

ENERGY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PRESENT CHALLENGES TO THE EUROPEAN COMMON SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY

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Abstract: *The Common Security and Defence Policy is a part of the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and establishes the policy framework for the institutional structures and military instruments which have to deal with the security challenges in Europe's geopolitical neighborhood. The article aims to identify and analyze the role of energy as one of the present challenges to the European Common Security and Defence Policy in the context of the recent events in the world economy.*

Keywords: security; defence; European integration; globalization; energy; gas; dependence

The origins of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) can be found in the specific situation of Europe, following the end of the World War II, which set the stage for the cooperation across Europe in the field of security and defence. The first step in this direction was made in 1948 when the United Kingdom, France and the Benelux (Belgium, Nederland and Luxembourg) signed the Treaty of Brussels. A mutual defence clause was included in the agreement sowing the seeds for the creation of the Western European Union (WEU). This was a defensive alliance with the primary purpose of envisioning a collective self defence effort in order to maintain peace in Europe and keep the continent safe following the effects of the Second World War. This framework along with NATO was the main forum for consultation and dialogue on security and defence in Europe, until the late 1990s. Now all the functions of the Western European Union were incorporated into the European Union after the adoption of the Treaty of Lisbon in 2009.

After the World War II, several steps were made towards a common security and defence policy and in the field of foreign policy too. Following the Hague Summit held in 1969, the foreign ministers of the European countries introduced the idea of European Political Co-operation (EPC) in the Davignon Report from October 1970. This was the first step in the direction of harmonizing members' foreign policies and creating the Common Foreign and Security Policy introduced by the Maastricht Treaty. By this treaty there was established a single institutional

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framework - European Union, based on three pillars – the second of which being named Common Foreign and Security Policy. Under this pillar was introduced the idea of a “common defence policy, which might in time lead to a common defence” (Article J4.CFSP).

Figure 1 – European Union and NATO member states



The type of military actions that can be undertaken by the European Union in crisis management operations were incorporated in the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997). This tasks - known as the Petersberg tasks - were established for the first time at the WEU's Council of Ministers, in June 1992, near Bonn in Germany, outlining the missions for which military units could be used:

- humanitarian and rescue tasks;
- peace-keeping tasks;
- tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking.

These tasks were included in the European Security and Defence Policy (now Common Security and Defence Policy) and were further detailed through the 2009 Treaty of Lisbon (TEU Art. 42):

- humanitarian and rescue tasks;
- conflict prevention and peace-keeping tasks;
- tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking;
- joint disarmament operations;
- military advice and assistance tasks;
- post-conflict stabilization tasks.

Table 1 – European Security Framework

- **1948 – The Brussels Treaty**
- **1951 – The Treaty of Paris**
- **1957 – The Treaty of Rome**
- **1970 – The Davignon Report**
- **1992 – The Treaty of Maastricht**
- **1992 – Petersberg Tasks**
- **1997 – The Treaty of Amsterdam**
- **1998 – Saint Malo’s Summit**
- **2003 – European Security Strategy**
- **2009 – The Treaty of Lisbon**

Although there were established some ambitious objectives regarding the security and defence policy, any concrete actions wouldn’t be undertaken until the late of the 1990s. After the wars of secession in the Balkans we can mention the St. Malo Declaration from 1998, France and United Kingdom agreeing that European Union must have the capacity for autonomous decision-making and action capabilities sustained by credible military forces, in order to fulfill the tasks mentioned in the Amsterdam Treaty.

In 1999, at the Cologne European Council, Member States laid the foundation for the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) – now Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), in order to make the European Union able to respond to international crises. At the Cologne Council it was agreed that the European Union should have the military instruments to respond autonomously to security challenges, a certain number of institutional and military structures being established for the analysis, planning and conduct of the operations, and the military assets being drawn either from NATO capabilities or national or multinational contributions.

In this context, Javier Solana was appointed as High Representative for the CFSP (Common Foreign and Security Policy), after he was the general Secretary of NATO. This position was established by the Treaty of Amsterdam in order to create the premises for a European Union with “one face and one voice” on foreign policy and security matters.

The European Council organized in December 2003 adopted the European Security Strategy, providing the conceptual framework for the further development of the Common Security and Defence Policy. The European Security Strategy is the result of the splitting of the members of the European Union regarding the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the necessity of forging a consensus on what should guide EU’s international role. The strategy entitled “A Secure Europe in a Better World” provides a systematic thought about the security environment, identifies the challenges and key threats, establishes the strategic objectives and the subsequent political implications for the European Union. (ESS 2003)

The “Report of the Implementation of the ESS Providing Security in a Changing World” published in 2008 by the High Representative for the Common

Foreign and Security Policy confirmed the validity of the European Security Strategy adopted in 2003 and the need to have an European Union “more capable, more coherent and more active” in order to achieve its full potential.

In less than a decade, the Common Security and Defence Policy has known a rapid development and has acquired an important position in the European policies and also an operational capacity. The Treaty of Lisbon and its entry into force in December 2009 can be considered a cornerstone for the evolution of the Common Security and Defence Policy, this treaty providing the legal framework on institutional aspects and including the European – Common Security and Defence Policy (ESDP - CSDP) in the Union’s Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).

Figure 2 – The Institutional Framework of the Common Security and Defence Policy



The Treaty of Lisbon introduced some important provisions related to the Common Security and Defence Policy, the most important being: a mutual assistance and a solidarity clause, the expansion of the “Petersberg tasks”, the creation of a framework for Permanent Structured Cooperation and the creation of the European External Action Service (EEAS) under the authority of the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy/Vice President of the European Commission (HR/VP) etc.

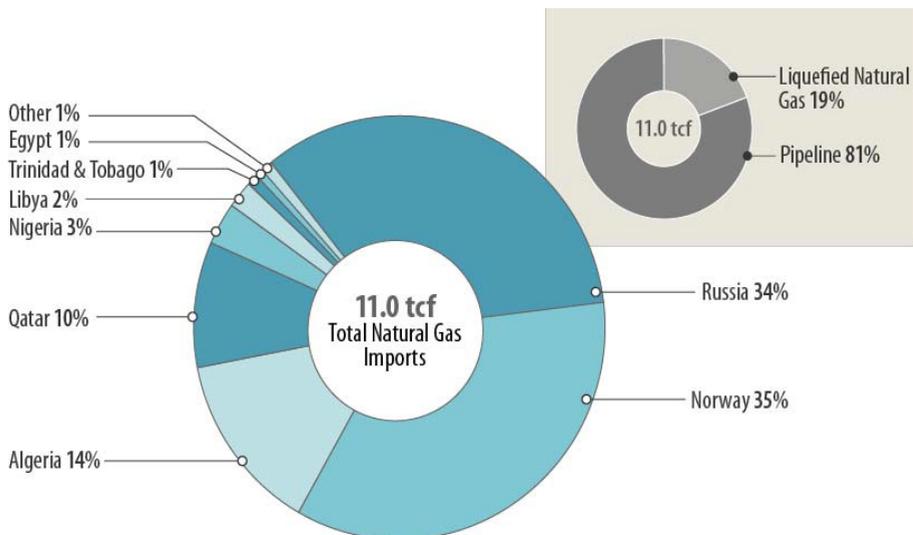
According to the Treaty of the European Union, the decisions related to the Common Security and Defence Policy are taken by the European Council and the Council of the European Union and usually they should be taken unanimously. The post-Lisbon approach concerning the security challenges is comprehensive, this meaning that the actions taken are part of a political dialogue process. They are

also part of a strategic concept, integrated in the overall policy, representing sustainable solutions, the host country being fully involved in the process. It's obvious that the Lisbon Treaty didn't transform the European Union into a super-state. It only offers a necessary policy framework in order to deal with the recent security challenges, to manage the continuously evolving international environment.

In the last decades, energy became again a strategic stake, important also for the European states. Being the largest importer of energy worldwide, the European Union faces two major serious tendencies: an increasing consumption of energy and a decrease in available energetic resources. Thus the energy needs of the European Member States is approximately double the energy stocks, the situation being important enough to include issues related to the alternative energy sources, climatic changes and economic globalization process in the Treaty of Lisbon and Europe 2020 Strategy.

The European Strategy in this domain focuses on a diversification of the energy resources, auctioning in two ways: once, at the internal level, by replacing the traditional and classical energy resources with the renewable types of energy and second, at the external level, by the diversification of the supply countries and regions, the actual situation illustrating a strong dependence on Russia – more than one third of the total natural gas imports coming from Russia.

Figure 3 – Supply countries for the natural gas consumed in EU Member States



Source: Ratner *et al.*, 2013

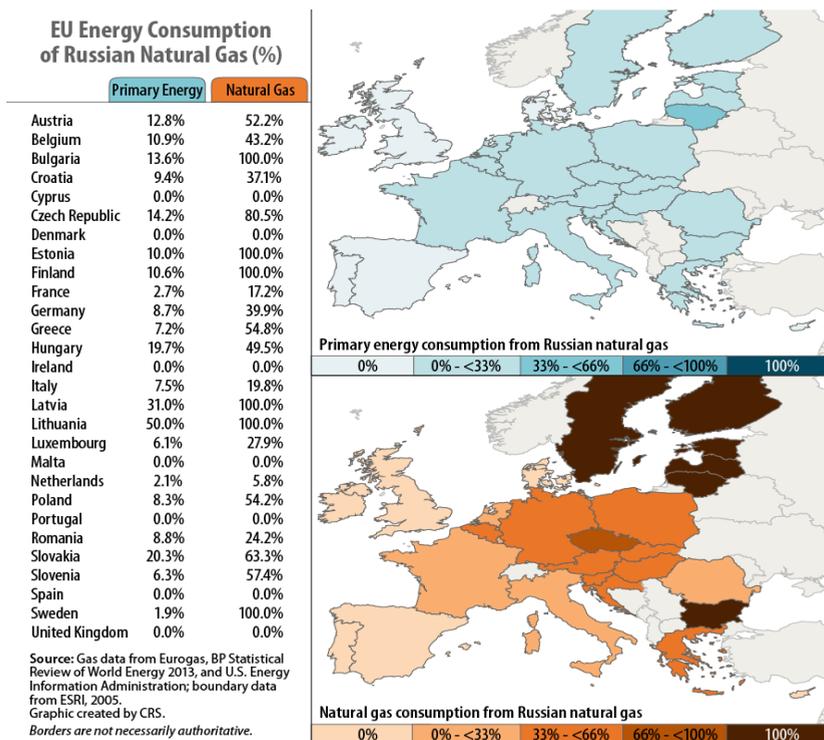
The underlying of the supply sources for the natural gas consumed within the European Union Member States is not irrelevant. Despite all the efforts made in recent years, the majority of the energy used in the European Union is still based

on the fossil fuels: coal, oil and natural gas. Between them, the consumption of natural gas is the only one with an increasing tendency, being confirmed again the strategic place of this resource in the European economy.

The analysis of the total European consumption of energy offers us a global image of the energy mix at the regional level and can confirm a few tendencies regarding the decrease of the consumption of energy based on coal and oil (the tendency is more obvious in the case of coal based energy), the maintaining at the same level of the consumption of nuclear energy and an increasing consumption of natural gas and renewable energy.

But it is more interesting to analyze the structure of the energy consumption for each Member State of the European Union, the statistical data showing us important differences between them from this point of view, even the increasing share of the consumption of renewable energy and the strategic role of the natural gas are present in every economy.

Figure 4 – EU Energy Consumption of Russian Natural Gas (%)



Source: Ratner *et al.*, 2013

One of the issues discussed in this context is related to the differences between the dependence to Russia regarding the imports of natural gas and the impact of this situation on the political approaches and on the security of the European Union. A high degree of dependence increases the vulnerability of these

Member States and of the European Union as a whole, interfering with the political issues and influencing the diplomatic discourse and behaviour. The recent Ukrainian crisis and the way in which European Union adopted the measures against Russia provided a very relevant image of the impact of the energetic dependence on Russia on the position adopted by each Member State.

But the economic relations between Russia and European Union should be considered taking into account all the aspects, not only the energetic balance and the obvious dependence to imports from Russia of some European countries. For instance, Russia became in the last decade one of the most important commercial partners of the European Union, the trade balance being asymmetric in favour of the European countries, some specialist underlying the existence of a dependence of Russia in terms of international trade. At the same time, we can't neglect the vulnerability of the Russian economy to the unpredictable changes on the international energy markets and the impacts of the political situation on these aspects.

CONCLUSIONS

Analyzing the recent challenges to the Common Security and Defence Policy it is obvious that energy and the energetic dependence is one of the major strategic stakes, taking into account the role of energy on the economic process. In this context, European Union is facing an important risk maintaining a high degree of dependence to the Russian imports of natural gas, with a negative impact on the possibility of promoting the democratic values and adopting strong public positions in favour of democracy, justice and market economy.

But the situation changed in the last decade, with a decreasing share of the imports of natural gas from Russia and an increasing consumption of renewable energy, even the distribution is not homogeneous within European Union. It would be useful to concentrate the efforts in finding new supply countries for the natural gas, even in the next years it is not possible to eliminate this dependence because of the costs implied by the infrastructure used in transporting natural gas and the long distances, all the other potential suppliers not being located so close as Russia.

So maybe another option could be the replacement of the imports of natural gas with oil imports, because Russia is very well integrated in the world oil industry and the risks to the energetic security of the European Union are smaller than in the case of importing natural gas, as long as we don't have a public company like Gasprom in charge with Russian policy in this domain. In this case, changing the supplier is a more viable solution, the transport infrastructure being simpler and more potential suppliers being available.

In this context the energetic issues remain one of the most important challenges to the European security with a major impact on the other aspects of the integration process. That's why this is an evidence for the necessity of taking into consideration this matter in formulating and reforming the European Common Security and Defence Policy to better answer to the new trends in world economy.

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