and its member countries are confronted with decisive choices for the future of Europe as a political entity. The external (and above all, energy) dependence of the Union is particularly emphasized by the European security strategies.

The documents that function as strategies (the first, the 2003 ESS and the most recent, 2016 EUGS) of the European Union are quite poor in terms of content and objectives. They list the challenges, without drafting the places and means of the overall strategic presence.

The purpose of this analysis is to examine the major development issues of EU strategic thinking during the period 2003-2016. Can we talk about development, stagnation, or devolution? Is the new strategy capable of fulfilling its role and can really serve as the basis of our ambitions?



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