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A MILITARISED UNION

UNDERSTANDING AND
CONFRONTING THE MILITARISATION
OF THE EUROPEAN UNION



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ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is an internationally operating, left-wing non-profit organisation providing civic education. It is affiliated with Germany's 'Die Linke' (Left Party). Active since 1990, the foundation has been committed to the analysis of social and political processes and developments worldwide. The Stiftung works in the context of the growing multiple crises facing our current political and economic system.

In cooperation with other progressive organisations around the globe, the Stiftung focuses on democratic and social participation, the empowerment of disadvantaged groups, and alternative economic and social development. The Stiftung's international activities aim to provide civic education by means of academic analyses, public programmes, and projects conducted together with partner institutions.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung works towards a more just world and a system based on international solidarity.

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ENAAT

The European Network Against Arms Trade (ENAAT) is an informal network of European grassroots peace groups working together in research, advocacy and campaigning. The network was founded in 1984 at an international conference on arms production and military exports in the Netherlands.

Although European governments claim not to export arms to countries at war or violating human rights, European arms are sold all over the world with very few restrictions. Arms trade is a threat to peace, security and development, and the arms industry is a driving force behind increasing military exports and expenditure.

Activities of ENAAT groups and individuals vary from lawsuits against export deals to lobbying for stricter export control rules or protesting at military company shareholders meetings. The ENAAT programme officer in Brussels follows development at EU level, including plans to direct European funds to arms industry research.

The network ran several common campaigns, such as Stop Arming Indonesia and a campaign against the use of Export Credits for military goods. At present, ENAAT runs the NoEUmoney4arms campaign.

enaat.org

PREFACE

How is the European Union (EU) preparing itself for the challenges that lie ahead? How will it deal with the climate, economic and social crises we are facing? What steps is it taking to tackle the root causes of these crises?

Answers to these questions are vital to those living within and outside the EU. The EU's priorities and the subsequent allocation of political attention, personnel and financial resources matter a great deal. Disturbingly, the EU and its Member States have taken significant steps in recent years to divert attention and resources from civilian to military priorities. Only a couple of years ago, warnings about an EU military-industrial complex seemed far-fetched; it is now becoming a reality of which the EU is increasingly proud.

Although ideas regarding the militarisation of the EU have been around for a long time, they gained significant traction in 2016 with the Brexit referendum. In just a few years, EU Member States and institutions — with substantial lobbying by the European arms and security industries — have advanced the militarisation of the EU at a worrying pace. The establishment of the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) and the Coordinated Annual Review on Defence (CARD) as well as the introduction of the European Defence Fund (EDF) have paved the way for an EU-wide shift towards military priorities — to the detriment of Member State cooperation on social issues and peace.

The development of joint military capabilities has been encouraged, and commitments to increase military spending are being made, based on the notion that the European project is under threat and that a 'stronger Europe' is needed on the global stage. Calls for the EU to make use of its military weight globally are getting louder and louder. As further social and economic EU integration is being rejected and/or blocked by Member States, this strategy seems to stem from a desire to demonstrate the EU's ability to act in times of crises, integrate right-wing populist actors and forge a new consensus for Europe — one that 'protects'.

At the same time, ideas such as 'strategic autonomy' or claims that the EU's militarisation will ultimately cut military procurement costs are overshadowing the deep divide between Member States and their military-strategic, economic and geostrategic goals. Given the highly delicate nature of security, defence and foreign policy, serious doubts must be cast on the idea that building an EU military-industrial complex will deepen ties among Member States and foster consensus. What is certain is that the European arms and security industries are, and will be, profiting directly from EU taxpayers' money and EU-wide commitments to increase military spending.

However, the shift in discourse, structure and financing to prioritise militarisation will neither secure peace nor address the structural causes of the conflicts which have been, and will continue to be, fuelled not least by the exploitative economy of a neoliberal EU. Despite this alarming development, the EU's militarisation and its possible long-term implications for the bloc are not well known among the left or the progressive spectrum in Europe. Political education materials that give a comprehensive but compact overview of the basic elements of EU militarisation are scarce. This booklet aims to fill this gap and provide an introduction to this complex subject. We hope that it will prove a helpful resource for those active in peace movements, younger readers looking for a critical and constructive approach towards the EU, and those fighting for a more peaceful, social and climate-just Europe.

This booklet was made possible by members of the European Network Against Arms Trade (ENAAAT) and builds on their expertise, experience and commitment. We thank them profoundly not only for their hard work putting this publication together but above all for the battles that they are fighting day in, day out regarding this issue.

Axel Ruppert,
Project Manager at Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Brussels Office

INTRODUCTION

The EU has been taking major steps towards a new form of common defence and military cooperation. The overarching EU law currently in force is the Treaty on European Union (TEU)¹, which has been in effect since the adoption of the 2009 Lisbon Treaty. Though PESCO was also included in the Lisbon Treaty, it took a further eight years and the Brexit referendum for it to be kick-started in 2017. All EU Member States except Malta and Denmark have joined PESCO and have committed to developing their military capabilities, increasing military spending and supplying combat units for European military missions.² Militarisation is gaining momentum in EU politics, reaching the point that it is even financed by the EU Community budget, and an all-encompassing narrative is driving its development and progress.

In this booklet, we will take a closer look at the discourse, structures and actors involved in EU militarisation, its consequences, as well as potential ways to counteract this shift. Firstly, however, we wish to clarify what we mean by militarisation. “[b]roadly defined, militarization is the cultural, symbolic, and material preparation for war [...] Most importantly, militarization is an intentional process, something a state or group must set out to do.”³ Based on this definition, we understand militarisation as a process:

8 /

- > in which political and financial resources are reallocated to expanding military capabilities;
- > in which structures are created to organise, coordinate and expand collaboration between political decision-makers, the military and the arms industry;
- > in which addressing pressing challenges with military means is prioritised to the detriment of civilian means;
- > that is driven by rhetoric that demonstrates military strength and prepares for war.

Militarisation at EU level is above all inspired by ‘securitisation’, a subjective process in which the meaning of threat or (in)security is socially constructed, justifying the urgent use of extraordinary measures by security or military bodies to counter that perceived threat.⁴ In other words, it is a process through which a political problem is identified and dealt with as a security issue. An example of this in action is the way migration and asylum issues have been addressed in the EU and how refugees have been framed as a threat by EU institutions and national governments. Though in theory the process of securitisation does not exclude non-security measures, in practice it limits alternative thought processes and types of response. The focus of

civilian and political actors is narrowed down to a very limited set of measures. In other words, for a person with a hammer every problem looks like a nail.

At present, the dominant narrative in the EU favours militarisation, increased internal security and border fortification. All three are closely intertwined and benefit the security and arms industry that sells military goods, surveillance technology and security equipment. However, none of these approaches can respond to the crises we are facing — the climate crisis and its links to conflict and displacement, the lack of trust in world governance and rising socio-economic inequalities between world regions and within states.

Given this context, why is the EU focused on building military strength and how is this shift being sold to European citizens? Who decides and who profits? Finally, what does this mean for people within and outside Europe and what alternatives do we have?

To address these questions, the first chapter of this booklet illustrates the history of EU militarisation and highlights the long and inseparable involvement of the arms and security industry. The second chapter explores the narratives that underpin and seek to legitimise EU militarisation. Chapter three provides an overview of the main actors, institutional structures and decision-making processes involved in the EU's shift to a militarised union. Chapter four breaks down the economic arguments most commonly used by its proponents, while chapter five highlights the disastrous consequences of militarisation for the peace and safety of those living in the Global South (and indeed in the EU). Finally, chapter six provides an extensive (though non-exhaustive) list of alternative options for EU security policies based on peace and gives suggestions on how to take action.

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This publication was written by several experts on EU security and defence policies. Coming from diverse academic and activist backgrounds, from different EU countries, they are all independent from the military-industrial complex and are keenly aware that security is subjective, partial and never neutral.

What type of security do we want? It is a matter of choice, and how we go about obtaining it will differ according to our goals. Do we want to create a European and global society based on peace and human rights? Or do we want to build a 'Fortress Europe' based on fear and mistrust, only allowing in a regulated workforce, fossil fuels and foreign currencies? The latter can surely only lead to armament, militarisation and war.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF EU MILITARISATION

1



"By 2025 we need a fully-fledged European Defence Union."
Jean-Claude Juncker, State of the Union Address, September 2017

"We are not vendors. We are partners."
Christopher Lombardi, Vice-President of the arms company Raytheon, at the Egmont expert seminar 'The European Defence of Europe?', February 2017

MILESTONES OF EU MILITARISATION

In 2002, a small but influential group came together to discuss the future of European defence during the Convention of the Future of Europe, an ambitious project aimed at drafting a European constitution. The composition of this group was remarkable, made up solely of arms lobbyists and policy-makers from the military establishment.

Their meeting was no coincidence. The European arms industry had gone through a profound crisis following the end of the Cold War. After 40 years of massive spending on every military gadget imaginable, military establishments no longer had any winning arguments for wasting public money. In what is called the 'peace dividend', many countries cut their military spending, leading to a number of arms companies going bankrupt, scaling back their activities or being bought out by competitors. However, the 2002 meeting marked a turning point: for the first time in its history, the EU was seriously considering supporting European arms companies.

12 / While many of their proposals did not come to fruition, the group did manage to push forward the establishment of a European Defence Agency (EDA). Years later, one of the participants in the meeting, the then-head lobbyist of the arms company EADS (now Airbus), Michel Troubetzkoy, would brag that EDA was *"EADS' baby"* and that *"the agency was 95 percent similar to EADS' proposals"*.⁵ EDA's website states that *"a push from industry"*, led by lobbyist Troubetzkoy, was instrumental in its creation. Troubetzkoy is quoted as saying *"I personally asked [former French president] Valéry Giscard d'Estaing to consider a new political impetus for defence cooperation in Europe through the creation of a dedicated agency."*⁶ Unsurprisingly, one of EDA's founding missions is to *"strengthen the European defence industry"*.⁷

The creation of EDA very clearly shows that a small group of lobbyists and policy-makers are dominating the decision-making process in the sphere of EU militarisation. The lobbying watchdog Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO) described the EU defence community as a *"spider's web of trust and influence"*.⁸ Or, as the arms lobbying group ASD describes it, *"there is a constant and close dialogue with both the European Commission and the European Defence Agency"*.⁹

In 2003, the security industry* made another breakthrough. Against the backdrop of the 'War on Terror' and a US homeland security industry boom, the European security industry, not wanting to miss out on new market opportunities, started pushing for a security research programme. In 2003, a Group of Personalities (GoP) on Security Research, a European Commission advisory group, was instrumental in shaping a new security research programme; eight of the GoP's 25 members were from the security industry. Although its funding was limited to civilian and dual-use**: Dual-use refers to technologies or equipment that can be used for either civilian or military purposes.] security, explicitly excluding military research, the programme created a backdoor for the arms industry to become increasingly involved in EU research programmes and push for militarised border and internal security policies.

Calls for EU military research continued unabated. During an EDA conference in 2007, ASD's Ake Svensson called on the EU to create a 'Group of Wise Men' to propose an agenda for military research. While this push for a fully military programme was initially opposed by Member States, a majority of MEPs and parts of the European Commission, consistent pressure by the arms industry proved to be successful.

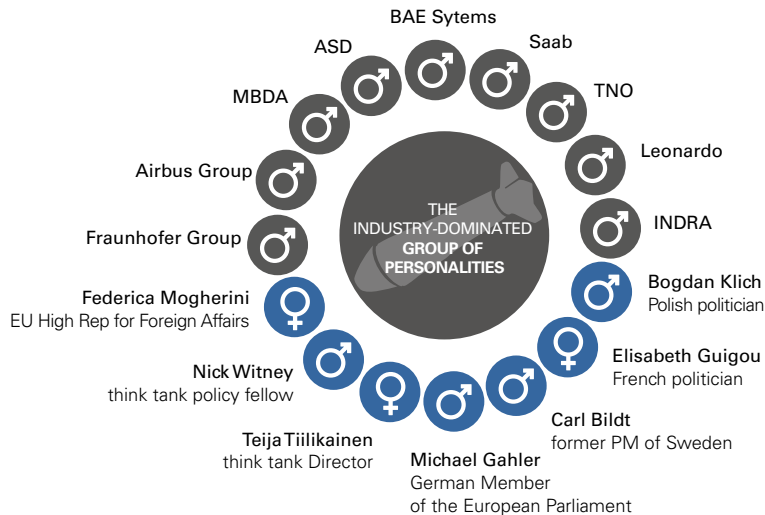
In 2016, following the Eurosceptic UK's vote to leave the European Union, the militarisation of the EU, which had already started before the referendum, rapidly stepped up a notch. The arms lobby saw the perfect opportunity to push its agenda forward quickly. The ten biggest arms companies and lobbying organisations ASD and EOS, for example, had a total of 327 meetings with commissioners and cabinet members in 2015. At the same time, 48 accredited lobbyists were walking in and out of the European Parliament, enjoying free access to MEPs and decision-makers. The industry further ramped up its lobbying efforts at international conferences and arms fairs. At the annual EDA conference, for example, Airbus alone received 22 invitations. Also in 2015, the European Commission defence adviser Burkard Schmitt moved to ASD, where he became *"the pen on all matters related to defence and security."*¹⁰

* The term 'security industry' includes all for-profit companies and research centres active in the research, development and production of security and military goods and technologies. Many of these actors, the major ones in particular, are active in both civilian or dual-use security and in the military domain. We will thus use 'security industry' to include the military industry and the term 'arms/military industry' when specifically addressing this sub-sector of the security industry.

** Dual-use refers to technologies or equipment that can be used for either civilian or military purposes.

The arms industry was firmly in the driver's seat of a new advisory body, the Group of Personalities on Defence Research (GoP), established by the European Commission in 2015. This group was intended to provide strategic input on European security and defence policy but it also provided detailed advice on the form and content of the EDF as well as its budget.

THE INDUSTRY-DOMINATED 2015 "GROUP OF PERSONALITIES"



Source: Group of Personalities final report

Seven of the 16 members of this GoP represented the weapons industry (Airbus Group, BAE Systems, Finmeccanica, MBDA, Saab, Indra and ASD). Two further members represented private research institutes performing military research (TNO and Fraunhofer-Gesellschaft). Civil society was not represented, nor was academia. The conclusions of the GoP's report were predictable and urged the EU to "*strengthen Europe's overall military posture*"¹¹ by pouring €3.5 billion into military research. This recommendation was literally copied into the European Defence Action Plan published by the Commission in November 2016.

At least the EU Commissioner for Industry was honest about the purpose of this fund when she tweeted: "*good news for defence industry: new European Defence Fund before the end of the year!*"

GOOD NEWS FOR THE DEFENCE INDUSTRY



Elżbieta Bieńkowska

Follow



#SOTEU – good news for defence industry: new European defence fund before the end of the year europa.eu/!rh98Kf

The Commission was aware that these plans were highly controversial. During one of the group's meetings, a Commission representative reminded the other members that one of the GoP's goals was to *"overcome resistance towards a defence research programme"*.¹² In the European Parliament, conservatives ridiculed peace activists, calling them *"pacifists who are trying to imperil the future of our industry and the safety of our citizens"*.¹³

The GoP was quickly followed by other initiatives. In 2017, EU Member States activated PESCO, a cooperative framework on military issues intended to foster cooperation in capabilities as well as increase European governments' military spending (see chapter 3). In 2019, the European Commission created a new department, the Directorate-General for Defence Industry and Space, devoted to upholding the *"competitiveness and innovation of the European defence industry"*.¹⁴

These steps have had a profound impact on the nature of the European project. While the EU's discourse is often centred around human rights and the promotion of peace, the EU is now defining itself as a 'geopolitical European Union'. Up to a couple of years ago, the EU's military spending was non-existent. Its defence spending is now skyrocketing, to the detriment of non-military programmes. Worryingly, this militarisation is spreading across all policies.

A wide range of civilian programmes are being opened up to the arms industry, which is now considered a business like any other. The EU's foreign policy is increasingly focused on providing military assistance to third states to 'promote peace', even though some of these allies are dictatorships and violate the very human rights the EU claims to protect.

At the same time, EU border policies are aimed at keeping refugees and migrants out of Europe, using military means if necessary. Until recently, warnings about an EU military-industrial complex seemed far-fetched; now, it is becoming a reality.

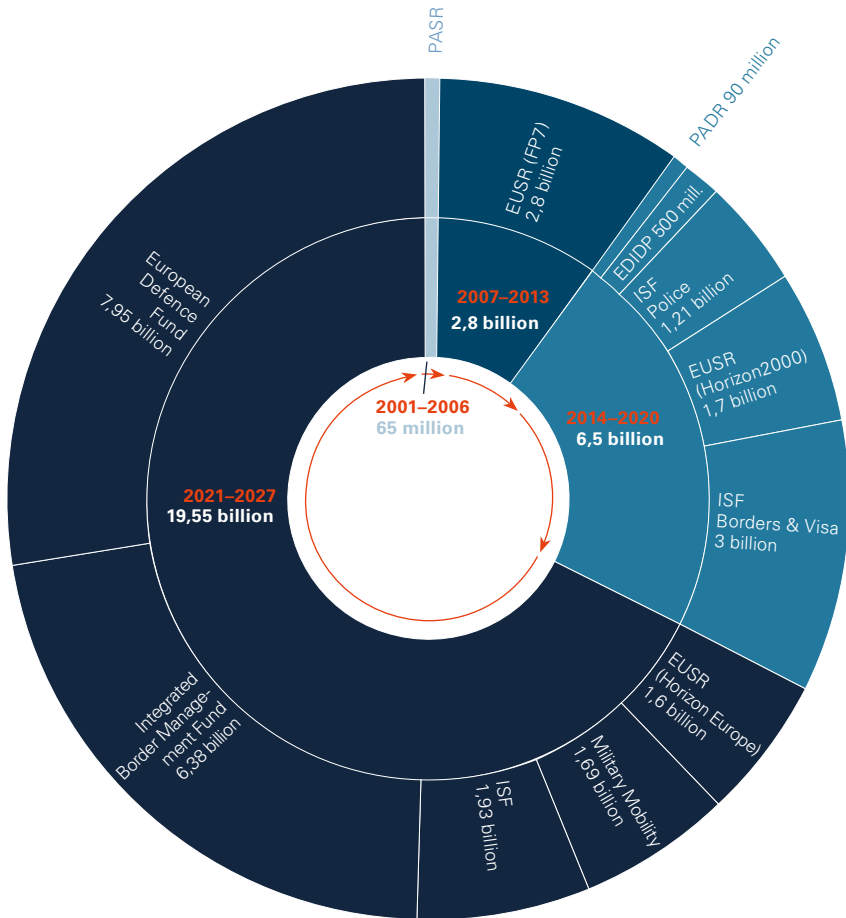
MILESTONES OF EU MILITARISATION

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1992 | The Maastricht Treaty establishes an EU Common Foreign and Security Pillar |
| 1998 | Saint-Malo declaration: creation of the European Security and Defence Policy |
| 2002 | The Working Group on Defence meets in the framework of the Convention of Europe. This Group will lay the foundation for the European Defence Agency |
| 2003 | The Group of Personalities on Security Research is established by the European Commission, with a large delegation from the security and defence industry. The Group is tasked with providing input for a security research programme |
| 2003 | The EU High Representative launches 'A Secure Europe in a Better World', a strategic document emphasising the role of security technologies in solving societal problems |
| 2004 | Start of the Preparatory Action for Security Research (PASR), worth €65 million |
| 2004 | The arms lobbying organisation, EDIG, changes name and becomes the Aerospace and Defence Industries Association of Europe (ASD), which represents 18 of Europe's largest arms companies |
| 2004 | Creation of the European Defence Agency (EDA) |
| 2005 | Creation of the EU border agency Frontex |
| 2007 | Start of the multi-million Euro security research programme, of which the arms industry is one of its biggest recipients |
| 2007 | The European Organisation for Security (EOS), which unites the arms and security industry, opens its doors in the same building as the ASD |

Blue: important declarations or decisions and institutional changes
Orange: creation of lobbying groups and "advisory bodies" which include the arms industry
Red: defence and security budgets

- | | |
|------|--|
| 2009 | The Defence Package is approved by the European Parliament, which to a large extent, liberalises the internal European market for arms exports |
| 2015 | EU Internal Market Commissioner Bienkowska establishes the Group of Personalities on Defence Research. The Group is heavily dominated by the defence industry and recommends the establishment of a EU military research programme |
| 2016 | The EU High Representative launches the Global Strategy, a strategic document which puts forward a more militarised EU foreign policy |
| 2016 | The European Commission publishes the European Defence Action Plan which formally launches the outline for the European Defence Fund (EDF) |
| 2017 | Start of the Preparatory Action on Defence Research (PADR) worth €90 million |
| 2017 | Activation of PESCO, pushing EU Member States to increase military expenditure |
| 2019 | The Directorate-General Defence Industry and Space (DG DEFIS) is created, an EU Commission department for the defence industry. |
| 2019 | Start of the European Defence Industrial Development Programme (EDIDP), worth €500 million |
| 2021 | Start of the European Defence Fund (EDF), worth €8 billion, the first fully-fledged EU military research programme |
| 2021 | Start of the European Peace Facility (EPF), worth €5 million (funded directly by Member States), to facilitate EU military operations and provide military support to Southern countries considered as partners |
| 2021 | Start of the EU Military Mobility programme, worth €1.7 million. Also called 'the military Schengen', it aims at facilitating the transport of military equipment and troops across the EU |

SECURITY AND DEFENCE BUDGETS BY BUDGETARY CYCLE



PASR: Preparatory Action on Security Research | EDIDP: EU Defence Industrial Dev. Programme
 EUSR: EU Security Research | ISF: Internal Security Fund | PADR: Preparatory Action on Defence Research

Source: European Commission. Allocations for 2021-2027 are in current prices.
 Under the research programme Horizon Europe, €14 billion will go to 'Digital, Industry and Space' research, which will include security-related technologies like AI, robotics or emerging technologies, also of interest for military use. Many actors of the security & military industry are also active in digital and space and the frontier between civilian/military applications is increasingly blurred.

THE ROLE OF THE SECURITY INDUSTRY AND THINK TANKS ON EU MILITARISATION

The European arms lobby is well-represented in the EU bubble* and has considerable means to push its agenda through lobbying carried out directly by major arms companies like Airbus or by lobby groups in the defence and security sectors (such as ASD or EOS).

A SUBSTANTIAL LOBBY BUDGET

Almost all top-tier defence companies have a lobbying office in Brussels with a substantial lobbying budget. The news site Politico estimated the industry's EU lobby spending to be around €54.7 million in 2016, based on the EU Transparency Register.¹⁵ The top 10 European arms companies have a combined annual lobbying budget of approximately €5 million (numerous other companies, professional associations, lobby groups and consultancies account for the rest of the total lobby spending). This is most likely an underestimation, as many companies under-report their lobbying budgets to the EU Transparency Register.

LOBBYING RESOURCES OF MAJOR ARMS COMPANIES

COMPANY	LOBBY EXPENDITURE	ACCREDITED LOBBYISTS	MEETINGS WITH JUNCKER COMMISSION
BAE systems	50'000€ – 99'999€	1	3
Airbus	1'500'000€ – 1'749'000€	7	157
Thales Group	300'000€	3	23
Leonardo	300'000€ – 399'999€	3	35
Rolls-Royce	1'500'000€ – 1'749'000€	2	21
Naval group	100'000€ – 199'999€	3	11
Rheinmetall	300'000€ – 399'999€	4	1
MBDA	50'000€ – 99'999€	1	7
Safran	495'000€	5	11
Saab	200'000€ – 299'999€	5	11
ASD	298'000€	11	31
EOS	100'000€ – 199'999€	3	16
Total	4'893'000€ – 5'984'999€	49	327

Source: lobbyfacts.eu

* Brussels is a close second to Washington in terms of lobby influence — it is home to an estimated 25,000 lobbyists working within over 12,000 lobby groups. It is a business that generated over €15 billion in 2018.]

By way of comparison, ENAAT's total annual budget is less than €40,000, with one part-time employee. ENAAT is the main peace network in Europe that has directly advocated against the EDF and EU militarisation since 2016.

EASY ACCESS TO EUROPEAN AND NATIONAL DECISION-MAKERS

The arms industry exerts considerable influence over the EU and benefits from multiple access points.

Arms industry CEOs and lobbyists have privileged access to relevant commissioners, their cabinets and senior officials, whether via bilateral meetings or consultative processes at all stages of policy- and decision-making, as well as implementation. Arms fairs and air shows not only function as a big marketplace of weapons but are also key events for industry lobbyists. Conferences such as the annual EDA meetings* or the European Defence Industry Summits also function as key meeting points between the arms industry and policy-makers.

The European Parliament is also host to arms industry lobbying, from gatherings under the auspices of the Kangaroo Group (an MEP-industry forum addressing defence issues) or the Sky and Space Intergroup**¹⁶ to regular dialogue with parliamentarians playing a key role in promoting the security narrative (see chapter 3) and relevant legislative processes.

20 / This close relationship between the arms industry and EU institutions is also sustained through the revolving door phenomenon, where EU officials take up positions as lobbyists and vice versa. Burkard Schmitt, as mentioned previously, joined the arms industry after having worked at the European Commission for more than eight years (see p. 13). More recently, former EDA Chief Executive Jorge Domecq took up a position at Airbus Defence and Space in Spain, just seven months after leaving EDA.¹⁷

* In 2018, hundreds of arms industry representatives were invited. Airbus alone received 22 invitations, while representatives of civil society were not welcome.

** Its secretariat is run by the lobby group ASD. ASD boss Jan Pie has described the intergroup as "an extremely effective forum to engage with MEPs."

Lobbying also takes place at national level. National lobby groups and champions of the armament sector have developed a symbiotic relationship with their national governments — their main clients and supporters who end up making decisions at EU level.

This over-reach of the arms industry helps stifle any debate on EU militarisation and subsequent tangible policies. Furthermore, most Brussels-based think tanks* are relaying the dominant narrative, promoting a positive vision of the EU's military shift with hardly any critical thinking. This further smothers alternative perspectives and leaves very little space for critical voices.

* Such as Friends of Europe, the EU Institute for Security Studies, the Egmont Institute or the ARES Armament Group hosted by the French think tank IRIS.

**THE PREMISES OF EU
MILITARISATION:
THE POLITICAL
NARRATIVE
AND EUROPEAN
HEGEMONY**

2

CLIMATE CRISIS
SOCIAL INEQUALITY
FORCED DISPLACEMENT
HEALTH



FROM THE SECURITY NARRATIVE TO MAINSTREAMED MILITARISATION

HOW HAS THE SECURITY NARRATIVE EVOLVED IN THE EU?

The first attempts to devise a European security strategy date back to 2003, under the leadership of Javier Solana, then EU High Representative (see p. 16) and former NATO Secretary-General. The strategic document 'A Secure Europe in a Better World' takes stock of the end of the Cold War paradigm and connects global and local security.

A second document, 'Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe', published in 2016 and usually referred to as the 'Global Strategy', was drafted by the European External Action Service (EEAS) under the leadership of High Representative Federica Mogherini. Welcomed by the Member States, its analysis is primarily based on external and internal threats, both interlinked. The 'Global Strategy' gives the military- and security-industrial complex a role it did not have previously and asserts that the EU should support it as a strategy for its security. In that sense, it can be considered the tipping point marking the EU's shift from an allegedly peace-led project to a project of militarisation.

In its introductory chapter, the 'Global Strategy' summarises perceived EU threats, and they are not solely military: *"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."*¹⁸

It is clear that these threats cannot all be addressed by military means, yet the 'Global Strategy' calls for a European hard power, notably in the military sphere. Despite claiming that *"the EU is committed to a global order based on international law, which ensures human rights, sustainable development,"* it then goes on to mention *"and lasting access to the global commons"*¹⁹, a militaristic concept which refers, among other things, to control of sea trade routes, and investments in security and defence.

"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."

EU Global Strategy, 2016, p. 11

MAINSTREAMING MILITARISATION ACROSS EU POLICIES

The recent 'EU Security Union Strategy 2020–2025', which was published in 2020, focuses on the necessity of responding to rapidly changing threats in a context of multiple crises, adopting a risk management model approach. In other words, it enshrines the securitisation approach across policies, a trend that was already visible in practice through the inclusion of military-related objectives into a wide range of policies, from transport to external aid (see chapter 3).

A first illustrative example of this trend is the concept of security for development; using the argument that security must be assured before development can take place, the EU has started to use funds dedicated to peace-building or development to build and strengthen the military and security capabilities of armed forces and security forces in third countries.* This assumption ignores the fact that strengthening the security sector in countries under authoritarian rule will only lead to more repression and divert attention from development goals.

Another recent step along the path of militarisation was taken with the 'EU Roadmap on Climate and Defence', presented on 11 December 2020. Its text is telling; it prepares the EU for *"the emerging security challenges posed by a changing climate"*, through awareness-raising *"on the effects of climate change on crisis response, security and defence"*, the development of *"capabilities for our armed forces, which can be used under changing circumstances"* and international partnership *"to tackle security and defence issues derived from climate change"*.²⁰ In other words, it is preparing Europe for future climate wars.

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THE FUTURE STRATEGIC COMPASS: A EUROPEAN MILITARY DOCTRINE IN NAME ALONE?

The EU is currently drafting its first ever military strategic paper, the 'EU Strategic Compass'. It should be adopted in spring 2022 and aims to "define what kind of security and defence actor [the EU] wants to be" to face "new and increasing threats and challenges".²¹ As recently described by one of the stakeholders involved, the discussion is about "how, where and when should the EU act militarily?"²² It is being prepared by the intelligence and military staff of the EEAS under the leadership of current High Representative Josep Borrell, in close consultation

* This applies especially to the Capacity Building in support of Security and Development programme (CBSD) and the global external aid instrument NDICI, which will start in 2021, as well as the EPF, to be funded by Member States.

with Member States and in relative secrecy, with no role for either the European Parliament or civil society.

STRATEGIC AUTONOMY, AN ALL-EMBRACING CONCEPT CONCEALING VESTED NATIONAL INTERESTS

In parallel to the security narrative, in recent years the concept of **strategic autonomy** has emerged as the latest buzzword at EU level. Initially adopted to justify the military shift, this term is used and abused without anyone being able to agree on its meaning. It has brought to light profound differences among Member States and between EU Institutions on what 'European defence' should look like.

The concept of strategic autonomy in defence usually refers to the indispensable military capabilities necessary to allow a strategic actor to engage in autonomous action. Within the EU framework, however, it has revealed deep divisions in two areas.

DIVERGING GEOPOLITICAL VIEWS AND INTERESTS

The EU's relationship with NATO (with the US in the background) is the most explicit example of the divergent geopolitical views among Europe's Member States, as well as differing views on how far the EU can act on its own to guarantee its own security.

Simply put, most of the Eastern and Nordic EU countries, as well as Germany, are reluctant to move away from the US umbrella.²³ At the same time, France has taken advantage of uncertainties surrounding the US's commitment to NATO under Donald Trump to push for greater European independence.²⁴ Not to put too fine a point on it, France would like to have the EU pay for its military, and its nuclear facilities in particular, as the only country capable of protecting Europe should the US fail to do so. However, Germany and many smaller EU countries are reluctant to accept France's imposition of its own vision of European defence (including the protection of French interests in Africa) in exchange for its military protection.

In contrast, the interests of Germany and Eastern European countries diverge regarding Russia. This likely has as much to do with competing economic interests, like tensions around the Nord Stream II pipeline²⁵, as with the perception of 'the Russian threat'. Lastly, many Southern EU Member States are more concerned with what is happening in North Africa or the Middle East.

DIVERGING IDEAS ON WHAT EU COOPERATION ON DEFENCE REALLY MEANS: A DEFENCE UNION, EUROPEAN DEFENCE OR EUROPE DE LA DÉFENSE*

"Either Europe will grow up, or we will not be able to defend the European way of life in the globalized world. [...] We must defend this European 'Leitkultur' and, if possible, assert it globally. [...] The common defence is a must! [...] Alongside the euro, this is the second major development of Europe that is now a concrete priority."

Manfred Weber, EPP Chair, in *Die Welt*, 7 June 2017

Many supporters of EU militarisation present it as the main way to reinforce EU integration in difficult times. However, it does not look like an appropriate response to citizens' concerns such as unemployment, social inequality or the climate crisis. Nor does it constitute a response to criticism concerning transparency and the democratic functioning of the EU. Instead, this new obsession with European defence looks like a way of diverting attention from the real challenges while meeting the desiderata of the arms industry.

Furthermore, the idea of strengthening EU cooperation on defence is also (voluntarily?) vague, encompassing everything from a full defence union (with a single European army, for the most federalist supporters) to minimalist intergovernmental cooperation on military capabilities.

"I am strongly convinced that the future of the European defence will start from the European defence industry."

Josep Borrell, EU High Representative, EDA Annual meeting, 4 December 2020

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Borrell's illustrative statement is similar to the official rationale that justified the creation of an internal market in the 1980s. As Member States were reluctant to create a social and economic Europe, a single market was created first, the idea being that this would compel Member States to move towards social and economic integration. As we know too well, this never happened. Not only is a 'defence union' questionable from a legal and ethical standpoint, but it is also clear that this alleged 'bottom-up approach' is destined to fail. How can something that did not work for social and economic issues work for such a sensitive issue as defence, which lies at the very heart of national sovereignty?

So far, the steps taken towards EU militarisation have been counterproductive to a democratic EU: under the EDF, the usual parliamentary control of EU funding

* French leaders usually refer to a 'Europe of Defence', a formulation that has no equivalent in English and differs from European defence (the sum of national defences in Europe) but does not refer to a proper union either.

programmes has been drastically limited under exemption rules. European parliamentarians will have no influence on how the funding will be used for the next seven years. Instead, Member States will be in the driving seat as they have been given a de facto veto.* This sets a dangerous precedent against the normal democratic rules of scrutiny. Furthermore, PESCO is an intergovernmental initiative of the EU Council that also escapes parliamentary scrutiny, be it at national or European level.

THE ARMS INDUSTRY IN THE DRIVING SEAT OF EU MILITARISATION?

To sum up, both 'strategic autonomy' and 'European defence' are undefined concepts that mean different things to different countries, EU institutions and political groups. However, they are vague enough to win support until they are defined. In practice, EU Member States still largely differ in their economic and strategic interests as well as in their European military ambitions and goals.

Strengthening military capabilities consequently appears as a consensual minimum common denominator, with all EU countries happy to get money for their national industry, although competing national interests are naturally also a reality in this field, as illustrated by the difficulties experienced in developing joint projects (see chapter 4).

EU militarisation is therefore happening in a political vacuum, where the cart has been put before the horse: the EU has turned into a cash cow for the military industry, without proper parliamentary control and with the collusion of decision-makers.

EU MILITARISATION TO PRESERVE THE 'EUROPEAN WAY OF LIFE' OR THE DOMINANT ECONOMIC SYSTEM?

In 2016, the 'Global Strategy' offered *"the politics of fear [that] challenges European values and the European way of life"* as the justification for a *"step change"*²⁶ in security and defence. In his September 2016 *State of the Union* Address, Jean-Claude Juncker referred not once, but twelve times to this 'European way of life' that should be preserved, protected and defended by the EU.

* The Commission implements programmes through 'acts' (e.g. annual work plans), which are submitted to a Programme Committee made up of Member States. Under the EDF, if Member States give no opinion on a proposed act, the Commission cannot adopt the act. The European Parliament is not notified of or consulted on these acts, contrary to the rule for non-military programmes.

This questionable wording has rarely been used since, with the notable exception of a failed attempt to create a portfolio for ‘Protecting our European Way of Life’ in the new Commission. Still, it is illustrative of the underlying reasons for EU militarisation, which cannot be considered separately from global economic competition.

*“The world today needs a strong and united Europe.
A Europe that works for peace, trade agreements and stable currency relations.”*
Jean-Claude Juncker, State of the Union Address, 2018

One of the major issues at stake is the preservation of Europe’s technological superiority, in particular in the digital realm and new disruptive technologies like artificial intelligence (AI) and nanotechnologies. It is also about access to and control of space, a growing *“enabler of security and defence”* and *“a trend [that] will be strengthened in the future.”*²⁷

“Ensuring strong synergies between defence, space and civil technologies will generate disruptive innovations and allow Europe to remain a global standard setter. It will also reduce our dependencies in critical technologies and boost the industrial leadership we need to recover from the crisis.”

EU Commissioner Thierry Breton, press conference on the EU Action Plan on synergies between civil, defence and space industries, 22 February 2021

In the long term, it is about the global race for raw materials, which is a prerequisite for staying competitive in the technological arena and in controlling space.

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The control of sea trade routes and access to raw materials — enforced by military action, if necessary — is therefore a basic strategic goal, not just for the NATO alliance. Indeed, if this is a concern that allies continue to share, EU and US interests will not converge, despite Biden’s election win. The US is partly shifting its military emphasis from Europe towards Asia and is less concerned than Europe about the Middle East and Africa.

Europe essentially wants to play in the big leagues by amassing the military capacity to conduct its own interventions according to its geopolitical and economic interests. In this regard, it is worth noting that international military operations have evolved since the 90s: where they were once mostly UN peacekeeping missions, they have become increasingly NATO-driven and will possibly now be EU-driven. This marks a move from a multilateral peace-keeping approach to defending European geostrategic and economic interests. In other words, it is all about defending the current hegemonic, capitalist and neoliberal economic system.

**STRUCTURES,
POLICIES AND
ACTORS OF THE EU
MILITARISATION**

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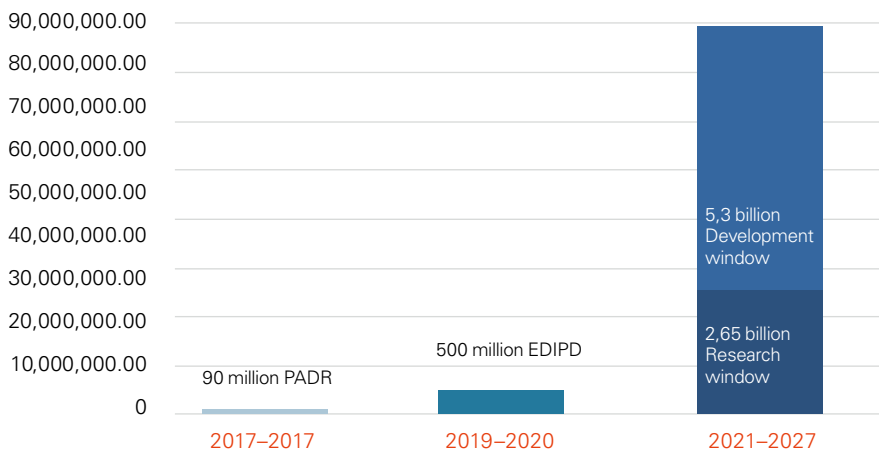


Having outlined the main steps of EU militarisation, we will now explore the main policies and programmes that illustrate this paradigm shift and look at the main actors.

IT IS ABOUT DEVELOPING AND EXPORTING THE NEXT GENERATION OF WEAPONRY

The creation of the EDF marked a turning point for the EU, as this was the first time the Community budget could be directed to military-related activities.

THE EU DEFENCE FUND



Source: ENAAT - 2021-2027 amounts are in current prices

Caption: National contributions are expected to co-fund development projects, in theory up to 4 times the EU funding size. Numbers in current prices, source: Regulation (EU) 2021/697.

Two pilot programmes, namely the PADR and the EDIDP, diverted half a billion euro from the EU civilian budget in 2017-2020.

From 2021 to 2027, €8 billion will go to research and development (R&D) projects focused on the next generation of weaponry, such as drones, autonomous systems and other disruptive technologies that will radically change the way we conduct war.

The establishment of the EDF is an industry-driven process: its main objectives are to strengthen the European arms industry and boost its competitiveness on the global stage, which includes increasing European arms exports.²⁸

HOW WAS THE EDF FORMED AND WHO IMPLEMENTS IT?

The EDF and its pilot programmes were proposed and drafted by the **European Commission** (EC) department in charge of the internal market and industry (DG GROW) and were heavily influenced by the arms industry.

They were then discussed, amended and adopted by the EU co-legislators: the **European Parliament**, where the work was led by the Committee on Industry, Research and Energy (ITRE), and the **EU Council**, i.e. the EU's Member States.

The EDIDP and the fully-fledged EDF are now implemented by the Commission's **DG DEFIS**; only the PADR is managed by **EDA**.

DG DEFIS is the **European Commission's Directorate-General for Defence Industry and Space**. Established in January 2020*, this DG is under the responsibility of the EU Commissioner for the Internal Market, France's Thierry Breton**. It will have up to 200 staff members in charge of arms industry competitiveness, the European defence market, the military mobility plan, EU space programmes and "improving the link between space, defence and security",²⁹ among other things.

The **European Defence Agency (EDA)**, established in 2004, is an intergovernmental agency of the EU Council and as such evades parliamentary scrutiny. Its main role is to be the link between operations and the military industry, and in particular to 1) support the development of military capabilities and cooperation among EU Member States*** and 2) stimulate military research and strengthen the European defence industry. It has a symbiotic relationship with the arms industry, which is involved in most of EDA's projects.

* The creation ex nihilo of a new DG is very rare: other examples are the DG for Justice and Home Affairs following the Amsterdam Treaty, or the EEAS after the Lisbon Treaty, which introduced new competences.

** Thierry Breton is the former CEO of the multinational company ATOS, which is active in information technology services in a range of sectors including cybersecurity, aerospace and defence electronics. His appointment created a maze of potential conflicts of interests. Read more at <https://corporateeurope.org/en/2019/11/thierry-breton-corporate-commissioner>

*** EDA has also concluded bilateral administrative arrangements with Norway, Switzerland and Ukraine, allowing them to participate in EDA projects and programmes.

Priorities are defined in annual work programmes drafted by **DG DEFIS** and adopted by **Member States** (European Commission, 2019), while the **European Parliament (EP)** has been side-lined from the governance of the Fund through exemption rules.

As a general rule, the **European Parliament** can influence the implementation of EU funding programmes by commenting on the work programmes. However, it cannot do so for either the EDIDP or the EDF and only receives as much information as the EC is willing to share. Its sole formal control will be budgetary and will happen only after completion of the programmes.

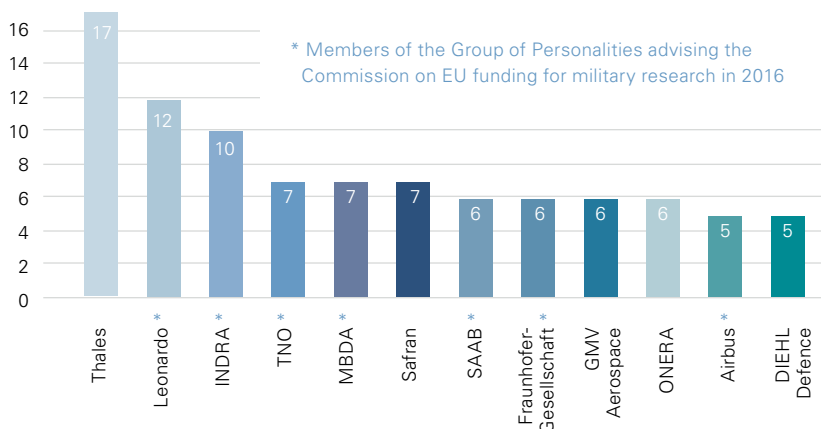
Funding is allocated to industry-driven consortia mostly through competitive calls for proposals. It can also be awarded directly to an existing project, especially for large projects like the development of a European drone (MALE RPAS)³⁰, which is being coordinated between France, Germany, Spain and Italy and involves major companies like Leonardo, Airbus and Dassault.

THE ROLE OF THE ARMS INDUSTRY: FROM INFLUENCE TO PROFIT

Chapter 1 outlined how the arms industry was influential in shaping the EDF, in particular through the 2016 GoP. Arms companies and private research groups within the GoP are now among the top beneficiaries of EDF subsidies.

According to available information, the eight GoP members eligible for funding account for 6.6% of all beneficiaries but get 34% of the budget allocated through 11 projects under the PADR.³¹

ARMS COMPANIES BENEFITTING MOST OF EU SUBSIDIES FOR MILITARY R&D



Source: ENAAT

Caption: Number of grants in 2017–2019, based on public information for 16 research projects (PADR) in 2017–2019 and 16 development projects (EDIDP) in 2019.

THE BACKBONE OF EU MILITARISATION: ANNUAL REVIEW AND PERMANENT COOPERATION ON DEFENCE

Besides the EDF, a number of other instruments aimed at boosting military capabilities have been set up in recent years. They also largely benefit the arms industry, and as the EP has no say on these mechanisms, there is no democratic control over them.

CARD is a process that monitors the military landscape in EU countries and reviews available capabilities, including research and industrial capacity. The CARD report suggests possible areas of cooperation to develop military capabilities in identified gaps. The first CARD ended in November 2020 and recommends “concentrating on the next generation of capabilities” (e.g. weapons and military equipment) and “preparing the future”³², i.e. future wars: for example (unmanned) battle tanks, ‘enhanced soldiers’ through high-tech equipment, patrol ships for maritime surveillance and access to space for military purposes.

PESCO is supposed to be the final step in strengthening European military capabilities (although the first PESCO projects were selected in 2018, well before the first CARD concluded) and, contrary to CARD, is a binding process. With the December 2017 decision to create PESCO, national governments took

over 20 “binding common commitments in the areas of defence investment, capability development and operational readiness”.^{33*} In short, they pledged to increase their national military spending, jointly develop new weaponry or military technology and set up common capacity to conduct military operations. Examples of major PESCO projects include the development of an Integrated Unmanned Ground System (unmanned tanks), the Eurodrone MALE RPAS, and EU BLOS (Beyond Line Of Sight) missile systems.

Military capabilities to be developed within PESCO will remain in the hands of Member States, which can make such capabilities available for national, EU, NATO or UN military interventions. Member States are also free to export these capabilities. To date, 47 PESCO projects presented by Member States have been adopted.³⁴ However, an internal evaluation has revealed that only a third have come to fruition and that Member States do not seem overly concerned about meeting commitments.

WHO MAKES DECISIONS AND WHO BENEFITS FROM CARD AND PESCO?

CARD is mainly run by **EDA**, with the cooperation of the **EEAS**, in particular the **EU Military Staff (EUMS)**. Findings are discussed with national governments and recommendations are presented to countries’ ministers of defence but are not adopted, as they are not binding.

The **European External Action Service (EEAS)** is an EU institution separate from the European Commission and was established under the Lisbon Treaty. It is the EU’s diplomatic service and helps the EU’s foreign affairs chief (the EU High Representative, see p. 46) implement the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). The EEAS is divided into both geographic and thematic directorates, as well as important Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) planning and crisis response departments. Its staff comprise EU civil servants and personnel from the diplomatic services of the Member States.

* Member States that do not comply with commitments can be excluded from PESCO. All EU countries are now part of PESCO except Malta and Denmark.

The **EU Military Staff (EUMS)** is the source of collective military expertise within the EEAS and advises the EU High Representative (see p. 46) on military and security issues. It deals with early warning, situation assessment and strategic planning on military issues, from missions to capabilities. Its management is made up of national senior military staff (the EUMS Director-General is a three-star general) whose appointments by the EU HR/VP are closely monitored by EU Member States. Most of its 200 staff members are national seconded military experts and personnel.

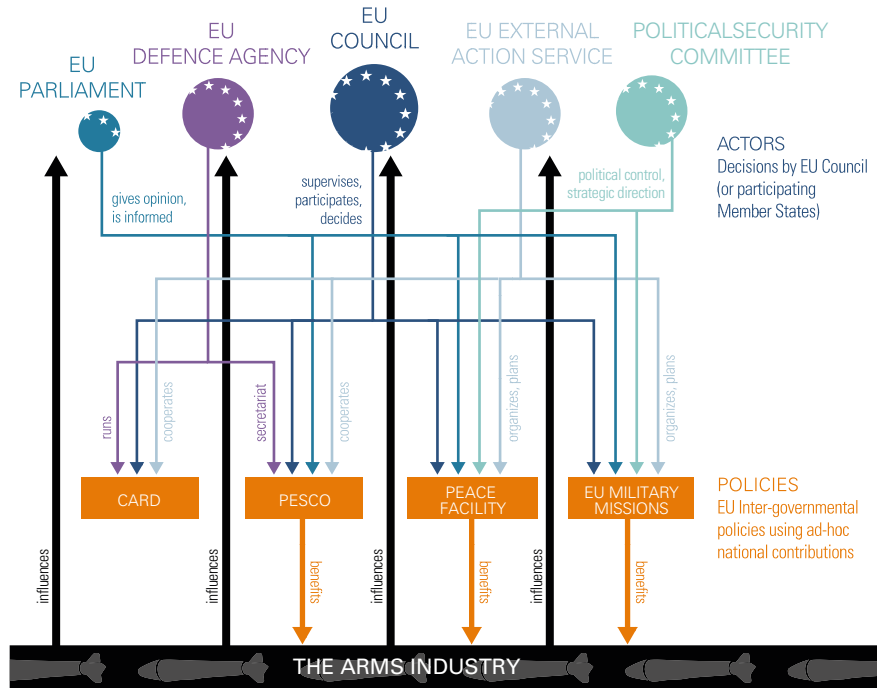
As for **PESCO**, decisions are in the hands of participating **Member States** and parliaments (national or European) have no say or control over it.

Qualified majority voting benefits mostly France and Germany (and their industries) at the expense of smaller Member States. The role of the PESCO secretariat is played by **EDA** and the **EEAS**, notably the **EUMS**. They play an important role of facilitation, coordination and assessment.

Although not formally involved in the CARD process or in PESCO decisions, it is very likely that the **arms industry** significantly influences the CARD report and recommendations, as well as the choice of project proposals for PESCO, given its symbiotic relationship with national governments and EDA. The industry is clearly the main beneficiary of these instruments, as the main provider of the military R&D, weapons production and services needed to implement PESCO projects. Once again, the industry is subsidised with public money, as these projects are mostly funded by the participating Member States (and some projects will be co-funded by the EDF).

EU ACTORS AND POLICIES: WHO DECIDES AND WHO PROFITS FROM EU MILITARISATION?

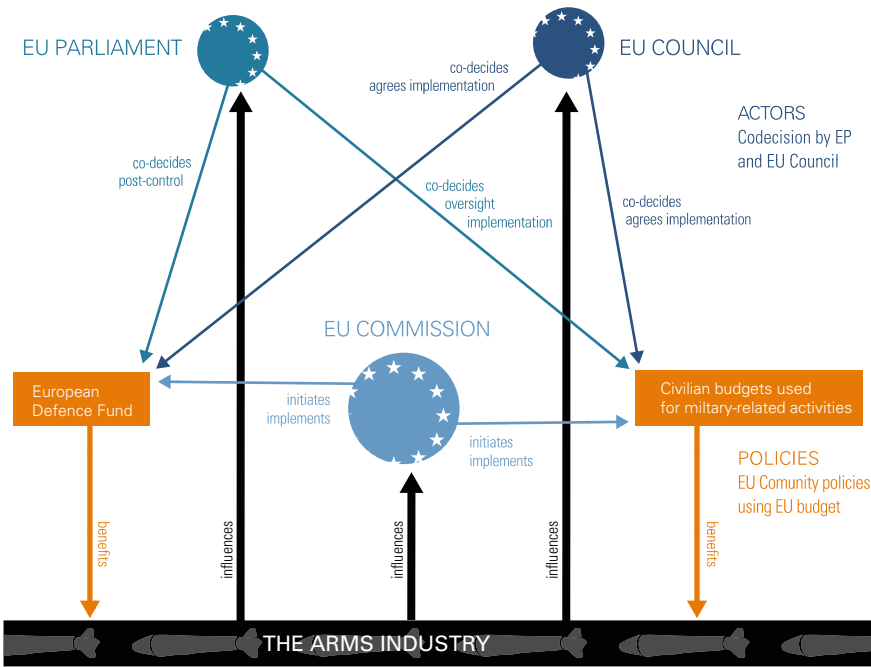
EU INTER-GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES



Source: own elaboration

Caption: Policies that are using ad-hoc national contributions and are decided by the EU Council or participating Member States.

EU COMMUNITY POLICIES



Source: own elaboration

Caption: Policies that are using EU budget and are co-decided by the European Parliament and the EU Council.

IT IS ABOUT 'HELPING THE WAR EFFORT' THROUGH ALL NON-MILITARY POLICIES

The 2016 EC Defence Action Plan stated that *"the Commission will promote civil/military synergies within EU policies, wherever appropriate"*³⁵ and former EC President Juncker claimed in his 2017 *State of the Union Address* that 'defence' was now one of the main objectives of the EU. All commissioners have been asked to look for ways to support the military-industrial complex in their own field of action, leading to concrete funding and projects in a wide range of areas, including environmental programmes. Some illustrative examples are provided below.

The **Military Mobility Action Plan**, launched in 2018, is intended to adapt civilian transport infrastructure to military needs in order to facilitate military mobility *"across and beyond the EU"*, both for EU missions and operations but also *"national and international activities"*³⁶, i.e. respond to NATO requirements. To this end, on top of a dedicated €1.7 billion budget, other budget lines such as the Structural Funds and the Connecting Europe Facility (the financial instrument of the EU civilian transport policy) are being diverted to make bridges safe for tanks, for example. Meanwhile, no funding is made available to repair crumbling public infrastructure in deprived areas.

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Skills for the defence sector is another key priority, aimed at tackling a skills shortage in the arms industry and making it more attractive to Europe's highly-skilled and educated youth.³⁷ Many funds like the Regional Fund, programmes to support SMEs and even the Erasmus + programme are now open to the military industry and related research centres to retain a skilled workforce and acquire new talent.

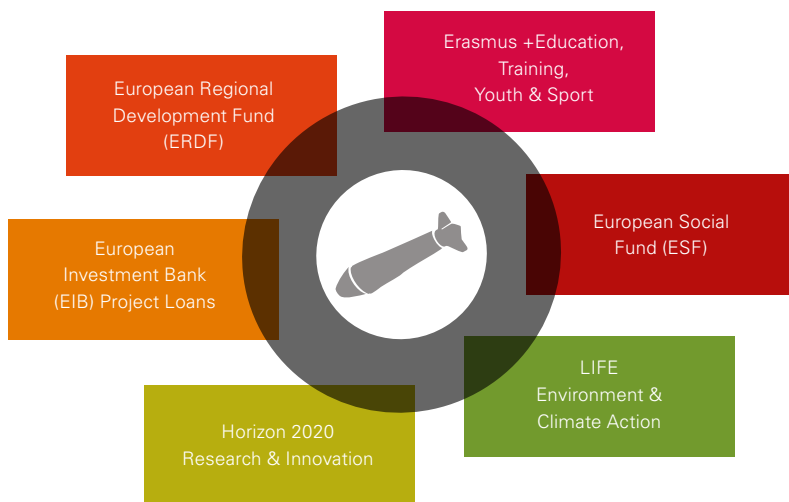
Horizon Europe, a well-funded European research programme that has been funding civilian security research for 15 years, will now be opened up to dual-use research, in particular on key emerging technologies with both civilian and military purposes, provided that projects do not focus 'exclusively' on the military dimension.

The **space policy** has not been left behind and is now considered a *"key enabler of security and defence."*³⁸ Another red line separating the civilian and military domain has been crossed, as illustrated by the creation of DG DEFIS. Looking for synergies between space and defence, such as developing military uses of programmes like Galileo or Copernicus, is now a priority and there is huge poten-

tial for funding opportunities for the aerospace and defence industry, through the €8 billion Defence Fund and the €13 billion space programme.

What is more unexpected is that the Commission has started to **militarise its external aid policy**, in particular by funding the building and strengthening of military and security capabilities of armed forces and security forces in third countries. This includes the delivery of military goods (with the exception of weapons, ammunition and lethal goods) through the CBSD programme (€100 million for the period 2018–2020) and the new external aid programme NDICI starting in 2021 (see chapter 5).

EXAMPLES OF EU FUNDS ACCESSIBLE TO THE ARMS INDUSTRY



WHO MAKES THE DECISIONS AND WHO BENEFITS FROM THE PARADIGM SHIFT?

Using Community funds for military purposes was first and foremost initiated by the **European Commission**, particularly under the leadership of its President Jean-Claude Juncker, openly aiming for a defence union by 2025. It was under his mandate that many concrete proposals were put on the table, even though early precursors paved the way in the decade before.

Negotiations and final decisions to accept or reject these proposals have been made by a majority of **European Parliamentarians (EP)** and **Member States (Council)**, who share legislative power on all community policies. Though majority voting makes sense for well-established community policies, it is questionable whether decisions that break down historical red lines and might even be unlawful should follow the same procedure, which in effect sidesteps smaller countries and minority voices.

This is also questionable in light of the **arms industry's** excessive influence on both the Commission and decision-makers. Many stakeholders in the aerospace and defence sector are also active in civilian areas such as aviation, space or civilian security, and as such already benefit from substantial EU funding and close ties with the European Commission and decision-makers. It was clearly only a matter of time before the arms industry started using these privileged channels to push boundaries. Even in the area of external aid, the CBSD programme is largely based on proposals made in June 2016 by ASD, which was looking for business opportunities in untapped areas.³⁹ These same actors will now benefit greatly from all these new funding opportunities and what are essentially disguised subsidies for exports.

It is impossible to know how much money from EU non-military programmes is going, or will go, to the arms industry: apart from the €100 million for CBSD in 2018–2020 and the €1.7 billion for military mobility in 2021–2027, there are no specific allocations for the military sector, meaning that there is also no ceiling. It is only once the programmes are completed, and after complex research has been carried out, that it will be possible to estimate how much of the EU community budget will have contributed to military spending growth.

The recent adoption of the EC Action Plan on synergies between civil, defence and space industries⁴⁰ has taken things to another level. This is yet another illustration of the political project going on in the background that is asking all sectors of society to contribute to the 'war effort' as the answer to the major challenges we will face in the future.

IT IS ABOUT CONDUCTING MILITARY INTERVENTIONS ABROAD

EU BATTLEGROUPS, A FAILED EMBRYONIC EU ARMY?

EU Battlegroups are multinational*, military units, each comprising 1,500 personnel, intended to be rapidly deployable in response to emerging crises and conflicts around the world. Two Battlegroups are always on standby for a period of six months, on a rotating basis. Their deployment is subject to a unanimous decision by the **EU Council**. They have been fully operational since 2007, but, for political and financial reasons, have never been deployed. However, the recently adopted Peace Facility (see below) might ease their funding and deployment.

THIS DID NOT PREVENT EU MILITARY MISSIONS FROM HAPPENING

CSDP allows the EU to deploy civilian and military missions and operations abroad. The EU has carried out 36 such missions since 2003 (with 12 officially considered as military). 17 missions are currently under way (involving 5,000 military and civilian staff) and six are fully or partly military according to the EU.

CSDP missions' tasks range from conflict prevention and peace-keeping, crisis management, assistance and training to humanitarian, rescue and post-conflict stabilisation. Current military missions focus on military aspects of the Dayton peace agreement (Althea/Bosnia and Herzegovina), advice, training and mentoring to military forces (EUTM Mali, Central African Republic, Somalia), and maritime security (EUNAVFOR Somalia and MED IRINI, the successor to Operation Sophia). (see map of current EU missions with military and/or border control dimension p. 47)

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The formal decision to carry out a mission or operation needs to be unanimous among Member States (**EU Council** format) and follows a UN Security Council resolution or a request from the country concerned. However, the preparatory work, and strategic and operational planning are carried out by the **Political and Security Committee (PSC)**, the **EU Military Committee (EUMC)** and the **EUMS**.

* Battlegroups are mostly made up of EU Member States' troops, but may also include non-EU countries, like the Nordic Battlegroups that include Norway.

The **Political and Security Committee (PSC)** is the main body helping Member States to draw up common positions on foreign policy and make decisions on common security and defence matters. Its tasks are to monitor the international situation, recommend strategic approaches and policy options to the Council, monitor the implementation of decisions taken and ensure the political control and strategic direction of crisis management operations (civilian and military missions), under the supervision of the Council and HR/VP. In short, the PSC plays a pivotal role in all aspects of the EU CFSP and CSDP and is the main venue for negotiating and preparing decisions on these matters. The PSC is composed of Member States' ambassadors based in Brussels and experts on foreign and security issues.

The **Military Planning and Conduct Capability (MPCC)** was set up in 2017 and serves as permanent operational headquarters: it is responsible for the operational conduct of all military missions with a non-executive mandate, in particular training missions (EUTM). It is part of the EUMS within the EEAS. The MPCC director is the EUMS Chief, who serves as mission commander in this capacity. The MPCC comprises some 30 staff members mostly from the EUMS, or specifically delegated by the Member States.

The **EU Military Committee (EUMC)** is the highest military body set up within the Council. It directs all military activities within the EU framework, in particular the planning and execution of military missions and operations under the CSDP and the development of military capabilities. It gives military advice to the PSC and makes recommendations on military matters. The EUMC is composed of Member States' chiefs of defence, who are regularly represented by their permanent military representatives based in the Brussels' national permanent representations.

Once a mission is launched, political control and strategic direction falls under the **PSC** under the authority of the **Council** and the **EU High Representative**, while organisational aspects are managed by the **Military Planning body (MPCC)**, under leadership of the **EUMS director**, but only for non-executive missions (e.g. having an advisory role only). Executive military operations are mandated to conduct actions in the host nation's stead, including combat operations, and have ad hoc headquarters based in the leading EU country.

The majority of assets and staff required are provided by Member States (some may come from non-EU partner countries or NATO allies). Military missions cannot be funded by the EU budget and are instead covered by Member States through the so-called Athena mechanism — soon to be superseded by the EPF. Common costs are paid for by all Member States* and currently constitute about 5–10% of the actual costs of a mission, but this ratio might increase under the new Peace Facility. The rest is covered only by the Member States participating in the mission.

ALLEGED 'PEACE FACILITY' TO FACILITATE MILITARY OPERATIONS AND SUBSIDISE ARMS EXPORTS

"We need guns, we need arms, we need military capacities and that is what we are going to help provide to our African friends because their security is our security."

Josep Borrell, EU High Representative at the 10th African Union Commission–European Commission Meeting, 27 February 2020

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Agreed by consensus in December 2020 by **EU Member States**, the EPF builds on existing mechanisms (the African Peace Facility and the Athena mechanism) but allows the EU to override current geographic and thematic limitations. With an intended budget of over €5 billion (2021–2027) coming from direct national contributions**, the objective is to raise common costs up to 30–40% (in other words, have all EU Member States (except Denmark) contribute more to military missions and the delivery of weapons) and facilitate military missions.

The EPF is an intergovernmental policy of the EU, meaning that it is not covered by the EU budget and evades parliamentary scrutiny (both national and European).

* Except Denmark, which has opted out of the EU CSDP and does not have to contribute to military missions.

** National contributions are calculated on the basis of respective national GDPs.

The **Council** or the **PSC** unanimously decides which actions should be funded by the Facility, and these are implemented by the **EU High Representative** and the relevant departments of the **EEAS**.

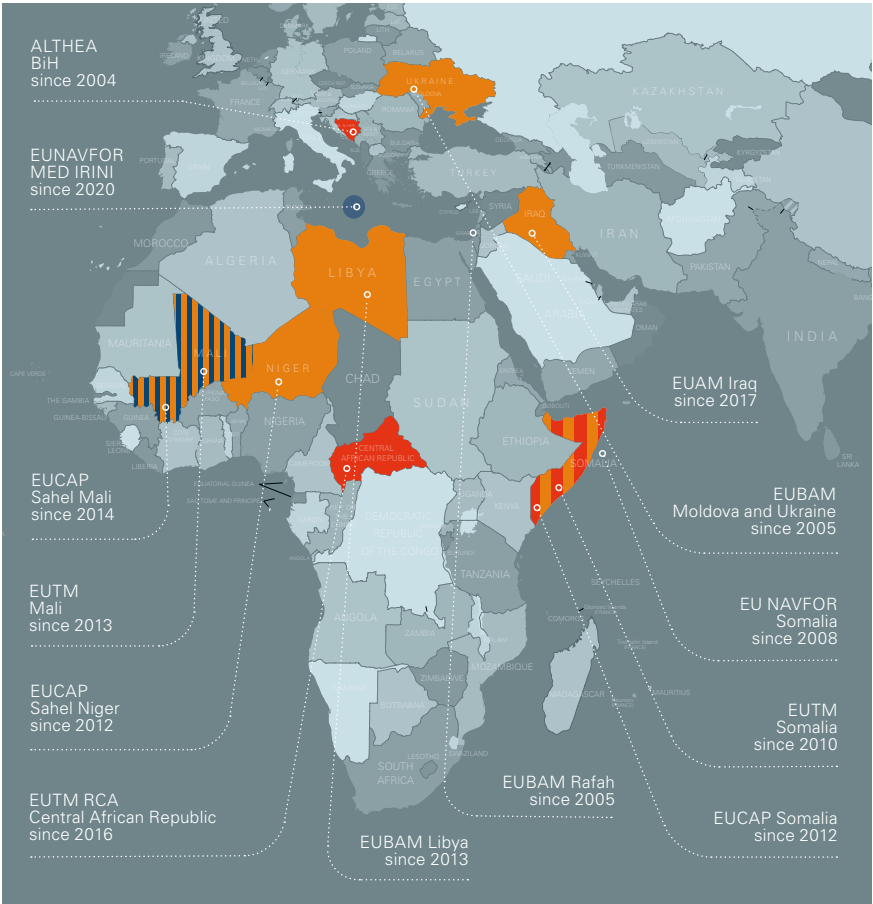
The position of **High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (EU HR/VP)**, set up in 1999 by the Amsterdam Treaty, encompasses three functions: EU external diplomatic representation, the Presidency of the Council of Foreign Affairs (and Defence) Ministers, and the Vice-Presidency of the European Commission in order to coordinate EU external action. The High Representative is therefore the EU's chief diplomat, heading all EEAS departments as well as the European Defence Agency, under the Council's supervision. The current EUHR/VP, Josep Borrell, succeeded Federica Mogherini in 2019. The EU HR/VP is nominated by the Council, e.g. Member States.

The new Peace Facility Committee, which is composed of Member State representatives, will manage the EPF, more specifically its budgets and accounts.

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Another major innovation of the EPF is that it intends to *"provide comprehensive support through integrated packages, which can include training, equipment and other means of support"*.⁴¹ In practice, this means that the EPF will fund the delivery of military equipment, including ammunition and lethal weapons (which cannot be funded by the EU budget) to states already facing tension or internal conflicts. This amounts to disguised subsidies for arms exports that will benefit European arms manufacturers, helping them gain market shares in poor countries that may be tempted by cheaper equipment from China or Russia. Not to mention how violence in fragile countries will be further exacerbated in places where even the minimum rule of law is non-existent (see chapter 5).

CURRENT EU MISSIONS WITH MILITARY AND/OR BORDER CONTROL DIMENSION



Source: European External Action Service / Centre Delas

- Civil/Police missions addressing migration
- Military missions NOT addressing migration
- Military missions AND addressing migration

CURRENT EU MISSIONS WITH MILITARY AND/OR BORDER CONTROL DIMENSION

EU MISSIONS ABROAD IN 2020	FULLY OR PARTIALLY MILITARY?	ACTIVITIES RELATED TO MIGRATION
ALTHEA/BiH	Military and civil	
EUCAP Sahel Mali	NO	Strengthen border-management capacity.
EUTM-Mali	Military	Address illegal trafficking, especially of human beings.
EUTM RCA	Military and civil	
EU NAVFOR Somalia	Military	
EUCAP Somalia	NO	Support the development of the coast guard and maritime police in and around the main Somali ports.
EUTM Somalia	Military	
EUAM Iraq	NO	Address organised crime, with specific reference to border management.
EUBAM Libya	NO	Strengthen security along the country's borders.
EUBAM Rafah	NO	Take into account Israel's security concerns and ensuring freedom of movement of the 1.5 million Palestinians living in the Gaza Strip.
EUCAP Sahel Niger	NO	Support security actors in their capacity to control migration flows and fight irregular migration.
EUNAVFOR MED IRINI	Military	Disrupt the business model of human smuggling and trafficking networks.
EUBAM Moldova and Ukraine	NO	Ensure the full implementation of Integrated Border Management (IBM) practices at the Moldova-Ukraine border.

IT IS ABOUT MILITARISING EU BORDERS

If the 1985 Schengen Agreement paved the way for the internal free movement of people with increased external border controls, the start of the so-called 'refugee crisis' in 2015 was the moment the EU and its Member States began rapidly boosting and militarising border security.

WHAT ARE THE MAIN BORDER POLICIES AND HOW ARE BORDERS BEING MILITARISED?

The construction of **border walls for migratory reasons** has become a growing policy with the consolidation of securitisation. To date, ten out of the 27 EU Member States have erected walls on their borders to prevent the entry of migrants.* So has Norway, a member of the Schengen area, although not an EU member.

Another element is the expansion of the **border control agency Frontex**, which uses the same security and military measures to block people migrating or seeking refuge as it does to intercept criminals involved in smuggling, drug trafficking and other crimes. It conducts joint operations at borders considered to be facing 'exceptional migratory pressure' (including sea operations) and coordinates joint return operations.

At present, **Frontex** has a few hundred staff but will employ 10,000 border/coast guards by 2027. It also plans to buy or directly lease its own equipment instead of being equipped by Member States and to arm its border guards, although this is still subject to legal discussions.⁴²

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Frontex is the EU border control agency, has its headquarters in Warsaw and was set up in 2004 after a decision of the **EU Council** and **Parliament**. It provides training and operational assistance to European countries, keeps up with the latest developments in border surveillance, control and information management technologies, and acts as an interface with the security industry and research centres. In 2020, Frontex was allocated a budget of €5.6 billion, the largest of any EU agency.

* These are Spain, Greece, Hungary, Bulgaria, Austria, Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

The latest step is the **externalisation of borders**, which was recently made 'official' with the introduction of migration as a mainstream objective of EU external aid (see chapter 5) but was in fact already under way through concrete projects.

Since its creation, **Frontex** has signed at least 20 working arrangements with non-EU countries in Europe and beyond, including countries bordering the EU such as Turkey and the Western Balkans, as well as African countries such as Nigeria and Cape Verde. These agreements allow for cooperation in different fields, from the exchange of information and risk analysis to training, research and operational cooperation.

Moreover, a significant number of EU external operations (seven out of 18 in 2020) are at least partially intended to control, monitor and intercept migratory flows, as well as reinforce border control. (See map on p. 47).

An illustrative example is the European Union Border Assistance Mission in Libya (EUBAM Libya) launched in 2013 *"to support the capacity of Libyan authorities to enhance the security of their land, sea and air borders"*.⁴³ The EU has also allocated €57 million since 2015 to increasing the operational capacity of the Libyan coast guard and navy through training and equipment, including land vehicles and boats. From December 2018 onwards, EUBAM Libya has also aimed to *"support Libyan authorities in their efforts to disrupt organised criminal networks involved notably in smuggling migrants, human trafficking and terrorism"*.⁴⁴

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Indeed, combating the mafia groups involved in illegal migration routes is always used as justification for this approach. However, in practice, the more difficult the journey made by migrants, the richer these human traffickers become. The real objective is to keep migrants out of European territory.

THE ROLE OF THE SECURITY INDUSTRY

The underlying narrative, namely that migration is primarily a security threat to Europe, has been successfully pushed by the security industry. This industry has also been pushing for an agency less dependent on Member States, especially when it comes to its own equipment, since 2010. Its channels of influence are similar to the ones described in the military domain, from bilateral meetings to consultative forums and annual gatherings; all opportunities *"to shape Frontex's approach to border control and promote 'solutions' based on techno-fixes"*.⁴⁵

Frontex denies it is a target for lobbyists and has poor standards on transparency and accountability but *“at the same time [it] has open doors for corporate lobbyists selling defence and surveillance solutions which have major human rights implications, [while] groups working to defend human rights are left on the side-lines”*.⁴⁶

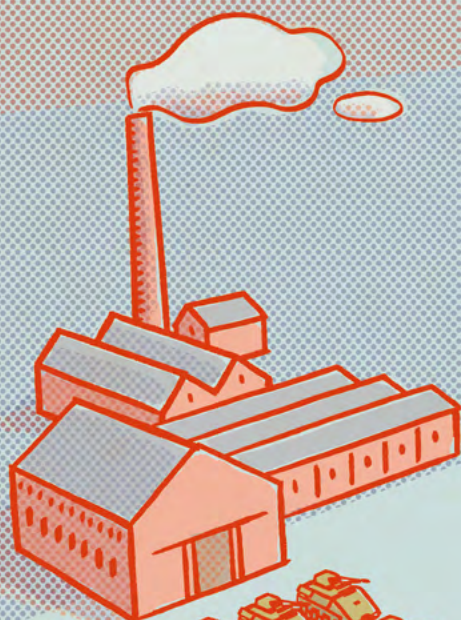
“Unsurprisingly there is a significant overlap between the companies that directly lobby Frontex and the companies that benefit from EU Procurement for building Europe’s walls, both physical and virtual.”

Report from Corporate Europe Observatory, ‘Lobbying Fortress Europe’, February 2021

Many of the leading companies in this sector, including Airbus, Leonardo and Thales, have also been major arms exporters to the Middle East and Africa, fueling the reasons that people are forced to flee in the first place.

**FRAMING
MILITARISATION:
THE ECONOMIC
NARRATIVE AND
WHY IT IS WRONG**

4



"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."

EU Global Strategy, 2016, p.11

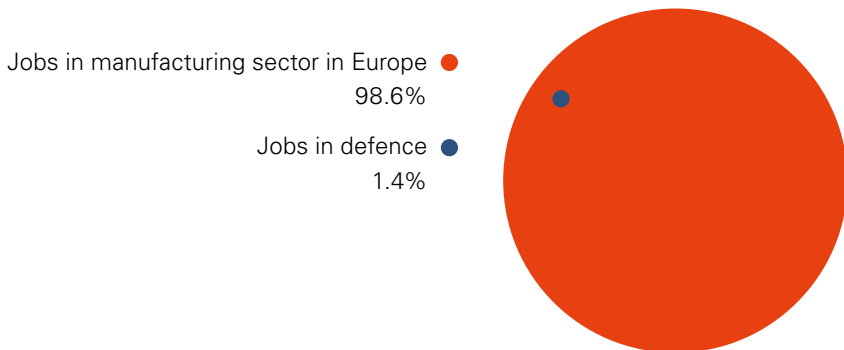
According to EDA, the arms industry "*brings economic benefits, jobs and stimulates research.*"⁴⁷ ASD says it is "*a major pillar of the European economy [...] with a crucial role in leading global innovation and generating high-skilled jobs*".⁴⁸

This must sound good to many, but what are the facts? The military and space industry is a relatively unimportant part of the EU economy, accounting for only 485,000 jobs in 2019.⁴⁹

This figure (originating from the defence and space sector) is most likely an over-estimation, with (civilian) sub-suppliers and dual-use producers having been added to the defence total. In contrast, 32,931,300 people⁵⁰ were employed in EU manufacturing in 2019. The defence sector's economic relevance is therefore limited. The establishment of a specific DG DEFIS under the Commissioner for the Internal Market⁵¹ in 2020 was clearly politically, and not economically, motivated.

A TINY SHARE OF EUROPE'S ECONOMY

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Caption: Showing the percentage of the EU's non-financial business economy in 2019.
Source: ASD / Eurostat

ON EMPLOYMENT, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

The majority of those employed by the military industry are highly educated and male; there is no shortage of employment for these professionals. Skilled workers for new research and technology projects will have to be drawn from the civilian sector into military production, although many will not feel comfortable in arms production.⁵² In general, new high-tech projects will not add to the total number of jobs but rather lead to a shortage of employees in other sectors.⁵³

Nor is the military the best tech sector for job creation. A British study shows that it would make more sense to invest in renewable energy R&D like offshore wind and marine energy; more jobs could be created there.⁵⁴ A 2008 metastudy of the overall economic growth impact of investment in military production found that the effect was neutral to negative.⁵⁵ American statistics expose how federal spending on healthcare, education, clean energy and infrastructure creates more jobs than investment in the military and that civilian spending generally outpaces military spending when it comes to job creation, by between 21% (for wind energy development) to 178% (for elementary and secondary education, where, incidentally, it will create more jobs for women).⁵⁶

The innovative contribution of the military industry is also limited. There is not as much 'spin off' or 'spill over' from defence R&D into the civilian sector as the other way around. New technologies that are pet projects for the EDF or PESCO (e.g. AI, disruptive technologies, metamaterials) are often commercial civilian innovations that have to be adapted and translated into military systems by arms companies, having to override ethically-driven civil society protests against autonomous weapons and the use of AI in arms.

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UNDERSPENDING OR OVERSPENDING?

"If we want to — without militarising the European Union — increase defence spending by a factor of 20, we will need to decide quickly."

Jean-Claude Juncker, EC President, State of the Union Address, September 2018

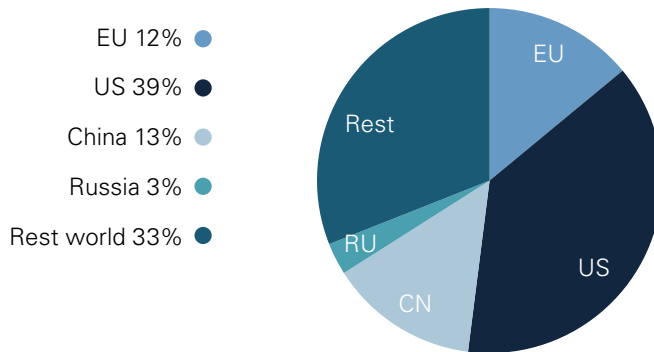
EU defence spending has been on the rise since 2015. In 2019, the total defence expenditure of the 27 EDA members (including all EU countries except Denmark) stood at €186 billion, marking a 5% increase on 2018.⁵⁷ There was also a significant increase in investments in new weapons and military technology: EU Member States spent €41.4 billion on equipment procurement and R&D.

There is a great deal of pressure on EU countries to spend more on arms, mainly because of the commitments taken under PESCO (see chapter 3), but also because of the NATO framework.* According to NATO officials, Europe acts as a freeloader and does not contribute its 'fair share' to NATO military expenditure compared to the US. But why should US defence expenditure be the European benchmark? Spending should be based on need, not on a NATO spending norm of 2% of GDP on defence, which is set at random with no relation to any threat analysis.

At \$778 billion, the US is responsible for one-third of all global military spending (39% in 2020), to the enormous benefit of its arms industry. This figure is extremely high — compare the second-biggest spender, China, whose estimated military expenditure amounted to \$252 billion in 2020, or even Russia, whose military spending came to a mere \$61.7 billion in the same year.⁵⁸

With a baseline Pentagon budget of \$740 billion for the fiscal year 2021 (a \$48.2 billion increase since Obama's final year as president) and a staggering COVID-19 death toll (disproportionally affecting black Americans), the high US military spending is not making American citizens any safer. While spending so much of its budget on arms, the US is failing terribly on human security, food security, health and education.

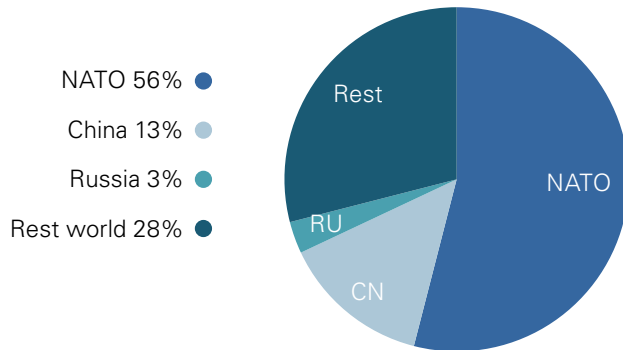
EU MILITARY SPENDING IN PROPORTION TO THE REST OF THE WORLD (2020)



Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Global Military Expenditure database

* NATO members informally agreed to raise their national military spending up to 2% of GDP.

NATO MILITARY SPENDING IN PROPORTION TO THE REST OF THE WORLD (2020)



Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute,
Global Military Expenditure database

COST REDUCTION THROUGH EU DEFENCE INITIATIVES?

The European arms industry faces fierce competition from its American counterpart, which has a huge advantage of scale thanks to a much bigger home market and a financially generous Pentagon. Investments in R&D — relatively high in the military sector — and production can be earned back more easily.

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There are also export markets, which are crucial for the European military industry to compensate for small national markets; this is why the need to scale up production and earn back investments is a driving force behind the international arms trade.

According to a 2013 McKinsey report on The Future of European Defence, based on EDA figures Europe could save up to 31% through joint procurement of military goods and services. The European Commission is trying to stimulate common EU defence procurement* through initiatives like the Defence Fund, claiming that the lack of cooperation in defence and security costs Member States between €25 billion and €100 billion⁵⁹ annually.

* The 2009 EC Directive on Defence Procurement, meant to facilitate joint procurement of defence equipment by Member States, has had very limited impact, due to a lack of will among Member States.

If EU defence initiatives are meant to reduce costs, they have failed so far: the €8 billion EDF budget comes on top of current national defence budgets, PESCO commitments include increasing military spending, and EU military structures will not replace existing national or NATO structures but rather exist in parallel.

Duplication of systems is identified as an important cost multiplier. Several Europe-based arms companies produce the same kind of equipment, which is a duplication of R&D investment. For that reason, EDF projects require the cooperation of at least three companies from two different Member States.

However, European duplication of production is not the only reason for the large variety of equipment across Europe. Take fighter aircraft: the United States has 11 types of fighter aircraft in service while EU Member States have a total of 19 different types in service. These, however, are not all competing EU-build types but include three Cold War legacy Russian types and also seven types of US combat aircraft.⁶⁰ Four European countries have recently decided to buy new American F-35 fighter jets and Germany is considering the American F/A-18. Opting for American fighter jets contrasts with the expressed desire for European military aeronautics. If not even their own governments are willing to buy their systems, what chance do European arms producers have on the competitive international arms market?

58 / It is no surprise that in its initial response to the EC Defence plans in 2016, ASD insisted on the need for a 'launching customer' guarantee at an early stage. This involves guaranteeing weapons manufacturers that their new weapons systems will enter the market through the armed forces of their own countries, who undertake to buy them, even before said systems are fully developed. Thanks to industry lobbying, this commitment is now part of the eligibility criteria under the Defence Fund.

RETURN ON INVESTMENT AND PROTECTION OF NATIONAL CHAMPIONS

By stimulating inter-European cooperation on R&D and common procurement, the Commission hopes to lower per-unit R&D and production prices. But this would require drastic choices to reduce industrial duplication, such as closing superfluous companies or factories, as well as selecting one type of equipment over another across European armies. In practice, things are not moving in this direction. For example, there are two new ambitious, expensive and competing fighter jet projects already under way in Europe — Germany, France and Spain⁶¹ (Airbus, Thales, Dassault and Indra) are developing a Future Combat Air System (FCAS) that will be able to escort *bombers* and includes fighter jets as well as swarm drones and integrated communication systems. Elements of this project might be funded by the EDF. At the same time, the UK (BAE systems and Rolls-Royce) and Italy (Leonardo), recently joined by Sweden (Saab), are developing the Tempest fighter jet.⁶²

Although EDF and PESCO projects require cooperation between industries in different EU countries, no provisions are made to ensure that differences between competing companies in participating countries will be tackled. Dassault CEO Éric Trappier describes the objective of the FCAS as *“to secure European sovereignty, strategic autonomy and technological leadership of Europe in the military aviation sector in the long term”*⁶³ but experts wonder whether different industrial cultures and military requirements will result in efficient cooperation.⁶⁴ Indeed, a battle is already raging in the FCAS project between France and Germany, with the latter claiming that the project largely favours French industry, and the German trade union IG Metall is calling for a rebalancing of the division of labour (and subsequent jobs).⁶⁵

Incompatible company cultures and the favouring of own national industries have led to many delays and cost overruns in international projects in the past. Decisions in common arms production are often taken based on political choices (like employment or strategic independence), not efficiency. Duplication will only be eliminated when European nations are ready to give up their national arms industries for greater inter-European efficiency. But without any serious incentive for restructuring built into the EDF or PESCO, this is unlikely to happen. In the meantime, the European arms industry is profiting from an additional layer of military spending.

**HOW EU
MILITARISATION IS
THREATENING PEACE
AND PEOPLE'S
SAFETY WORLDWIDE**

5



The Lisbon Treaty can be considered the starting point of the EU shift away from a peace-led project. First set out on paper, EU militarisation has gradually developed through concrete steps and policies that we have outlined in the previous chapters. Here, we will explore how this is a threat to peace.

MILITARY SPENDING HAS A NEGATIVE IMPACT ON PEACE AND SAFETY

As explained in chapter 4, an increase in military expenditure in Europe is the result of national decisions as well as changes to EU and NATO frameworks.

Instead of evaluating military expenditure through an 'opportunity cost' framework, the EU generally tends to talk in terms of overall 'efficiency', which does not take into account the impact of their policies. The overall cost of containing violence through the use of force consequently prevents 'peace opportunities' from happening. In other words, monetary, human and social resources are not deployed to secure peaceful, positive progress. The Institute for Economics and Peace⁶⁶ in Sydney has estimated the economic impact of violence (including the total of the world's military expenditure) at \$14.4 trillion or 10.5% of the world's GDP (\$1,895 per person on Earth). However, we know that alternatives to military spending have concrete, positive effects for all the world's citizens.⁶⁷

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We must question the hypothetical positive economic impact of defence measures, as claimed by many. Recent studies have concluded that investment in the military sphere generates the lowest economic return (in terms of wealth and jobs produced), not to mention its humanitarian and social impact⁶⁸ (see also chapter 4).

Nor does military spending stimulate long-term growth. Academic research has demonstrated that it has a neutral to negative impact on growth by distorting the production and accumulation of human capital, reducing resources for R&D, strengthening vested interests, increasing corruption and damaging fiscal sustainability due to growing debt.⁶⁹ In short, the defence sector is a dysfunctional one.

Therefore, neither the €186 billion^{70*} of military spending in Europe, nor the EDF or other EU sources of military funding contribute to growth. They also lead to fewer resources being available for other needs.

This is very true for EU budgets and staff, which are limited compared with national resources: every euro of the European budget spent on the military is a euro lost

* According to EDA data for 2019, or \$219.6 billion according to SIPRI estimates.

because it will not be used to tackle the interdependent environmental, climate and health crises that currently pose the most urgent threats to global human security.

The EU budget and the future Recovery Plan should be used to encourage the relocation of production to Europe, particularly in key sectors such as medical equipment, renewable energy and food security. This will not only create jobs (including the conversion of workers from the weapons sector, whose high skills are particularly important and necessary) but will also strengthen the EU's autonomy from external pressures.

EU MILITARISATION WILL EXACERBATE THE GLOBAL ARMS RACE, WHICH WILL IN TURN FUEL CONFLICTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

EU militarisation also has an impact on arms exports by European countries, an activity that primarily affects populations outside the EU and should therefore be assessed against the proclaimed values of global peace and security.

Since 2015 EU nations have approved export authorisations* for military goods to the following top 12 destinations: Saudi Arabia (€76 billion), Egypt (€75 billion), India (€68 billion), the UAE (€62 billion), Qatar (€46 billion), Brazil (€22 billion), Singapore (€18 billion), Kuwait, Indonesia, Malaysia (€16 billion), Algeria (€13 billion) and Turkey (€12 billion).⁷¹

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In terms of actual goods delivered*, Saudi Arabia (€9.3 billion) is once again at the top of the list of destinations receiving goods worth over €2 billion, followed by Egypt (€7 billion), India (€5.2 billion), Qatar (€4.2 billion), Brazil (€3.3 billion), the UAE (€3 billion) and Turkey (€2.7 billion).

Most of the countries in the above list are involved in areas of tension and/or conflict (in particular the war in Yemen) and/or are authoritarian regimes. Providing these governments with the means to conduct aggressive policies or restrict democratic freedoms is clearly at odds with the declared basic principles of the Union.

* Export authorisations do not all result in actual deliveries in the same year. Deliveries can take place over several years, deals may not be concluded or may only be completed in part. This is why figures may differ largely between authorisations and actual deliveries. Nevertheless, the export authorisation figures are important indicators of where a government considers it acceptable to export weapons.

Only EU Member States can authorise arms exports. However, when doing so, they should respect the 2008 EU Common Position (successor of a 1998 code of conduct) and its eight criteria: in a nutshell, they should not export military goods *“which might be used for internal repression or international aggression or contribute to regional instability”*.⁷² Once again though, there is a clear divergence between the principles declared on paper and the actual authorisations granted by Member States.

The European Parliament regularly calls for greater transparency and adherence to the criteria of the Common Position, but its opinions are not binding for Member States, which continue to favour national decisions influenced by the arms industry and are aligned with principles and considerations other than those of the Common Position. Under no circumstances would they let the Commission have a say on the authorisation of arms exports, even if the weaponry is EU-funded.

In trying to boost the arms industry’s competitiveness, the EDF will spur on European weapons exports and a global arms race.⁷³ So will the CBSD programme and the EPF (funded by Member States but still an official EU instrument), as both provide an extra opportunity to export military equipment (and have it paid for under the CBSD), including lethal weapons under the Peace Facility.

EU MILITARISATION WILL CONTRIBUTE TO PEOPLE BEING FORCED TO FLEE

Figures⁷⁴ and analyses⁷⁵ also highlight the link between European arms exports and flows of refugees and internally displaced persons. The authorisation and implementation of European arms exports is irresponsible, while EU compliance with existing legislation (the aforementioned Common Position) is inadequate.

EU Member States export arms to countries in situations of conflict or tension where there are significant numbers of refugees and displaced persons; evidence shows that these exports have aggravated or perpetuated armed violence in certain countries, leading to higher rates of refugees and displaced persons or even preventing these populations from returning to normal living conditions.

Finally, the entire militarisation process promotes adopting a ‘security’ approach to global challenges, favouring the idea of retreating to ‘Fortress Europe’ rather than trying to solve international problems (see chapter 2).

THE ALLEGED 'PEACE FACILITY' WILL FUND ARMS EXPORTS AND MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

At the end of 2020, EU Member States reached a final deal regarding the highly anticipated EPF, which *"will finance external action having military or defence implications"*. The purpose is to *"swiftly respond to crises and conflicts"* and *"to empower partner countries"* with a primary focus on Africa but with a future global impact.⁷⁶ The fund will have a total budget of €5 billion to be spent over seven years, including the controversial option to 'train and equip' security forces in southern countries (see below).

Established as an 'off-budget' facility, the EPF is circumventing EU treaties under which the EU budget cannot be used to supply arms outside the Union. The type of arms that can potentially be transferred within the EPF framework include those that frequently cause the most harm and are most at risk of misuse in fragile contexts: small arms and light weapons, ammunition, armoured and transport vehicles.

Concerns about the EPF were instantly raised by civil society⁷⁷:

- > Labelling the 'European Peace Facility' as a 'peace' fund is misleading, as the EPF will finance military training and equipment, potentially including the provision of lethal equipment. Even if engaging security actors in peace-building activities is important for conflict resolution, not all security and defence activities lead to improved peace, justice and development outcomes. Several components of the proposed EPF are untested areas for the EU and the proposal fails to adequately mitigate the serious risks involved in their implementation.
- > It is not clear how the EPF will strengthen the EU's ability to exert a positive influence in the world. How will granting weapons and ammunition, funding soldiers' salaries or strengthening the combat capabilities of third-country armies prevent and end conflicts? Research shows that the risks associated with this approach are high: this type of military assistance can harm peace and development and rarely provides its intended leverage. It often fails to address the underlying drivers of conflict and can instead be counterproductive, leading to unintended consequences, such as the violent repression of peaceful civil society actions, furthering the impunity of military forces, increasing corruption and fomenting military-backed violence and conflict.

There is a serious risk that the Peace Facility will be used to advance the interests of EU Member States and allow their industry to gain market shares for future exports, rather than establishing genuine security for populations in crisis areas. There are many examples of military aid being used in the past to push European geopolitical interests instead of supporting the human security needs of people under threat.⁷⁸

EU MILITARISATION IS ALREADY MARGINALISING AND WILL FURTHER JEOPARDISE EU PEACE WORK

Creating a fully-fledged EDF or a so-called 'European Peace Facility' goes beyond providing additional funds to the military: it opens up new areas of cooperation whose legitimacy and contribution to the EU Treaty objectives ("to promote peace, its values and the well-being of its peoples") are highly questionable. However, the unfocused diversion of civilian funds is another problem that will escalate in the coming years.

From 2021 onwards, under the new 'global aid' instrument NDICI*, there will be no more predefined amounts allocated to the long-established priorities of EU external aid, such as human rights and democracy, support to civil society actors, peace and stability. With no ceilings for the new mainstream priorities of EU external aid, migration and 'security for development' either**, civil society actors fear that 'security' will be very prominent in the NDICI to the detriment of traditional peace and development programmes, even though it is exactly these programmes that have traditionally allowed the EU to make a significant difference, particularly in fragile states or authoritarian regimes.

All the issues presented here boil down to the Union having to make a binary choice for the future: it can either become a 'soft power' founded on democracy and human rights or it can start building a form of 'hard power' that privileges hard security over global safety. Using both soft and hard power is contradictory and is not an efficient path to peace. Moreover, resources are not unlimited, and the military path is easier and more popular in the short term, despite not being efficient. With increased military power, the EU will lose interest in seriously promoting peaceful conflict prevention and resolution.

* Separated thematic instruments have been merged into a single huge instrument called 'Neighbourhood, Development and International Cooperation Instrument' (NDICI).

** The continuation of the CBSD programme for training and equipping security and military forces in fragile states.

This can be seen both at international level (EDF money will exacerbate the arms race with the US, Russia and China) and local level, considering the impact of fuelling violence and conflicts, and not forgetting the changing alliances and diversions of arms shipments by unintended actors (including terrorist groups) that could be used against European countries as well. EU militarisation increases the risk of a spiral of insecurity, causing not only possible rivals, but even its own internal members, to face a “security dilemma”⁷⁹ that promotes military expenditure and greater weapons procurement.

It is often argued that thanks to new military capabilities, the EU will be able to get involved in disputes to shut down the worst abuses and even end wars. But the reality is that the more actors involved in a conflict, the more difficult it is to reach a viable solution. Moreover, fewer resources will be dedicated to supporting peaceful solutions to tensions and conflicts and tackling the root causes of conflict, such as environmental threats (climate change, access to water), access to land and food security, poverty and extreme inequalities, corruption and bad governance.

Finally, the proliferation of weapons and high military spending also increases the tendency to seek military solutions to non-military problems as a way of retrospectively justifying the massive investments made, to the detriment of effective diplomacy and cooperative action on root causes.

Both the strengthening of its military presence abroad and selling arms to many destinations (often to opposing sides of the same conflict or tension) weakens the EU’s potential role as credible mediator or leader of diplomacy. Peaceful solutions and options cannot be advanced if conflicts are being fuelled with weapons or if interventions via military missions are taking place. All resources, whether EU or national, should instead be pooled into resolving the root causes of conflicts, including the climate crisis as an exacerbating factor.

**EUROPEANS
FOR PEACE
ANOTHER FORM OF
EUROPEAN SECURITY
IS POSSIBLE**

6



The EU has followed a traditional military approach to security based on the adage *si vis pacem, para bellum* ("If you want peace, prepare for war"); this has proven to be wrong. History has shown that wars need to be prepared for, which means that without preparation, war is not possible. The EU and its members have chosen to increase their preparations for war within the European territory, on its borders and overseas.

2019 saw the highest number of armed conflicts recorded in one year since the post-1946 period.⁸⁰

In that year alone, there were more than 150,000 deaths in combat.⁸¹ Some of these conflicts are very close to European borders or have European involvement (the war in Syria cost at least 384,000 lives⁸², 233,000 in Yemen⁸³). Other victims have been forced to flee their homeland to escape war: according to the UNHCR, 79.5 million people suffered forced displacement in 2019.⁸⁴

War is the cause of all this suffering, wars in which the EU and its Member States play a role, either through military operations in the field or by providing combatants with arms and military support. In 2018, at least 22% of European arms exports went to countries in armed conflict and 25% to countries in tension.⁸⁵ The EU and its Member States are contributing to an increasingly armed world at the same time as it is militarising itself, with large armies and huge arms companies.

"The world is over-armed and peace is underfunded"

Ban-Ki-Moon, former UN Secretary General, 30 August 2012

FROM MILITARY SECURITY TO PEACE AND HUMAN-CENTRIC SECURITY

The COVID-19 pandemic has shown how the military can be used for non-military tasks, such as cleaning retirement homes, transporting sick people or patrolling streets — tasks that actually matter to many people. However, it must be said that this has long been known by the EU security experts who identified the main threats to the EU in Mogherini's Global Strategy⁸⁶: terrorism and violent extremism, proliferation and control of armament, cybersecurity, computer crime, strategic communications, technological risks, energy and nuclear safety, conflict and violence in states with social fragility, transnational and organised crime, the economic crisis, maritime safety, climate change, irregular migration flows and management of external borders, pandemics and epidemics, poverty and inequality, the violations of human rights, hybrid threats, changes in the economic balance of powers, globalisation and interdependence.

Military responses are never an appropriate way to deal with these threats, as such a response only causes more problems or only addresses the symptoms (if at all), not the root causes.

THREATS & RISKS

THREATS & RISKS AS IDENTIFIED BY THE EU	EXISTING MILITARY RESPONSE	EXAMPLES OF POSSIBLE PEACEFUL SECURITY POLICIES
Terrorism and violent extremism	Partially used, resulting in even more terrorism (global War on Terror, ISIS)	Interculturality and integration, development cooperation, police and judicial investigation
Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction	Military force was used in the Iraq War but with false arguments of weapons of mass destruction and creation of new threats (ISIS terrorism)	Multilateral cooperation, disarmament treaties
Cybersecurity	None	Police and IT experts
Energy security	Military force used to get access to oil and gas, as was the case in the wars in Iraq and Libya	Renewable energy, international cooperation with countries of origin of fossil energies
Organised crime	None	Police and judicial investigation
Maritime security	Anti-piracy operations of warships in Somalia	Development cooperation, humanitarian aid, rescue patrols
Climate change	Starting preparations for future 'climate wars' (EU roadmap on climate and security)	Reduction of CO2 emissions, international cooperation, multilateral agreements, green energy
Irregular migration flows and management of external borders	Frontex, a militarised body to deal with EU and NATO naval military operations, a humanitarian and social reality that is pushing migrants to risk their lives through less secure routes	Rescue missions, safe avenues for migration, refugees welcome, integration policies for newcomers, fighting the root causes of migration
Economic crisis	None	Social services, public services, policies to reduce unemployment
Armed conflicts, weak or failed states	EU Member States offer military support and finance to factions in conflict such as in Libya, which perpetuates conflicts, arms exports	Peace agreements, negotiation, mediation, humanitarian action, cooperation
Pandemics and epidemics	Partially: use of military resources to fight the pandemic	Strength of public health system, accessible vaccines, health R&D
Poverty and inequality	None	Sustainable development, affordable housing
Human rights violations	None	Protection of defenders of human rights, monitoring of European companies' impact on human rights
Change in the economic balance of powers: globalisation & interdependence	It may be a military response, the subordination of EU to NATO with military missions in the field such as in the Baltic countries, which is not helping to de-escalate tensions between Russia and Europe	Diplomacy, multilateral financial, economic and political organisations of cooperation, fair trade agreements, democratic and people's control mechanisms to promote a counter-hegemonic globalisation based on solidarity and global justice

Many of these threats are hybrid, such as cyberattacks on critical information systems, the disruption of critical services such as energy supplies or financial services, the undermining of public trust in government institutions, or the deepening of social divisions.⁸⁷ How can armies be used to respond to hybrid threats? How will militarisation help us respond to threats or identified risks, such as the climate crisis or pandemics? Military responses cannot, and will not, give us more security.

Another EU peace and security strategy needs to be devised to bring together everyone's efforts, from civil society, politicians and governments:

- > We need to rethink the type of security we want for Europe and shift towards a security concept based on peace and human-centric security. We need to introduce critical thinking to create a new security narrative from pacifist, ecologist and feminist perspectives. The EU must move from a defence culture to a culture of peace.
- > EU policies on peace and security must change. It is time to dismantle all militarised policies aimed at supporting arms companies and leave the path of militarisation to turn the EU into a global player for peace, multilateralism and international law.
- > It is time to move towards human-centric security, feminist theories of security and peace culture perspectives that put human beings, nature and caring for the lives of others at the heart of security measures, in contrast to military security, whose main objective is to preserve the status quo, even though this is unequal, violent and unjust.

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"According to the US-based RAND corporation, in 43% of the cases, terrorist groups ceased to exist because they were successfully integrated into the formal political process. (...) only 7% of terrorist groups were snuffed out as a result of military campaigns."

'Indefensible, Seven Myths That Sustain The Global Arms Trade'.

Paul Holden et al., 2016. p. 34

SI VIS PACEM, PARA PACEM: FROM HARD TO SOFT AND PEACEFUL POWER

A 'good scenario' for the arms industry, where it reaps more benefits, is a world full of armed conflict, with a constant arms race, where everyone is preparing for war. A 'better scenario' is to get Member States involved in military operations abroad. However, the best future for the EU security industry is to have a new army to arm — the hypothetical European army that is connected with the concept of military strategic autonomy for Europe.

The option of a European army was put on the agenda once French President Macron and German Chancellor Merkel called for a joint European military project in 2017 and 2018 respectively. This army would not replace national armies, as no state in the EU is willing to lose such a source of (internal and external) power. Such an additional army would be 'relevant' to undertake controversial missions that are not readily accepted nationally and would dilute individual Member State's responsibility vis-à-vis the soldiers deployed and the harm inflicted on the local population.

It is time to make a change at the helm, abolish military ambitions and shift resources to peaceful priorities; it is time for a profound shift in EU policies that are at the core of its militarisation:

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- > Military operations such as EUFOR Althea in Bosnia and Herzegovina, EU NAVFOR Atalanta, EUTM Somalia, EUTM Mali, EUTM Central African Republic must be converted into real peace-building missions, including humanitarian aid, development cooperation projects, promotion of human rights and assistance in strengthening democracy. They must be carried out by EU civil missions and trustworthy NGOs.
 - > The arms industry and its highly skilled workforce should convert to civilian production and help develop the technology needed to avert climate collapse. Moreover, it is cheaper and more efficient to invest in healthcare, education, housing and youth employment, and other human needs that still need to be met in Europe.⁸⁸

- > EU Member States must abandon arms exports as a foreign relations tool and as a way to drive the economy because it creates a vicious circle of violence-insecurity-militarisation that only benefits the profit margins of arms companies. The EU Common Position of 2008 defining common rules governing control of exports of military technology and equipment⁸⁹ must be respected, and all arms exports from the EU must subsequently be stopped.
- > The EU must reallocate spending for military industry research into projects that develop non-violent ways of resolving and preventing conflicts. This will focus on human skills and resources rather than technology-driven solutions.

The EU must adopt a peace-based perspective of all its external actions, solely based on soft diplomacy, multilateralism and cooperation, because these are the most efficient ways of building a more secure world and a more secure Europe.

Diplomacy works better than military deterrence to avoid war; actively promoting peace processes and conflict resolution is more effective in forming alliances between states. Promoting humanitarian disarmament and eliminating weapons of mass destruction through multilateral and bilateral agreements reduces the likelihood of the threat of war.

"Research shows that over the past 35 years, 77% of violent conflicts ended through a peace agreement while only 16.4% ended through a military victory."

*'Building Peace Together, a practical resource'.
Quaker Council for European Affairs, 2018. p. 2*

EU CITIZENS ENGAGING FOR PEACE

The UNESCO Constitution states that *“since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed”*. To paraphrase, since wars, militarisation and securitisation are born (or inculcated) in the minds of the people, it is in the minds of people that the bulwarks of a security based on peace must be erected. This happens by questioning militarised security, the dominant narrative in Europe today.

- > Join your local or national peace organisations and get involved in peace movements. There are all kinds of peace groups in Europe proposing a disarmed, de-militarised and non-violent society. Join an anti-nuclear weapons movement, a group against arms exports, a campaign to reduce military spending or to stop killer robots, a group to promote and practise non-violence, or a peace educators' association. Why not join movements against military bases, war and NATO or connect to other social movements for global justice and human rights, fighting against the patriarchy, racism and climate change, and all kinds of peaceful activism that is closely interlinked with struggles for peace.
- > Governments and politicians have to feel under pressure from civil society. Social movements need resources for advocacy to counterbalance the military- and security-related lobbies that have numerous offices and staff to influence EU institutions for their own profit and gain. Peace movements can put pressure on power through local peace organisations and peace networks like the International Peace Bureau, the European Network Against Arms Trade or Pax Christi for example, and hundreds of other national pacifist, non-violent and antimilitarist movements, networks and organisations.
- > We must confront those who promote a militaristic approach, identify who they are and understand their interests. What do arms companies hope to achieve? Maximise economic profit. Arms companies work hard to get clients (i.e. governments) and their income is public money. We can confront them, going to their shareholders' meetings to condemn their products and their clients, obstructing arms fairs and blocking harbours to prevent ships leaving European shores with weapons and ammunition, etc.

- > Civil society lobbying also means putting together critical reports from a peace perspective with social movements and campaigns. For example:
 - **Stop the War** campaign for a new, independent foreign policy based on cooperation and diplomacy.
 - **No to war – no to NATO** is an international network that organises NATO counter-summits and protests against NATO's aggressive military and nuclear policies.
 - **Global Campaign on Military Spending** is an international campaign to raise awareness and change the discourse regarding military spending as a means of substantially cutting military expenditure all around the world.
 - **Control Arms** is an international campaign calling for an international Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) to stop arms transfers.
 - **War Starts Here – Let's stop it here** organises anti-militarist actions in the framework of the War Resisters' International campaign to identify and block war infrastructure.
 - **Don't bank on the Bomb** is a regularly published report with information on the private companies involved in the production of nuclear weapons and their financiers.
 - **ICAN** is an international campaign to prohibit and eliminate nuclear weapons and stigmatise their production, use and sale.
- > Get informed, but make sure that you refer to sources that you can trust. There is an intrinsic contradiction in promoting the security narrative and the production of more weapons, while claiming that this will bring more security and peace. Tell others what is happening at EU level, be a trustworthy messenger, be transparent and honest, show your values. Be proud of your pacifism, feminism, environmentalism, etc. Do not hide your intention to create a better world for everyone.

CONCLUSION

The developments we have described in this paper are part of an intentional process led by the European Commission and Council and agreed on by a majority of the final decision-makers, i.e. the European Parliament and national governments. Part of their aims have been to provide advanced weaponry and military equipment to EU Member States and beyond. Intergovernmental initiatives within the EDA and PESCO framework also aim to shore up Member States' operational capacities. This is happening under a general narrative of threats to our security and an 'existential need' for EU hard power and for an "EU that protects [...] and defends".⁹⁰

The arms and security industry has played a key role in the creation, development and importance of EU military and security policies. EU militarisation has been propelled by the industry's intensive use of think tanks, lobbyists and so-called 'experts' linked to the security business, while being welcomed by politicians from EU institutions and Member States.

This process demonstrates that the EU is engaging in preparations for war on a political, industrial and material level, getting ready for whatever form conflicts will take in the future. The EU is helping to substantially boost military spending and escalate the global arms race, a shift that is likely to side-line apparent EU support for alternative peace-building and for the fight against the root causes of conflicts.

The EDF perfectly illustrates the EU paradigm shift. It allocates, for the first time in EU history, a Community budget to military purposes, which can divert billions of euros to military R&D and other EU militarised security policies. This will only lead to two dystopian scenarios on the horizon — one in which the creation of a military fortress is believed to provide more security for European citizens, and another in which there is a fully equipped new army, probably for missions not acceptable to public opinion, that encourages a drastic increase in military spending (up to 2% of GDP at EU level). This 'hard power' EU will base its global influence on its arms exports and military presence across the world, setting up an unbeatable future market for the products and services of the European military and security complex.

But does the EU really want to become a global military power between the US, China and possibly Russia? Where would that leave the Global South? So far, the EU has often played a moderating role between competing superpowers. This unique European role should not succumb to the pressures of the military-industrial complex or the interests of a global extraction economy based on endless production and consumption. Common global challenges like climate change and the COVID-19 pandemic threaten all countries and can only be solved with global cooperation, not power block rivalry. If the EU needs a *global strategy*, this must be the starting point.

Arms exports from EU Member States foster conflicts that force people to flee their homes. Refugees that reach Europe's borders find militarised walls that treat them like enemies on a battlefield. The EU is promoting border policies that threaten the lives of innocent people looking for a better life. The world is becoming less secure, with a militarised EU that cannot ease tensions or solve conflicts with military means.

The EU must move away from a traditional military approach to security that only benefits arms and security companies. This is a security concept based on preparing for war instead of getting ready for peace. The EU must choose human-centric security that replaces the flawed securitisation paradigm. Military responses are neither efficient nor effective to face all the threats that endanger people's security. We need to rethink what form of security we really want for Europe. We need to build a new narrative for EU security that is feminist, ecologist, anti-racist, anti-capitalist and pacifist.

A non-militarised EU should be built by citizens, engaging younger generations in peace movements at local and European level, getting involved against war, arms proliferation, racism and the patriarchy, confronting arms dealers and authoritarian regimes, demanding global and climate justice. An EU for peace means preparing for, and establishing, peace, ultimately choosing the road of solidarity.

GLOSSARY

AI	Artificial Intelligence
ASD	AeroSpace and Defence Industries Association of Europe
ARES	Group Armament Industry European Research Group
ATT	Arms Trade Treaty
BLOS	Beyond Line Of Sight
CARD	Coordinated Annual Review on Defence
CEO	Corporate Europe Observatory
CEO(s)	Chief Executive Officer(s)
CBSD	Capacity Building in support of Security and Development
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
DG DEFIS	Directorate-General for Defence Industry and Space
DG GROW	Directorate-General for Internal Market, Industry, Entrepreneurship and SMEs
EADS	European Aeronautic Defence and Space Company
EC	European Commission
EDA	European Defence Agency
EDF	European Defence Fund
EDIDP	European Defence Industry Development Programme
EDIG	European Defence Industries Group
EEAS	European External Action Service
EOS	European Organisation for Security
EP	European Parliament
EPF	European Peace Facility
EU	European Union
EU HR/VP	EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy/Vice-President of the European Commission
EUBAM	EU Border Assistance Mission

EUFOR	European Union Force
EUMC	EU Military Committee
EUMS	EU Military Staff
EUNAVFOR	EU Naval Force
EUTM	EU Training Mission
FCAS	Future Combat Air System
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IRIS	French Institute for International and Strategic Affairs
ITRE	EP Committee on Industry, Research and Energy
MALE RPAS	Medium Altitude Long Endurance Remotely Piloted Aircraft System
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MPCC	Military Planning and Conduct Capability
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NDICI	Neighbourhood, Development and International Cooperation Instrument
PADR	Preparatory Action on Defence Research
PASR	Preparatory Action on Security Research
PESCO	Permanent Structured Cooperation
PSC	Political and Security Committee of the Council
R&D	Research and Development
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
TEU	Treaty on the European Union
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations Refugee Agency
US	United States of America

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