

European Security and Defence Policy from 2003 to 2008

Five Years of Successful Missions for Peace and Stability in the World

In 2008, we are celebrating not just one but several special anniversaries which manifest impressively the rapid development in the advancement of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP): 15 years ago the cornerstone for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) was laid with the Treaty on the European Union which constitutes the framework for the ESDP; the almost legendary French-British summit of St. Malo, which gave the decisive impetus for the ESDP, took place ten years ago; and lastly five years ago the words were translated into action and soldiers and policemen were operationally employed for the first time in the history of the EU.

The progresses made in the field of the European Security and Defence Policy are indeed considerable achievements both with regard to the operations of the EU, the development of the civilian and military capabilities, the improvement of the collaboration with the United Nations and the cooperation with NATO and regional organizations like the African Union — and also as far as the advancement of the planning and command capability of the EU is concerned. All this shows how dynamically and powerful the EU has developed over the past years.

Since 2003, that is in just five years, the European Union has been conducting nearly 20 operations within the scope of the ESDP — 15 civilian or civil-military and five military ones. In addition, the foreign ministers of the EU have decided in September to establish a military coordination cell for the efforts of some member states to counter the piracy off the Somali coast — the first maritime ESDP activity of the EU. The observer mission in Georgia is only the last one of a series of politically extremely significant missions. More than 10,000 men and women have so far been employed in operations of the EU — policemen, soldiers, judges, and young people of all origins and walks of life who are committing themselves to peace and development. The dimension of the operations of the EU is remarkable both in geographical and topical respects: on three continents, in Europe, Africa, and Asia they cover a spectrum which ranges from military peacekeeping via police missions for the setup and reform of police structures in crisis-torn countries up to support missions in the reform of the security sector of fragile states and the buildup of functioning institutions. EU experts have helped to control the adherence to agreements concluded between warring parties/factions and were often the only ones suitable for these tasks.

Within just a few years the EU has thus developed into a global security actor. We have managed to get from theory to practice, from declarations to operations within a short period



EU High Representative Javier Solana meets the press. Pictures: EU

of time. The EU is and continues to be a primarily political and economic power — with about 500 million citizens in the near future we generate more than a quarter of the world's gross social product, have a share of 40 percent in global exports, and render half of the worldwide development aid. But a political union of 27 European nations of this efficiency has also regional and global security interests and responsibilities. Since the time it was born at the European Council in Cologne in 1999, the European Security and Defence Policy, being an integral part of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, has been striving for an integrated civil-military approach to managing crises and conflicts. The successful implementation of this ambitious goal constitutes the “unique status” of the ESDP and its “added value” in international crisis management. The European Security Strategy (ESS) of December 2003 forms the politico-conceptual framework for this.

Operations in Summary

In the Balkans

The largest military operation in the Balkans, Operation ALTHEA in Bosnia and Herzegovina, began in late 2004 with about 7,000

men and women from 22 member states and eleven partner nations, among them Turkey, Canada, Chile, and Morocco. It cooperates effectively with the European Police Mission (EUPM) which is also active in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The military presence has been gradually scaled down since then, but it still comprises approx. 2,500 men today; nevertheless, our force continues to be stationed in the country clearly visible to everybody and can be quickly augmented, if necessary. Under the politically coordinated authority of the EU Special Envoy (and High Representative of the International Community), the EU — conjointly with NATO which still maintains a small-scale headquarters there — leads the country step-by-step into the Euro-Atlantic integration.

The largest civilian EU mission worldwide is the “Rule-of-Law Mission” EULEX KOSOVO which was launched in February 2008 and which is now in its initial stages. Only after a transition period will EULEX be able to achieve its full operational capacity in which it will then support the Kosovo authorities in their efforts to install a lasting and functioning legal system. EULEX will assist, advise, and monitor the local authorities. But the mission will also comprise executive tasks, especially to investigate and prosecute serious and sensitive crimes. With a personnel strength of 1,900 staff and an additional number of 1,100 local employees EULEX will become the largest civilian mission.

In the Caucasus

EUMM GEORGIA is already the second EU mission in southern Caucasus — following the “Rule-of-Law Mission” EUJUST THEMIS in Georgia in the years from 2004 to 2005. It started its work on 1 October. In consequence of the armed conflicts in Georgia in summer this year and the successful efforts of the EU to bring about a truce, the EU decided on 15 September to deploy an autonomous monitoring mission there as defined in the agreement of 8 September. EUMM is to contribute to the stabilization of the situation. The mission will consist of more than 200 observers and will be dispatched for a first mandate period of one year.

In the Middle East

Although presently not active due to the political occurrences, the civilian Border Assistance Mission of the EU at the RAFAH border crossing-point in Gaza ought to be mentioned

here as well. The aim was to open the border to Egypt for the first time and to put the control of passenger and goods traffic across this checkpoint into the hands of the Palestinian authorities. 70 European customs and police officers were to supervise the compliance with international standards and to instruct and train the Palestinian officials in that subject. In view of the developments in the Gaza Strip it is unfortunately uncertain when the EU mission can resume its work. In any case, provisions have been made which will allow a quick resumption of the work, if the political developments permit to do so. In the meantime, EUPOL COPPS (EU Police Mission for the Palestinian Territories) provides for an important European presence in the Middle East. Since January 2006, this mission supports the strengthening of the Palestinian police sector. It is to put the Palestinian autonomy authority in a position to meet its commitments to safeguarding the territories. Training and equipment make up an important part of the mission tasks. Although not being active in Iraq the EUJUST LEX mission is acting in favor of Iraq by its training of high-ranking Iraqi police officials, public prosecutors, judges, and prison officers within the scope of courses in Europe.

In Asia

The observer mission of the EU in ACEH (Sumatra/Indonesia) supervised the implementation of a peace agreement between the Indonesian government and the GAM rebel organization with about 290 men and women conjointly with five nations of the regional ASEAN organization from September 2005 through December 2006. All in all, the operation was paid only little attention by the European public and yet it was a success story for the EU that was considered to be hardly possible. After decades of civil war there was now

for the first time a realistic chance for real peace on the peninsula. No other international organization or power than the EU was accepted by the parties as a guarantor of the peace treaty. It was the first time that ASEAN nations have participated in a peace mission and collaborated with the EU. The appearance of the EU in Asia as a political peace actor was of strategic significance and has opened up a new dimension for the CFSP and ESDP.

More attention is paid by the public to the police mission "EUPOL Afghanistan" which has to cope with a particularly big challenge for more than a year now. The objective of the mission is to help the Afghan authorities with the buildup of a robust and independent police force in Afghanistan which will act in accordance with standards of the rule of law. This includes the development of a strategy for the police sector as well as the coordination of diverse activities of other nations in the fields of buildup and advisory work in the training. Unlike the Kosovo mission this is a so-called non-executive mission. This means that the EU policemen will focus on consulting and coordinating the training in Afghanistan. The number of mission members — currently about 180 European officials — is to be doubled in the follow-up. Headquarters is in Kabul; area of operation is the whole of Afghanistan.

In Africa

The violent political, humanitarian and security crisis in Darfur/Sudan itself is only part of a larger regional problem: the ethnic structures and political processes on this side and on the other side of the borders to Chad and to the Central African Republic are just as intertwined as the interests and actions of the many and diverse actors and groups here as well as there. The huge numbers of refugees and expellees in the camps in Darfur and in Chad give

a depressing proof of that. On the basis of a mandate of the Security Council of the United Nations, the EU has therefore decided to deploy an operation to the East of Chad and to the Northeast of the Central African Republic — with full consent of the two countries. It is about the hitherto largest autonomous military operation (3,700 soldiers) of the EU. Since March 2008, EUFOR Chad/CAR is helping to improve the security for the population, to secure a UN-led police mission in the camps, and to facilitate humanitarian aid until the UN itself is in a position to deploy troops there. The mandate of this bridging mission has been limited to one year, that is until March 2009. A follow-on mission is presently being discussed in the UN Security Council.

After the operations ARTEMIS in 2003 and EUFOR RD CONGO in 2006, the civilian missions EUSEC RD CONGO and EUPOL RD CONGO are now endeavoring to rebuild the desolate Congolese armed forces and to train and advise the Congolese police in accordance with European standards. The picture of a special activity in Africa becomes completed with the security sector reform mission SSR GUINEA-BISSAU. This mission was initiated in June 2008 and is to assist the local authorities in the implementation of the national SSR strategy. Both military and civilian advisors are working together with the Army, Navy, Air Force as well as with the police and the judiciary sector.

Capabilities

These examples show that ESDP operations have both a civilian and military dimension in many cases. And the development of the capabilities of the EU is fully geared to that. Since 2003, the EU considers itself technically capable of conducting military operations in the entire spectrum of the Petersberg Tasks (humanitarian and rescue missions, peacekeeping missions as well as combat missions for crisis management), but only within bounds set by existing deficits: essential capabilities such as transport, reconnaissance, command and control, mobility or in-flight refueling are not yet generated by the Europeans to a sufficient degree. The European Security Strategy has added new tasks, however. They underscore the orientation of the EU to long-term stabilization: buildup of institutions; disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of militia and armed rebel organizations; reform of whole security sectors of fragile states as well as support of non-member states in their fight against international terrorism. Therefore, the (military) Headline Goal 2010 puts the focus mainly on quality and response capability and plans the development of flexibly employable, quickly available and deployable force contingents.

The required capabilities for a number of conceivable mission scenarios were defined in a systematic planning process. The communicated contributions of the member states, the



Visit to EUPOL AFGHANISTAN headquarters: address of the EU High Representative Javier Solana to the staff of the mission. On his right Head of mission Juergen Scholz.



EU High Representative Javier Solana and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Germany Frank-Walter Steinmeier (right) before the Extraordinary European Council held in Brussels on the situation in Georgia.

remaining deficiencies as well as the potential operational risks are being assessed at present. The European Defence Agency (EDA) will play an essential role in the search for solutions to help close the gaps and to devise the capability planning for a longer period past the year 2010. With its Battle Group capacity the EU has a specific capability for quick reaction since early 2007 already. Two Battle Group operations can now be conducted at the same time.

On the civilian side the EU has defined several fields of priority for civilian capabilities: police, buildup of a constitutional state, buildup or reform of civilian administrations, protection of the civilian population, observer and monitoring missions, and support for the EU special envoys acting in various regions of the world. The Civilian Headline Goal 2008 and multifunctional civilian capability packages were developed analogous to the Military Headline Goal 2010.

Civil-Military Coordination

There is broad consensus that the EU should appear on the outside as wholly coordinated and that it must improve its effectiveness in its entirety.

A forward-looking analysis, the development of strategic options, and integrated planning is inevitable when we want to act in a carefully considered and preparative way, offer the political side freedom of choice, and gain time for quick and adequate reaction. This must be configured on a civil-military and “inter-pillar” basis. An important step in this direction was taken with the Civilian/Military Cell in the EU Military Staff. Diplomats, officers, and of-

ficials of the Commission collaborate effectively in mixed teams there. A closely coordinated parallel civil-military planning over and beyond the command levels will be imperative, if a quick and flexible and also situation-related and effective reaction is to be made possible as well. With the new EU Operations Center there is a central planning and command and control capacity available in Brussels since the beginning of 2007. Its nucleus is part of the Civilian/Military Cell.



EU High Representative Javier Solana, French Minister for Foreign Affairs Bernard Kouchner, NATO Secretary-General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer and the Director of Strategic Affairs, Security and Disarmament at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs Jacques Audibert at the high-level seminar on the relationship between the European Union and NATO held in Paris.

Based on a resolution of the Council it can be augmented by personnel from the EU Military Staff, the Secretariat General, and from the member states within a very short period of time to grow up to full strength of about 90 staff which will then allow it to plan and conduct a medium or large-scale civil-military ESDP operation. The Operations Center will then function like an operations headquarters of the EU and thus represent a third command option on the strategic level — aside from SHAPE in the event of Berlin-Plus operations and the five national military supreme commands (DE, EL, FR, IT, UK) announced to the EU.

The development of the military command capability has its counterpart on the civilian side: The CPCC (Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability) was established in order to be able to better see to the needs of the rapidly increasing number of civilian missions. Under the leadership of its director who is also the permanent operations commandant of all civilian missions at the same time, the CPCC provides for the 24/7 discharge of the command and control function for its missions.

With that, all essential elements of a central civil-military planning and command capability are available in Brussels, which is in full accord with the holistic ambition of our security and Defence policy. I am sure that a global security actor of the size, the role, the responsibility, and the range of action of the EU must, in the long run, be fully and absolutely capable of conducting its own operations. The responsibility for planning, execution, and success is indivisible.

A Downright Positive Result

A downright positive conclusion can be drawn five years after the beginning of the first ESDP missions. Who had deemed it possible five years ago that today Europeans provide for security in eastern Chad, preserve peace in Aceh, train policemen in the Palestinian autonomy territories or contribute to stabilization of the situation in Georgia? We have achieved a lot within a short period of time and turned Europe into a global actor who can be judged by his actions. And the demand for the security actor “European Union” is not declining — quite the reverse! We have to continue to see to it that the expectations and hopes placed in us will not be dashed. With each of the aforementioned operations the EU has learned something new, has advanced its capabilities. But there is still plenty of work ahead of us. I am confident that we will meet these challenges, too. ■

By Prof. Dr. Javier Solana, High Representative of the European Union for the Common Foreign and Security Policy.