

**THE USE OF THE COMMON SECURITY AND DEFENCE
POLICY (CSDP) MISSIONS AND OPERATIONS TO ATTRACT
POTENTIAL PARTNERS IN ASIA**

Essay

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ABSTRACT

The EU and Asia are now established partners. The time in which they were defined as two distant, totally opposite worlds is far away. Many things have changed in a century of history, and they will still change; the link between these large areas will not cease to exist because there are many points in common and objectives to be pursued together. Asia is a territory of massive investments by the EU and its member countries, the Asian market has a very large economic area and Europe in some areas imposes itself as the first investing force. However, this presence on the territory is not one-sided but in the same way the Asian powers also invest in European territories. Integration between these two countries works already not only in the social and technological fields but also, and above all, in the political / military one. Everything shows how this issue is very dear to both forces, from the EU-Asian alliance to involvement in operations on Asian territories to ensure security and support for defence, as happened in Indonesia; and today, like never before, the cooperation is essential and necessary to achieve international goals and ensure peace. EU and Asia are two apparently opposite worlds, but closer and closer. "The time when Europeans and Asians could consider themselves distant friends is over. To preserve and strengthen our economic exchanges we must also work together on global security. "¹

¹ Speech of EU High Representative Federica Mogherini, "Europe and Asia – together for a more secure world". Bruxelles, 28-05-2018

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2. PREFACE

The Common Security and Defense Policy has been committed for years to ensuring a foreign defense policy, thanks to bilateral and multilateral partnerships with large global organizations and associations. The birth of the CSDP is the result of years of development, from the Maastricht treaty where the then CFDP had a similar role to what it now competes for. The main objective of European policy is not only to launch partnerships at military level, but the concept is extended to the most disparate areas to respond promptly to the challenges and needs that the globalized world leads to sustain. There are many different operations initiated by the CSDP, including training missions in Africa, offshore operations with "oceanic partners" and the increasingly necessary collaboration with the ASEAN, Association of South-East Asian Nations. This type of research, which analyses the stages of development and the skills of the CSDP at international level, is useful for understanding the complexity of international relations, the complexity of managing situations affecting Europe and its partners. This study made me understand the efficiency of a globalized world, of a world without barriers and collaborative. Asia and Europe are different worlds both for politics, for culture, and for history. Not many years ago Asia, as it happened for Africa, was subjugated to the European expansion, not long ago Europe controlled the markets and the politics of great Asian states, but, despite this, today the World allows these two realities, not only to be independent in their own territories, but also to coexist and share objectives and goals for the well-being of their territory and of the whole world. This is the magnitude of the common policy.

3. INTRODUCTION

A common defense and security policy of Europe was designed for the first time in 1993 with the Treaty of Maastricht. It was part of the three pillars, the base of European Community. Following the Treaty of Amsterdam, in 1999, the CSDP was modified with the establishment of the High Representative for the CSDP and, in 2001 it was decided to strengthen the decision-making mechanisms for the successive enlargements to new states. The Lisbon Treaty in 2007 defined the CSDP as we know it today; in particular, the number of missions in which the Union can resort to military and civilian means has been extended, and it is envisaged that the Council, unanimously, can entrust their implementation to a group of Member States (Article 44 TEU) .

The prohibition on creating enhanced cooperation is eliminated and it is envisaged the possibility that Member States wishing to make more binding commitments in this area will achieve a "permanent structured cooperation" (PESCO), subject to a decision adopted by qualified majority by the Council. The participating Member States agreed on a list of 17 projects, covering areas such as training, development of operational terrestrial, maritime and air capabilities, as well as cyber defense. 11 November 2019 The Council announced another 13 projects to be launched within the framework of PESCO. Overall, 47 projects currently exist. Almost totally focused on strengthening EU collaborative actions and developing maritime, air and space capabilities.

Unlike the general provisions for enhanced cooperation, "the Lisbon Treaty does not provide for a minimum number of countries participating in permanent structured cooperation". The need for Europe to adopt an international policy is given by the new international challenges on the political, social and military scene which, with other problems such as terrorism, proliferation of weapons of destruction mass, regional conflicts, state failure and organized crime, have pushed the EU security policy strategy towards the need to establish three strategic objectives, achievable with collaboration and integration of member countries' security policies, as well as with some international civil and military partners.

The three objectives are:

-to face the threats: militarily less visible than in the Cold War (in some cases there are organizations that are not purely military and that therefore require a more massive effort and collaboration), but even different ones such as cyber-attacks, energy security, changes climate;

-to guarantee security outside Europe, the Caucasus, the Middle East, the Mediterranean, the Balkans;

-to create an international order based on effective multilateralism.

The main partner of the EU in terms of security is undoubtedly NATO, this is also shown by the joint declaration of 18 July 2018 in Brussels which reads: "We welcome EU efforts to bolster European security and defence to better protect the Union and its citizens and to contribute to peace and stability in the neighbourhood and beyond.."², and still, the following day of the NATO summit, European Council President Donald Tusk said: "President Trump, America has not and will not have a better ally than Europe. Today, Europeans spend far more for defense than Russia and China. I think, Mr President, that you cannot doubt that this is an investment in the common American and European defense"³.

At the international level, the CSDP is open to collaborations with regional and international organizations because of it recognizes the importance of a comprehensive approach and seeks collaboration and sharing of knowledge and skills useful for achieving the objectives. Not only NATO, therefore, but also UN, OSCE, the African Union and ASEAN, Association of South-East Asian Nations, that is a regional organization of Southeast Asia.

² Joint declaration on EU-NATO cooperation, 10 July 2018

³ NATO summit, Brussels, 11-12 July 2018

4. CURRENT STATE OF RESEARCH

From 2007 to 2013, the geographic distribution of funds allocated under the IfS Crisis Response envelope (Art. 3) was 34 % to Africa, 34 % to Middle East and North Africa, 17 % to Asia and Pacific, 9 % to Latin America and the Caribbean, 5 % to Central Asia and South Caucasus, and 1 % to Eastern Europe and the Western Balkans.⁴

The csdp shows a real interest in starting an external policy on its borders, as shown by the percentages of the allocated funds. A given percentage, however, should not be misleading because 5% of the funds allocated to central Asia doesn't mean a lack of collaboration with that continent.

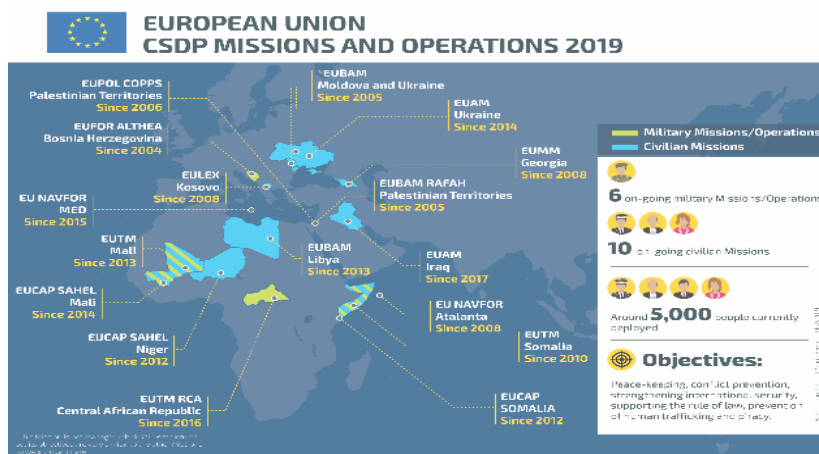
The following is a factsheet of European External Action Service: “With European prosperity and Asian peace and security closely connected, the European Union has decided to strengthen its security cooperation in and with Asia. This is also in line with the steps taken by the EU in the past years to strengthen its role as a global security provider: Europe and Asia share a fundamental interest in upholding the rules-based international system, as well as the view that the challenges the world faces today go beyond national borders and cannot be tackled alone. The EU-Asia security partnership is therefore both desirable and necessary”⁵. The following report expresses even more the strategic proximity of the EU with Asia and the sharing of international objectives and strategies that bring the two continents to a partnership that will last over time. Meanwhile, every year, to strengthen and improve the points of discussion and closeness between the two continents, a meeting is held, named EU-central Asia ministerial meeting, which on 7 July 2019 has reached its 15th edition in Bishkek (Kyrgyz Republic). There were The Foreign Ministers of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Republic of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and the Republic of Uzbekistan, as well as the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy/Vice-President of the European Commission, and they didn't hesitate to express special gratitude to the High Representative Federica Mogherini for her significant contribution to the development of the cooperation between the European Union and Central Asia during her period in office.⁶ Here it was reaffirmed their commitment to

⁴ Handbook on csdp missions and operations.

⁵ Brussels 17/10/2019 - 10:07 Factsheets EU Asia Security.

⁶ <https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/65107/15th-eu-central-asia-foreign-ministers-meeting-bishkek-7-july-2019-joint-communiqué-eu-and-en>

work together for common goals such as peace, security, human rights, democracy and sustainable development. Currently there are no CSDP missions in the Asian territories. The image shown below defines the missions still open in international territories.



Missioni CSDP in atto.

1st of Jan 2015

was archived on the Aceh Monitoring Mission – AMM in Indonesia. This mission was designed to monitor the implementation of various aspects of the peace agreement set out in the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed by the Government of Indonesia Free Aceh Movement (GAM) on 15 August 2005. “The mission comprised personnel with expertise in the whole range of competencies needed to fulfil the tasks of the mission. AMM was a civilian and not a military mission. Its members did not carry weapons. Some monitors had a military background as this was necessary to perform certain technical tasks required by the mission. All monitors wore recognisable white shirts with AMM logo. Monitors conducted their monitoring tasks by patrolling and communicating with both parties, and by carrying out inspections and investigations as required.

The costs of the mission were financed from the EU budget (EUR 9.3 million) and by contributions of EU Member States and participating countries (EUR 6 million).”⁷

⁷ EU council secretariat ~background~ “EU monitoring mission in Aceh (Indonesia)”

5. RESEARCH GAP

It is not easy to outline the international political situation and the alliances that are formed. World stability has always been created with agreements and wars between great powers that, based on their own needs, have influenced the decisions of other countries. Today the international situation is weaker than a few years ago. Although Europe is going through decades of relative peace, this does not mean that we should not engage internationally. Not by chance, in fact, the creation of a common security and defense policy clearly defines the European will and the complexity of the global challenges that it is facing. In a world like the contemporary one, full of differences and conflicts, a single state or group of states cannot work alone and claim to solve the problems that arise, but a common front is needed to analyse the common challenges and objectives and fight together to reach them. EU and Asia were totally discordant and separate worlds that, today, have made an important and functional partnership, through the sharing of skills and characteristics of both sides, from cybersecurity to military. This is a partnership that demonstrates the absence of territorial boundaries in terms of world security and defense. Although the international action of Europe is always closer to the Asian one, reinforced by pacts and organizations, it cannot be defined with certainty what the future objectives will be, neither if this approach will be more intense or will be dispelled due to the global needs of a near future.

The international balance is changeable, as are partnerships and alliances.

6. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- How many missions does the CSDP currently have?
- In which of these missions an Asian country is?
- In which areas EU and Asia can collaborate?
- Why is international collaboration necessary to ensure common security and defense?

7. METHODOLOGY

All the information reported in the essay are the result of the study of articles and texts concerning the topic of common security and defense policy. The essay is reworked based on my skills and my critical vision of the subject. I analysed the structure of the CSDP, how it was born and how it developed over the years. Later I described what are the missions launched by the CSDP at the international level and I focused on all those operations and activities carried out to approach the Asian world. I described the points in common and the projects launched over the years by the EU to operate in Asia and with Asian partners in order to face all the challenges and objectives in common on the world scene to guarantee security and defense.

8. RESEARCH AND RESULTS OF RESEARCH

8.1 CSDP missions

The EU currently has 17 civilian and military missions around the world, one of which, Moldova and Ukraine, is not managed by CSDP structures: missions range from military ones, in which the armed forces are formed and trained, such as in Mali; to those civilians where for example the Ukrainian and Iraqi authorities are joined to reform their civil security sectors; until the fight on the seas to defeat piracy in the Indian Ocean and guarantee freedom of navigation. In 2018 a Permanent Structured Cooperation was launched, an EU initiative in the field of the common security and defense policy aimed at the structural integration of the armed forces of 25 of the 28 member states; it is based on Article 42.6 ("Member States that meet higher criteria in terms of military capabilities and have signed more binding commitments on the subject for more demanding missions establish permanent structured cooperation within the Union"⁸) and on Protocol 10 of the Treaty on European Union.

PESCO is like enhanced cooperation, because of it does not require the adherence of all member states to be started. Therefore, it is working hard to become an even more credible and reliable security provider. The challenges that the world proposes are always new and difficult to foresee, the international situation is changeable and also the CSDP must adapt to this through investments and practical projects, from the rapid response to cyber-attacks to innovative systems for maritime security, to an European training center for troops intervening in the event of natural disasters. The High Representative also proposed to establish a new fund, outside the EU budget, to help strengthen the security capabilities of our partners. The EU is now a powerful actor on the world stage, just think that the EU and its Member States have the second largest defense budget in the world, and this shows how immense the potential for development and collaboration in the field of defense and security policy.

⁸ Treaty on EU, article 42.6

8.2 European CSDP and Asian partner

2007 was characterized by substantial progress in relations between the EU and Central Asia, with the adoption, at the European Council in June, of an EU strategy for Central Asia. The strategy aims to focus EU priorities on seven main issues:

- human rights and the rule of law
- good governance and democratization
- education and youth
- economic progress
- energy and transport connections
- security and stability
- environment

The strategy provides the tools and funding for projects in these areas, as well as the visibility and effectiveness of EU activities in the area. From that year, and from the first commitment in the Asian territory of the EU to support and guarantee the peace process of Aceh in Indonesia in 2005, cooperation on security matters in Asia and with Asia has expanded to include other different areas:

- computer security
- anti terrorism
- non-proliferation

as well as massive support for peace processes throughout the region, from Afghanistan to Mindanao to Myanmar. The partnership with Asia also means collaboration and support in those missions that the EU with the CSDP implements in different international areas. For example, there have been concrete contributions from several Asian partners to combat piracy off the coast of Somalia. In the context of the ASEAN Regional Forum, EU is working together with Vietnam and Australia on maritime security. Furthermore, contacts with Asian countries are increasing, such as the discussions between the head of the EU military committee and its counterparts in Beijing, Islamabad and Seoul. But the most urgent issue for EU-Asia security cooperation at this historical moment remains de-nuclearization.

In a speech by the high representative of the European Union, Federica Mogherini, the EU's interest in supporting the actions and projects in this area and to save the Iranian nuclear agreement and the de-nuclearization of the Korean peninsula was reiterated. This was reiterated despite the use of a submarine ballistic missile by North Korea in October 2019. This pushes even more towards collaboration with Asian partners who initiate projects and policies that share these ideals. China is a signatory to the joint global action plan, which is fundamental for global efforts to achieve the complete, verifiable and irreversible de-nuclear power of the Korean peninsula. Similarly, Japan and the Republic of Korea have an important role in ensuring that the nuclear deal with Iran is preserved and that the Korean peninsula is dis-nucleated. Global peace requires a global effort. It is precisely the global effort that must push us to move to new actions. The EU will expand its cooperation with Asian partners in additional areas such as:

- capacity building
- training programmes – including on UN peacekeeping –
- joint exercises

Cooperation is essential for peace and peace brings prosperity. We must fight the unitarisms and the political ones that too often seek the good of their own state in the immediate, not analysing the benefits that instead a multidimensional and multilateral policy would bring in the long term. Those who believe in this must unite and fight together to respond to the crises that the modern world proposes, and "the EU and Asia, together, can be the engine of a more cooperative approach to world politics."⁹

⁹ Speech of Federica Mogherini. Bruxelles, 28-05-2018

8.3 The Korean provocation

On October 3, 2019, North Korea tested a submarine ballistic missile, a Pukguksong-3, launched in portrait mode. These types of launches are more dangerous because they are difficult to detect and therefore require longer times to react. All this has annoyed the United States and the European allies who, frightened by a possible undetectable nuclear threat, have asked for explanations from Korea on the principle of dis-nuclearization of the peninsula that has been in negotiation for some time.

The EU, through a Statement by the spokesperson Maja KOCIJANCIC, Spokesperson for the Foreign Air and Security Policy, the day after the launch, reiterated the difficulty in achieving that program of complete decommissioning of nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs on the Korean peninsula in order to guarantee a prolonged peace process and has made itself available to support international efforts to find a diplomatic solution.

8.4 High Representative met with the Minister of National Defence of Viet Nam.

The diplomatic relations between the European Union and Vietnam were started for the first time in 1990. The following years the partnership and global cooperation agreement took place in 2016, the signing of the European Union-Vietnam free trade agreement (EVFTA) and the investment protection agreement (IPA) in 2019, for greater multilateral collaboration on security and defense. As regards cooperation on crisis management, both sides accept an agreement establishing a framework for Vietnam's participation in EU crisis management operations. Cooperation between the two countries also extends to distant areas up to a few years ago, such as safety and freedom of navigation, and the necessary cybersecurity, through collaborations in the field of information security. these agreements will lead to periodic meetings to show the effective implementation of the agreed rules and points. The meeting, which took place in August 2019, and the EU's proximity to Vietnam is part of the project of collaboration with the East to face global challenges, but it is also a far-sighted political action aimed at ensuring a collaborative continuity between the EU and ASEAN , of which Vietnam will win the presidency in 2020.

9. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND PERSONAL CONCLUSIONS

Throughout history, armed conflicts and wars almost entirely concerned the states and their governments which, due to political ideologies or economic interests, challenged the rival to beat in the field. In the contemporary age, the one following the end of the cold war, this type of war is no longer present. According to a report by Uppsala University, world conflicts since 1989 are mainly intra-states, between governments and secessionist groups that claim to assert their ideologies. the war is no longer fought in a battlefield with stable and precise boundaries, but, as the two Chinese colonels Liang and Xiangsui say in their book "War without limits. The art of asymmetric warfare between terrorism and globalization", the war has turned into a war without limits. if wars or conflicts are undefined and increasingly present in society, the defense and security action must be more widespread. The battlefield today is everywhere. Everyone can, by picking up a rifle or driving a van, be an actor in a war that is unlikely to end in a short time. If the real boundaries of the battlefield have expanded throughout society, this is also true for virtual boundaries. In a world like ours, always connected and interconnected, a cybernetic attack could bring to its knees a State that bases its organization on technological capabilities and comfort. Faced with the uncertainties of the contemporary world, the themes of security and defense are beginning to be at the top of international agendas.

For these reasons no state can claim to start a defense policy autonomously, but it is necessary to share the capacities, knowledge and personnel between the different states to face the difficulties of new conflicts and new global challenges. The Islamic state, the nuclear threat, piracy, the cyberattack, these are just some of the international problems I mentioned in my essay and that international organizations must defeat, together, for a better world. As I wrote in the introduction, Europe has launched 47 international projects for security and defense, and represents not only an example to follow for the global partners, but also a point of reference for all those who really want to uproot the rot in the world and bring more security. With these premises, the Asian countries are proving to be solid allies and the joint activities, together with the common projects, are proving it.

10. ANNEXES

10.1 List of Abbreviations

CSDP → Common Security and Defence Policy

EU → European Union

CFDP → Common Foreign and Security Policy

TEU → Treaty on European Union

PESCO → Permanent Structured Cooperation

NATO → North Atlantic Treaty Organization

UN → United Nations

OSCE → Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

ASEAN → Association of South-East Asian Nations

IFS → Instrument for Stability

AMM → Aceh Monitoring Mission

MOU → Memorandum of Understanding

GAM → Government of Indonesia Free Aceh Movement

EVFTA → European Union Vietnam Free Trade Agreement

IPA → Investment protection agreement

10.2 List of Figures

Figure 1: On-going CSDP missions and operations.

10.3 List of Literature

10.3.1 Books/Documents

- Treaty on European Union, article 42.6
- Eu council secretariat -background- “Eu monitoring mission in Aceh (Indonesia)”
- Joint declaration on EU-NATO cooperation, 10 July 2018
- Handbook on csdp missions and operations.

10.3.2 Internet

- https://www.esteri.it/mae/it/politica_estera/politica_europea/dimensione-esterna/sicurezza_comune.html#pesd
- https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/65107/15th-eu-central-asia-foreign-ministers-meeting-bishkek-7-july-2019-joint-communiqué-eu-and_en

11. AFFIDAVIT

I declare that I have written the present essay independently and on my own. I have clearly marked any language or ideas borrowed from other sources as not my own and documented their sources. The essay does not contain any work that I have handed in or have had graded as a previous scientific paper earlier on.

I quoted the sources in the notes in all the parts of the essay in commas.

I am aware that any failure to do so constitutes plagiarism. Plagiarism is the presentation of another person's thoughts or words as if they were my own – even if I summarize, paraphrase, condense, cut, rearrange, or otherwise alter them.

I am aware of the consequences and sanctions plagiarism entails. Among others, consequences may include nullification of the essay, exclusion from participation in the CSDP Olympiad. These consequences also apply retrospectively, i.e. if plagiarism is discovered after the essay has been accepted and graded. I am fully aware of the scope of these consequences.

Signature



Luigi MACCHIONE
Second Lieutenant

Turin, Italy in November 2019