

**High Level Seminar in Preparation of the December 2013 European Council  
12 July 2013, Paris**

**BOLSTERING THE EUROPEAN UNION AS A FULL-FLEDGED  
CRISIS MANAGEMENT ACTOR**

**Seminar Report**

On 12 July 2013, the Lithuanian Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in cooperation with the French Directorate for Strategic Affairs of the French Ministry of Defence and the Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique, organised a seminar entitled “Bolstering the European Union as a full-fledged crisis management actor”. This seminar gathered over 200 European high-level participants, and took place in Paris, at the Ecole militaire. With a view to contribute to the preparation of the forthcoming European Council in December 2013, it sought to impulse a constructive debate and formulate concrete proposals to bolster the Common Security and Defence Policy.

*Camille Grand, director of the Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique*, welcomed the assembly and opened the discussion on the European Union as a crisis management actor. He highlighted the importance of such a topic as the European Council will be meeting under the Presidency of Lithuania to discuss defence issues and strategies in December 2013, for the first time in five years. The European Union has positioned itself as a security actor; it has performed 29 civilian and military operations since its first peacekeeping operation in 2003. In a context of crisis and austerity, the European Council will have the opportunity to strengthen ties among member states, to build a more effective cooperation and to consolidate its position as a purveyor of security in the international arena.

*Mr Juozas Olekas, the Lithuanian Minister of Defence*, delivered a welcome speech. Mr Olekas stressed that the December European Council on Defence is a rare opportunity to have a strategic and forward-looking discussion on the CSDP and European defence integration. He argued that, over the last ten years, EU security and defence policy had matured. However, the EU is still a very modest crisis management actor. With the decreasing level of defence spending, Europe’s role could become yet smaller. He expressed hope that the European Council in December will be ready to address this

challenge. Mr. Olekas offered four issues for further consideration. He argued that the European Council summit of December will provide the EU with an opportunity to mandate the update of its 10-year old European security strategy, to discuss the EU's role as a security provider in the neighbourhood, to consider the EU's comprehensive response to the emerging security challenges (energy, cyber, maritime) as well as to renew political commitments to use the BGs.

## **PANEL 1 – A MORE ACTIVE CSDP: FROM ANTICIPATION TO ACTION**

*Julia Maris, special adviser for European affairs at the French Ministry of Defence*, chaired this panel. She summarized the focus of the panel in one question: how can we build a more active Europe in terms of security?

### **Do member states share common security interests?**

#### ***Gunnar Lund, ambassador of Sweden to France***

Within this problematic, Gunnar Lund said that member states unequivocally share common security interests. He supported his assertion with three arguments. First, member states face the same threats because they are less and less tied to geography: cyber attacks, terrorism or the energy crisis do not constitute threats that can be located. Second, as stated in article 3 of the Lisbon Treaty, member states share and defend common values and interests. Third, not only do states increasingly depend on each other, but common European approaches enhance security to a much greater extent than individual approaches. Even the bigger powers in the EU perform limited actions, in limited places and for a limited time. In response to this, Italy, Spain, Poland and Sweden have created a think-tank for a European Global Strategy, and are pushing forward a post-Lisbon institutional change to equip EU institutions with strategic guidance.

#### ***Michel Miraillet, Director for Strategic Affairs, France***

The European construction is led by the member states' community of destiny. Member states share the same threats and risks and that is why defence issues are European ones. The international context, with the repositioning of Washington towards Asia, the events in Syria and Egypt, and the nuclear proliferation, comprises emerging threats which are intensifying and becoming more and more complex. It is undeniable however that with its 29 missions, the EU has evolved in the right direction and has proven its capabilities. Nevertheless, the CSDP must be enhanced to be able to keep facing these threats. To do so, more than granting strategies, member states have to highlight pragmatic solutions to strengthen the European responses to crises. The European ambition to act as a real and

credible security provider must be reaffirmed, otherwise the main threat for CSDP today would become the lack of will of its member states.

### **How to strengthen the “security and defence” expertise within the European External Action Service (in Brussels and in the field)?**

#### ***Joelle Jenny, Director for Security Policy and Conflict Prevention at the European External Action Service***

Mrs Joelle Jenny made contextual remarks. First, she emphasized the complexity of the European environment with the simultaneity of maritime, land, cyber and special threats, as well as with the erosion of the state monopoly of violence. Indeed, non-state actors and individuals also make use of violence. She advocated a reinforcement of European strengths, thereby enhancing the comparative advantages of the EU. In this context, Mrs Jenny mentioned different areas that could be looked into, including heightened situation awareness (early-warning systems, conflict analysis tools...), better planning and the need to work jointly. As a final remark, Mrs Jenny reminded the assembly that 20 or 30 years are necessary for genuine reform, and that this effort will require a long-lasting and wide-ranging commitment.

### **Promoting flexibility in crisis management: how to make full use of the Lisbon treaty?**

#### ***Daniel Keohane, Head of Strategic Affairs at the Foundation for International Relations (FRIDE)***

To begin his presentation, Mr Daniel Keohane mentioned article 42 clause 6 of the Lisbon Treaty which establishes the Permanent Structure Cooperation (PESCO), and offers an option for states to collaborate and get involved in common defence. However, so far there has been no real interest in using PESCO. As a consequence, the EU remains a minimal actor when compared to NATO and to the UN.

In the future, the EU will most probably need to take another role. US military power is shifting from West to East, evidencing American interest in East Asian security. The reason behind this lies in the growing trade with that region, and its gradual positioning as a strategic actor. It has been estimated for example that by 2030, 90 percent of Middle East oil will be going eastwards. On the other hand, the American Congress is cutting budgets, notably the military budget.

In the light of the US military pivot eastwards, what are the strategic priorities of the EU? How will Europeans cope with problems in their neighbourhood, with or without the US? Mr Keohane defended the view that Europe needs to focus on a few key points: support of international law and free trade, and work with key non-EU partners such as the US and Turkey.

In other words, Europe should enhance cooperation inside and outside Europe to tackle key security threats. The CSDP should be used as a tool to carry out this project, along with an effective European

Defence Agency. Lastly, a yearly meeting of head of states to discuss defence should be established, and a political restatement is needed in order for defence to stay on the agenda.

To conclude this first panel, *Mr Jean-Yves Le Drian, Minister of Defence of France*, gave an official speech in which he identified three points on which Europe should focus in order to progress towards a common defence. First, Europe should work on its credibility on the international arena. Although the intervention in Mali was financed by €1 billion, the lack of effective coordination and monitoring explains why this investment has had a limited impact. It is urgent to reinforce Europe's crisis management structure. Second, the early evaluation of common threats will improve common action. Third, successful long-term actions depend on a secure context. For this to happen, Europe must enhance its adaptability to, and its in-depth knowledge of, current threats and risks.

The minister also reminded us that the European Council summit in December is an occasion to reassert the EU's ambition and commitment to the PSDC. Strong determination and passion are essential to an integrated Europe performing its role as a security actor.

## **PANEL 2 – A MORE RAPID, EFFECTIVE AND EFFICIENT CSDP: STRENGTHENING THE EU'S ABILITY TO DEPLOY**

*Camille Grand, Director of the Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique*, chaired this panel. He expressed his will to hear the speakers shed light on one main issue: to what extent can we optimize the CSDP?

### **How to take full benefit of the CSDP within the EU's comprehensive response?**

#### *Admiral Juan Martinez Nunez, Defence Policy Director at the Ministry of Defence in Spain*

Admiral Martinez Nunez identified obstacles preventing Europe from getting an international economic and political dimension. There is both a national and a European defence crisis, and this parallelism tends to be worsened by the lack of European culture or consciousness. In order to overcome this obstacle, Admiral Martinez Nunez advocated a new type of leadership and commitment related to sympathy and generosity. This new type of leadership could allow for a more coherent and comprehensive CSDP.

Moreover, considering that the EU is recognised as unique because of its comprehensive array of tools, a few reforms could allow for a better use of it. There should be a stronger commitment by states, to take full advantage of the CSDP. Structure and procedures should be revised: for example, it is time for the EU to move beyond a compartmented civilian-military division. Instead, it should be replaced by adaptability and flexibility. Lastly, Admiral Martinez Nunez reasserted the importance of enhancing the Lisbon Treaty regulations.

## **Promoting coherence of the EU's financial architecture**

*Jean-Marc Pisani, Head of division-crisis response and operational coordination, European External Action Service*

Mr Jean-Marc Pisani addressed the audience and talked about the European financial architecture in relation to a CSDP deployment mission. The European context is entering a post-Lisbon era, in which the Commission, member states and the Council share and coordinate their tasks. This provides the EU with a new opportunity to answer to crisis situations such as terrorism, piracy or cyber-security. Mr Pisani also pointed to the large development of EU investments, making it the largest development support in the world. Therefore, in order to enhance the CSDP, it would be good to relate military and development missions.

Great efforts have been made to improve the CSDP, notably concerning its rapidity in deploying missions. For instance, last year the EU managed to deploy a mission in Libya in two months. In spite of these positive aspects, the financial architecture of the EU presents several flaws that sometimes impede a successful crisis management. The financial tool of the EU was not initially created to deal with crisis management, but to manage the daily activities of an institution. One of the effects of this architecture is the yearly scheduling of the budget, which impedes the organisation of a programme over several years.

Beyond these points, it would be necessary to investigate other financial aspects of the EU such as the implementation of a mechanism to deal with projects outside budgets, the coordination of EU institutions and other institutional actors. However, Mr Pisani concluded that a common foreign and security policy is relatively new in the EU and that, in spite of this, progress is already ongoing.

## **The military dimension of the CSDP: exploring ways to improve efficiency**

*Lieutenant General Wolfgang WOSOLSOBE, Director General of the European Union Military Staff, European External Action Service*

Lieutenant General Wolfgang Wosolsobe introduced as a starting point the fact that Europe has to face a volatile future with new challenges. Building on that, early situation awareness and flexibility are becoming essential to ensure security. In order to put this into practice, the Lieutenant General highlighted the need for heads of states to strongly commit to cooperation, and to make the most of what European member states have: ambition, speed, comprehensiveness.

When talking of comprehensiveness, Lt General Wosolsobe advocated that all sections of society should work in the same direction, and that, under this logic, the military should play a clear role. Revisiting the mandates of different missions will shed light on how states can help one another and increase speed. If each of the characteristics needs to be strengthened independently, coordination

is also important, as is for example the need to balance speed and comprehensiveness in the case of long decision-making processes. Speed hinges on political will, which is why the European ambition must be reasserted by each member of the EU. Under this condition, the EU will successfully improve its Common Security and Defence Policy.

### **How to improve the CSDP civilian crisis management?**

#### ***Gediminas VARVUOLIS, Security Policy Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Lithuania***

Today's European Union can become a global actor. Civilian CSDP has contributed to the strengthening of the rule of law, the security and the stability in the European neighbourhood. In spite of progress, several factors are limiting the effectiveness of CSDP actions: heterogeneous state priorities and a lack of political will and of support for staffing and financing the missions, coordination problems between EEAS bodies, the Commission, member states... and competition at the international level.

In this context, Mr Gediminas Varvuolis, introduced a few ideas to improve CSDP. At the political level, it is essential to safeguard political will and to guarantee operational commitment. This would entail a single and shared policy, a strengthening of the synergy between civilian and military missions, and the development of cooperation with strategic partners and international organisations. At the operational level, the legal framework of the CSDP must be improved by setting standard operating procedures, improving missions' rules including their financial dimension to ensure the transparency of crisis-management.

As President of the Council of the EU for the next six months, Lithuania will put emphasis on border issues, which particularly matter to this country, which has an external EU border. Lithuania will also organise capability development seminars that will aim at strengthening EU's role as a security provider where security interests and values are at stake.

#### ***Jürgen SCHULZ, Director for Security Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Germany***

In his presentation, Mr Jürgen Schulz, also addressed the issue of how to improve the CSDP civilian crisis management. As Gediminas Varvuolis, Mr Schulz is convinced that this will depend on the comprehensive approach. The non-paper prepared by Germany found the support of all the 28 EU members and reflects the common understanding that changes need urgently to be made. Recent difficulties with drafting exit strategies for missions proved the need to define the comprehensive approach from the outset. EU actors need to consult much earlier and take into account their respective actions and possibilities. In order to lead a mission successfully, diplomacy needs to be employed from the early stages to communicate clearly toward potential host countries what the EU can deliver; the pooling and sharing of capabilities also will have to be a priority. This is why the German proposal's cornerstone was a central administrative mission support in Brussels. A central

administrative mission would generate economies of scale, avoid duplication, increase the accountability of missions and stimulate savings.

The German initiative worked for a comprehensive EU commitment to enable qualified partners and regional organisations to take on more responsibility for their region's security. The 'Enable and Enhance Initiative' aims at enabling partners through advice and training. This would have to be complemented by enhancing security forces and structures to ensure that partners have adequate and modern equipment to be able to fulfil the task. EU policy in this area will have to be coherent and transparent to be visible and effective.

### **PANEL 3. A MORE VISIBLE CSDP: COPING WITH THE EVOLVING SECURITY ENVIRONMENT**

*Antonio MISSIROLI, Director of the European Union Institute for Security Studies, chaired this panel. He drew attention to the fact that, if examined in detail, the afternoon panel is not only about a more visible but also a more resilient CSDP. Antonio Missiroli introduced the main topics to be discussed such as the lessons learned from past experience, the challenges for the European Union in the maritime, cyber and energy fields as well as the possible response of the CSDP and its visibility.*

#### **What role for CSDP in developing the EU's response to emerging security challenges: maritime, energy, cyber etc.?**

*Vaidotas URBELIS, Defence Policy Director, Ministry of Defence, Lithuania*

Mr. Urbelis stressed that energy and cyber security issues – as part of the EU response to emerging security challenges – should be among the priority areas for discussion at the European Council in December. He supported the argument by speaking about the growing EU dependence on external energy suppliers as well as armed forces being a very big consumer of electricity and fuel (the combined electricity demand in the armed forces of the Member States is equal to that of a medium size EU country). This situation draws the defence community's attention to energy efficiency issues. As far as the cyber field is concerned, Mr. Urbelis argued that the skill and intensity of attacks against EU institutions, member states and individuals are increasing. The risk of a large-scale cyber attack at any time should not be neglected. In addition he indicated that European security strategy does not reflect above mentioned developments. Therefore, Mr. Urbelis argued that the EU should consider what could be a comprehensive response to energy and cyber challenges. He advocated the development of a comprehensive energy efficiency strategy for armed forces, which would be consistent and complementary with the EU energy objectives and ongoing discussion on CFSP's role in support of EU energy policy. In conclusion, Mr. Urbelis offered some further considerations. First, the EU needs to have a discussion on what the solidarity clause means if countries or vital industries suffer energy cuts or cyber-attack. What measures could the EU take? Second, in the R&T area, EU

funds should be allocated to the development of dual use technologies that would benefit our militaries in both cyber defence and energy efficiency domains. Third, energy and cyber defence elements must become a routine part of EU threat assessment and exercises.

***Rear-Admiral Charles-Henri DU CHE, Navy Foreign Relations Coordinator, Ministry of Defence, France***

The cyber, energy and maritime domains are difficult to regulate because of the absence of borders. Moreover, no clear definition of what constitutes a cyber attack exists.

First, it is important to understand that these fields represent ‘fluid spaces’: they are constantly in movement, revitalized by exchanges, and cross-border. In addition, there is a growing scarcity of resources, strong maritime growth and growing competition. Therefore, risks are increasing. Where there is wealth, there have always been predators. The paradox is that Europe no longer feels threatened on its territorial borders but its vulnerability by sea is increasing. It is necessary to fight the cause directly before the problems – such as drug trafficking in the Caribbean region, piracy in Somalia – occur on the European territory. Defence, security and the economy are interconnected.

Rear-Admiral Du Che wondered how the CSDP can manage the situation. He estimated that only collective civilian and military actions seem relevant. Since operation Atalanta in 2008, the European Union has gained experience in particular in the fight against piracy with the help of NATO. Cooperation between the EU and NATO is based on mutual trust and the actions of the two organisations are complementary.

On the European level, there is a necessity for a global approach in the long term. It is evident that Europe is more effective outside its territory than within. The European Union should be capable of initiatives as well as of cooperation with NATO and other nations. The first thing to consider is the importance of a common appreciation of the situation by giving preference to the exchange of information and analysis. Every mission will apply different means, but the CSDP should be the guarantee of nations’ sovereignty.

### **How to strengthen the CSDP operations and missions’ lessons learned process?**

***Didier LENOIR, Acting Director of the Crisis Management and Planning Directorate, European External Action Service***

Didier Lenoir acknowledged that the lessons learned process is a fundamental issue since it questions the institutional framework of the European Union. He underlined several factors that complicate this lessons learned process:

- The complexity of the European commitments (objectives, nature of the actors deployed).
- The art of the possible is limited within the legal framework of the EU (no expenses can be incurred in the defence field).



- No structures are provided to gather the “lessons learned” in the headquarters of the permanent cooperations.

- Member States have different readings of the CSDP’s nature, objectives and results.

Didier Lenoir asserted that, in order to strengthen the lessons learned process, the EU should push forward a greater integration of the civil-military approach. Secondly, the approach should be more focused on themes such as the SSR<sup>1</sup>. Finally, the EU should adopt a more long-term political perspective concerning its missions and vary the angles of study (the EU could learn from the UN or NATO’s operations; or from the analysis of exterior actors). To conclude, Didier Lenoir emphasized several successes of the EU’s global approach, such as the fight against piracy or the reconstruction of judicial systems, even if there is still a room for improvement. Nevertheless, one should abstain from benchmarking the EU in the light of national outcomes (particularly when it comes to the rapidity of its response).

***Major General Salvatore FARINA, National Policy Director, Ministry of Defence, Italy***

Major General Salvatore Farina asserted that the EU has drawn lessons from its past operations. For example, the European Union was able to conduct a crisis management exercise for the first time in November 2012. The current issue is thus to adapt the EU’s structures to apply these lessons. The Europeans need to learn how to use these tools and to strengthen this process of feedback on experience. The lessons learned allowed us to identify the areas where progress can be made:

- Civil-military coordination, as exemplified in Libya,
- The EU’s use of its financial tools,
- The EU’s situation awareness, as exemplified in Mali,
- The synergy of the Command and Control chain,
- Transports and medical means.

**Reinforcing visibility in the field: a path toward a CSDP communication strategy**

***Nicolas GROS-VERHEYDE, Journalist, Editor, ‘Bruxelles2 – Europe de la défense’***

For Nicolas Gros-Verheyde, the CSDP represents a paradox, being at the same time the most appreciated by Europeans and yet the least visible. He argued that the reform introduced with the Lisbon Treaty has not succeeded. In spite of meetings on daily basis, there are no reports and no use of instruments of fast distribution of information by means of social networks. It is necessary to set up a communication strategy in connection with journalists and specialists of defence and diplomacy in member states.

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<sup>1</sup> Security Sector Reform

## Concluding Remarks

*Vaidotas URBELIS, Defence Policy Director, Lithuania*

*Michel MIRAILLET, Director for Strategic Affairs, France*

In his concluding remarks, *Vaidotas Urbelis* pointed out that there is a need to manage expectations. We should be ambitious, but not everything is achievable. He stressed that in the coming months we should build political will and this very much depends on ourselves. As a follow-up to the seminar he underlined several emerging elements which received wide support. First, the need for a strategic debate at the European Council, including a discussion on EU security interests as well as further implementation of Lisbon Treaty. Second, the need to have a discussion on the EU's ability to deploy rapidly, including by strengthening the EU's early warning and crisis anticipation capacities as well as ensuring financial flexibility. Third, the need to look deeper into how we can make the best use of CSDP partnerships. Fourth, the need to further discuss EU response to emerging security challenges.

To conclude, *Mr. Michel Miraillet* reminded the audience that the European Union has important assets to act that it does not share with any other organisation. Member states can intervene on the whole spectrum of responses to crises, from development actions to military operations. The comprehensive approach the EU is defending cannot be completely efficient if member states do not strengthen the military dimension of the CSDP. After ten years of operational commitments, the European Union has proved its ability to be a security provider. Nevertheless, since the Lisbon treaty, the new structures available to enhance the CSDP have not shown their whole capabilities. Financial processes and institutional functioning must be improved to strengthen Europe's reactivity. Moreover, political will must be reaffirmed in a context where threats become ever more complex and interconnected. Member states must enhance their reactivity to crises and for this reason it is important now to implement a European tool to support decision-making. Finally, a European communication strategy should be elaborated, as European defence actions are still largely ignored by the European citizens.

The European Council summit in December 2013 will be a milestone to define new political orientations and to renew our ambitions.

The Report was prepared by FONDATION pour la RECHERCHE STRATÉGIQUE