



Enacting the Lisbon Treaty for CSDP: Bright lights or a tunnel?

Brussels is a flurry of events from all corners on the significance and confusion over implementing the Lisbon Treaty¹ and introducing the Spanish EU Presidency. But what is really happening behind the scenes and rhetoric of speakers on panels? This quick overview gives some questions and directs readers to in-depth articles on related themes in this edition of European Security Review.

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Enter the Treaty

Enter the Lisbon Treaty and the new structural reforms and many have been on tenterhooks for their own job positions and stability – let alone continuing work on EU stability in crisis prevention and management. There are naturally Member State interests (particularly of the larger states) which is inevitable. However, what is really at stake is a make or break situation of the potential shift towards de-pillarisation of the EU institutions. An article in this edition² looks at the European External Action Service (EEAS) and analyses the structures and accountability with the EU system. However, some main points to consider overall for the shift from ESDP to C (Common)SDP are the following.

People and a legal personality

The new High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy/ Vice-President of the Commission (HR/VP), Baroness Ashton, brings interesting facets to the fore. She brings gender balance finally to one of the top EU positions. She has no foreign policy experience some critiques say, but on the contrary, she has international trade and nuclear disarmament savvy. These are two areas that need more focus in the current EU agenda in security and defence policy – and the EU can help to take a lead in this.³ Towards a nuclear free world is something that luminaries such as George P Shultz, William J Perry, Henry A Kissinger and Sam Nunn gave weight to in the Wall Street Journal on January 15, 2008.⁴ Indeed, Ashton may well have a new perspective on Iran to remove the impasse (although whether it will be the Eu President Van Rompuy to lead this or the HR/VP would be a question). What is probably most important in the challenging role is the ability to adopt strong organisational change theory and perspectives in order to blend the pillars. So it can be viewed that Baroness Ashton has the potential to bring a unique background and a fresh perspective. Dare to be different and use courage and reason - *sapere aude*.

As to her supporting staff, there are the natural Warring Parties between the 27 EU Member States for the 1/3 of seconded positions and to add to the battle, all (fonctionnaire and seconded) will be a

¹ For an analysis of the technical aspects that the Lisbon Treaty introduces to EU security and defence (CSDP) and foreign and security policy (CFSP), see: Dagand, S., 'The impact of the Lisbon Treaty on CFSP and ESDP', *European Security Review* no. 37, ISIS Europe, March 2008. http://www.isis-europe.org/pdf/2008_artrel_150_esr37tol-mar08.pdf; also Gerrard Quille, *The Lisbon Treaty and its implications for CFSP/ESDP*, Directorate-General for External Policies of the Union, Directorate B, Policy Department, European Parliament, November 2009; and Christian Moelling, 'ESDP after Lisbon: More coherent and capable?', *CSS Analyses in Security Policy*, Vol. 3, No. 28 ETH Zurich CSS, February 2008. http://kmsl.isn.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/46839/ipublicationdocument_singledocument/9BDF5F23-3BC5-49A6-9DDA-F9CB1414FBC0/en/28e.pdf

² Mauri, F. and Gya, G., 'The EEAS: Laying the Basis for a More Coherent EU Foreign Policy?', *European Security Review* no. 47, ISIS Europe, December 2009. <http://www.isis-europe.org/index.php?page=reform>
See also Avery, G. & Missiroli, A. (eds), *The EU Foreign Service: How to build a more effective foreign policy*, EPC Working Paper N. 28, European Policy Centre, Brussels, November 2007. http://www.epc.eu/TEWN/pdf/555858396_EPC%20Working%20Paper%2028%20The%20EU%20Foreign%20Service.pdf

³ See Thomsen, Vibeke, 'President Obama: A Leader for European Nuclear Disarmament?' *European Security Review* no. 46, ISIS Europe, October 2009. http://www.isis-europe.org/pdf/2009_artrel_328_esr46-nuclear.pdf

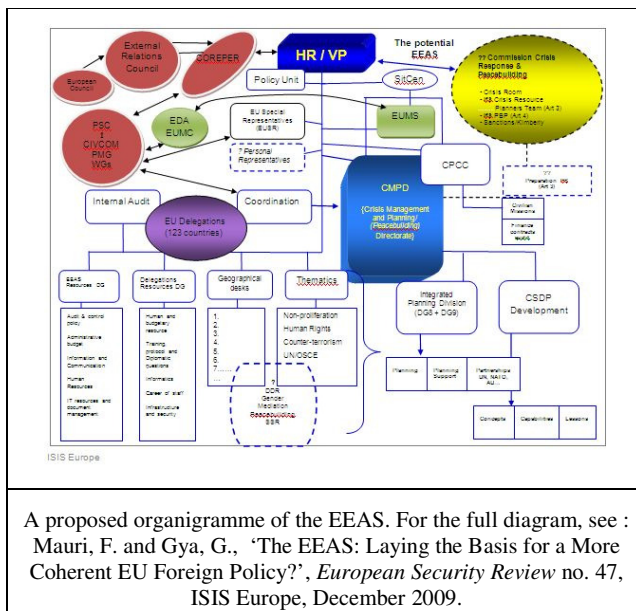
⁴ <http://www.cnduk.org/index.php/campaigns/global-abolition/toward-a-nuclear-free-world-editorial-2008.html>

'diplomatic' service – hence temporary. Thus the EU needs to listen to commentary on the need for ensuring staff security in career development and seriously engage in planning for a long-term career structure across the EU institutions in Brussels and the field.

Structure and Tasks

The efforts to restructure the EU staff that work on external relations – the EEAS - are interesting and much can be ascertained between the lines. Firstly, the HR/VP seems set to stay positioned in the Berlaymont building – which currently houses the Commissioners. This would make sense as a Vice-President of the Commission and calls for better cohesion between the Commission and the Council. It is also significant as the powers of the Commission to make proposals in CFSP have now been transferred to the HR/VP. The organigramme structure (see below our article on the EEAS⁵) again shows a slight crisis between planning (preparation) and coordination (implementation), with some facets of integration (the Commission Crisis & Peacebuilding structures, the EU Personal Representatives and horizontal aspects of Crisis Management), all being a question mark. In addition, the HR/VP will need to ensure the considered inclusion of the extended tasks set out under Lisbon, namely joint disarmament operations, military advice and assistance tasks and counter-terrorism. Interestingly, the latest debate is over who would chair the Political and Security Committee (PSC), as it was seen that the HR/VP would take this role over from the 6 month EU Presidency role of a Member State. But now it seems likely that a separate PSC Chair will be appointed within the HR/VP's offices, a likely candidate would be a former PSC Chair with experience of the proceedings that would become an EU official.

Acknowledging that structuring a service of around 2000 people naturally needs some organisational divisions, a concern should be raised as to how the EU is combining (or not) civilian and military approaches. Notably, a major state attempted to keep the EU Military Staff (EUMS) out of the EEAS structure, this has not happened, which is crucial, as the expertise of the EUMS is vital. Furthermore, the EUMS has developed a liaison officer at the UN HQ in New York (since December 2008) – which has brought essential coordination of communication together – extremely timely for both the EUFOR Tchad/RCA and EU NAVFOR Somalia missions.⁶ Some Member States are interested in the EU having a stronger “force” (in the San Tzu sense) militarily. However, on a divisive note, what seems to be occurring is a reaffirmation of division of the EU, with the new coordination department of the EEAS – the Crisis Management and Planning (or perhaps ‘Peacebuilding’) Directorate (CMPD)⁷ - having a military drive – to the exclusion of mediation, SSR,



⁵ Mauri, F. and Gya, G., 'The EEAS: Laying the Basis for a More Coherent EU Foreign Policy?', *European Security Review* no. 47, ISIS Europe, December 2009. <http://www.isis-europe.org/index.php?page=reform>

⁶ Colonel Sverker Ulving (SE). See *Impetus - Bulletin of the EU Military Staff*, No. 8, Autumn/Winter 2009, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/Impetus%208.pdf> p22.

⁷ Note that this has emerged from the former Civilian Military Planning Directorate that was established in 2009. See Gya, G., 'Tapping the Human Dimension: Civilian Capabilities in ESDP', *European Security Review* no.43, ISIS Europe, March 2009. http://www.isis-europe.org/pdf/2009_artrel_254_isis-briefing-note-2009-1-civ-capabilities.pdf and Blair, S., 'Towards Integration? Unifying Military and Civilian ESDP Operations' *European Security Review*, no. 44, ISIS Europe, May 2009 http://www.isis-europe.org/pdf/2009_artrel_272_esr44-civmil-integration.pdf

gender and longer term peacebuilding ‘instruments’, which some players are pushing back to the remit of the Commission. Considering that there are 14 (soon to be 15 or 16) ongoing CSDP missions and 12 of these civilian - with most dealing with SSR and related gender perspectives, justice perspectives and bordering the actions between crisis response and development - this may turn out to be an opportunity lost.

Training and Logistics

Strengthening the European Security and Defence College (ESDC) as a concrete establishment to provide harmonised EU training is particularly important with such organisational transition as well as for the newer EU Member States. The virtual ESDC (which was strengthened at the end of 2008 during the French EU Presidency) has provided modules which are allocated (albeit ad-hoc) to Member States or Member State agencies to conduct the training. However both military and civilian harmonised training could wholly benefit the EU’s transition under the Lisbon Treaty, and indeed, the Treaty calls for a stronger training capacity for the EU.⁸

Logistics need to be considered beyond the politique, taking this opportunity of change and re-definition of both the EU and NATO role. The EU must enhance its military capability – with full exploration of recourse to other assets (see our article in this issue by Lt. Col. Cabaleiro on using the NATO Maintenance and Supply Agency⁹). NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen also argued that EU-NATO political and military cooperation “makes sense”.¹⁰ The EU must also develop capacity to cohere the transition from its military to civilian missions – Concordia to Proxima in FYRM; and EUNAVFOR Somalia (Atalanta) to the upcoming EU civilian SSR missions in Somalia. (See the outline of C(E)SDP missions here: www.csdpmap.eu). The coming into effect of Lisbon also means the road towards the establishment of permanent structured cooperation, to have ready-to-go capabilities with a core group of Member States contributing as the Treaty notes to “fulfil higher criteria and which have made more binding commitments”.¹¹ Whether this creates a “two-speed” CSDP as some critics have noted, will be under scrutiny.

Accountability

The European Parliament extends its role over the High Representative due to its (now given) consent on the appointment of the HR/VP and in her dismissal through the censure procedure for the whole Commission. Beyond this, the EP retains the right to be informed on CSDP – and one of Ashton’s first acts was to undergo questioning in the AFET Committee.¹² But the EP has gained no further ‘powers’ of scrutiny beyond control of the budget for civilian missions. Although one expert writes that it is supposed that Baroness Ashton “will become a more regular visitor to the European Parliament where he/she will “regularly consult” the European Parliament on the main aspects and basic choices of CFSP and CSDP “...and inform it of how those policies evolve”.¹³ The Lisbon Treaty also sets out that “The European Parliament may ask questions of the Council or make recommendations to it and to the High Representative. Twice a year it shall hold a debate on progress in implementing the common foreign and security policy including the common security and defence policy.”

⁸ See forthcoming article: Giji Gya, ‘Could EU-level troop training forge a more coherent military instrument for CSDP?’ *Europe’s World*. 2010.

⁹ Lt. Col. Manuel Cabaleiro Larran, ‘CSDP Logistics: Can NAMSA Help?’ *European Security Review* no. 47, ISIS Europe, December 2009. http://www.isis-europe.org/pdf/2009_artrel_357_esr47-csdp-namsa-logistics.pdf

¹⁰ “NATO boss Rasmussen calls for stronger security cooperation with EU”, *European Parliament*. 18 November 2009, www.europarl.europa.eu/pdfs/news/public/story/20091113STO64420/20091113STO64420_en.pdf

¹¹ See study done under the former ISIS Europe led agreement with the European Parliament SEDE Subcommittee: Yves Boyer and Julian Lindley-French, *Euro-Interoperability: the Effective Military Interoperability of European Armed Forces*, European Parliament, November 2007. http://www.isis-europe.org/pdf/2007_artrel_71_pe-the%20effective%20interoperability%20of%20european%20armed%20forces.pdf

¹² Filippo Mauri, *AFET Committee Update*, 2 December 2009, ISIS Europe. <http://www.isis-europe.org/index.php?page=epu#updates>

¹³ Quille, *op. cit.* p5.

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giji.gya@isis-europe.org

+32 2 230 7446

50 rue Archimede
1000 Brussels
Belgium

One other possible advancement for greater involvement of the EP in CSDP could be the suggestion of 'Liaison groups' such that CFSP actions take into consideration "the Parliament's resolutions, reports and other findings" such that it "allows the relevant inter-parliamentary delegations to be more closely involved in EU foreign policy".¹⁴

Show me the money

After consultation with the European Parliament, the Lisbon Treaty also lays foundations for quicker access to budget for CFSP. This includes a start-up-fund following the logic of the Athena mechanism, for contributions of Member States' for tasks not under the EU budget (e.g. military crisis management, defence related spending, or procurement of military/defence-related goods by third states). This is welcome, but also raises the point of the actual EU budget of only €243 million for CSDP missions under CFSP (2007-2013). Comparatively, the EU Commission has at its disposal €8 billion for external activities. How these budgets will be used under the EEAS will be something to follow.

End of the tunnel

It could be viewed that Brussels is a little in crisis during its transition and 'organisational change' with question marks in many areas. However the EU has always evolved through crises and the current chaos may just forge something coherent.

By Giji Gya, Executive Director, ISIS Europe



international security information service, europe

Rue Archimède 50, 1000 Brussels Tel: +32 (0)2 230 7446 Fax: +32 (0)2 230 6113
E-mail: info@isis-europe.org Internet: www.isis-europe.org

¹⁴ Duke and Keukeleire further write: "As suggested in the ESDP area, a Liaison Group's function would be to take special responsibility for developing a more intensive, dynamic, coherent and (pro)active common policy on a specific area or issue. This would be done through its support for the preparation, elaboration, implementation and follow-up of EU policy, and the intensification and pooling of the individual efforts and assets of a Liaison Group's members." p.52. Duke, S. and Keukeleire, S. "Liaison Groups and EU foreign policy", in Avery, G. & Missiroli, A. (eds), *The EU Foreign Service: How to build a more effective foreign policy*. *Op.cit.*