

Avoiding the Demise of Europe: The Need for a Saint Malo 2.0

Dr. Maxime Larivé

Research Associate at the EUCE at the University of Miami



Introduction

- Context
 - Neighborhood on fire
 - Arab Spring since 2011
 - US retrenchment
 - Eurozone crisis
- Variables
 - X1: European political will to empower the CSDP
 - X2: military overstretch of powerful EU Member States
 - Y: EU remaining relevant regional actor
- RQ:
 - Can a Saint Malo 2.0 revitalize the CSDP and empower the EU as a regional power?

Different situation?

	1998	2013
Regional Context	Instabilities in the Balkans	Instabilities in MENA
International Balance of Power	Unipolarity	Multipolarity
Institutional Design	Post-Maastricht/Post-Amsterdam ; CFSP	Post-Lisbon ; EEAS & CSDP
US Foreign Policy	Interventionism	Retrenchment
Britain	Active intl actor	Active regl power: with limited power & influence
France	Active intl actor	Active regl power: with limited power & influence
Germany	Passive intl actor	Reluctant interventionist
The EU	Unable to foster peace & security in its neighborhood	Unable to foster peace & security in its neighborhood
European Defense	Creation of ESDP	Reform of CSDP?

US Reactions to the CSDP

- 1990s: Clinton
 - Madeleine Albright = 3 Ds
 - decoupling, duplicating, discriminating
 - Fear of undermining of NATO and ultimately US influence over Europe
 - US approach has been “yes, but” (Hamilton) since Clinton to 2006
- End of the Bush era (2006-2008)
 - Position Changed to burden-sharing
- The Obama era (2008-...)
 - Retrenchment
 - Pivot to Asia

CSDP: from paper to...

- Common Security and Defense Policy
 - 1998: Saint-Malo declaration between France and the UK
 - 1999: Helsinki Headline Goal
 - ✦ By 2003, the deployment of 60,000 troops plus support in less than 60 days
 - 2001: European Council of Cologne: establishment of the CSDP
 - 2003: Berlin+ Agreement
 - 2003 & 2008: ESS and RI-ESS
 - 2009: Treaty of Lisbon
 - 2010: Franco-British Declaration
 - 2011: EEAS is operational

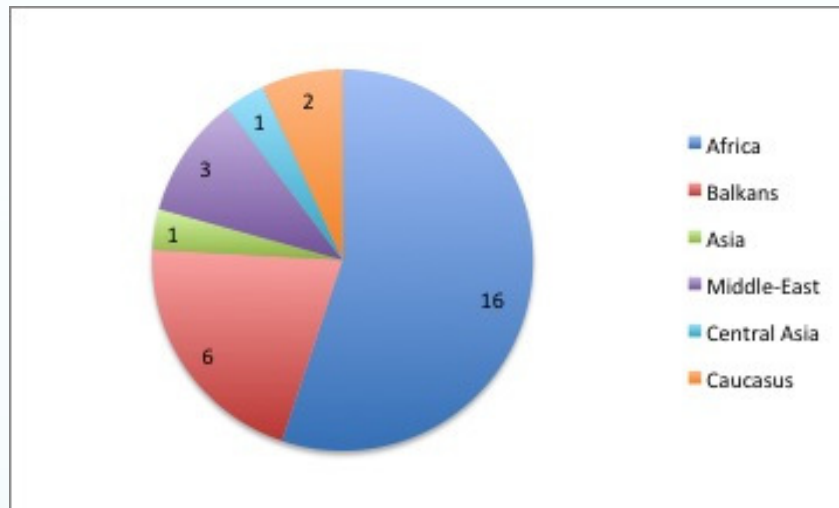
...actions

- CSDP → 29 CSDP missions
 - Civilian
 - ✦ 20 operations
 - ✦ Type: crisis management
 - Police
 - Strengthening the rule of law
 - Strengthening civil administration
 - Strengthening civilian protection
 - Military
 - ✦ 9 operations
 - ✦ Type: peacekeeping operation
- EU a security provider?
 - Yes, but to a certain extent
 - No political and strategic risks
 - Undertaken by EU powerhouses



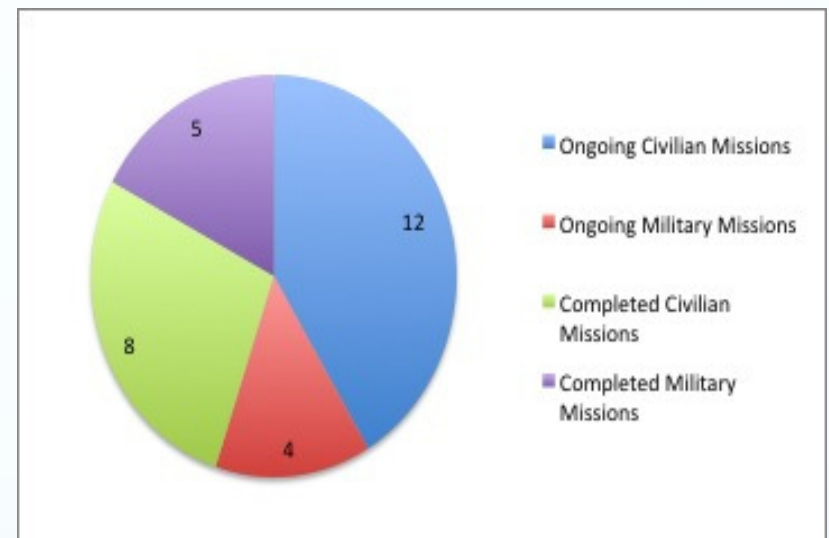
The CSDP since 2003

Zone of Deployment since 2003



Source: EEAS. EU Operations [online] Available at: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/eeas/security-defence/eu-operations?lang=en> [Accessed on 16 July 2013]

Types of CSDP Missions



Source: EEAS. 2013. EU Operations. [online] Available at: <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/eeas/security-defence/eu-operations?lang=en> [Accessed on 28 May 2013].

Limitations to the CSDP

- Capabilities-Expectations dilemma (Hill 1993)
 - Gap btw what the EU wants to accomplish and what it is expected to accomplish
- Political Will of EU Member States
 - Big 3
 - Rest of EU
- Eurozone crisis
 - Rise of regional defense clusters/Mini-lateral defense cooperation: hurting the CSDP?
 - Weimar Triangle; Visegrad Group; Benelux Group; Nordic Group
 - Limited commitment to P&S and EDA?

Sidelining the CSDP?

- **2011 Libya** – From NATO to CSDP
 - Part of the puzzle of the Arab Spring
 - France & UK led the way to the adoption of UNSCR 1973(2011)
 - Authorization of a no-fly zone enforced by NATO
 - EUFOR Libya → ghost CSDP mission
 - 2013 EUBAM Libya → civilian Border assistance mission
- **2013 Mali** (Operation Serval) – Only training, no fighting
 - French unilateral military intervention to stop the rise of AQIM in the Sahel region
 - EUTM Mali → only for the training of Malian Armed Forces
- Both the Libyan and Malian missions were missions for which the CSDP was created

What is next for the CSDP?

- Menon (2013) “the CSDP has failed to deliver” for several reasons:
 - Limited capabilities
 - Limited material and human contribution
 - Lack of political will
 - Lack of leadership
 - Diverging national interests
- Zaki Laïdi (2008) EU actions are marked by ‘power avoidance’
- Howorth (2012): should the CSDP merge with NATO?
- Soft power → not enough to project power and influence

A Saint Malo 2.0

- A new bilateral Franco-British defense summit
- Key conditions for a Saint Malo 2.0
 - Not relevant without a clear regional and global strategy
 - Need for a true revision of the 2003 ESS
 - Real commitment by London & Paris to empower the CSDP
- CSDP = Commitment to Europe's neighborhood
 - Development policies in MENA
 - Fight against terrorism
 - SSR
 - Military intervention along the Serval operation if required