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DEBATING EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENSE POLICY

UNDERSTANDING THE COMPLEXITY



■ Maxime H. A. Larivé

Debating European Security and Defense Policy

Understanding the Complexity

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ASHGATE

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To Cristina

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Foreword

Scholarship on the EU's *Common Security and Defence Policy* (CSDP) now fills dozens of shelves in any decent research library. Broadly speaking, the tenor and tone of this massive enterprise breaks down into two distinct periods. Prior to 2009, the overall mood was upbeat, optimistic and constructive. Most scholars writing in the late 1990s and early 2000s were confident that the creation of a European defense capacity was an important new development, both for European integration and for European security. The United States was already tilting away from the old continent and, as Europeans discovered in former Yugoslavia, was extremely reluctant to continue to play its traditional role of hegemon of last resort. Europe needed its own autonomous security project and, within a few short years, it appeared to have acquired one—and a dynamic one at that. The first missions dated from 2003 and were widely deemed to be relatively successful. By combining military and civilian instruments in a new way, CSDP appeared to be blazing a new trail in international relations. Academic and policy analysts found these developments exciting, innovative and full of promise. Some even went as far as to suggest that CSDP would contribute to the forging of a European identity.

All this began to change around the time of the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. The mood among scholars switched to one of uncertainty, pessimism, skepticism. Even as the Treaty appeared to confer on the project new institutional and capacity-generating instruments, analysts became far more critical, more negative in their assessment. While 26 missions were launched between 2003 and 2008, none was launched between 2009 and 2011. The Arab Spring, the most serious security challenge since the Yugoslav wars exactly 20 years previously, suggested that CSDP was still an infant in diapers. The Libyan crisis, by any measure precisely the type of scenario CSDP had been devised to tackle, saw the project totally by-passed as member states quarreled over an appropriate response and the intervention mission was assumed by NATO. Thereafter, the talk in policy and analytical circles was of the need to re-think CSDP's relationship with NATO.

The explanation for this switch in CSDP's fortunes is complex and multifaceted. The project was undoubtedly oversold from the outset, both by European analysts (myself included) and by Americans, who detected a case of the EU "balancing" against the US (how wrong can you get?). The extent to which the member states intended to keep it on a tight leash was disguised by the proliferation of missions in the early years. The rapid drafting (2003) of the *European Security Strategy* created the illusion that the EU knew what it was attempting to achieve. The volatility and instability of the neighborhood was massively underestimated—as events in Georgia, North Africa and Ukraine were shortly to prove.

Maxime Larivé's book tackles this complexity head-on. He offers us a sure-footed guide through the CSDP labyrinth, robustly rejecting linear or mono-causal approaches. For each of the key issues at the heart of the project, both theoretically and empirically, he establishes a debate between contending interpretations. Much like the CSDP project itself, he produces a tool-box of analytical instruments, inviting his readers to explore both sides of each argument and allowing them to choose for themselves the most convincing explanatory model. At the same time, he frames the CSDP story in a truly global context, in a world where patterns of international relations are evolving very rapidly, where emerging powers and non-state actors are changing the rules of the game in new and unfamiliar ways, yet in which traditional actors still hold sway, from Iraq to Crimea, in ways which are, alas, all too familiar. The grand vision of Saint-Malo, Larivé concludes, has faded. No "heroic" leader, bent on prestige, has emerged to drive the project forward. There is no strategic vision. Every drop of European energy is currently being expended on solving the Eurozone crisis and there is precious little left to devote to a policy area which remains in thrall, in very different ways, to the big member states, especially France, Germany and the UK (and who knows what the latter will do next?). Larivé's book will serve as a precious resource for all those who wish to grapple from the inside with the complexity, indeed with the many contradictions, of the CSDP.

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Preface

During an interview in Washington, DC, a scholar on European defense and security told me: “It all began with the CSDP (Common Security and Defense Policy) in December 1998.” This statement has stayed with me all these years and I felt compelled to write a book on the matter. The CSDP is a fascinating policy adopted by the European Union after the bilateral meeting between President Chirac and Prime Minister Blair in the medieval town of Saint Malo on the Atlantic Coast of France in December 1998. The ideas and visions for the CSDP back in the tumultuous end of the Cold War were the appropriate response to Europe’s failure to stabilize the continent, and most importantly, its own backyard.

Sixteen years later, the CSDP did not become a European army, but instead a complex *sui-generis* civilian-military instrument for European intervention. The CSDP is not always used when it should be and when it *is* used, Member States tend to limit its role, contributions and power. Unfortunately, one of the greatest contradictions in the existence of the CSDP has been the Member States’ political will. In recent years, the CSDP has been poorly developed and operationalized. The decision-makers’ only approach to responding to the CSDP shortfalls has been to focus on defense procurements. The debate on the existing strategic void of the CSDP has been sidelined at the expense of technical and bureaucratic discussions. Yes, the CSDP lacks air-to-air refueling, intelligence-gathering instruments, drones, and so on, but would the CSDP be more efficient with all the military capabilities in its hand even without a clear strategic vision? The crises in Mali, Central African Republic and Ukraine demonstrate the importance of strategy. In 2014, this is the current situation of the CSDP.

The main issue in identifying the angle of the book was not the topic or the themes, but the approach. Outstanding books and articles have already been written on the CSDP, and I refused to simply write yet *another*. Ultimately, I found a niche. This book is addressed to individuals seeking to discover and learn about the CSDP. It is organized in ten themes analyzed around a *yes* and *no* debate, a black and white approach. This book is a collection of debates opening the door to discovering the CSDP through a wide range of questions. It was not written with the mindset of challenging the establishment of the CSDP, but rather to open a fair discussion on the evolution, structure and contribution of the CSDP to international politics and security.

This book would not have been possible without a splendid group of mentors, experts, friends, and naturally, family. As for my mentors, I have been lucky to learn under Dr Joaquín Roy, who has always provided great advice, recommendations, and support. The EU Center of Excellence at the University of Miami has offered

me an intellectual home that was greatly needed. Dr Roger E. Kanet has provided me considerable time and patience in reading the early drafts and commenting on them. His support has been invaluable. Dr Natividad Fernández Sola and Dr Bruce M. Bagley also provided great advice on framing the theoretical and conceptual debate throughout my research, which I have kept in mind while writing this book. Last but not least, Dr Roberto Dominguez was my first (in chronological terms) mentor, who made me discover and appreciate this fascinating adventure of the European Union and the CSDP.

Naturally, I am grateful to the team at Ashgate, in particular Brenda Sharp and Sadie Copley-May, and to the anonymous reader for his/her comments forcing me to sharpen my argument and reflection.

Additionally, I have been surrounded by bright and supportive friends and IR experts. Ana stands out as we went through our research together, and the natural next step of book writing. She always finds the right words to make me keep going and learning. Diana's unconditional support and passion for the European Union was necessary in order for me to shape my ideas, identify new angles, and most importantly, push my critical thinking forward. Menaka's contribution and comments were very helpful throughout the writing process. Jose, Benjamin, Hans, Kevin, Marivi, Alfredo, and Xavier have offered a simple but needed sense of friendship. In terms of academic and psychological support, April, Director of the Writing Center at the University of Miami, and Martha have contributed to helping me maintain a clear vision and a focus on the end result.

Even though family always comes last in an acknowledgment, they were the ones supporting me throughout this tedious and, at times, difficult process. All the credit shall go to my dear wife, Cristina, and her unconditional love and support. My daughter, Alexandra, has participated in keeping the household warm and busy. My mother, Laurence, has offered me priceless advice and encouragement, as has my father, Jacques. And my sisters, Claire, Léa, and Mathilde, may neither understand the European Union nor the CSDP, but certainly contributed to fostering a deep sense of family.

Maxime H. A. Larivé
Coral Gables, Florida

List of Abbreviations

ANP	Afghan National Police
AQIM	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
BRIC	Brazil, Russia, India, China
CAR	Central African Republic
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIS	Confederation of Independent States
CIVCOM	Committee for Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management
COPS	Comité Politique et de Sécurité
COREPER	Committee of Permanent Representatives
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation
CSDP	Common Security and Defense Policy
DG RELEX	Directorate General on External Relations
DG	Directorate General
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EADS	European Aeronautic Defense and Space Company
EC	European Communities
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDA	European Defense Agency
EDC	European Defense Community
EDEM	European Defense Equipment Market
EEAS	European External Action Service
EEC	European Economic Community
EGF	European Gendarmerie Force
EMU	European Monetary Union
EPC	European Political Cooperation
ERRF	European Rapid Reaction Force
ESCP	European Satellite Communications Procurement Cell
ESDI	European Security and Defense Identity
ESDP	European Security and Defense Policy
ESS	European Security Strategy
EU	European Union
EUBAM	EU Border Assistance Mission
EUBG	EU Battlegroup
EUFOR	EU Military Force
EUMC	EU Military Committee
EUMM	EU Monitoring Mission

EUMS	EU Military Staff
EUPM BiH	EU Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina
EUPOL	European Police
EUPOL-A	European Police in Afghanistan
EUTM	EU Training Mission
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GAC	General Affairs Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HR	High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy
IFOR	Implementation Force
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
ISR	Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance
JHA	Justice and Home Affairs
KFOR	Kosovo Force
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MONUC	UN Mission in the Congo
MS	Member States
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NORDEFCO	Nordic Defense Cooperation
NSS	National Security Strategy
OAF	Operation Allied Force
OCHA	UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
P&S	Pooling and Sharing
PIIGS	Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece and Spain
POCO	Political Committee
PSC	Political and Security Committee
QMV	Qualified Majority Voting
R&D	Research and Development
RIESS	Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy
RRF	European Rapid Reaction Force
SUCBAS	Sea Surveillance Cooperation Baltic Sea
TAT	Territory Administered by Tbilisi
TEU	Treaty of the European Union
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
US	United States
USSR	Union Socialist of Soviet Republics
VG	Visegrad Group
WEU	Western European Union
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

Chronology

Years	Critical Junctures	Institutional Evolutions	CSDP Missions ¹
1949	Creation of NATO		
1951		Treaty of Paris establishing the European Coal and Steel Community	
1954		Failure of the European Defense Community	
1957		Treaties of Rome	
1970		Institution of European Political Cooperation	
1986		Single European Act	
1989	Fall of the Berlin Wall		
1990	First Iraq War (1990–91)		
1992	Bosnian War (1992–95)	Treaty of Maastricht	
1997		Treaty of Amsterdam	
1998	Kosovo War (1998–99)	Saint Malo Declaration	
		– Cologne and Helsinki European Council Meetings	
1999		– Appointment of Javier Solana as the first HR	
2000		Santa Maria da Feira European Council	
2001	9/11 attacks	Treaty of Nice	
2002		Berlin Plus agreement	
2003	Second Iraq War (2003–)	– Adoption of the ESS – Adoption of the Berlin-Plus Agreement	– EUPM Bosnia – EUFOR Concordia in Macedonia – EUFOR Artemis in DRC
2004	Madrid bombings	Headline Goal 2010	EUPOL Afghanistan
2005	London bombings		
2008	– Russian invasion of Georgia – Collapse of Lehman Brothers	Adoption of the Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy	– EUNAVFOR Somalia – EUMM Georgia – EULEX Kosovo

¹ The CSDP missions present in this chronology are only the ones directly studied in depth the book in Chapter 11. The 29 CSDP missions are all listed in Tables 11.1 and 11.2.

Years	Critical Junctures	Institutional Evolutions	CSDP Missions
2009	France back into NATO's integrated military structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none">– Treaty of Lisbon– ESDP becomes the CSDP– Appointment of Catherine Ashton as HR	
2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none">– Financial collapse of Greece– Arab Spring	Franco-British Declaration	
2011	Invasion of Libya	EEAS is operational	EUFOR Libya (failed)
2013	Intervention in Mali by France	<ul style="list-style-type: none">– Review of EEAS– European Council Defense Summit	<ul style="list-style-type: none">– EUBAM Libya– EUTM Mali
2014	Intervention in CAR by France		EUFOR Bangui

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