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European Common Security and Defence Policy

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The idea of a common Security Strategy for Europe has evolved incrementally since the early days of the European Community. What were initially a shared set of ideas and values regarding foreign policy materialized in the now called Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) with the Maastricht Treaty in 1993.¹ The treaty identified ambitious objectives in the area of external security, allowing Member States to take joint action in the field of foreign policy and involving an intergovernmental decision-making process which largely relies on unanimity. Actual provisions to give the EU concrete crisis management capabilities were introduced in the late 1990s in the aftermath of the Balkan wars. In 1999 the foundations for European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) were laid out, notably materializing in 2003 with the initiation of the first EU crisis management operations and missions as well as with the drafting of a European Security Strategy, outlining key threats and challenges, objectives and their policy implications for European security. European defence has since continued to evolve, drawing towards the ultimate goal of a truly common defence for the Union – a goal which remains contingent on the will of Member States. 2003 witnessed the first EU military operation without the use of NATO assets and outside Europe with the operation ARTEMIS in the Democratic Republic of Congo as well as the launching of the Union's first crisis management mission with the European Union Police Mission (EUPM) in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUPM BiH). Since then, the EU has deployed over 30 civilian and military missions and operations on three continents.

One of the incentives for the elaboration of such a security strategy lies in the belief that the European Union is well positioned to take effective action regarding global security challenges as per its unique history as a peacebuilding institution as well as its growing role as a global player. The story of the EU is one of working how to peacefully overcome differences and disputes based on such crucial values as democracy, dialogue and respect for human rights. It is from this precedent that the Union's foreign policy strategy has taken shape, driven by the conviction that cooperation as well as an effective and rule-based international order are key to a more secure and prosperous world. In recent years, Europe has prided itself in its successful role as a "soft power", as shown by the its successive enlargements as well as globally with the EU increasingly becoming an active player thanks to its wide-ranging and comprehensive set of "soft-power" tools such as trade, cooperation and public diplomacy. Beyond such a dimension, however, the EU has acknowledged the importance of developing its defence and security capabilities per se, especially following the end of the Cold War and the subsequent conflicts in the Balkans, when it progressively became clear that the EU needed to assume its responsibilities in the field of conflict prevention and crisis management.

Foundations of the European Security Strategy

The 2003 EU Security Strategy (ESS) builds on these considerations and on a set of guiding principles on which to base its external action. The latter most notably includes an emphasis on prevention. This involves taking action before a crisis occurs by addressing the root causes of threats and challenges in order to prevent conflict and avoid the use of force. The changing nature of threats, which are increasingly dynamic, complex and interconnected, renders this all the more important. Preventing threats from becoming sources of conflict implies working on peace-building and poverty reduction, as well as taking an active stance in identifying potential sources of instability and gathering the right combination of instruments to address them. Such capacity-building actions are the cornerstone of long-term EU External Action.

Based on a broad vision of security that goes beyond traditional state-centred military concepts, the EU has developed a Comprehensive Approach to security. This approach presupposes that security has to encompass economic development, social justice, environmental protections, democratization, disarmament, respect for human rights and the rule of law. Its conceptual basis lies in the 2003 European Security Strategy, which asserts that there is a security and development nexus, as sustainable peace only comes with development and poverty eradication and as most if not all causes of instability are intrinsically connected to development issues. The validity of such a perspective has been reconfirmed in 2008 with the Report on the Implementation of the ESS, which insists on the importance of the EU's work on building human security by addressing the root causes of conflict and insecurity through a reduction of poverty and inequality, the promotion of human rights and good governance, as well as development assistance. Recently, the Comprehensive Approach has gained momentum as a defining characteristic of EU external action, notably through its implementation in the Horn of Africa and in the Sahel region.²

An implication of this approach consists in having the right toolbox at hand in order to be able to adequately respond to multidimensional threats and challenges. Herein lays one of the main strengths of the EU, its added value – the capacity to readily deploy a wide range of instruments, be they military, civilian, development or humanitarian. This implies that all instruments are synchronized and work towards broader EU political goals in a more effective way.

The ESS in Practice

Based on these principles, the European Security Strategy has identified as one of its strategic objectives the tackling of five key threats; terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, state failure and organized crime. As these threats are never uniquely military, according to the strategy, they require a mixture of instruments – proliferation, for instance, may be contained through effective political, economic and other pressures.

The new strategic environment therefore calls for the development of civilian and military capabilities jointly. The first ESDP mission was launched in 2003, and experiences with crises in the recent past has shown that an operation requires such a combination of tools from the outset, with each situation requiring a specific policy mix and the proper sequencing of instruments for effective tackling of threats and challenges. Under the framework of the ESDP, following the St. Malo Declaration in 1998, various European Council summits outlined the military and civilian capabilities needed to fulfil three sorts of missions known as the "Petersberg tasks":

- › Humanitarian and rescue tasks,
- › Conflict prevention and peacekeeping tasks,
- › Tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peace-making.

The ability to carry out these tasks through a deployment of both civilian and military instruments has often been presented as the EU's strength. Work continues to be done on how to build on this comparative advantage and bring together these different tools and capabilities together under a common agenda. On this basis, permanent military and political structures have been put in place (political and security committee, EU military committee and military staff) as well as civilian and military crisis management capabilities. Since January 2007, moreover, the EU has an Operations Center that aids in the planning and conducting operations, as well as quick reaction forces, "EU Battlegroups". The Battlegroups are a rapidly deployable force package capable of stand-alone operations or for the initial phase of larger operations. Based on the principle of multinationality and either formed by a framework nation or by a multinational coalition of Member States, Battlegroups are about 1 500 personnel strong depending on the mission.

The Lisbon Treaty: More Capabilities for European Defence

The Lisbon Treaty provided important changes regarding EU's foreign and security frameworks. Not only was the post of High Representative of the Union for Foreign

Affairs and Security Policy, currently held by Catherine Ashton, established, but the Treaty also endorsed the extension of the aforementioned Petersberg tasks by introducing:

- › Joint disarmament operations;
- › Military advice and assistance tasks;
- › Tasks in post-conflict stabilisation.

Moreover, the Treaty provided political and military solidarity among EU Member states via the insertion of a mutual defence clause, following the EU principle of solidarity and using the NATO treaty as a main inspiration. This clause binds EU Member states to aid and bring assistance to any member state victim of an armed attack on its territory.³

The Lisbon Treaty also widens the competences of the European Defence Agency whose main objective is to improve Member States' military capacities.

To bypass the unanimity obligation in some sensitive domains such as Defence and Security, some EU Member states can decide to gather in small groups to establish what is called an "enhanced cooperation". Since the Lisbon Treaty, this type of cooperation can be used in the defence sector thanks to the new Permanent Structured Cooperation where participating Member states engage in developing their defence capacities more intensively and in supplying combat units for planned missions.

Voting by unanimity, the Council can also entrust the implementation of a mission to a group of willing Member States which have the necessary civil and military capabilities to fulfil such a task under certain conditions, in order to protect EU values and uphold its interests. The High Representative is also involved in the management of such a mission.

In parallel, the possible intervention of existing multinational forces in the implementation of the CSDP is formally recognized by the Lisbon Treaty. These "Euroforces" stem from the military alliance between certain European capitals which have decided to bring together their capacities, equipment and personnel strength.⁴

The financing of CSDP missions, both for civilian missions and military operations, is charged to the budget of the Union. In case the expenditure is not charged to the budget, it will be usually charged to the Member states in accordance with the GNP, unless the Council unanimously decides otherwise. The Lisbon Treaty introduced a so-called start-up fund made up of Member States' contributions that the High Representative can use after the Council's green light.

CSDP Missions

Deployed on three continents, ground missions are the most visible output of the CSDP with 33 operations initiated since 2003. Some of these complex missions take place in challenging and high-profile environments. The CSDP has thus gained increasing

recognition as a tangible dimension of the Union's foreign policy. It should be noted that EU missions are generally undertaken on the basis of a UN mandate or with the agreement of the host country.

Some on-going CSDP missions (military and civilian):

Europe

EULEX Kosovo is the largest civilian mission ever launched under the CSDP, whose main objective is to assist and support the Kosovo authorities in the rule of law area with a specific focus on the judiciary.

EUFOR (EU Force) Althea BiH is a CSDP operation which aims at contributing to the maintenance of a safe and secure environment in Bosnia Herzegovina. It resorts to NATO common asset capabilities.

Asa

In the framework of EU comprehensive approach, EUPOL (EU Police) Afghanistan is an EU police mission which contributes to the establishment of sustainable and effective civil policing arrangements that will ensure appropriate interaction with the wider criminal justice system under Afghan ownership.

Africa

Launched in January 2013, EU Training Mission (EUTM) Mali is a military training mission in the South of Mali which provides military and training advice to the Malian Armed Force (MAF). The objective is to contribute to the restoration of the military capacity of the Malian Armed Force (MAF) with a view to enabling them to conduct military operations aiming, firstly at restoring the territorial integrity of the country, and secondly, at reducing the threat posed by terrorist groups.

Part of EU comprehensive approach, the European Naval Force (EUNAVFOR) Somalia-Atalanta is an EU military operation which aims at contributing to the deterrence, prevention and repression of acts of piracy and armed robbery of the Horn of Africa.

Multilateralism and Cooperation: Key EU Objectives

Another strategic objective of the European Security Strategy is to establish a stronger international society, well-functioning and a rule-based international order based on effective multilateralism. The EU believes it is fundamental, in a world of global threats and global markets, to work to increase the effectiveness of international organisations, regimes and treaties in order to uphold international peace and security. This includes commitment to upholding and developing international law, extending the membership of international institutions, strengthening and equipping the United Nations to fulfil its responsibilities effectively. Regional organizations are also seen as primordial to

strengthen global governance. The transatlantic relationship, notably through cooperation with NATO, is an important aspect of such an objective. However, it is worth noting that EU external action is distinct from that of NATO and fully autonomous. The EU believes that broader cooperation and participation, not only via multilateralism but also through partnerships with key actors, is necessary to tackle today's complex problems. The European External Action Service has thus worked towards strengthening bilateral dialogue on security with its strategic partners.

Concretely, then, great importance is given by the EU to cooperation with third states and international organisations in crisis management. The EU has developed since 2007 a partnership in crisis management with Washington. The US has been participating in a CSDP mission (EULEX Kosovo) for the first time. Special arrangements exist for the involvement of non-EU European allies such as Norway and Turkey in EU military operations. The EU also maintains special relations with Canada and Russia in the field of CSDP. In November 2008, for instance, Russia formalised an agreement for its contribution to EUFOR Chad which represented Moscow's first participation in an EU military operation. Regular dialogue takes place between the EU and NATO at various levels. The two organisations also meet in the EU-NATO Capability Group to exchange information on capability development procedures to ensure overall coherence and to prevent unnecessary duplication. Moreover, the Union closely cooperates in the field of crisis management with the United Nations as well as the African Union. The EU also maintains an important dialogue on crisis management with the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the Association of South East Asia Nations (ASEAN).

The EU and Brazil: Room for an ever-greater Cooperation in the Field of Defence and Security

In this context, Brazil is an important actor for the EU, and this interest in increased cooperation has materialized in the 2007 Strategic Partnership, part of which regards international and multilateral security. Brazil is now a large, vocal power with an ever-growing global projection. With increasing military capacities, as well as a more active participation in the global security arena, Brazil is becoming an important security player, notably through its actions within the framework of the UN and in the Latin American region.

Relations between the EU and Brazil in international peace and security are based on common values and perceptions on security - democratic governance, human rights, commitment to multilateralism. Both are applying a broader security approach that also focuses not only on the state but also on the people and elements that affect individual security. Strengthening multilateralism is an important part of the agenda of the bilateral relationship, and both give priority to strengthening the UN Rights system, peaceful crisis settlement and conflict prevention. Brazil and the EU Member States are parties to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC). Since January 2013, Brazil and the EU set up a high-level dialogue on peace and security issues, including peace-keeping and peace-building. The first Dialogue on International Peace and Security

took place in Brussels on 25 July 2013. The Dialogue, formally established during the VI EU-Brazil Summit (Brasilia, 23 January 2013) illustrates the common determination of the EU and Brazil to further deepen their political dialogue, and forms a welcome addition to the over 30 on-going bilateral sectoral dialogues. It explored elements of convergence and options to strengthen EU-Brazil coordination and cooperation in the field of international peace and security, more particularly CSDP missions and operations, UN peace keeping and training. They also laid emphasis on conflict prevention and peace building efforts. Both Brazil and EU have decided to reinforce their partnership building on existing commonalities and by drawing on each other's vast experiences and best-practices in peace keeping and crisis management.

There is considerable potential for enhanced cooperation: the effectiveness of upholding peace and security throughout the world relies in part on the participation of key actors. Engagement between the EU and Brazil on a progressive security agenda, centred on good governance and human rights as preconditions for lasting security can certainly be more far-reaching. Both actors share somehow the same approach on security. According to former Brazilian Foreign Minister, Antonio Patriota, the four concepts of democracy, security, development and human rights must be considered as a whole. This Brazilian integrated approach is thus compatible with that of the EU, which also promotes a comprehensive human development and security agenda. The focus on the interdependence among development, security and human rights calls for an even greater scope for cooperation in this field between Brussels and Brasilia.

Endnotes

- ¹ Initially called the European Foreign Security Policy, the CFSP was renamed as such in 2009 in the Lisbon Treaty. Similarly, the European Security and Defence Policy was renamed Common Security and Defence policy in 2009.
- ² See below for a further description of these two missions.
- ³ Two restrictions moderate this clause: Neither does it affect the defence and security of certain MS, specifically those which are traditionally neutral (i.e. Denmark) nor does not affect the commitments made under the framework of NATO.
- ⁴ The main ones are Eurofor (regrouping French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese land forces), Eurocorps (regrouping Belgian, French, German, Luxembourger and Spanish land forces), Euromarfor (regrouping French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese maritime forces) and the European Air Group (regrouping Belgian, British, Dutch French, German, Italian and Spanish air forces).

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