

European Union's new CSDP mission in Ukraine

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KENTPO ΔΙΕΘΝΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΙΚΩΝ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΕΩΝ CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIC ANALYSES

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How the war in Ukraine is changing the European security environment

European Union's new CSDP mission in Ukraine



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Disclosure Statement

The opinion expressed in this paper represents the author's personal views and in no way reflects the official position of the Center for International Strategic Analyses (KEDISA), the Hellenic Army, the Greek Government or any other Institute or Organization he is affiliated with.

22 November 2022

Georgios Koukakis

LTC Georgios KOUKAKIS

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European Union's new CSDP mission in Ukraine

Introduction

Russia's invasion of Ukraine, an invasion that used peace as a weapon,¹ has changed the European security landscape in many ways. First of all, it reminded everyone that the era of major conflicts between conventional forces is definitely not surpassed. Second of all, it resulted in one more global energy crisis leading to the endorsement of a new energy policy² (*Annex A*) that is going to affect not only the defense industry but the conduct of military operations as well. In addition to that, it facilitated NATO's enlargement - as Finland and Sweden officially applied for NATO membership - and the adoption of a new "NATO Strategic Concept" (*Annex B*).³

Moreover, it brought together the European states in order to protect their democratic values and universal human rights, reflected in the Ukrainian people's resistnace against the Russian aggression. As far the European Union is concerned, it led to the endorsement of the "Strategic Compass", a strategic document that promoted cooperation between the EU and NATO, setting ambitious goals through a specific timeframe.⁴ Finally, it resulted in the creation of the **EU Military Assistance**

¹ Koukakis Georgios, *Ουκρανία: Χρησιμοποιώντας την ειρήνη ως όπλο (Ukraine: Using peace as a weapon)*. Center for International Strategic Analyses, 22 February 2022. Available at https://kedisa.gr/oukrania-chrisimopoiontas-tin-eirini-os-oplo/ (19/11/2022).

² Buchholz Katharina, *Ukraine Crisis Expected to Speed Up Shift to Renewables*. Statista, 03 November 2022. Available at https://www.statista.com/chart/28656/world-energy-supply-by-source-outlook/ (19/11/2022).

³ Koukakis Georgios, *The NATO Madrid Summit: Background, key decisions and future considerations*. HERMES Institute of International Affairs, Security & Geoeconomy, Briefing Note No. 2/2022. Available at https://nebula.wsimg.com/214630f378f315f99c8a8a245d889bc1?AccessKeyId=401F75AAF8C61A96 E174&disposition=0&alloworigin=1 (19/11/2022).

⁴ Koukakis Georgios, Προς τα που δείχνει η Στρατηγική Πυξίδα της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης (Το which direction does the Strategic Compass of the European Union point?). Center for International Strategic

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Mission (EUMAM) in Ukraine on *November 15, 2022,* a Common Security & Defense Policy (CSDP) mission established to "enhance the military capacity of the Ukrainian Armed Forces and build their long-term resilience".⁵

The Common Security & Defense Policy (CSDP)

According to the European Commission glossary, the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) is "Policy offering a framework for cooperation between EU Member States within which the EU can conduct operational missions with the aim of peace-keeping and strengthening international security in third countries by relying on civil and military assets provided by EU Member States". Although several European states had previously signed a number of agreements to align their defense such as the Treaty of Brussels and created several defense organizations such as the Western European Union (WEU), it was only until 2009 that the EU member-states managed to coordinate their security and defense policies.

The Common Security & Defense Policy (CSDP) was created under the **Treaty** of Lisbon, an agreement between 27 EU member-states that was signed – as indicated by its name - in Lisbon, Portugal on December 13, 2007 and came into

Analyses, 01 April 2022. Available at https://kedisa.gr/pros-ta-pou-deichnei-i-stratigiki-pyksida-tis-evropaikis-enosis/ (19/11/2022).

⁵ European Union External Action, *European Union Assistance Mission Ukraine*. Available at https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/2022-11-EUMAMUkraine.pdf (19/11/2022).

⁶ European Commission, *Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)*. Available at https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/pages/glossary/common-security-and-defence-policy-csdp_en (19/1/202).

⁷ The agreement was signed in 1948 between the UK, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg.

⁸ Britannica, Western European Union. 13 November 2013. Available at https://www.britannica.com/topic/Western-European-Union (22/11/2022).

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force in 01 December 2009.⁹ The Treaty extended the legislative powers of the European Parliament,¹⁰ and provided for the establishment of the dual-role position of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs & Security Policy / Vice-President of the European Commission (HR/VP)¹¹ and the creation of the European External Action Service (EEAS).¹² It also included a mutual defence clause [Article 42(7)]¹³ between member-states, as far as external threats are concerned.

CSDP missions, institutions and instruments

The establishment of the CSDP enables the European Union to conduct numerous military and civilian missions all around the world (*Annex C*), respond to crisis, prevent conflicts, build peace, provide maritime security, enhance partnerships, restrict proliferation of weapons, counter terrorism and ensure safety in all domains. The EU body responsible for the CSDP is the **Political and Security**

⁹ European Parliament, *Treaty of Lisbon*. Available at https://www.europarl.europa.eu/about-parliament-and-the-treaties/treaty-of-lisbon (19/11/2022).

¹⁰ European Parliament, *EP after the Lisbon treaty: Bigger role in shaping Europe*. Available at https://www.europarl.europa.eu/about-parliament/en/powers-and-procedures/the-lisbon-treaty (19/11/2022).

¹¹ European Union External Action, *High Representativ /Vice President*. Available at https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/high-representative-vice-president en (19/11/2022).

¹² European Union External Action, *Creation of the European External Action Service*. Available at https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/creation-european-external-action-service en (19/11/2022).

¹³ EUR-Lex, *Mutual defence clause*. Available at https://eur-lex.europa.eu/EN/legal-content/glossary/mutual-defence-clause.html#:~:text=This%20clause%20provides%20that%20if,binding%20on%20all%20EU%20countries. (19/11/2022).

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.....

Committee (PSC),¹⁴ while operational planning and conduct of military and civilian missions is carried out under the responsibility of the Military Planning and Conduct Capability (MPCC)¹⁵ and the Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability (CPCC)¹⁶ respectively.

In order to promote and facilitate CSDP, the European Union has established the European Defence Agency (EDA),¹⁷ an agency that helps the EU memberstates collaborate in common European defence projects and the European Peace Facility (EPF), a 5,000,000,000€ fund that finances CSDP missions.¹⁸ Moreover, the EU uses several tools to support CSDP such as the Capability Development Plan (CDP),¹⁹ the Coordinated Annual Review on Defence (CARD),²⁰ the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO)²¹ and the European Defence Fund (EDF).²²

¹⁴ European Council, *Political and Security Committee (PSC)*. Available at https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/council-eu/preparatory-bodies/political-security-committee/ (22/11/2022).

¹⁵ European Union External Action, *The Military Planning and Conduct Capability (MPCC)*, 03 February 2022. Available at https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/military-planning-and-conduct-capability-mpcc en (20/11/2022).

¹⁶ European Union External Action, *The Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability (CPCC)*, 03 October 2022. Available at https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/civilian-planning-and-conduct-capability-cpcc_en (20/11/2022).

¹⁷ European Defence Agency, What we do. Available at https://eda.europa.eu/ (20/11/2022).

¹⁸ European Union External Action, *European Peace Facility*, 19 August 2021. Available at https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/european-peace-facility_en (20/11/2022).

¹⁹ European Defence Agency, *Capability Development Plan*. Available at https://eda.europa.eu/what-we-do/all-activities/activities-search/capability-development-plan# (20/11/2022).

²⁰ European Union External Action, *Coordinated Annual Review on Defence (CARD)*, 19 August 2021. Available at https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/coordinated-annual-review-defence-card_en (20/11/2022).

²¹ European Union External Action, *Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO)*, 19 August 2021. Available at https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/permanent-structured-cooperation-pesco_en (20/11/2022).

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The EU strategic documents

European Union's first Security Strategy was titled "A Secure Europe in a Better World" (*Annex D*) and was submitted by Javier Solana²³ to the European Council in *08 December 2003*.²⁴ It described – for the first time - the security *environment* (global challenges and key threats), identified the Union's strategic *objectives*, and assessed the policy *implications* that might occur in the future along with the *actions* that the EU needed to be taken, concluding to the fact that "*An active and capable European Union would make an impact on a global scale*".

The second strategic document issued by the European Union was titled "Shared Vision, Common Action: A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy" (Annex E).²⁵ It was published in June 2016 by Federica Mogherini,²⁶ who stated that "None of our countries has the strength nor the resources to address these threats and seize the opportunities of our time alone. But as a Union of almost half a billion citizens, our potential is unparalleled". The EU's Global Strategy identified the Union's interests and values, described the principles

²² European Union External Action, *European Defence Fund*, 19 August 2021. Available at https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/european-defence-fund_en (20/11/2022).

²³ At the time he was Secretary General/High Representative of the European Union.

²⁴ Council of the European Union, *PESC* 787 (15895/03). 8 December 2003. Available at https://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-15895-2003-INIT/en/pdf (20/11/2022).

²⁵ European Union External Action, *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe*. 01 June 2017, Available at https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/shared-vision-common-action-stronger-europe_en (20/11/2022).

²⁶ High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the European Commission.

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that guide its External Action, set its *priorities* and determined the *ways* by which they could be fulfilled, concluding with a call for action.

Finally, on 21 March 2022 the EU member-states endorsed the Union's latest strategic document named "A Strategic Compass for Security and Defence" (Annex F, G).²⁷ As stated inside the text, the Strategic Compass enables the Union to "[...] set out a common strategic vision for EU security and defence policy over the next 5-10 years [...]" by providing a shared assessment of the member-states' strategic environment, bringing greater coherence and a common sense of purpose to actions related to security and defence, setting out new actions and means to achieve clear targets and milestones through a specific timeline. It also provides for the creation of a EU Rapid Deployment Capacity of 5,000 troops, the enhancement of military mobility and conduct of regular live exercises.²⁸

Russia's invasion of Ukraine

Russia's invasion of Ukraine began on *February 24, 2022 (Annex H)* in order to assist the **Donetsk People's Republics (DPR)** and **Lugansk People's Republic** (LPR),²⁹ the independence of which was recognized by the Russian Federation on *February 21, 2022*. The Russian Federation also signed a "**Treaty of Friendship**,

²⁷ European Union External Action, *A Strategic Compass for Security and Defence*. 24 March 2022, Available at https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/strategic-compass-security-and-defence-0_en (20/11/2022).

²⁸ Koukakis Georgios, Προς τα που δείχνει η Στρατηγική Πυξίδα της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης (To which direction does the Strategic Compass of the European Union point?). Center for International Strategic Analyses, 01 April 2022. Available at https://kedisa.gr/pros-ta-pou-deichnei-i-stratigiki-pyksida-tis-evropaikis-enosis/ (19/11/2022).

²⁹ According to the statements of the Russian President and other governmental officials.

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Cooperation and Mutual Assistance" with the leaders of DPR and LPR, an action that gave Russians the excuse to invade Ukraine as part of the Treaty obligations.³⁰

It must also be stressed that - during a meeting of the Russian Security Council that was held on *February 21, 2022* - President Putin had stated that Ukraine's accession to NATO was considered a threat to Russia,³¹ a thesis that was officially expressed in the 2021 **National Security Strategy** of the Russian Federation in which NATO is characterized as one of the main military threats of Russia's national security.³²

The EU Advisory Mission (EUAM) Ukraine

The EU Advisory Mission Ukraine (EUAM Ukraine) was established in December 2014 after a relevant request on behalf of the Ukrainian authorities, in order to "[...] assist relevant Ukrainian authorities towards a sustainable reform of the civilian security sector through strategic advice and practical support for specific reform measures based on EU standards and international principles of good governance and human rights", 33 in an attempt to restore people's trust in their

³⁰ President of Russia, *Signing of documents recognising Donetsk and Lugansk People's Republics*. Available at http://www.en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67829 (19/11/2022).

President of Russia, Security Council meeting. Available at http://www.en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67825 (19/11/2022).

³² Koukakis Georgios, Did Russia fall into Thucydides trap?. Center for International Security Analyses, 02 May 2022. Available at https://kedisa.gr/en/did-russia-fall-into-thucydides-trap/ (19/11/2022).

³³ EUAM UKRAINE, *About us.* Available at https://www.euam-ukraine.eu/our-mission/about-us/ (19/1/202).

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government. EUAM Ukraine's staff consists of approximately 350 Ukrainian and international advisors (*Annex I*).

Their main role – according to the three pillars of activity of the EU mandate – is to provide **strategic advice** regarding the civilian sector reform, **support the reforms** implementation mainly through training and **coordinate** all relevant actions between Ukrainian and international actors. As of March 2022 though, EUAM Ukraine was tasked with the mission of providing support to "[...] law enforcement agencies to facilitate the flow of refugees from Ukraine to the neighbouring Member States and the entry of humanitarian aid into Ukraine" and to the rule of law institutions in investigating **international crimes**.

The EU Military Assistance Mission (EUMAM) Ukraine

In addition to EUAM, on *October 17, 2022* the European Council decided to establish a supplementary Military Assistance Mission in support of Ukraine,³⁴ based on the conclusions of its *23-24 June 2022* meeting³⁵ and the **common request for military support** sent to the EU High Representative by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Defence of Ukraine. EUMAM Ukraine (*Annex J*) was finally

³⁴ Council of the European Union, *Ukraine: EU sets up a military assistance mission to further support the Ukrainian Armed Forces.* 17 October 2022, Available at https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2022/10/17/ukraine-eu-sets-up-a-military-assistance-mission-to-further-support-the-ukrainian-armed-forces/ (21/11/2022).

³⁵ European Council, *European Council meeting (23 and 24 June 2022) – Conclusions (EUCO 24/22).* 24 June 2022, Available at https://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-24-2022-INIT/en/pdf (21/11/2022).

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launched on November 15, 2022,³⁶ in order to "[...] tackle urgent and longer term training needs that will strengthen Ukraine's efforts in defending its territorial integrity and ability to effectively conduct military operations in deterrence of Russia".³⁷

EUMAM Ukraine aims to **coordinate activities** taken in a bilateral level by EU member-states and other stakeholders in support of Ukraine, can be easily adapted to future conditions and Ukrainian needs, and can be enhanced by the participation of additional states. It is headed by Vice-Admiral *Hervé BLEJEAN*,³⁸ and mainly includes **training activities** in EU soil,³⁹ provided to around 15,000 military personnel of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, along with the provision of **logistics support** (ammunition, military equipment and platforms), covering an initial period of **2 years** and a cost of approximately **106,700,000€**.

The political and strategic control of EUMAM Ukraine is exercised by the Political and Security Committee (PSC), while the Military Planning and Conduct Capability (MPCC) is responsible for the strategic coordination and synchronization, being the Operations Headquarters. In support of EUMAM Ukraine the EU will also

³⁶ European Council, *Ukraine: EU launches Military Assistance Mission*. 15 November 2022, Available at https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2022/11/15/ukraine-eu-launches-military-assistance-mission/ (21/11/2022).

³⁷ European Union External Action, *European Union Assistance Mission Ukraine (EUMAM)*. 15 November 2022, Available at https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/european-union-assistance-mission-ukraine-eumam_en (21/11/2022).

³⁸ Vice-Admiral Hervé BLEJEAN is a French Navy officer serves as the Commander of the *EU Military Staff (EUMS)* and the *Military Planning Conduct Capability (MPCC)* since 30 June 2020. For further details visit: European Union External Action, *New Director General takes command at the EUMS and MPCC*. 02 July 2020. Available at https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/new-director-general-takes-command-eums-and-mpcc_en (22/11/2022).

³⁹ The activities according to the EU fact sheet include medical assistance, CBRN, demining, logistics and communication, maintenance and repair, and operational training such as preparation of Companies, Battalions and Brigades in collective maneuvers and tactics up to Battalion level; and advice on the planning, preparation and conduct of live firing exercises.

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establish a multinational **Combined Arms Training Command (CAT-C)** in Poland and a **Special Training Command (STC)** in Germany, drawing up to 16,000,000€ from EPF for the provision of ammunition, equipment, training, transportation and maintenance needs.

Conclusions

War in Ukraine is becoming one of the major drivers of change, not only for the European but for the international security environment as well. Having implemented a Global Strategy, the European Union is now trying to navigate its member-states through this newly-established complex security environment using a Strategic Compass that points towards the "hard power" of its national armed forces. Although several "soft power" means – such as diplomacy and economic sanctions - have been used to mitigate Russian aggression in an effort to avoid further escalation, the increase of defence expenditures, the development of new projects and the enhancement of the cooperation between the EU member-states is the only way of safeguarding the European values.

Although the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) – European Union's ancestor - was created in the aftermath of World War II in order to avoid future conflicts in the European continent,⁴⁰ the European states are called upon to face a major threat of peace. Despite the fact that the use of force is considered to be as

⁴⁰ EUR-Lex, *Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, ECSC Treaty.* Available at https://eur-lex.europa.eu/EN/legal-content/summary/treaty-establishing-the-european-coal-and-steel-community-ecsc-treaty.html (22/11/2022).

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one of the last measures taken to deal with a certain security situation, world history indicates that is a "universal language that everyone understands". In other words, as cited by the Greek historian Thucydides "*The strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must*". As it seems, the EU is gradually moving towards the creation of a **European Army**, an action more necessary than ever, as:

"Si vis pacem, para bellum"41

Center for International Strategic Analyses (KEDISA)

⁴¹ Latin phrase meaning "If you want peace, prepare for war".

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https://en.m.wikipedia.org/

https://www.euam-ukraine.eu/

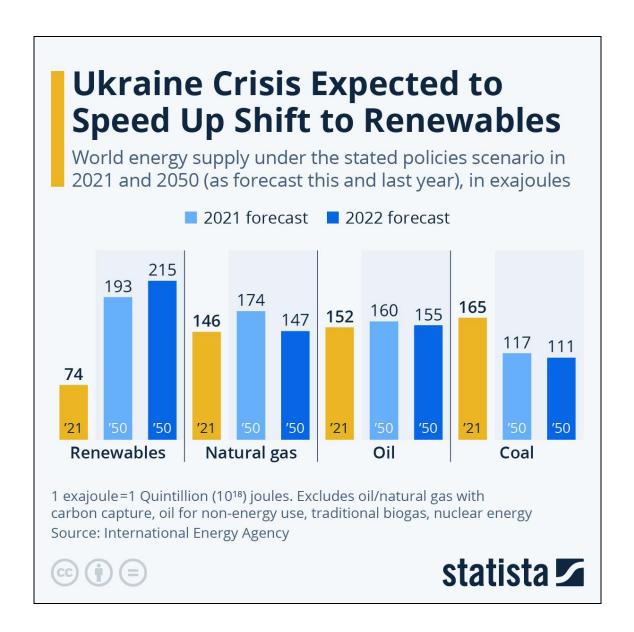
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https://www.hermesresearch.eu/

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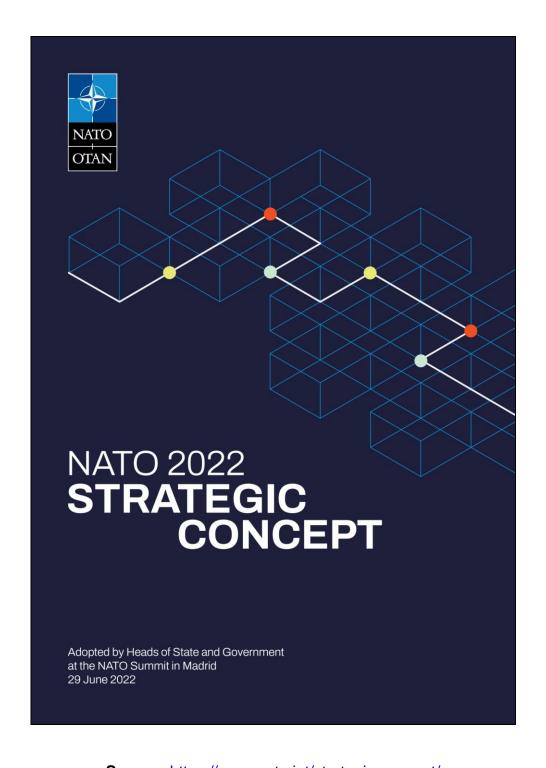
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Annex A. The estimated world energy supply in 2050



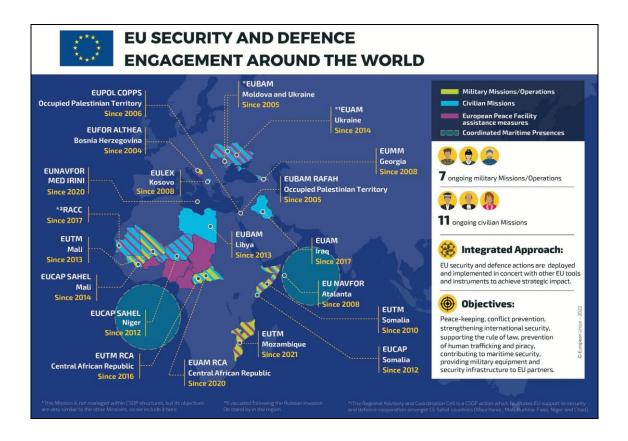
Source: https://www.statista.com/chart/28656/world-energy-supply-by-source-outlook/

Annex B. The NATO 2022 Strategic Concept



Source: https://www.nato.int/strategic-concept/

Annex C. The EU CSDP missions



Source: https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/EU-mission-and-operation_2022.pdf

Annex D. The 2003 European Security Strategy

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15895/03				EN

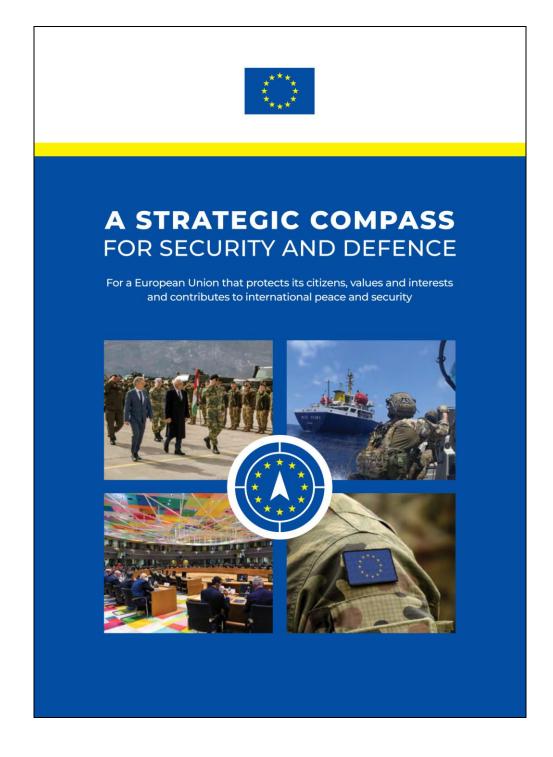
Source: https://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-15895-2003-INIT/en/pdf

Annex E. The 2016 Global Strategy of the EU



Source: https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/shared-vision-common-action-stronger-europe_en

Annex F. The 2022 Strategic Compass of the EU



Source: https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/strategic-compass-security-and-defence-0_en

Annex G. The 2022 Strategic Compass factsheet



A STRATEGIC COMPASS FOR SECURITY AND DEFENCE

The EU needs to become a stronger and more capable actor in security and defence: both to protect the security of its citizens and to act in crisis situations that affect the EU's values and interests. With the Strategic Compass, Member States agree on a common strategic vision for the EU's role in security and defence and commit to a set of concrete and wide-ranging objectives to achieve these goals in the coming 5-10 years.



66 Europe must learn to speak the language of power. Over the next decade, we will make a quantum leap to become a more assertive and decisive security provider, better prepared to tackle present and future threats and challenges."

JOSEP BORRELL

High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy/ Vice-President of the European Commission

The world we face

A common strategic vision requires a common understanding of the threats and challenges the EU will face in the foreseeable future. The work on the Strategic Compass was therefore kicked-off in November 2020 with the EU's first-ever comprehensive threat analysis. In sum, it describes a European and global security landscape that is more volatile, complex and fragmented than ever due to multi-layered threats. This threat analysis will be regularly updated and developments since its finalisation, in particular the Russian military aggression against Ukraine, have been taken into account in the final Strategic Compass.



Global level

Slowdown of globalisation, growing economic and political rivalry between global powers, climate change, competition for resources, instrumentalisation of irregular migration, and threats to the multilat eral system.



Regional level

Traditional military threats and armed aggression, destabilising interference/actions of state and non-state actors, conflict, state fragility, and inter-state tensions and external influences.



Threats against the EU

State and non-state actors targeting the EU with hybrid tools, including the misuse of disruptive technologies, cyber-attacks, disinformation, and other non-military sources of malign influence, and terrorism.

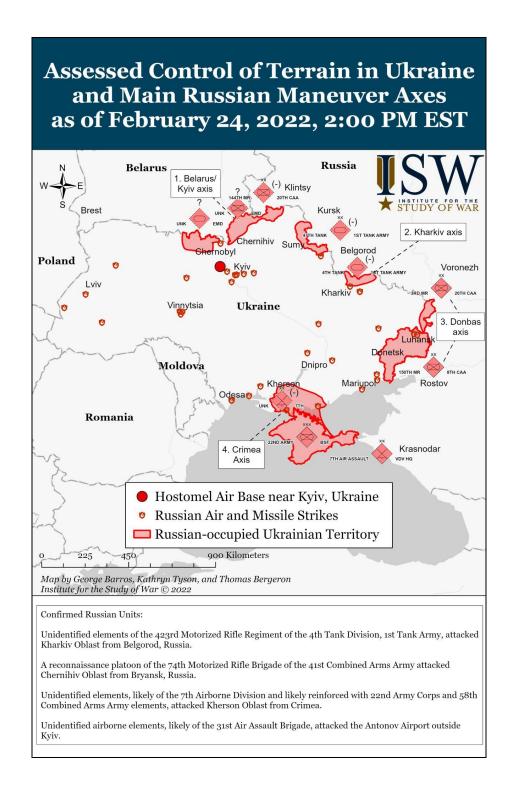


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Source: https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/2022-03-21 strategic compass-factsheet.pdf

Annex H. Russia's invasion of Ukraine

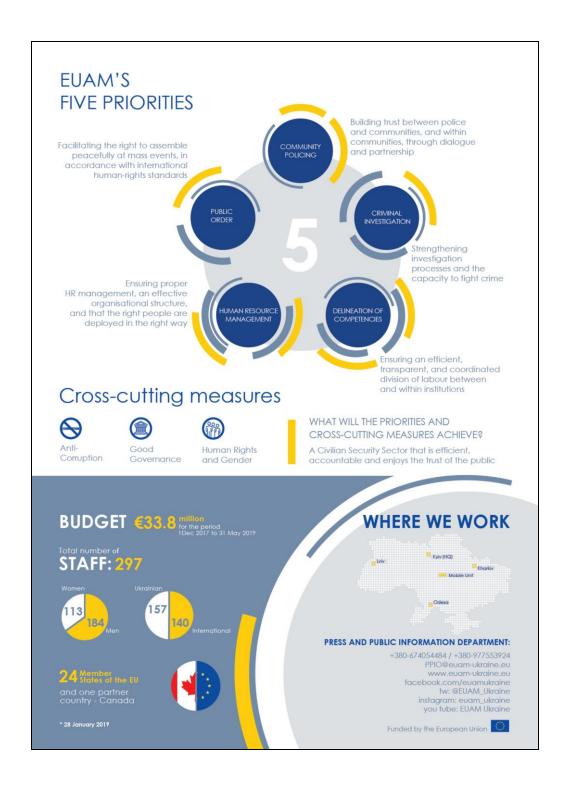


Source: https://www.understandingwar.org/

Annex I. The EUAM UKRAINE factsheet



European Union's new CSDP mission in Ukraine



Source: https://www.euam-ukraine.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Fact-sheet-ENG.pdf

Annex J. The EUMAM UKRAINE factsheet



FACTS AND FIGURES



EU MISSION COMMANDER Vice-Admiral Hervé BLEJEAN



LAUNCHED ON

15 November 2022 for a period of two years



COMMONS COSTS €106.7 million



NUMBER OF SOLDIERS TO BE TRAINED 15,000 Ukrainian soldiers

POLITICAL CONTROL AND STRATEGIC DIRECTION

The Political and Security Committee exercises the political control and strategic direction of EUMAM Ukraine, under the $responsibility\ of\ the\ High\ Representative\ of\ the\ Union\ for\ Foreign\ Affairs\ and\ Security\ Policy\ and\ of\ the\ Council\ of\ the\ EU.$

The Military Planning and Conduct Capability (MPCC) is the Operations Headquarters and ensures the overall coordination and synchronisation at the strategic level within EUMAM Ukraine's framework.

The integration of the training components to create formed units shall take place in a multinational Combined Arms Training Command (CAT-C) established in Poland. A multinational Special Training Command (STC) shall command training activities in Germany to further enhance the training offer in full coordination with the CAT-C. Other Member States could provide specific training on their respective territory.

Source: https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/european-union-assistance-missionukraine-eumam_en

About the author (Curriculum Vitae)



Georgios Koukakis was born in Heraklion, Crete and holds a Master of Arts in "Governance, Development and Security in the Mediterranean" from the Department of Mediterranean Studies, University of the Aegean (Rhodes, Greece), while his master thesis focused on the Hellenic National Security Council. His research interests include National Security, Law of the Sea, International

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