

The Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union can Never Work without a Military Capability as a Last Resort Tool

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Abstrak

Saat ini perkembangan CFSP bergerak lambat. CFSP dibentuk oleh Uni Eropa untuk menghadapi tantangan regional dan global, serta berbagai ancaman. Seiring dengan itu, UE juga membentuk European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) pada tahun 1999. Kenyataannya, ESDP dan CFSP saling terkait sebagai pendekatan keamanan Eropa menghadapi berbagai masalah keamanan di kawasan UE. Dalam artikel ini, penulis berpendapat bahwa CSFP dan EDSP sangatlah penting dan harus menjadi kerangka kerja yang utuh bagi UE karena (1) UE telah menjelma menjadi aktor global. UE harus memiliki CFSP yang komprehensif untuk memainkan peran penting sebagai kekuatan yang harus dilatih dan diperkuat oleh kemampuan pertahanan di era politik global, (2) CFSP harus meliputi agenda keamanan UE dan ESDP mencerminkan agenda pertahanan UE, dan (3) UE memiliki peran penting, peran global dalam menghadapi isu perdamaian dan keamanan. CFSP merupakan pendekatan yang efektif bagi UE dalam memainkan peran tersebut.

Keywords: the Common Foreign and Security Policy, the European Security and Defence Policy, soft power, hard power, NATO

The European Union (EU) reflects the commitments of member states to institutionalize its group into a successful regional block. The rules of law and democracy are the basic foundations of governance in all member states. In fact, the latest enlargement of the EU shows that it has emerged from regional into a global actor. However, the Europe continent had faced a contemporary war conflict in Balkan states that it happened in the middle of European Union's area.

Furthermore, the EU has three pillars of institutions, which are Council, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Justice and Home Affairs. The CFSP as a second pillar encourages member states to achieve a comprehensive common foreign and security policy. It was formed from Maastricht Treaty in 1993. Nowadays, the development of CFSP is slow but sure. It has been created by the EU in order to overcome and solve regional and global challenges and threats. Moreover, the EU also established the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) in 1999. The ESDP is inter-related European' security approach with the CFSP. I argue that CFSP and ESDP are important and must be a comprehensive approach for the EU because of these following arguments:

- 1) The EU has evolved to be a global actor. It will need a comprehensive and effective CFSP to play important roles as civilian power and defence capability in the global affairs.
 - 2) The EU security agenda should be matched and supported by the CFSP and in the security and defence context can be interpreted in the ESDP.
 - 3) The EU will shape its global role of play by beginning to get involved in peace and security issues around the world. The CFSP will be an effective pillar by having considerable instruments to implement its foreign policies such as international aids, international institutions and also military capability to be used as a last resort.
- We will take a look at short background and other supportive indicators about the development process of the EU military capability. In the cold war era, the European Commission (EC) was known as central of civilian power, with had used soft power as means to do its external relations with other actors in the world. The EC was recognised as the focal point of a civilian power European Community in the cold war. The Western European member states had main foundation which tried to avoid, prevent and manage war conflicts amongst themselves after

negative world war experiences¹.

Furthermore, after the cold war, there was crucial changing in the security issue in Europe. There were big challenges which faced the EC for instance: the collapse of former Yugoslavia (war in the Balkans), the unity of Germany, the role of Russia to become a key state actor and rival in the eastern part of EC and so on. The security and defence affairs of the EC have depended on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) since 40 years. The main reason of the NATO establishment was to block and stop the expansion of communism from the Soviet Union by the Europe member states supported by the US of America. The role and function of the NATO have declined since the cold war finished. The NATO, however, has not only covered the security and defence of Europe area (only part of the continent) but also the US of America.

In 1993, the EC agreed to have a CFSP in the Maastricht Treaty. The NATO, in 1994 agreed to construct the European Security and Defence Identity Concept (ESDI). The ESDI switched into the European Security

Defence Policy (ESDP) which was launched at the Helsinki European Council in December 1999. The Foreign and Security approach maintained the European's civilian power and inter-governmental relations and role of the NATO after the cold war². The US of America felt suspicious about the CSFP programme. In fact, the EU empowered the Western European Union (WEU) to get access to military force in order to minimize effects of the situation. However, CSFP moved progressively at the Council meeting in Amsterdam. The EU agreed to use the definition of security of the WEU's Petersberg task (the result is the security approach of European member states has a foundation of avoiding the dimension of military war conflicts and covering societal and individual dimensions³.) The foundation elements of ESDP based on Petersberg task as follows:

¹ Deighton, A (2002) 'The European Security and Defence Policy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40 (4), November 2002, p 722

² Smith, ME (2001), 'The Quest for Coherence: Institutional Dilemmas of External Action from Maastricht to Amsterdam', in Stone Sweet, A, Sandholtz W and Fligstein N, ed., *The Institutionalization of Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 171-93.

³ Deighton A, (2001), 'The European Union and NATO's War over Kosovo: Towards the Glass Ceiling?', in Martin P and Brawley, M.R, ed., *Alliance Politics Kosovo and NATO's War: Allied Force or Forced Allies?* New York: Palgrave, pp. 57-74

(1) Western European Union countries can deploy their military troops for humanitarian and rescue events, (2) peace keeping mission; and (3) crisis management, such as conflict resolution and peace making⁴.

The CSFP is a basic stone to make common external foreign policy within EU member states. The progress of CSFP depends on a good will of the member states by uniting their external policies. The Declaration of St Malo Anglo-French explains that the EU should have an important role in term of fully playing its position at the international arena. Therefore, the Union have to build its autonomous capacity (such as military capabilities) as a power in order to support its role and actions in responding global crises. Moreover, the Union also would support and follow its obligation to NATO⁵.

However, from the history explanation and other supportive indicators above we can see that currently the EU has a means and important role in the foreign and security policies through CFSP to be a global actor even though it is still weak in the ESDP. Moreover, there are some internal and external problems on the development of CFSP which have remained dangerous threats for the future of this programme, as follows:

- The internal problem is a controversial ambition of EU member states which would like to be a global actor but they are reluctant to go beyond an inter-governmental policy making mechanism of CFSP especially for the security issue. The situation creates a competition between Council and Commission especially to manage and control of the security policy framework. These problems have been listed by Smith, such as: decision making rules, external representation, financing, democratic oversight and legal gaps and compliance⁶. Moreover, there is a great division of ideas and actions between Brussels (the Head Quarter of the EU) and every member state. Many of the EU member states still believe and hold their

⁴ Assembly of WEU, (2007), 'The Petersberg Missions', Paris: Press and Information Office, *Fact Sheet* No. 4, February 2007, pp. 1-2, also available in the official website of the Assembly of Western European Union at: <http://www.assembly-weu.org/en/documents/Fact%20sheets/Fact%20Sheet%204E%20Petersberg%20missions.pdf?PHPSESSID=f3137d60>. Accessed on 01st of October 2007 at 03:50 pm

⁵ Deighton A, (2000), 'The Military Security Pool: Towards a New Security Regime for Europe?'. *International Spectator*, Vol XXXV No. 4 December, pp. 41-54

⁶ Smith ME, op. cit., p. 171-93

national interests as a leading and sensitive issue. The derivatives of national interests can be reflected as foreign, security and defence policies. This situation shows a lack of coordination and agreements between Brussels and the EU member states.

- Clearly, the EU's security and defence affairs still depend on NATO. The NATO still remains as an important security and defence alliance between European states and the US of America. In fact, most of the EU member states are prominent members of the NATO. Moreover, the NATO covers Europe continent from a potential power and competitor, Russia. This situation is a main problem for the Union because the US of America is still playing an important role with its influences and dominating on every decision of the NATO. In fact, the EU and Europe continent as whole is still in the shadow of the US of America.
- The Great Britain is one of the great powers in the EU which has a contradiction in its foreign and security policy. The former government of Great Britain implemented 'special relationship foreign policy' to the US of America which is based on elite relationship between Blair and Bush. The main contradiction is on the one hand, half-in, Britain is playing as balancer or acting as a continental power in the EU and would like to be an important player in Europe continent. On the other hand, Britain has a special relationship with the Washington, US of America for a long time. The Britain position has created its unclear position and uncertainty of CFSP, especially ESDP. Interestingly, the new government of Great Britain has shifted its foreign and security policy based on multilateralism approach to respond regional and global threats. We, however, still need time to wait how the Prime Minister Gordon Brown's administration implements its new foreign and security policy.
- France has very strong Europe nationalism pride but is too weak economically these days to challenge and compete to Great Britain or Germany in the political economy affairs. The competition between big three of the EU also happens in the military capabilities and leadership position inside the Union.
- The Germany believes with a multilateral framework on its external relations approach. However, it has a very little of military power because of the Second World War

problem. The Germany will wait and sit back to predict its natural position as the leader of Europe.

- In line with the prior analysis, we may see that the EU foreign and security policy is divided into two contradictive camps. On the one hand, the first camp consists of Great Britain and France which believe that the EU should be a global actor. In particular, the EU must expand its role and presence in the international politics and actively support the United Nations in the global arena through peace keeping and building mission. On the other hand, the second camp is Germany and other impartial the EU member states which would like to strengthen the EU as a regional actor. The existence and leadership of the EU in the Europe continent is a matter for Germany.
- If we see from the history, the Versailles peace had created peace in Central and Eastern Europe but there were also problems like former Yugoslavia civil war which reflected that Julian Lindley-French says that security is by default rather that by design⁷.

Nowadays, the EU's role of play in the global arena through civilian power is quiet weak. Hedley Bull says "it is vulnerability of the countries of Europe, for so long as they remain without the means to provide for their own military security"⁸. In other words, the civilian power and the dependence of security and defence of the EU to NATO and US of America are really crucial matters providing incomplete pictures of European International relations.

There are some key experiences of the EU in implementing its foreign and security policy to respond global challenges. In fact, the EU has used military and non military or both of them as means to intervene regional and international crises. I am going to show you, by dividing the implementation EU's foreign and security policy into two areas, (1) military capability and (2) non-military capability.

In the area of military capability, the Kosovo crisis was a main regional problem which needed to be responded as soon as possible by the European Union. However, the hard situation of EU could be seen when it faced this crisis in 1998. The Great

⁷ Julian Lindley-French, (2002), 'In the shade of Locarno? Why European Defence is Failing', *International Affairs*, 78, 4, pp. 789-811

⁸ Bull, Hedley, (1982), 'Civilian Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol.21, No.1 (September 1982), p.151.

Britain agreed that the EU should take on military action to solve the Kosovo crisis. However, the US of America sent an unambiguous message to the British Prime Minister Tony Blair which explained the EU could take on military action with its military resources to solve its regional problem not with NATO military capacities. The EU's autonomous action will create Atlantic Alliance in serious trouble⁹. At the end, the US of America led common air strike to Serbia areas with fully supported by the EU in the framework of NATO in order to end Kosovo crisis.

Furthermore, the EU tested its common foreign and security policy by deploying an observer mission in Skopje, Macedonia. The Union sent only 350 military members on 31st of March 2003 to this former republic of Yugoslavia¹⁰. This military operation is supported and facilitated by NATO

personnel such as military strategies, military technology and peace keeping tactics. The EU and NATO agreed to sign the military cooperation in the framework of Copenhagen Agreement in 2002 which opened an opportunity for the EU to use NATO's capabilities in terms of responding defence deficit of the EU¹¹. This agreement was used by the Union to support its peace mission in Skopje. Thus, the EU was still dependent on NATO in terms of applying its foreign and security policy especially military personnel and operations.

After the failing and dependence of the EU to respond Kosovo crisis and Macedonia case by its own military capability, the Union sent the first peace mission outside of European continent to Bunia area in eastern part of Congo, Africa in 2003 in terms of building peace process and mediating ethnic violence. It was the first common Union's military mission (known as a rapid reaction force) out of the NATO's framework which fulfilled

⁹ Jolyon Howorth, (2003) 'Foreign and Defence Policy Cooperation' in John Peterson and Mark A Pollack, ed., *Europe, America, Bush*, London: Routledge, p. 16.

¹⁰ Lobjakas, A. (2003), 'EU: Official Declares Rapid Reaction Force Operational, If Not Rapid', Washington: *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, p.1, which quoted from the official website of the global security at: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/news/2003/05/mil-030520-rfel-154847.htm>. Accessed on 17th of September 2007 at 05:20 pm.

¹¹ Keohane, D, (2003), 'EU Defence Policy: Beyond the Balkans, Beyond Peacekeeping?', *Weltpolitik*, 1 July, also available in the official website of the Centre for European Reform at http://www.cer.org.uk/articles/keohane_weltpolitik_jul03.html. Accessed on 17th of September 2007 at 05:10 pm

the request of the United Nations¹². The EU deployed 1,400 military personnel which were dominated by France's troops¹³. This military mission was a tested water case for the unity of EU in responding, participating and solving main global problems. The EU could only send small troop into complex conflicts in Congo. In fact, a successful achievement took a long time for negotiation and process amongst EU member states. The EU only took small risks by sending a small military troop in the short period. Furthermore, France wanted to send its military troop because Congo had closed colonial ties with France. Meanwhile, France wanted to maintain its presence and influence in its former countries in Africa continent.

In the area of non-military capability, the EU used its civilian and economic powers to overcome and solve global crisis and conflicts. Those

civilian and economic powers are known as soft power. The EU uses development aid, trade and investment, human rights and environment policy as non-military means to respond regional and global challenges. The EU also implements CFSP to create and ensure regional stability through its member enlargement to former communist countries especially in Balkan area. The transformation programme of eastern part of Europe from communist to democratic region is a matter for the EU. The EU has felt responsible to create conducive region to ensure security stability in its own backyard.

In the first enlargement in 2004, the EU applied its soft power to win former eastern European countries such as Poland, Slovenia, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and so on. The EU actively promoted its soft power which was charming for non-EU member states in Europe continent such as: a political dialogue between the EU and the Central and Eastern Europe Countries (CEEC) and the bilateral relationship between the EU, the former Yugoslavia countries which was known as Royaumont Process (it only worked for short time period and it transformed to Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAAs) and the EU and Commonwealth of

¹² BBC, (2004), 'EU Approves Rapid Reaction Force', BBC London, 23 November 2004, p. 1, also available in the official website of the BBC at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4034133.stm>. Accessed on 17th of September 2007 at 05:30 pm

¹³ Fuller, T (2003), 'Peacekeeping Mission a First: EU Leaders Agree to Congo Force', *International Herald Tribune (IHT)*, 5th of June, p.1, also available in the official website of the IHT at: http://www.iht.com/articles/2003/06/05/mission_ed3_php. Accessed on 01st of October 2007 at 04:00 pm

Independent States (former Soviet Union countries in Central Asia) created a relationship through TACIS (Technical Assistance and Development Aid to the Commonwealth of Independent States)¹⁴. This non-military approach is not to smooth in terms of geo-politics because Russia is not quite happy with the EU enlargement programme. The erosion of Russia's influence is real now in the former soviet satellite areas.

The EU has also applied civilian power in the implementation of Helsinki peace agreement between the government of Indonesia and Free Aceh Movement (*Gerakan Aceh Merdeka*) which was facilitated and mediated by the Crisis Management Initiative (chaired by President Martti Ahtisaari). The key point of Helsinki peace agreement was the creation of the Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM). AMM was created in 15 of September 2005 by the EU to implement its civilian defence and security policy in Aceh, Indonesia. The AMM consisted of EU, ASEAN, Norway, and Switzerland representatives were neutral and impartial to monitor disarmament/

reintegration process of GAM, Indonesian army relocation, human rights appreciation, liaison between the government of Indonesia and Free Aceh Movement, monitor given amnesty to political prisoners and oversee legislation change in Aceh¹⁵.

The EU presence in South-east Asia reflects a success story of civilian mission through AMM in Aceh, Indonesia. I have argued in my former article that the EU presence in South-east Asia can be seen as two sides of a coin. In the one side, the EU is a global partner of US of America to preserve peace and security situation in the world. On the other side, the US of America is a main player in Asia region especially South-east Asia. The EU can be looked as a competitor or an alliance. Moreover, I have explained that the long history, similar culture and common security platform (NATO) are key foundations why the EU is US of America's important ally to respond global

¹⁴ Pakpahan, Beginda (2005), *What Could the EU do-Beyond What It Does-to Promote Development of Less-Developed Countries*, Paper presented at the Open Society Mid-Year Conference 2005, 2 April 2005 in University of York, UK p. 7.

¹⁵ European Union Council, (2005), 'EU Monitoring Mission in Aceh (Indonesia)', Brussels: EU Council Secretariat, *Fact Sheet ACH /02*, 15 September, pp. 2-5. The document is also available in the official website of the European Council Secretariat at: http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/declarations/86245.pdf. Accessed on 01st of October 2007 at 04:10 pm.

challenges¹⁶. Therefore, AMM can successfully finish its tasks not only because it fully influences and civilian power of the EU. In fact, the division of labour between the EU and the US of America to maintain peace and security in South-east Asia is real and a must. Moreover, it should bear in mind that the AMM mission was not only the EU itself but also ASEAN member states, Norway and Switzerland which also participated and contributed actively in pursuing and finishing of whole AMM tasks.

I have analyzed the obstacles of the EU in terms of implementing the CFSP especially the ESDP. Furthermore, we will see challenges and opportunities of the EU in the development of CFSP now and the future, as follows:

- 1) The CFSP is a very unique foreign and security approach and only one in the world until now. The CFSP is a great challenge for the EU member states for giving their commitments and interests on the united of foreign policy framework. It can be an opportunity for the EU to emerge and act as a global and superpower entity.
- 2) If the CFSP works effectively and closely with supportive ESDP, it will make the EU become an independent actor for security and defence affairs from the US of America and NATO. Currently, the security and defence affairs of the EU are still under umbrella of the US of America and NATO. We may see from the military or non-military experiences which have been displayed above, the US of America and NATO are still matters in future EU security and defence policy.
- 3) The EU is emerging from a regional to a global actor. This process demands independent and strong soft and hard power to support the security and defence policy of the EU. One day, the EU will be a partner of the US of America to preserve world's peace and security order. The synergy or competition between the US of America and the EU would happen in the future. Time will answer this situation.
- 4) Julian Lindley-French says that all the EU member states recognize three fundamentals: "they will all have to give up more of what has traditionally belonged to state

¹⁶ Pakpahan, Beginda (2006), '*Pengaruh Uni Eropa di Asia Tenggara*' (The EU's Influence in South-east Asia), Sinar Harapan Daily Newspaper, 28 Juli 2006, also available in the official website of the Sinar Harapan at <http://www.sinarharapan.co.id/berita/0607/28/opi01.html>. Accessed on 01st of October 2007 at 04:15 pm.

prerogative if security is to be effective; accept the leadership of the tri-recto ire and invest in the armed forces that can give the EU sufficient clout and credibility worldwide to ensure that the times when Europe has to resort to armed force are limited"¹⁷. The EU should focus and commit on building and achieving CFSP and ESDP as an inter-related Union' tool for enhancing its international political and economic role plays with the combination of military and economic resources especially three major states: Great Britain, Germany and France. Otherwise, the CFSP or ESDP will be similar to Locarno Agreement which ended up with various national interests of state members.

In sum, the EU foreign and security policy cannot only depend on civilian power to overcome global challenges. The EU enlargement process is quite good in order to integrate former communist countries into democratic and free trade communities. The AMM mission is a good lesson learnt for the EU in implementing its civilian power in the monitoring peace process in Aceh, Indonesia. However, Kosovo, Macedonia and Congo cases are disillusion

situations for its global role to response and overcome regional and international problems. Clearly, the EU needs compose and improve more solid and coherence military capability especially 'a really Rapid Reaction Force'. In fact, the CFSP can work without a military capability but it will be an effective and independent approach for the EU's role and function with a military capability as a last resort. The next important question to the EU is "Does the EU member states have good commitments and will give and share their powers and part of their sovereignty for the CFSP/ESDP?" □

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¹⁷ Julian Lindley-French, op. cit., p. 811

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