Abstract:
This article sums up the existing development of the European security and military structures. It recapitulates beginnings of the mutual security cooperation, which has continued since the end of the WWII, pays attention to the autonomous European projects (West Union, Western Union) and appraisals of their successfulness. It summarizes the most significant steps made by the European Union in the ninetieths. It engages in the problems of the Common European Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union, fulfillment of the so-called Petersberg Missions, creating of the European crisis management capabilities, and touches the relations among NATO, the EU and WEU as well.

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Introduction

Next year, the Czech Republic will become a regular member of the European Union. Beside many advantages, our entrance will bring a lot of responsibilities. For a long time the European Union is not only an integrating group of states, but starts to play more significant role in the system of international relations as an important political subject and actor in the international policy. This new role does not mean only a challenge, but also adoption of a part of responsibility for international arrangement and preservation of security and peace. The Czech Republic, as a member of the EU, will have to share such a responsibility and accept further missions in the field of defence and security.

Out sets of the political and military integration

The roots of the European integration, which resulted in the current shape of the EU, can be found after the end of the World War II. Western Europe, devastated, exhausted and weakened by the war conflict, sought new ways to speed up the process of
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reconstruction and normalization of mutual relations, and strengthen own positions for a possible confrontation with the Soviet Union and its allies. Another important aspect underlining this fact consisted in unsolved future and political settlement of Germany.

One of the firsts steps in the area of the Western European political and military cooperation was the Treaty of Dunkerque closed between France and United Kingdom on 4th March 1947. This treaty reflected the document from 1904 with the purpose to maintain vigilance against Germany, and should prevent a revival of the German aggressive policy. Until the beginning of the fifties, mainly France kept a very careful even dismissive attitude to the eventual political and military renewal of Germany that was that time taken for a higher danger than the Soviet Union.

The breakthrough came in 1948 when the Soviet Union reached many significant geopolitical successes and enforced its influence in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The communists seized the power in Czechoslovakia and the USSR intensified its effort to include Finland in own area of interest. In reaction to these events, five governments of Western European countries – Belgium, France, Luxembourg, United Kingdom and the Netherlands – summoned a conference resulting in the Brussels Treaty on Economic, Social and Cultural Cooperation and Collective Self-defence signed on 17th March 1948. The text of the Brussels Treaty declared willingness of the signatory countries to provide maximum military assistance if any of the above mentioned states had to face a military aggression. The Brussels Treaty established the first, though very loose, European defence alliance, called Western Union. The first Commander in Chief of its armed forces became British legendary Field Marshal Sir Bernard Law Montgomery. Foundation of the alliance based on the Brussels Treaty was also a strong impulse for closer transatlantic military and political cooperation, which later resulted in the Washington Treaty signed on 4th April 1949 to establish the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

**European Defence Community**

The beginning of the cold war and the Korean War had a significant impact on the security environment and forms of the military and political cooperation among the western states. In the mid of August 1950, the German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer turn to the representatives of the occupational forces with an urgent requirement to improve the security in only partially independent Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). As a consequence of the Soviet threat, this requirement calling for build-up of German Armed Forces seemed to be justified, nevertheless many countries, especially France, were afraid of renewal of the German military power. Therefore, the French government submitted a proposal to build up joint European armed forces, in which the German units would be dispersed and controlled by a non-German command. The idea of the European armed forces and their framework – European Defence Community (EDC) – was backed by the USA and FRG, but the United Kingdom, on the contrary, refuse to take part in such a form of cooperation, nonetheless the British government did not oppose the project. The European Armed Forces should have consisted of the national combat
formations reinforced by the international arm or divisions and air forces. This concept would allow the FRG to build own armed forces involving up to 1,500,000 personnel, but without heavy weapons. On 26th May 1952, the three occupation powers and FRG signed the General Agreement that formally ended the state of war and gave the FRG the sovereignty. Next day, on 27th May 1952, the Six (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands) signed in Paris the European Defence Community Treaty confirming the equal status of Germany and emphasized the direct link of the EDC to the NATO. The European Defence Community should have become a supranational organization with own joint armed forces, budget and political bodies. The integrated armed forces involving 14 French, 12 Italian, 12 German and 5 Benelux divisions should have been subordinated to NATO. However, the EDC Treaty was conditioned by ratification of the member state parliaments, which showed fatal. Paradoxically, the French parliament, i.e. the constitutional body of the initiating country, became the grave digger of the European Defence Community. In March 1953, the votes of communists, socialists and gaulists turned down the ratification and the whole project collapsed.

Western European Union

After the failure of the EDC, the United Kingdom submitted an acceptable proposal for revival and enlargement of the Brussels Treaty. In 1948, this organization had a formal character, and its significance was overshadowed by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. On the motion of the British side, the Brussels meeting was also attended by the representatives of FRG and Italy. This territorially and legitimately enlarged group of states was named the Western European Union (WEU), and was formally established by the Paris Agreements on 23rd October 1954. The WEU took over some functions from the Brussels Treaty, including the control over the German remilitarization, and primarily the obligation of mutual assistance in a case of military aggression. Having signed these agreements, the United Kingdom accepted the obligation to keep its troops in the continent, the western occupation units in Germany acquired the status of allied forces, and FRG obtained permit to build 12 divisions of the national armed forces and start up the armament production, and its government was recognized as the only representative of the German people. At the same time, the FRG was recommended for joining the North Atlantic Alliance. The Paris Agreements came into force on 5th May 1955, and four days later (on 10th year anniversary of the end of WWII in Europe), the Federal Republic of Germany became a member of NATO.

In the following period, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization played primary role in defence and security of the Western Europe countries. As a matter of fact, WEU did not carry out its function until the end of the cold war, except for the military rehabilitation of the FRG and making a connection between UK and economic integration groupings of the continental countries, and later during the eighties, despite some political attempts for its revival, degraded to a formal and poorly capable organization. With the exception of the “Cleans weep” operation in 1987—1988, when its forces took part in mine clearance of the Persian Gulf after the Iraqi-Iranian War, WEU was rarely
involved in defence and security operations, and run its activities more at the political-military level.

Security versus Economical Integration of Europe

Despite the considerable failure of the Western European military and security integration, the economic integration reaped much greater success. Closer cooperation in the field of economy, mainly during the Marshall Plan, and more rational management and cooperation in use of the strategic raw materials and key industrial and mining branches, seemed to be highly advantageous in the post war period. This effort for economic integration resulted in foundation of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951 (Montan Union). This organization coordinated and controlled the coal and steel industry and de facto established a free unrestricted coal and steel market in the territory of the signatory states i.e. Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands and Federal Republic of Germany. This step, which marked the following decade of successful economic interconnection of the Western Europe, had also a significant security dimension, since the Montan Union enabled other states to control those industrial branches (mainly German) that represented the most important sector for war economy at that time. The Montan Union was a fruitful beginning of the European economic integration, finding a continuation in a form of the European Communities and European Union, and we can say that the western European states were successful in the economic integration, but in the military and security field reached only minimum and formal progress. Therefore until the nineties, the European defence and security are practically bound with NATO and rely on the U.S. military units deployed in Europe.

European Union

Decline of the bi-polar world in the nineties of the 20th century and changes in the geopolitical and security environment had an effect on the attitude of the European states to the aspects of defence and security. In addition to the decision on further and deeper political and economic integration, the member states of the European Communities also initiated steps towards closer cooperation in the area of foreign policy and security. This EC decision to play more active and unified role in the international policy and maintaining security in Europe was also reflected in the text of the Maastricht Treaty (Treaty of European Union) from 1991 (came into effect in 1993), when the member states agreed in the article J of this treaty the implementation of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). The aim of such a policy is to protect common values, fundamental interests and independence of the European Union, strengthen the security of its members, maintain peace and international security in accordance with the principles of the UNO Charter, Helsinki Final Act and Paris Charter, support international cooperation, develop and deepen democracy and legally consistent state, and respect human rights and freedoms. The propositions contained in the Treaty of Maastricht, later specified in the Amsterdam Treaty and following documents, meant a considerable breakthrough in perception of
the EU position, which by fulfilment of the Common Foreign and Security Policy abandons the role of mere international economic organization and becomes a significant actor on the stage of international policy and security, representing and promoting unified positions and interests of the member states. The Common Foreign and Security Policy becomes so-called 2nd Pillar of the EU, which is an important part of the European integration. (Individual pillars represent basic policies of the EU. European Communities make 1st Pillar, Common Foreign and Security Policy is 2nd Pillar and 3rd Pillar is formed by the police and judicial cooperation). The CFSP has an international character, the decision-making and executive authorities remain in the hands of the member countries and most of the issues are decided by common consent. The main CFSP body is the Council of European Union consisting of the Foreign Affairs Ministers of the member countries. Strategic decisions are taken by the heads of the member states in meetings of the European Council – the EU Summits.

Until the end of the nineties, the European Union itself did not profile as a security organization to play a significant role in the area of security and military instruments. Although the European integration had implicitly functioned as a security community for several decades, direct employment of military forces to support political goals (e.g. humanitarian interventions) occurred as a consequence of some strong international impulses as late as the end of the nineties. While the environment and traditional attitudes of some European superpowers noted fundamental changes, the involvement of EU resulted from crises that did not take place on its territory, but had a strong impact on the members.

At the beginning, the Common Foreign and Security Policy was not able to rely on specific military instruments, therefore its development showed in practice as toothless and inefficient. For instance, after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, the member states of EC supported by common consent the oil embargo and sanctions against Iraq imposed by the UNO. However, next phase of this crisis involving a robust military intervention disrupted this unity. Cooperation among the EC member countries in the field of international policy absolutely lacked any military instruments, so each state assumed own attitude. Lessons from developing conflict in Yugoslavia were even more tragic. At the beginning, everybody believed that its solution would be a good opportunity for the EC civil organizations. The roles of the EC negotiators, unarmed observers in Croatia, and the following dispute about recognition of Croatia and Slovenia revealed many problems which the CFSP personnel had to deal with during the whole decade. From these reasons, the voices calling for real military capacities and demands for practical implementation of the political decisions sounded more frequently.

Discussions on significance and missions for other existing European security organizations run concurrently with progressing emancipation of the European Union in the area of foreign and security policy. Primarily, the role of WEU is re-evaluated to become a tool for practical employment of the CFSP. As a consequence of international
situation, the Western European Union has been involved in many military-police missions. From 1993, it cooperated with NATO in the „Sharp Guard“ Operation at the Adriatic Sea in order to control the embargo against Yugoslavia, took part in the Danube Operation to monitor the same embargo on the Danube and also in the „Deny Flight“ Operation to enforce the no fly zone over Bosnia and Herzegovina.

During the Petersburg Summit in 1992, the WEU, which includes 10 member states and 5 EU countries with the status of observer, redefined its area of responsibility. The tasks that this organization had to fulfill during the nineties – so called Petersburg Missions (by the town where the meeting took place) were defined as follows: participation in humanitarian operations, search and rescue actions and peacekeeping and peace-making missions. Should the WEU maintain a meaning of its existence, it was necessary to set it such tasks and area of responsibility that would clearly define its mission, satisfy European efforts for emancipation but avoid competing with NATO, and reflect real needs in covering the security. In practice, the WEU started to accomplish these missions in post-war reconstruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina, when guaranteed, under the EU mandate, administration and police control in Mostar (1994—1996), and fulfilled the police mission in Albania (1997—2001). In 1999—2001, this organization assisted in mine clearing of the afflicted territories of Croatia, and during 1998—1999 monitored, by means of own satellite centre, the security situation in Kosovo. The last two above mentioned missions were already led in accordance with the article J of the Maastricht Treaty, so the EU shared their financial expenses. The WEU also ran activities in a wider European area to establish various forms of cooperation with other states. Hence, it made further categories of membership – status of associated member for the European NATO states outside the EU, and status of associated partner for the EU candidates. Thus in 1999, the whole “family of WEU countries” consisted of 28 states (10 full members, 6 associated members, 5 observers and 7 associated partners).

In 1997, the EU states signed another significant document – Treaty of Amsterdam (came into force in 1999), which revises and completes the Treaty of EU, and further specifies and deepens the Common Foreign and Security Policy. Among others, this treaty establishes the position of the CFSP High Representative, provides a tool of “constructive abstention” in decisions on the CFSP activities, founds the unit for political planning and early warning, and transfers the Petersburg Missions to the Treaty of EU.

In December 1998, the UK–French meeting of St. Malo resulted in agreement of the EU military powers on building a separate EU military potential. As a matter of fact, it was the beginning of abolishment of WEU as an autonomous organization independent on EU, and integration of its structures, and transfer of its tasks to the European Union. In 1999, the former General Secretary of NATO Javier Solana was appointed the High Representative for CFSP and just his task was to cover the WEU–EU merge, fulfill the principles of the CFSP and represent the EU. A new initiative developed within the EU is the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), which makes an integral part of the CFSP and puts the CFSP goals into practice. The purpose of the ESDP con-
European Security Structures

consists in strengthening the EU capacities to protect peace and support international security pursuant to the principles of the UNO Charter and Petersberg Missions. A declared objective of the European Security and Defence Policy is not establishment of European Armed Forces, but development of such military and civilian capabilities supported by needed institutional background so that the EU could promptly respond to new crises.

A decision on specific structures for the implementation of the ESDP was made during the Helsinki EU Summit in December 1999, where the European Headline Goal was set. In principle, by 2003 it requires to build up the EU military capabilities to the limit of 15 brigades (50—60000 personnel) able to be deployed in the crisis area within 60 days from decision on deployment, sustain in the area of operation up to one year, with support of adequate air and navy forces (500 airplanes and 15 ships) including the logistics, reconnaissance and C2. A part of these forces must be ready for deployment within 48 hours.

However, the ESDP also includes development of non-military instruments for crises solution, therefore in June 2000 a decision was taken to set up the civil mechanism for crises solution and build up the European police units (5000 personnel) to participate in international missions, operable by 2003 at the latest. At the Brussels conference (November 2000), the member as well as the candidate states declared what capacities (Force Catalogue) they intend to provide for accomplishment of the European Headline Goal. In total, they promised 100000 soldiers, including to 30000 air force and navy personnel, 100 ships and 400 air planes calculating with the necessary rotations. The Czech Republic offered for the EU forces a mechanized battalion, special forces company, NBC protection company, medical battalion, helicopter flight and “humanitarian centre.”

At the same time, a decision on establishment of appropriate new EU institutions was made. They incorporate the Political-Military Committee, which is a permanent body dealing with all the aspects of the CFSP, including the military one. In case of a military crisis, it should execute the political control over the operation within the jurisdiction of the European Council. Another institution is the EU Military Committee, which is a body consisting of General Staff Chiefs of the member states, eventually their representatives. The purpose of this committee is to function for the Political-Military Committee as an advisory body in military matters and propose own recommendations. The last institution is the EU Military Staff, exercising a function of the Centre for Early Warning, Situation Estimate and Strategic Planning.

In 2000, the Conference of Nice further specified mechanisms for decision making and execution of the ESDP, and cancelled the provisions defining the relationship between the EU and WEU, since it was assumed that the issues of the CFSP and ESDP falls under the responsibility of the EU. Furthermore, it founded the ESDP institutions for the political control and strategic management in crises, defined feasible ways of
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participation of the third countries in the ESDP, and shaped the relations between the EU and NATO.

Building of the ESDP institutions was practically finished in 2001, when the Political-Military Committee, EU Military Committee, and EU Military Staff started their operation. The Western European Union de facto terminated its activities a year ago. At the Laeken Summit (Belgium) held in December 2001, the EU could already declare its readiness to execute and control some operations (Petersburg Missions) independently. The first operation, which the EU initiated within the changed conditions of the CFSP on 1st January 2003, was the EU Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUPM), followed by the EU Military Mission in FYROM (Concordia) on 31st March 2003, when the EU took over the missions fulfilled till then by the NATO forces.

The first self-sustaining deployment of the EU forces outside the European continent took place in Congo near the city of Bunia (Artemis Operation) at the end of this summer. It was the first EU military intervention without employment of the NATO capabilities outside Europe under the UNO mandate. The lead nation was France and the number of deployed European soldiers was set to 1800 (of which 1200 operated in the surroundings of Bunia). France sent more than half of the declared forces (up to 1000 soldiers) to be completed by the Belgian, British, Swedish and even Senegal and South African troops. The military deployment of European forces in Congo was an opportunity for testing the European Security and Defence Policy because the solution of the complicated situation in Congo carried many dangers. Undoubtedly the Congo mission was for the EU a challenge, how to prove meaning and operational power of the ESDP.

NATO and European Union

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in spite of a remarkable progress in the area of European Security and Defence Policy, still remains the primary and doubtless guarantor of the European security and presence of the U.S. troops in Europe. NATO with its transatlantic dimension stays a fundamental instrument of common defence for all the states of European Union, except for Finland, Ireland, Sweden and Austria. Both, enlarging NATO and EU have a similar membership, which is a firm precondition for a close cooperation between NATO and EU. Hence since the very beginning, it was necessary to outline mutual positions and areas of responsibility, so the EU prepares its CFSP as complementary to the NATO activities, i.e. gradually develops conditions for military operations led in cases when NATO is not engaged. However, the EU emancipation and existence of NATO does not mean building of some parallel and duplicate structures, since it would go beyond the capabilities of European states. Therefore in the Washington Summit (1999), NATO approved the EU access to the pre-identified NATO collective instruments and capabilities. But the specific agreements on practical implementation of the EU–NATO relationship and their legal framework were due to the Turkish veto successfully closed not sooner than after three years. In December 2002, the EU and NATO made a declaration on strategic partnership in the area of security, and in March 2003 finally terminated the technical discussion by a signature of the
Framework Agreement defining the consultative and crisis mechanisms of cooperation, security agreement and the EU access to the NATO capabilities for conducting European military operations. They involve primarily operational planning skills in SHAPE, earmarked forces and armament, C2 structures including an identification of possible employment of the European commands, and also the agreement on adaptation of the NATO defence planning as the Europeans request. Simply said, in practice it means that the European Union can use the units, structures and equipment earmarked for NATO in case of a crisis in which solution NATO, as a whole, does not want to participate, eventually if deployment of the U.S. forces seems to be questionable. Discussions on this mechanism carried a lot of problems, because it assumes that the NATO capabilities will be also used by the non-EU members (Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, Iceland, Norway, Turkey) which should not for this reason participate in common decision making. Nevertheless due to the expected enlargement of both the organizations, some countries (including the Czech Republic) will soon solve this problem.

Conclusion

Development of the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy is a logical consequence of changes that occurred in Europe and the whole world during the last decade of the 20th century. A significant progress in integration of the European continent and growing responsibility of European countries for maintaining the peace and security have brought lots of new challenges and problems, which solutions is in the hands of the European security structures. Indeed, NATO remains the fundamental security organization in the Euro-Atlantic area and embodiment of the transatlantic link, which is for the security and stability in the Euro-Atlantic territory still irreplaceable, yet it is reinforced by the autonomous European structures. Deepening political integration of the EU countries strengthens their capabilities to influence development of international security. The priority of the EU activities lies in conflict prevention, and the broad spectrum of military and civil capacities enables the EU to play a role of an organization capable of participating in comprehensive solutions of crises. The European Union defines and executes its European Security and Defence Policy also as a result of own political emancipation in relation to the USA. A declared goal of the European Security and Defence Policy is building of such military and non-military capacities and necessary institutional background to enable the EU promptly react to crises, mainly in those cases, when NATO as a whole (with USA) does not want to be engaged in the operation. Ambitions of this policy do not consist primarily in the territorial defence, which is a mission of NATO, but in fulfilment of the Petersburg Missions. Progressing emancipation of the EU in the field of defence and security makes space for new capacities and creates conditions for growing credibility of the Common Foreign and Security Policy as well as the whole European Union.
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