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EUROPEAN COMMON ARMY –
BETWEEN PROJECTS AND PRAGMATISM

SUMMARY OF THE PHD THESIS

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This paper puts into discussion the proposal for a gradual establishment of a European common army, an institution having as main role the collective defense, imposing the European interests, maintaining the European unity and consolidation of a European identity. The EU, in order to be able to support – eventually, to increase – its international political role, needs a deeper integration of the member states and requires the establishment of such institutions able to support its international interests. The establishment of Common Foreign and Security Policy and of the European External Action Service represents an insufficient approach, as long as it has no real means by which to achieve its objectives. From these general considerations, the paper aims to identify the ways, methods and means needed for such institutional structure, taking also into account the present socio-cultural context that exits within the Union, especially the new challenges with which the EU will have to face in the next period.

Even if the road to a confederation entity, as could be the United States of Europe, is still long, and its direction is quite unpredictable, there are enough signs to show us that, this will be the only way able to sustain the geopolitical interests and the security of Europe in the world. In this context, briefly expressed, I consider that the gradual establishment of a European common army (ECA), an institution subordinated to the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), and especially to the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) may lead to achieve the political objectives and the security of the Union, both externally and internally: strengthening the European unity and creation of a European identity.

Why we need a European common army? The economic crisis, through which the West crosses, has generated, more than ever, the requirement of reducing the national defense budgets. However, there are risks and threats to the European security, for medium and long term, to which the EU will have to respond and for which it will be forced to turn to other entities (US and NATO) in order to manage them. This fact would put obviously the EU in a position of inferiority and dependence to its main partner, but at the same time, an economical competitor, the USA. The international developments, for a period of 20-50 years, suggesting an increase of political and economic influence of the significant players belonged to the emergent area: China, India, Brazil, and, lately, in a significant manner, Russia. The effects of this influence have begun to be more visible

from many points of view: economically, politically and militarily. The competition for control the vital resources of the planet and for manage the entire world economy will be worn, certainly, using also the military forces. Or Europe lacks just that: an instrument of power that would allow it to have - according to its own interests - economic, technological and scientific advantages that have been created for it.

The main issue that rises in order to establish an ECA would be the giving up to an essential part of sovereignty - mainly, to its own military power, or, at least, to a part of it - and unilateral right to dispose of it. On the other hand, thus ECA will be able to take over the role of national armies in generating the available forces for NATO, or to carry on military missions at the EU disposal. The collective leadership of EU will also not allow the ECA to be involved in military adventures with disastrous consequences for the entire Union. Although, at the moment, the risks and threats to the European security not seem to generate excitement reaction for initiating the process of establishing the ECA, we predict that the economic developments in the field of security, for medium and long term, will force the European policymakers to adopt such measure.

The main objective of this research is to analyze the fact that the establishment of ECA can contribute or not, to the achievement of a European identity and to the strengthening of EU unity. From our point of view, the easiest way to find the proper directions - in order to reach a European identity, supported by the establishment of an ECA - can be found by analyzing the new challenges to the European security and by forecasting the priorities of the European integration, based on the awareness of these threats. On the other hand, it is important to see how the establishment of strong institutions, such as ECA, with a significant impact on all social classes and categories of European citizens may lead to the consolidation of the EU, and even more, to its development into a federation / confederation of states.

The paper does not aim to build a scientific approach full of pro issues for the establishment of ECA. We decided, however, to analyze data and information that may allow the specialists in international relations and European studies to understand that, the establishment of an ECA is necessary, or, on the contrary, to consider that this approach is a utopia and is irrelevant to the European construction. It is emphasized that the research topic is debated in a period marked by profound political, economic, and

military transformations. I should mention that, the manner in which ECA is designed to be established is entirely new, the pattern hasn't being discussed in public: a European common army made up of Europeans (the national principle will not being included in the recruitment process). We don't intend to propose just a theoretical framework, able to inspire or not the researcher, but also we try to offer a practical approach (by including a chapter containing practical elements for the achievement of such an approach in stages).

This paper uses as main research method the profound study of specialized bibliography, especially of documents elaborated by EU institutions, but also of materials belonged to the specialized research institutes. It has been preferred the using of a deductive method, based on different theories regarding the European integration, combined with an approach based on reality. As a result, the work is fundamentally based on the use of empirical analysis of elements that generate the certain actions of European policy makers, in order to adopt decisions towards European integration, especially in the area of Common Foreign and Security Policy and Common Defense and Security Policy. Also, the using of inductive method proves that *Understanding* is the goal of any inductive approach that starts from the individual case and goes through the generalization. The comparative study focused on highlighting the similarities and/or differences between the EU and other political entities/state and security/organizations that can be used as a model. Analysis of official documents and speeches of main political actors involved (European political leaders, etc.) was used to formulate ideas with effects on research problem.

Although the study is exclusively empirical oriented, the research has tried to combine the knowledge specific for international relations field (as a discipline clearly outlined in the academic area) with the information belonged to military science, history, geography (especially, political and social) economy and security studies. From a qualitative perspective it was preferred to choose that sources able to provide accuracy and credibility for the information used.

In order to connect the scientific approach with the current developments it was used a careful monitoring of media sources, especially those whose reputation is undeniable. Also, the daily flow of newsletters and communicates offered on e-mail personal to the author by the European Parliament, European External Action Service,

European Council Presidency, and other European institutions, brought that plus of objectivity and rigorously that we consider is necessarily for a research work.

The main objective of this research is focused on demonstrating that, the establishment of a European common army, concluded by Europeans, can contribute both to the achievement and consolidation of a European identity, as well as to strengthening the EU unity. The innovation that the author has tried to emphasize is the fact that, at the basis of this institutional structure should stay the principle of recruitment of ECA personnel among European citizens, meaning that there will not be a principle of national recruitment, unless certain social and political realities would require it. It might say that this is the key of the establishment of a European identity.

In the first chapter, *Security, Unity and European Identity: Theoretical and Historical Aspects*, I presented some theoretical aspects related to the issue of European security in the context of European integration. I brought into discussion the main theoretical approaches of security issues, relevant to European integration, and the main theoretical paradigms of European construction. In the third section, *Military Identity – European Identity. Constructivist Approach*, we tried to present how an institution like the European Common Army may contribute to achieve a European identity. We chose the constructivist approach starting from the consideration that the European identity is based on cultural and social practices shared by Europeans and constructivism can offer the most appropriate analytical framework. In subsection four, *European unit: projects and debates*, attempted a brief overview of the key moments that brought in the European debate, the crescent history, the issue of European unity. In the five and the six subsections we were focused on the study of historical evolution of cooperation in European security and defense field. A special attention we gave to the presentation and to analysis the stages of integration of European security and defense policy and the steps done for establishing some common European military structures.

In the second chapter - *The European Security Architecture at the Beginning of the XXI Century* - we tried an analytical and critical presentation on legislative and institutional framework governing European security issues. It is true that our study has been focused on the analysis of military and political security perspective; that's, because the dimension of the paper wouldn't allow to approach issues belonged to others security

dimensions: societal, economic and environmental. The study is focused on analyzing the two essential documents, which, in our opinion, are the main documents that set out the objectives, mission, values and the path that EU must adopt in order to ensure its safety: the Treaty of Lisbon and the European Security Strategy.

The third chapter of the paper is focused on exploring the manner in which the topic "*European Common Army*" could be developed from a utopian debate to reality, marked by geopolitical, geostrategic conjunctures, risks and threats to the EU security. Even a forecast was done concerning the possible developments within the international security environment. For this attempt it had to identify if exits geopolitical interests of the Union and which are they, other than those which derived from the interests of the main European countries. Analysis of the main documents with relevance to the CFSP/CSDP highlights the existence of these interests. We tried to demonstrate the importance of a comprehensive approach regarding the military risks for the security, making a geostrategic analysis of the East European area, due to the military taking of Crimea by the Russian Federation and its action in Ukrainian zone.

In the section related to the debate around the necessity of setting up a European army we tried to present the points of view of European political leaders regarding this subject. This section underlines that the subject is already in the public debate and it has been launched by European leaders as a result of some security assessments.

The need for inclusion of a chapter concerning *The Armed Templates that Could Be Used in Order to Establish an ECA* was generated by the request that any scientific work must be discussed using both theoretical and historical arguments. Through the mankind history there were some armies organized in such manner that could be considered "model" for establishment of ECA. This fact gave us the possibility to find additional support for our scientific approach.

The sixth chapter – *The European Common Army - Defining -* is intended to be a case study, meant to provide additional tools for an intellectual exercise that could turn into practice: the establishment and structure of ECA. We chose this term, *defining*, because this method is a methodological approach of human finding, which includes theoretical and practical work. So, we tried to design elements of the mechanism for establishing the ECA, its subsystems structure - as well as the support mechanisms:

resources, budget, doctrine, etc. In the analytical defining we started with some questions: what constitutes ECA? Which elements should form the institution and must fulfill the objectives? On the other hand, the systemically defining had to respond to the following questions: which is the main objective of this institution? Which is the vision of this institution? Which are the missions of this institution?

In our opinion, ECA is an open system, dynamically, belonging to a changing environment. The changes within the international political environment, but also within the economic, technical and social fields influence it. Therefore, control and innovation are fundamental to the functioning of such system. The stages of establishing an ECA, decided by defining method should be: launching political initiative - public debate; the adoption and ratification of the decision for establishment of ECA; setting up the legislative framework; establishing the democratic control of mechanisms; establishing of ECA structures; staff recruitment and training; making ECA operational.

If we try to do a temporal prediction, we could estimate that it would take 2-4 years from the beginning until the institution will run in full. This method allowed forecasting, relatively, the staff and the budget, certainly, the most important elements for structuring such institution. We estimated that the EU would need a maximum of 600,000 soldiers, well-trained and well-equipped, able to carry on military operations (missions, permanent bases, recovery) with a total budget of 171 billion dollars.

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A. websites

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www.europarl.europa.eu – Parlamentul European
www.nato.int – North Aatlantic Treaty Organization
www.weu.int – Uniunea Europei Ocidentale
eur-lex.europa.eu – site oficial cu legislaţia UE
www.consilium.europa.eu – Consiliul European
ec.europa.eu – Comisia Europeană
www.eda.europa.eu – Agenţia Eutopeană de Apărare
http://www.eurocorps.org - EUROCORPS
http://www.euromarfor.org - *EUMARFOR*
http://www.euroairgroup.org - EUROPEAN AIR GROUP
www.eurogendfor.org – EUROGENDFOR
*www.*imf.*org* - Fondul Monetar Internaţional
www.cia.gov - Central Intelligence Agency
www.sipri.org - Stocholm International Peace Research Institut
www.conference-board.org - The Conference Board, Inc, Global Economic Outlook
http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu – EUROSTAT
www.un.org – ONU

www.osce.org – OSCE
www.dmdc.osd.mil - Defense Manpower Data Center
www.defense.gov – Departamentul Apărării SUA
www.whitehouse.gov – Peşedinţia SUA

B. Database:

American Corner, Cluj-Napoca
Center for European Policy Study - http://www.ceps.eu
Center Virtuel de la Connaisance sur l'Europe – www.cvce.eu
Center for a new American Security – www.cnas.org
Centrul de Studii Strategice de Aparare şi Securitate/UNAP – *cssas.unap.ro*
Europe Direct, Cluj-Napoca
European Geostrategy/The Academis Asociation for contemporary European Studies
Global Security - www.glogalsecurity.org,
The Heritage Foundation - Leadership for America: http://www.heritage.org
Henry L. Stimson Center - http://www.stimson.org
International Institute for Strategic Studies – www.iiss.org
International Crisis Group - www.crisisgroup.org
J-stor
RAND Corporation – www.rand.org
Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) – www.rusi.org
Stratfor Global Intelligence - www.stratfor.com

C. E-mail

Serviciul European de Acţiune Exterenă – zilnic comunicate ale ÎR, comunicate de presă, documente: EEAS-PRESS@eeas.europa.eu

Consiliul European – zilnic: comunicate ale Preşedintelui Consiliului European, comunicate de presă, documente: subscriptions@dsms.consilium.europa

Parlamentul European, Comisia pentru Afaceri Externe, Subcomisia pentru Securitate şi Apărare, zilnic - europarl_ro@subscribe.europarl.europa.eu

European Organisation of Military Associations (EUROMIL), informări - euromil@euromil.org

Bucharest US Embassy, periodic - Focus on Foreign Policy & International Security Issues - stoianl@state.gov