



European Communities

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## R E P O R T

on

### THE OUTLOOK FOR A EUROPEAN SECURITY POLICY:

The significance of a European security policy and its implications for European Political Union

Rapporteur: Mr H.-G. POETTERING

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*A Series: Reports - B Series: Motions for Resolutions, Oral Questions - C Series: Documents received from other Institutions (e.g. Consultations)*

**\*** = Consultation procedure requiring a single reading

**\*\*I** = Cooperation procedure (first reading)

**\*\*II** = Cooperation procedure (second reading) which requires the votes of a majority of the current Members of Parliament for rejection or amendment

**\*\*\*** = Parliamentary assent which requires the votes of a majority of the current Members of Parliament

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By letter of 9 November 1989 the Political Affairs Committee requested authorization to draw up a report on the significance of a European security policy and its institutional implications.

At the sitting of 2 April 1990 the President of the European Parliament announced that the committee had been authorized to report on this subject, and at the sitting of 14 December 1990 he announced that the Committee on Institutional Affairs had been requested to deliver an opinion.

At its meeting of 26 April 1990 the Political Affairs Committee appointed Mr Poettering rapporteur.

At its meetings of 17 October, 7 November and 20 December 1989 and 26 April 1990 the committee considered the draft report.

On 26 February 1991 the committee decided to amend the title as follows: 'THE OUTLOOK FOR A EUROPEAN SECURITY POLICY: The significance of a European security policy and its implications for European Political Union.'

At its meetings of 9 January, 26 February and 23 April 1991 the committee considered the new draft report.

At the last meeting it adopted the motion for a resolution by 27 votes to 12, with 5 abstentions.

The following took part in the vote: Cassanmagnago Cerretti, chairman; Crampton and van den Brink, vice-chairmen; Poettering, rapporteur; Baget Bozzo, Belo (for Bettiza pursuant to Rule 111(2)), Bertens (for Gawronski), Bethell, Bofill Abeilhe (for Cariglia), Calvo Ortega (for Morodo Leoncio pursuant to Rule 111(2)), Capucho, Castellina, Cheysson, Coates, Cushnahan (for Habsburg pursuant to Rule 111(2)), Dillen, Dury, Ephremidis, Florenz (for Fantini pursuant to Rule 111(2)), Ford, Hänsch, Christopher Jackson, Lacaze, Lagakos (for Klepsch), Langer, Lenz, McMahon (for Walter), Megahy (for Moran Lopez pursuant to Rule 111(2)), Newens (for Balfe), Newman (for Trautmann pursuant to Rule 111(2)), Nianias (for Lalor), Oostlander (for Tindemans), Penders, Perez Royo, Pasmazoglou, Piermont, Pirkl, Planas, Robles Piquer, Romeos, Sakellariou, Trivelli (for Napoletano), Verde i Aldea and White.

The explanatory statement will be presented orally in plenary sitting.

The opinion of the Committee on Institutional Affairs is attached.

The report was tabled with Sessional Services on 29 April 1991.

The deadline for tabling amendments will appear on the draft agenda for the part-session at which the report is to be considered.

A

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

on

**THE OUTLOOK FOR A EUROPEAN SECURITY POLICY:**

The significance of a European security policy and its institutional implications for European Political Union

The European Parliament,

- having regard to its resolutions of
  - . 17 June 1987 on cooperation on security policy within the framework of EPC<sup>1</sup>,
  - . 14 October 1987 on the political aspects of a European security strategy<sup>2</sup>,
  - . 16 November 1988 on the prospects for security policy cooperation in the context of European Political Cooperation (EPC) following the entry into force of the Single European Act<sup>3</sup>,
  - . 14 March 1989 on European arms exports<sup>4</sup>,
  - . 14 March 1989 on the security of Western Europe<sup>5</sup>,
  - . 13 December 1989 on security policy and European integration<sup>6</sup>,
  - . 14 March 1990 on the intergovernmental conference in the context of Parliament's strategy on European Union<sup>7</sup>,
  - . 17 May 1990 on the Dublin European Council of 28 April 1990<sup>8</sup>,
- having regard to the report by Mr Colombo on the European Union (A3-0165/90)<sup>9</sup>,
- having regard to the report by Mr Colombo on the constitutional basis for European Union (A3-0301/90)<sup>10</sup>,
- having regard to the interim report by Mr Romeos on the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki II) (A3-0226/90)<sup>11</sup>,
- having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee and the opinion of the Committee on Institutional Affairs (A3-0107/91),

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1 OJ No. C 190, 20.7.1987  
2 OJ No. C 305, 16.11.1987  
3 OJ No. C 326, 19.12.1988  
4 OJ No. C 96, 17.4.1989  
5 OJ No. C 96, 17.4.1989  
6 OJ No. C 15, 22.1.1990  
7 OJ No. C 96, 17.4.1990  
8 OJ No. C 149, 18.6.1990  
9 OJ No. C 231, 17.9.1990  
10 OJ No. C 19, 28.1.1991  
11 OJ No. C 284, 12.11.1990

- A. persuaded more than ever that the most sensitive areas of the political arena, including foreign and security policy, may only be tackled by the European Community in very close connection with the process of its political union and democratic development, both of which are still a long way from achieving acceptable levels,
- B. whereas the preamble to the Single European Act (SEA) contains the commitment to transform relations as a whole among the Community Member States into a European Union,
- C. having regard to the conclusions of the European Council of 8 and 9 December 1989 in Strasbourg, emphasizing that it is in the interests of all European states for the Community to accelerate its development into a European Union,
- D. having regard to the conclusions of the Dublin European Council of 28 April 1990, noting that the sustained, dynamic development of the Community is essential for the creation of reliable framework conditions for peace and security in Europe and that further decisive steps towards European unification should therefore be taken,
- E. having regard to the conclusions of the Rome European Council of 14 and 15 December 1990, in which the creation of a security policy is included among the tasks of the intergovernmental conferences,
- F. having regard to the outcome of the Rome European Council of 14 and 15 December 1990, in which the Ministers expressed their determination 'to define the stages in the process of transforming the Community into a Political Union which will act as a focus of stability in Europe',
- G. having regard to the declarations of the Rome European Council, in which it is stated that extension of the role of the European Union should be considered, with reference, inter alia, to arms control, disarmament and related issues, CSCE matters, certain questions debated in the UN, including peace-keeping operations, coordination of armaments export policy, and non-proliferation,
- H. whereas the Rome European Council of 14 and 15 December 1990 affirmed the principle of a Political Union embracing all aspects of foreign and security policy and whereas the Intergovernmental Conference on Political Union begun on 15 December 1990 must define the objectives, field of application and means of implementation within a consistent institutional framework,
- I. having regard to the provisions of the 'Paris Charter for a New Europe', which refers to the content and perspectives of the projected common policy on security and cooperation in Europe,
- J. having regard, in a spirit of self-criticism, to the proof of the Community's inability to act jointly during the Gulf crisis, in which some Member States rushed to align themselves with other powers, others tried in vain to carry out an independent Community policy and others again preferred not to express an opinion,

- K. whereas, for a whole variety of reasons, the EC and the WEU cannot be made fully to interrelate, not least because Greece, Denmark and Ireland, Member States of the EC, do not belong to the WEU; whereas, however, it has to be recognized that if foreign and security policy powers were invested in the European Union, there would be no further reason for the continued existence of the WEU,
- L. having regard to the declaration of intent by the Member States of the European Community, enshrined in the preamble to the Single European Act, jointly to make their own contribution to the preservation of international peace and security,
- M. having regard to the provisions of Title III, Article 30 of the Single European Act (SEA), which constitutes the provisional basis in treaty law for the adoption and implementation of common positions in the field of foreign and security policy,
- N. having regard to Title III, Article 30(12) of the SEA, in which the Member States undertake to examine, five years after the entry into force of the Treaty provisions on European cooperation in the sphere of foreign policy, whether these provisions require any revision,
- O. having regard to the provisions of Title III, Article 30(4) of the SEA, which stipulate that the European Parliament must be associated with the development of a common foreign and security policy,
- P. convinced that only through reformulating the duties of the European Parliament, Council and Commission, with a genuine interchange between a democratic, representative, legislative and political organ on one side and a real European executive on the other, will it be possible to give the European Community powers in the field of foreign policy, but that it is nevertheless possible to begin to lay the foundations of a future political Europe,
- Q. stressing the responsibility of the European Community and Europe as a whole to contribute to a global policy of stability and peace and to make the removal of the East-West blocs in Europe the starting-point for the establishment of lasting peace,
- R. convinced that the current practice of coordinating foreign and security policy is impairing the Twelve's ability to act; whereas the Member States' inability to make an effective contribution towards resolving the conflict during the Gulf War confirms the need to develop a common foreign and security policy,
- S. whereas, particularly in an international political context marked by fundamental changes and by the transition from a bipolar to a multipolar balance of power, endowing the Community with the capacity to act in the sphere of foreign and security policy is now a priority objective; convinced that the collapse of bipolarism in international relations and the interdependence of States and large regional areas must lead to a world order based on increasing integration and on the adjustment and strengthening of the decision-making mechanisms of the UN,

- T. convinced that, in this process, European integration, in particular the acquisition of real powers in the field of foreign and security policy by the European Community, is an essential step,
- U. whereas foreign and security policy are inextricably linked in the same way as security and defence policy,
- V. convinced that the peaceful resolution of disagreements and conflict prevention through negotiation must be paramount in a Community security policy and that Community security policy must incorporate the economic, ecological, demographic, technological and other aspects on which social and international interaction is based,
- W. whereas security is more than the mere prevention of war, since it is also based on economic, ecological, demographic, technological and other aspects of social and international interaction,
- X. convinced that measures to preserve defence preparedness and capability must be viewed in the context of efforts to secure a mutual and verified balanced reduction in forces and weapons systems, freedom and pluralism of information, etc.,
- Y. whereas the political, economic and military aspects of security inevitably overlap and must therefore be regarded and dealt with as a whole,
- Z. convinced that the military strategies and structures currently in force must be completely reformulated in the light of the collapse of the East-West divide and the new threats stemming from serious imbalances and injustices in the ecological, social, democratic and economic spheres,
- ZA. whereas the continuation of the arms control and disarmament process in the chemical/bacteriological, conventional and nuclear spheres contributes to security,
- ZB. whereas the political changes and the progress of democratization in most of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are instrumental in the re-establishment of trust and the encouragement of cooperation, and remove the dangers of confrontation and the military threat in Europe,
- ZC. whereas a European security policy should not be based solely on an analysis of the present situation but should take account of potential political changes, the possible appearance of new sources of danger and the risk of conflicts spreading from neighbouring regions and continents,
- ZD. whereas the development and institutional framework of a Community security policy within the context of the European Community conflicts neither with the maintenance of existing alliance commitments nor with the development of pan-European security structures,
- ZE. aware that the development of a Community security policy is explicitly welcomed by the USA and Canada and by numerous European and non-European third countries,

ZF. whereas the European Community must not allow itself to be isolated from the other states in the world community as an enclave of prosperous industrialized nations, but has an obligation to contribute worldwide to overcoming poverty and underdevelopment, implementing human and civil rights, containing conflicts and guaranteeing peace through negotiation, and whereas a Community foreign and security policy is the prerequisite for effectively meeting this obligation,

#### I. General measures

1. Confirms its demand, in its resolution of 14 March 1990 (Martin report, A3-47/90), for rationalization of the Community's instruments for external relations, with a view to ultimately achieving a common foreign and security policy in the service of peace;
2. Advocates introducing a common foreign and security policy which will overcome the intergovernmental character of EPC in accordance with the draft Treaty amendments and draft constitutional basis of European Union which it adopted in its resolutions of 11 July, 22 November and 12 December 1990;
3. Advocates that the Institutions of the European Community be vested with foreign and security policy powers similar to those they enjoy in other Community policy areas;
4. Reaffirms the proposals contained in the aforesaid resolutions for a new Article 130u of the EEC Treaty, and paragraphs 61 to 63 and 65 of the resolution of 12 December 1990, which contain provisions on competence (inter alia by deleting Article 223 of the EEC Treaty), the institutional framework, voting procedures and the implementation of a common security policy;

#### II. At Council level

5. Advocates incorporating foreign and security policy directly into the institutional structure of the Community and, hence, merging the meetings of the Foreign Ministers in EPC with the regular meetings of the Foreign Ministers within the framework of the European Community;
6. Advocates setting up a Council of Ministers responsible for security matters within the framework of the European Community (Defence Council);
7. Advocates, where necessary, regular joint meetings of the Councils of Foreign and Defence Ministers as a Security Council, on the lines of the joint Council of Economic and Finance Ministers (ECOFIN), to discuss and take decisions on matters of basic security policy;



8. Recommends, in line with the proposal in the D. Martin resolution of 22 November 1990 (Article 130u(3)(c)), introducing decision-making procedures to facilitate consensus-building in the light of the majority opinion with a view to the rapid adoption of common positions and facilitating joint action in specific well-defined areas of foreign and security policy;
9. Advocates integrating the EPC secretariat into the secretariat of the Council of Ministers;

### III. At Commission level

10. Considers that the Commission of the European Communities should adapt its own structures once foreign and security policy is included among the Community's responsibilities;
11. Calls on the Commission to consider the setting up of a special independent agency to monitor and control the production and sale of arms in the Member States, among themselves and to third countries;
12. Advocates giving the Commission a non-exclusive right of initiative in foreign and security policy matters;
13. Stresses the need for united and coherent action by the Community at international level, subject to the individual Commissioner responsible for foreign and security policy being called to account for that action to the European Parliament;

### IV. At EP level

14. Calls for the full involvement of the European Parliament in the foreign and security policy activities of the Community by:
  - (a) giving it a right of participation and supervisory powers in matters of foreign and security policy,
  - (b) requiring the Council and Commission to keep it informed,
  - (c) setting up consultation machinery to coordinate the handling of foreign and security policy by the Council, Commission and Parliament,
  - (d) requiring that Parliament's assent, in the form of an absolute majority, be obtained where fundamental decisions on foreign and security policy are concerned (for example, membership of military alliances, fundamental changes in military strategies or decisions on joint military action in the event of conflicts),
  - (e) requiring that Parliament's assent be obtained to agreements between the Community and third countries or international organizations, disarmament and arms control agreements, and any other treaties and agreements affecting security to which the Community is party;

15. Recommends that the increased significance of foreign and security policy be reflected in the European Parliament's organizational and administrative set-up;

#### **V. Relations with other security organizations**

16. Recommends close cooperation and coordination of the activities of the Community and the future European Union in the field of foreign and security policy with the institutions of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization;
17. Regards the development and institutionalization of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) as a valuable extension of the Foreign and Security Policy Union, in particular for the discussion of pan-European security interests, the implementation of confidence and security-building measures and the establishment of comprehensive European security structures; supports initiatives to set up a Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean (CSCM) and calls on the governments of all the Mediterranean Member States of the Community to support and promote all initiatives aimed at the preservation of peace and the promotion of cooperation in the Mediterranean;
18. Hopes that the European Community will be represented by a joint delegation of all three institutions, alongside the Member States, at all levels of the CSCE, and that the European Parliament will be associated with any CSCE parliamentary representation;

#### **VI. Tasks and objectives of the common security policy**

19. Advocates the development of a Community security policy that takes into account the political, economic and military aspects of security, on the basis of the sectors indicated by the Rome European Council;
20. Calls on the Member States, in anticipation of the outcome of the Intergovernmental Conferences, to renounce the application of Article 223 of the EEC Treaty immediately in order to pave the way for a common policy on controlling arms exports;
21. Having regard to the Gulf War, calls for the development of a common arms export policy, within the Commission's sphere of competence, based on the following criteria: (a) common standards, (b) effective monitoring, (c) reduced dependence on exports to third countries;
22. Calls for immediate Community efforts with a view to cooperation on conversion of the arms industry that take account of the social and regional implications in particular; is bearing in mind the developments in this area in Europe as a whole;
23. Recommends that consideration be given, in those Member States where military service is compulsory, to the standardization of legislation governing military service and civilian alternatives to it;

24. Believes that the setting-up of multinational European troop units and, where appropriate, their deployment as peace-keeping and security forces on behalf of all the Member States of the Community merits consideration; believes it is desirable for the common security policy to be fashioned in such a way that the Community presents a united front in connection with UN peace-keeping measures, inter alia as regards the possible dispatching of European Community peace-keeping forces;
25. Calls for defence doctrines to be based solely on defensive strategies, with the consequences this implies for arms production and exports;
26. Calls for the continuation of the arms control and disarmament process in the chemical/bacteriological, conventional and nuclear spheres;
27. Sees in the successful conclusion of the CSCE negotiations the possibility of significantly curbing defence spending and calls for the resources released to be used to contain non-military threats to security (destruction of the environment, North-South divide) and alleviate the social and regional impact of converting the arms industry; to this end, a special solidarity fund could be set up to help the poorest countries of the Third World, using resources saved through arms reduction;
28. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the Council, the Foreign Ministers meeting in EPC, the governments and parliaments of the Member States and the Secretaries-General of NATO, the WEU and the Warsaw Pact.

O P I N I O N

(Rule 120 of the Rules of Procedure)  
of the Committee on Institutional Affairs  
for the Political Affairs Committee

Draftsman: Mr Jannis SAKELLARIOU

At its meeting of 18 December 1990 the Committee on Institutional Affairs appointed Mr Sakellariou draftsman.

At its meetings of 29 and 30 January and 28 February/1 March 1991 it considered the draft opinion.

At the last meeting it adopted the conclusions as a whole unanimously.

The following were present for the vote: Oreja, chairman; Prag, vice-chairman; Sakellariou, draftsman; Aglietta, Bandres, Bindi, Bourlanges (for Luster), Capucho, Cassanmagnago Cerretti, Colombo, De Giovanni, Donnelly, Ferrer and Herman.

A. Powers and responsibilities

1. Annex VI of the Rules of Procedure on the powers and responsibilities of standing committees lays down that the Political Affairs Committee is responsible for, inter alia:
  1. 'political and institutional aspects of relations with other international organizations and with third countries ...;
  4. ... questions pertaining to cooperation in the sphere of foreign policy and the policy on security and disarmament ...;'

The Committee on Institutional Affairs is given responsibility for, inter alia:

- '3. general relations with the other institutions or organs of the Community;
  4. the institutional structures of the Communities within the framework of the existing Treaties ...;
  5. the development of European integration in the framework of the intergovernmental conference ...;'
2. A comparison of the texts reveals no clear and obvious distinction in the terms of reference nor is any topic specifically allocated to a particular committee. Given the nature and origins of Annex VI, it is clear that no such clear-cut distinctions can be made. A close reading of the texts allows us to infer guidelines which can be followed in this particular case: the Political Affairs Committee is principally responsible as regards the content of policy on security and disarmament. However, the Committee on Institutional Affairs is responsible as regards the institutional structure of such a policy - its creation and implementation through an institutional mechanism - and has exclusive access to intergovernmental conferences.
  3. In the light of the above, a separate report on the significance of a European security policy and its institutional implications with the content drawn up by the rapporteur would appear problematic. However, the fact that the section on the significance of such a policy and its institutional implications is incorporated into a comprehensive report on the outlook for a European security policy makes it possible for the Committee on Institutional Affairs - given the need for flexible interpretation of Annex VI and cooperation among committees - to deliver an opinion.

B. The development of Parliament's position

4. In principle, Parliament is free constantly to update its position. If it is to preserve its credibility and seriousness, however, positions taken in the past must be respected.
5. In its resolutions of 22 November 1990 (3rd Martin report - A3-270/90) and 12 December 1990 (2nd Colombo report - A3-301/90), Parliament adopted, by an overwhelming majority, a series of clauses relating to institutional

aspects of security policy. There are no grounds for modifying the positions taken in these resolutions. There has been no shift in the political balance within Parliament and, in the short time that has elapsed, no external circumstances likely to lead to a reassessment: the evolution of the Gulf crisis, for example, serves only to confirm the positions taken by Parliament.

Consequently, in the interests of Parliament's credibility and the consistency of its work, the stipulations made should be retained. In particular, it should be borne in mind that they represent proposals submitted by Parliament to the Intergovernmental Conference on Political Union. Their significance would be reduced if Parliament were to modify them shortly after the conference opened.

6. The need to keep to positions recently adopted also rules out their repetition in a later draft or report: any such repetition of a text already adopted, however faithful, would subject it once again to votes in committee and in plenary, possibly with a different outcome. The only solution to the problem is to reaffirm Parliament's position by referring to the results already achieved. (Parliament took this course in, for example, paragraphs 21 and 22 of its resolution of 13 December 1990 (Roumeliotis report - A3-310/90).

C. The progressive creation and implementation of a common security policy

7. This principle also appears to run through the draft report. However, the text of the report gives no clear indication of the timescale for the implementation of the proposed measures (immediately, in the medium or long term). Parliament's resolutions of 22 November and 12 December 1990 chart the continuity of the reforms to be adopted at the intergovernmental conferences up to and including completion of the European Union.

D. Conclusions

8. A number of conclusions can be drawn from the above, and the Committee on Institutional Affairs calls on the Political Affairs Committee to bear these in mind during the vote:

I. First indent, point 9

'11 July<sup>11</sup> and 12 December 1990<sup>11a</sup> on the constitutional basis of European Union based on the reports by Mr Colombo (A3-165/90 and A3-301/90),

<sup>11</sup> OJ No. C 231, 17.9.1990, p. 91

<sup>11a</sup> not yet published in OJ'

II. Recital A

'whereas the preamble to the Single European Act (SEA) contains the commitment to transform relations as a whole among the States into a European Union,'

III. Recital Ca (new)

'having regard to the conclusions of the Rome European Council of 14 and 15 December 1990, in which the creation of a foreign and security policy is included among the tasks of the intergovernmental conferences,'

IV. Recital D

'having regard to the contributions made by the Italian Presidency and a number of governments in connection with the creation and construction of a foreign and security policy in preparation for the Intergovernmental Conference on Political Union,'

V. Recital F

'whereas, for a whole variety of reasons, the EC and the WEU cannot be made fully to interrelate, not least because Greece, Denmark, and Ireland, Member States of the EC, do not belong to the WEU; whereas, however, it has to be recognized that if foreign and security policy powers were invested in the European Union, there would be no further reason for the continued existence of the WEU,'

VI. Recital K

'convinced that only within the scope of a new definition of the responsibilities of the EP, the Council, and the Commission (with a view to establishing a genuine European government answerable before the EP) will it be possible to confer foreign and security policy powers on the EC, even though it has hitherto proved possible to begin laying the foundations for such policies,'

VII. Paragraph 1

'... in its resolution of 14 March 1990 (Martin report, Doc. A3-47/90), ...'

VIII. Paragraph 3

'Advocates introducing a common foreign and security policy which will overcome the intergovernmental character of EPC in accordance with the draft Treaty amendments and draft constitutional basis of European Union which it adopted in its resolutions of 11 July, 22 November and 12 December 1990;'

IX. Paragraph 3a (new)

'Reaffirms the proposals contained in the aforesaid resolutions for a new Article 130u of the EEC Treaty, and paragraphs 61 to 63 and 65 of the resolution of 12 December 1990, which contain provisions on competence (inter alia by deleting Article 223 of the EEC Treaty), the institutional framework, voting procedures and the implementation of a common security policy' (delete paragraphs 7-9, 11, 12, 14 and 21)

X. Paragraphs 5 and 6

These proposals clearly fall within the terms of reference of the Committee on Institutional Affairs, which has not yet taken up a position in this connection.

XI. Paragraph 10

It is questionable whether Parliament should make such proposals to the Commission on matters involving the latter's internal organization.

XII. Paragraph 13

'Stresses the need for united and coherent action by the Community at international level;' (The remainder is already covered by Article 130u(3)(d) of the EEC Treaty as proposed in the resolution of 22 November 1990.)

XIII. Paragraphs 18 and 19

The issue dealt with here anticipates a future report of the Committee on Institutional Affairs. Given that the two paragraphs have been formulated in a sufficiently reserved manner, they are nevertheless acceptable.

XIV. Paragraph 22

'Calls for the development of the common arms export policy to be based on the following criteria: ...;'

XV. The committee responsible will need to ensure the necessary consistency between statements made in the various sections of the draft report and in relation to other reports.