



# Europe – a successful project to ensure security?

Council of Europe/European Union/  
Maastricht School of Management  
26-28 June 2008  
Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

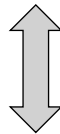


*„The European Union is engaged in conflict  
settlement all over the world, but not in  
Cyprus.“ (Georgios Iacovou)*

# Security and EU



**Internal dimension**  
EU = security community



**External dimension**  
European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP)

Excluding Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters (PJCC)

27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

3

# Internal dimension



*EU member states don't attack each other*  
(= **interstate** dimension)

Historical evidence:

Germany and France – from antagonism to  
partnership



27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

4

## Internal dimension



- Economic interdependence (markets, €)
- Mutual vulnerability
- Norms, explicit and implicit
- Conditionality (Criteria of Copenhagen)



27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

5

## Norms, values



### *Art. 11 TEU:*

- safeguard common values,
- security,
- principles of UN charter,
- international cooperation,
- democracy, rule of law, human rights, fundamental freedoms

27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

6

## Internal dimension



*EU refrains to intervene in intrastate conflicts*

Preference for financial assistance

### ● Northern Ireland

- Employment (307 mio. Euro 2007-13)
- Bicommunal programme (225 mio. Euro)
- Cross border activities (192 mio. Euro)

27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

7

## Internal dimension



### Cyprus: intrastate conflict

- 259 million Euro
- social and economic development
- infrastructure
- reconciliation
- Turkish Cypriot community closer to the Union
- legal adaption with the *acquis communautaire*

Council Regulation (EC) No 389/2006 of 27 February 2006 establishing an instrument of financial support for encouraging the economic development of the Turkish Cypriot community and amending Council Regulation (EC) No 2667/2000 on the European Agency for Reconstruction  
([http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga\\_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=306R0389](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=306R0389))

27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

8

# External dimension - ESDP



**A SECURE EUROPE IN A BETTER WORLD**

EUROPEAN SECURITY STRATEGY

Brussels, 12 December 2003

<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>

27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

9

## Challenges:



- underdevelopment
- terrorism
- proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD)
- regional conflicts
- state failure
- organised crime

27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

10

## ESDP: objectives



### **Cold War:**

- Threat of invasion
- Defending frontiers
- Military defence

### **Post Cold War era:**

- World wide threats
- „first line of defence will be abroad“
- Conflict prevention
- Political, economic, police, judicial, military means

27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

11

## Comparison ESS-NSS

### ***EU: ESS (2003):***

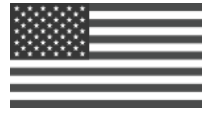
- New threats
- EU civilian power
- Military – ultima ratio
- Effective multilateralism
- UN Charter



*Kagan: Europe from Venus*

### ***US: NSS (2002):***

- New threats
- Military power
- Preemptive interventions
- Unilateralism
- UN – an „option“



*Kagan: US from Mars*

27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

12

## ESDP: defence policy



### *Art. 17, TEU:*

The common foreign and security policy shall include ... a common defence policy, which might lead to a common defence...  
...such a decision in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements

27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

13

## ESDP: objectives



*„Building security in our neighbourhood“*

- Integration - a lever to peace and stability
- Export of stability by enlargement
- Strengthening ties with neighbours (East, Mediterranean)

27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

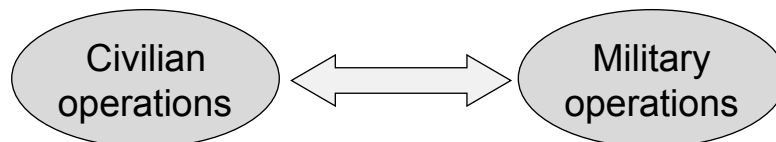
14

## ESDP: objectives



### *Petersberg tasks:*

1. humanitarian and rescue tasks,
2. peacekeeping tasks and
3. tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking.



27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

15

## ESDP: instruments



Member States must be able, by 2003,

- to deploy within 60 days and
- sustain for at least 1 year
- military forces of up to 50,000-60,000 persons

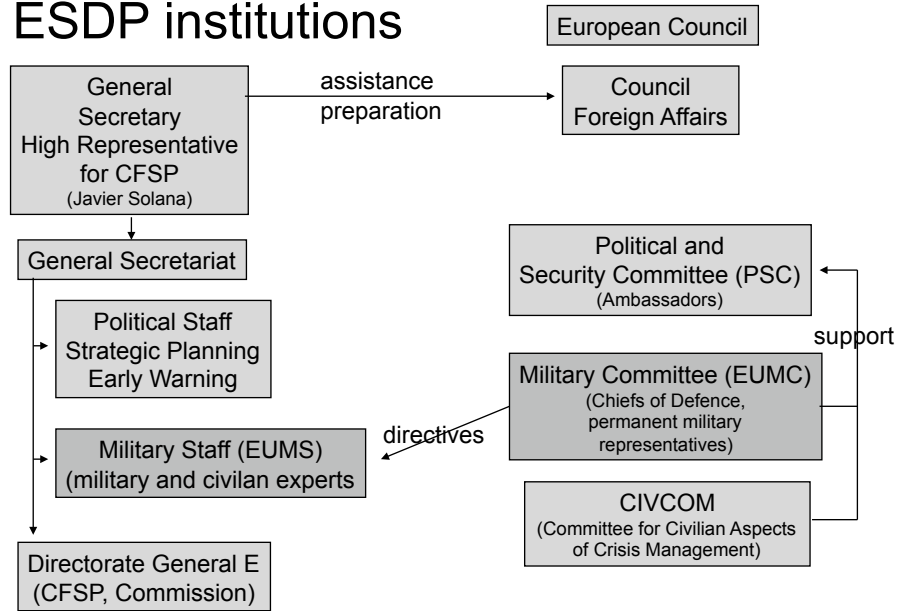
27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

16



# ESDP institutions



27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

17

# ESDP Decision making



Intergovernmental

Unanimous voting

27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

18

## Obligation of assistance



*Nice Treaty (2003):*

Absent

(WEU Treaty, Art. 5)

*Lisbon Treaty Art. 42 (7):*

„If a Member State is the victim of armed aggression on its territory, the other Member States shall have towards it an obligation of aid and assistance by all the means in their power, in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. This shall not prejudice the specific character of the security and defence policy of certain Member States.“

27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

19

## Neutral member states



*EU:*

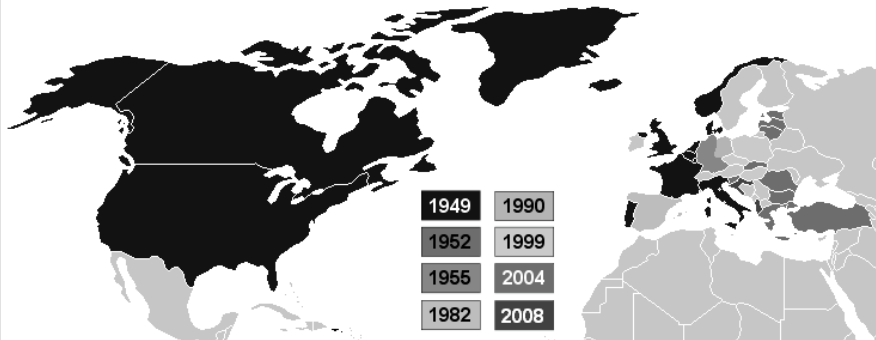
1. Ireland
2. Sweden
3. Finland
4. Austria
5. Cyprus
6. Malta

27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

20

## ESDP and NATO



27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

21

## NATO



### All EU member states

- except: neutral states  
(IRL, SWE, FIN, A, CY, MA)
- plus: US, Canada, Iceland, Norway, Turkey
- invited: Albania, Croatia (April 2008)

27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

22

## ESDP and NATO



### *Art. 17, TEU:*

„The policy of the Union... shall respect the obligations of certain Member States, which see their common defence realised in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)...“

## Partnership for Peace



- Ukraine
- Albania (invited to NATO)
- Moldova
- Georgia
- Azerbaijan
- Finland (neutral EU member)
- Sweden (neutral EU member)
- Turkmenistan
- Kazakhstan
- Kyrgyz Republic
- Russian Federation
- Uzbekistan
- Armenia
- Belarus
- Austria (neutral EU member)
- FYROM
- Switzerland
- Ireland (neutral EU member)
- Croatia (invited to NATO)
- Tajikistan
- Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Montenegro
- Serbia
- Malta (2008) (neutral EU member)

## Partnership for Peace



### **Political commitments**

- principles of international law
- refrain from the threat
- respect existing borders
- settle disputes peacefully.
- transparency in national defence
- joint action with NATO in peacekeeping and humanitarian operations

27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

25

## Berlin Plus Agreement



In the case of a crisis EU making use of NATO assets and capabilities:

1. NATO planning,
2. NATO European command options
3. NATO assets and capabilities

27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

26

## European Council of Copenhagen 2002

3. The fact that ... Cyprus and Malta will not take part in EU military operations conducted using NATO assets ... will not ... affect the right of their representatives to participate and vote in EU institutions and bodies...”

27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

27



27.06.2008

28

## ESDP ongoing operations

<b>Military</b> Operation in BiH (EUFOR-Althea)
<b>Police</b> Mission in BiH (EUPM)
<b>Police</b> Mission in Palestinian Territories (EUPOL COPPS)
<b>Police</b> Mission Afghanistan (EUPOL)
EUPOL RD Congo ( <b>police</b> )
Rule of <b>Law</b> Mission in Kosovo (EULEX)
Rule of <b>Law</b> Mission Iraq (Eujust Lex)
<b>Border</b> Assistance Rafah Crossing point (EU BAM Rafah)
<b>Border</b> Assistance to Moldova and Ukraine
<b>Security Sector</b> Reform Guinea-Bissau (EU SSR)
EUFOR Tchad/RCA ( <b>security</b> )
<b>Security Sector</b> Reform Congo (EUSEC RD Congo)

## EUFOR-Althea in BiH

- Military operation
- Successor of NATO SFOR
- „Berlin Plus“
- 2500 troops
- UN SC 1785
- Secure environment
- Support to ICTY
- 24 EU member states and Albania, Chile, FYROM, Switzerland, Turkey



## Border Assistance Moldova-Ukraine

- Civilian operation
- 129 EU experts (plus CIS and local staff)
- Border co-operation (EU standards)
- Trade regulation
- Transnistrian conflict



27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

31

## Rule of Law Mission Kosovo (EULEX)

- Civilian operation
- Police, judiciary, customs services
- EU planning team 300 staff (EUPT)
- EULEX 1900 staff
- UNMIK
- UN SC 1244
- Contributing: most EU member states, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, US



27.06.2008

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Axt

32



## Prospectives



### Irish referendum on Lisbon Treaty



- Constitutional crisis
- Objections towards defence policy
- Enlargement disputed
- Stagnation
- But ongoing operations