

EVOLUTION OF EU CRISIS MANAGEMENT I.

15 November 2016

Content

2

- Origins of European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)
- Institutional structure of ESDP/CSDP
- Development of military capabilities of ESDP/CSDP
- EU crisis management operations

Origins of ESDP

3

- **1998 – Saint Malo Declaration on European defence** (Chirac + Blair)
 - “EU needs to be in a position to play its full role on the international stage”
 - “EU must have the capacity for autonomous action, backed up by credible military forces, the means to ... use them and a readiness to do so”
- **previous attempts to create a common defence policy:**
 - Brussels Treaty (1948) and the Western European Union (1955)
 - European Defence Community (1950s)
 - Fouchet Plans (1961, 1962)
 - European Political Cooperation (1970s)
- exclusive role of **NATO**

Why the EU became a security actor

4

- **(1) logical outcome of the end of the Cold War**
 - ▣ US attached less political and military significance to European security → vacuum to fill
 - ▣ need for greater EU independence in pursuing EU interests

- **(2) reappearance of military conflict in Europe**
 - ▣ crisis in the Balkans
 - “US did not have a dog in this fight” (US)
 - “It is the hour of Europe, not of America” (EU)
 - ▣ need for humanitarian protection and security provision in areas where NATO or individual states could not act,
 - ▣ crisis management

Why the EU became a security actor

5

- **(3) need to become a full-fledged political actor**
 - ▣ EU can never be a fully-fledged international actor unless it acquires credible military capacity
 - ▣ turnaround in the UK and France, withdrawing US presence

- **(4) internal factors**
 - ▣ revival of EU defense industry
 - ▣ high public support for EU action in crises
 - ▣ responsibility
 - ▣ Comprehensive approach w/o military?

EU crisis management operations

6

- **Basic categories:**
 - Military CMO
 - Civilian CMO
 - (+ mixed)

- **Petersberg Tasks (1992):**
 - humanitarian and rescue tasks
 - peacekeeping tasks
 - tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking

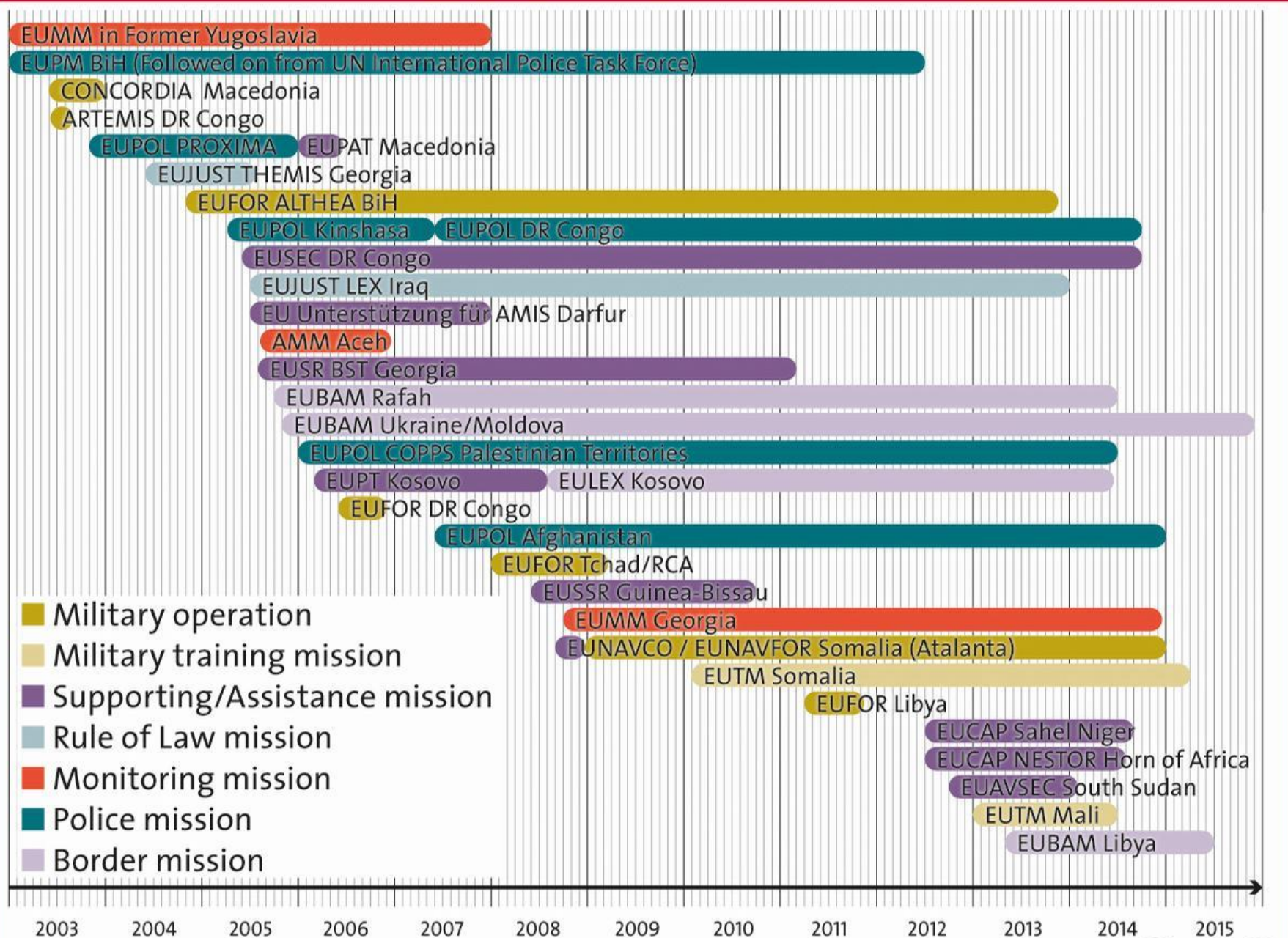
EU crisis management operations

7

- **Berlin Plus arrangement (2003)**
 - ▣ agreement with NATO for the use of NATO structures, mechanisms, and assets to carry out military operations if NATO declines to act

- **Lisbon Treaty (2009)**
 - ▣ Adding a common defense clause
 - ▣ Delegation of tasks to willing member groups! Article 44 currently under discussion
 - ▣ Expanding CMC Tasks from Petersberg:
 - Joint disarmament operations
 - Military advice and assistance tasks
 - Tasks in post-conflict stabilization

EU missions since 2003



Autres missions :

EUSR border teams Moldavie/Ukraine
et Géorgie/Caucase du Sud

Afrique

➤ **EU SSR Guinée-Bissau**

Depuis 2008
Effectif: 39

➤ **EUSEC RD Congo**

Depuis 2005
Effectif: 40

➤ **EUPOL RD Congo**

Depuis 2007
Effectif: 39

➤ **EUFOR Tchad/RCA**

2008-2009
Effectif: 3700

➤ **EUPOL Kinshasa**

RD Congo, 2005-2007

➤ **Soutien à AMIS II**

Soudan/Darfour, 2005-2006
Effectif: 31 civils et 20 militaires

➤ **ARTEMIS**

RD Congo, 2003
Effectif: 1800

➤ **EUFOR Congo**

RD Congo, 2006
Effectif: 2300

Caucase du Sud

➤ **EJUST THEMIS**

Géorgie, 2004-2005

Asie

➤ **EUPOL AFGHANISTAN**

Mission de police, depuis 2007
Effectif: 230

➤ **AMM Monitoring Mission**

Aceh/Indonésie, 2005-2006

Moyen-Orient

➤ **EJUST LEX**

Irak/Bruxelles, depuis 2005
Effectif: 25

➤ **EUPOL COPPS**

Territoires palestiniens, depuis 2006
Effectif: 31

➤ **EUBAM Rafah**

Territoires palestiniens, depuis 2005
Effectif: 27

Balkans occidentaux

➤ **EULEX KOSOVO**

Phase pré-opérationnelle
Effectif: 1900

➤ **EUPM**

Bosnie-Herzégovine, depuis 2003
Effectif: 182

➤ **EUFOR ALTHEA**

Bosnie - Herzégovine, depuis 2004
Effectif: 2500

➤ **EUPOL PROXIMA**

Ancienne République yougoslave
de Macédoine (ARYM), 2004-2005

➤ **EUPAT**

Ancienne République yougoslave
de Macédoine (ARYM), 2006

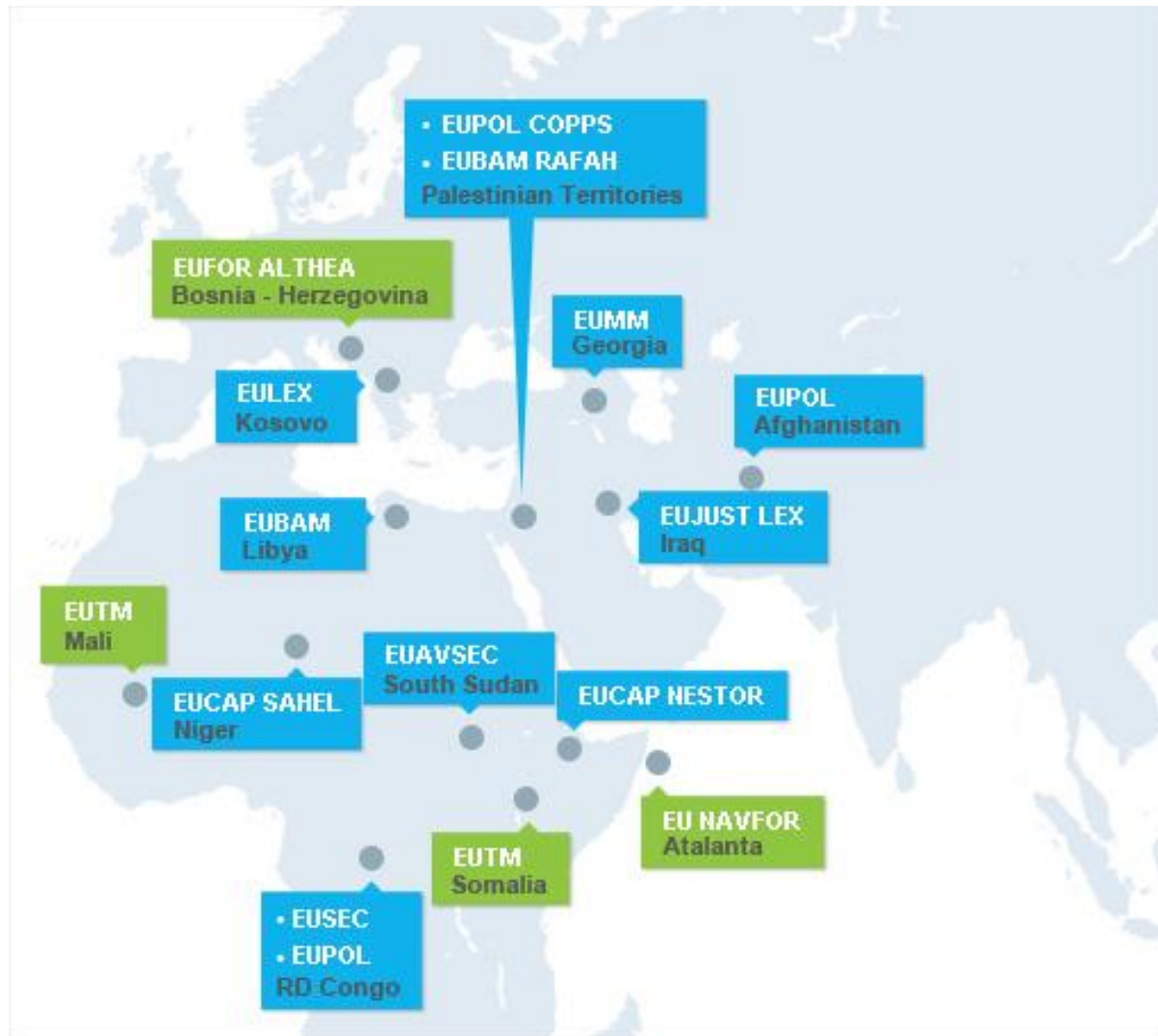
➤ **CONCORDIA**

Ancienne République yougoslave
de Macédoine (ARYM), 2003

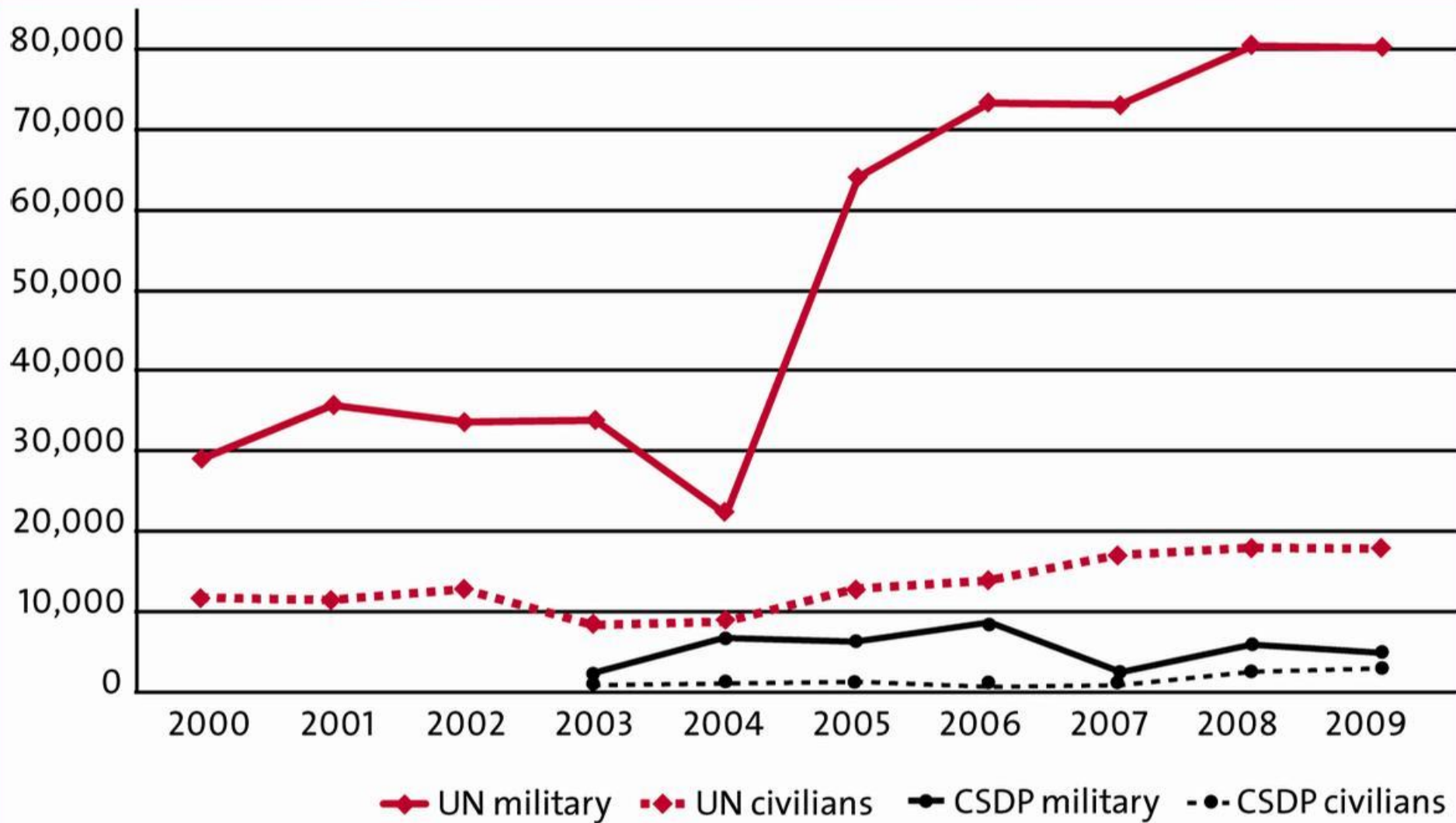
Completed operations (2014)



Ongoing operations (2015)



Civilian vs. military personnel in UN and CSDP missions 2000-09



Strategic Trends 2010 (Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich)
Sources: SIPRI; EU



Military crisis management

13

- EU military crisis management operations:
 - ▣ **1) autonomous** (e.g. Artemis)
 - **national HQ** → multinational HQ (UK, Germany, France etc.)
 - **“Nation Framework”** concept
 - ▣ **2) with NATO assets** (e.g. Concordia)
 - **“Berlin plus”** (2003) - EU granted access to NATO military assets and operational planning capabilities
 - operational planning - within the NATO framework
 - political control and strategic direction of the operation - PSC
- One-set of forces – limit to EU capabilities development?

Development of military capabilities

14

- **Helsinki European Council** (12/1999) → decisions on military capabilities of ESDP
- translated into the **Helsinki Headline Goal**:
 - “member states must be able by 2003 to deploy within 60 days and sustain for at least one year military forces of up to 50-60 000 persons capable of the full range of Petersberg Tasks”
- quantitative aspects less, qualitative aspects more problematic
- Nevertheless – nowhere near the numbers

Slow to build, slower to deploy

15

- **2004 – Headline Goal 2010**
 - ▣ role of the 9/11 terrorist attacks and wars in Afghanistan/Iraq
 - ▣ to react to the whole spectrum of CM operations (within 10 days) including disarmament operations, support in combating terrorism and security sector reform
 - ▣ Have forces under the direct control of the EU Council

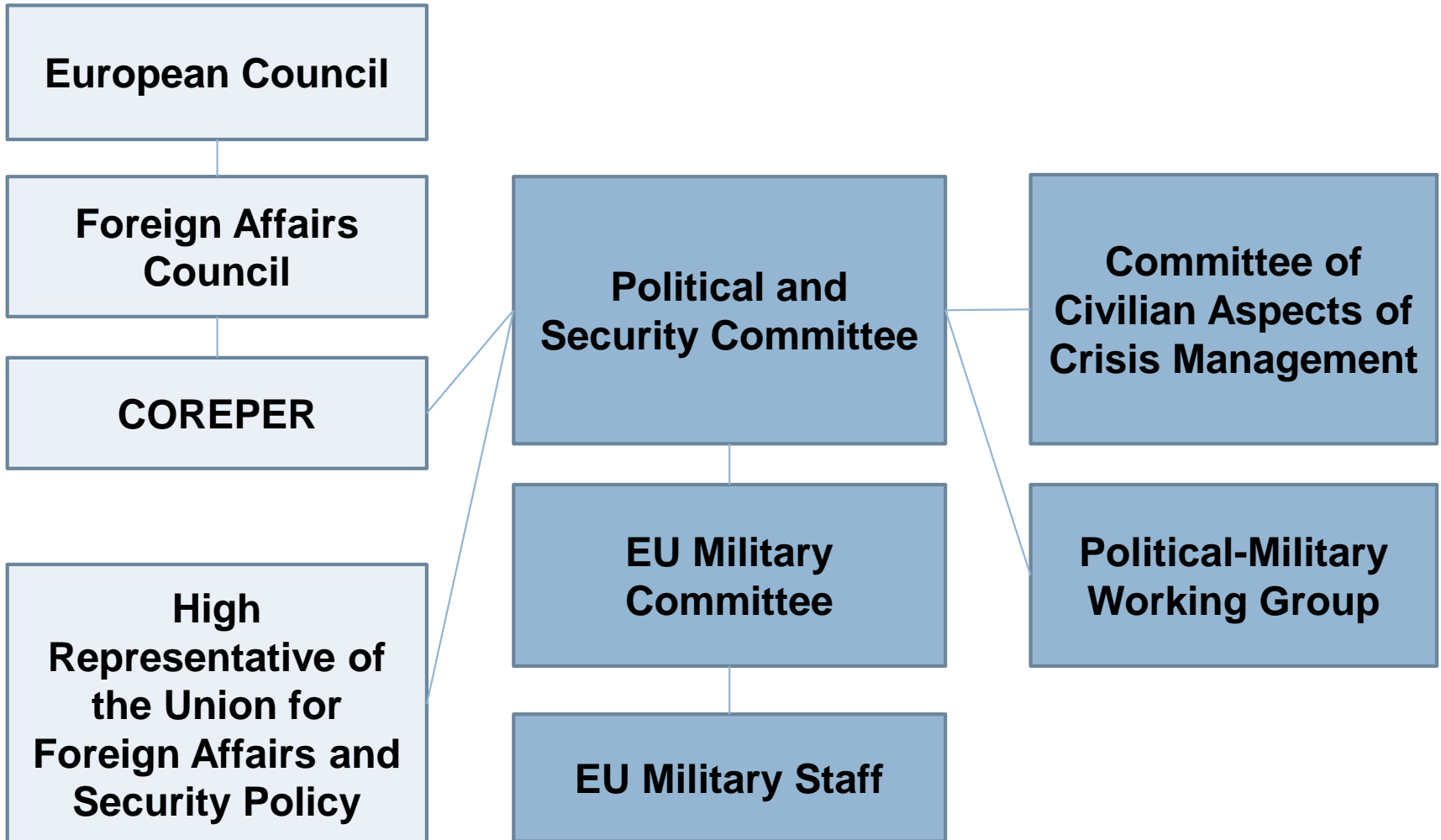
Battle groups

16

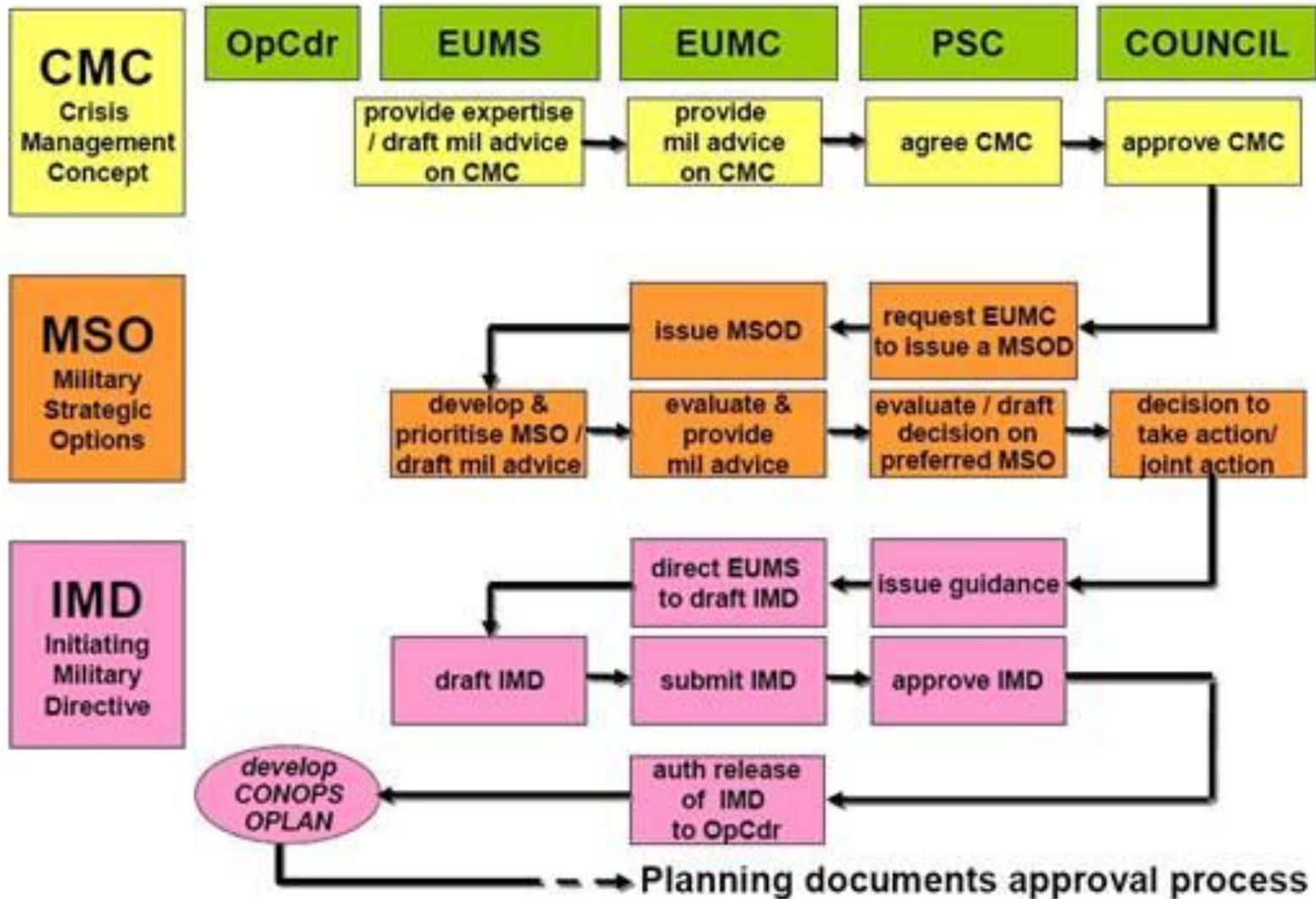
- 2004 – **Battle groups concept** (UK, France and Germany)
 - ▣ a BG = 1 500 troops at a high state of readiness, highly military effective, thought to speed up reactionary time
 - ▣ formed by one nation or a group of nations
 - ▣ 2 BGs take responsibility for a six-month period
 - ▣ no use so far (2016) → doubts about the concept
 - ▣ Germany always requires consent from parliament, no standby
 - ▣ 2015 CAR operation – again no battle group use, Nordic countries caveats
 - France intervenes alone, asks for support later

Institutional structure of ESDP/CSDP

17



Crisis Response Planning Process at the Political and Strategic Level



EU Military Crisis Response Planning Process at the Political and Strategic level

Character of EU MCMOs

19

- 2003 Concordia - 4 months – replaced by PROXIMA police mission
- 2003 Artemis - 3 months – short support and handover to MONUC
- 2006 EUFOR DR Congo – 2 months – support MONUC during elections
- 2008 EUFOR Chad - 12 months – (2/3 FR) taken over by MINURCAT
- 2011 EUFOR Libya - never launched, declined by UNOCHA

- 2004 Althea
- 2008 EUNAVFOR Somalia
- 2014 EUFOR RCA – 11 months – support AU, 755 troops max., replaced by MINUSCA, 2 districts of Bangui and the airport, no EU battle group, FR + Guinea main contributors,

- EUTM Somalia/EUTM Mali – military training missions (Uganda)

France “leading” the EU?

20

- Largest current European defence player
- Epervier (Chad 1986-2014)
- Serval (Mali 2013-2014)
- Licorne (Cote d’Ivoire 2002-2014)
- Sabre (Burkina Faso 2012-2014)
- **Sangaris (CAR 2013+)**
- **Barkhane (Sahel 2014+)**

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Development of civilian capabilities

21

- **Feira European Council (6/2000) → 4 priority areas:**
 - (1) police
 - (2) rule of law
 - (3) civil administration
 - (4) civil protection
- + decision to create a pool of police officers, judges, prosecutors and civilian administration experts, assessment and intervention teams
- **2004 – Civilian Headline Goal 2008 → 6 priority areas:**
 - (5) monitoring capabilities
 - (6) generic support capabilities
- **Civilian Headline Goal 2010**
 - cooperation in addition to a continued focus on improving readiness and deployability!
- **quantity – ok X quality – shortfalls**

Meeting Civilian Expectations

22

- Collective decision to deploy
 - ▣ But individually funded
 - Leads to unwillingness to foot the bill
- Need for experts at home
 - ▣ They are a part of the regular police/civilian security force
 - No national contingents for EU use as with military
- Not as prestigious as military operations
- EU forced to often deploy ex-military experts

Niche role?

23

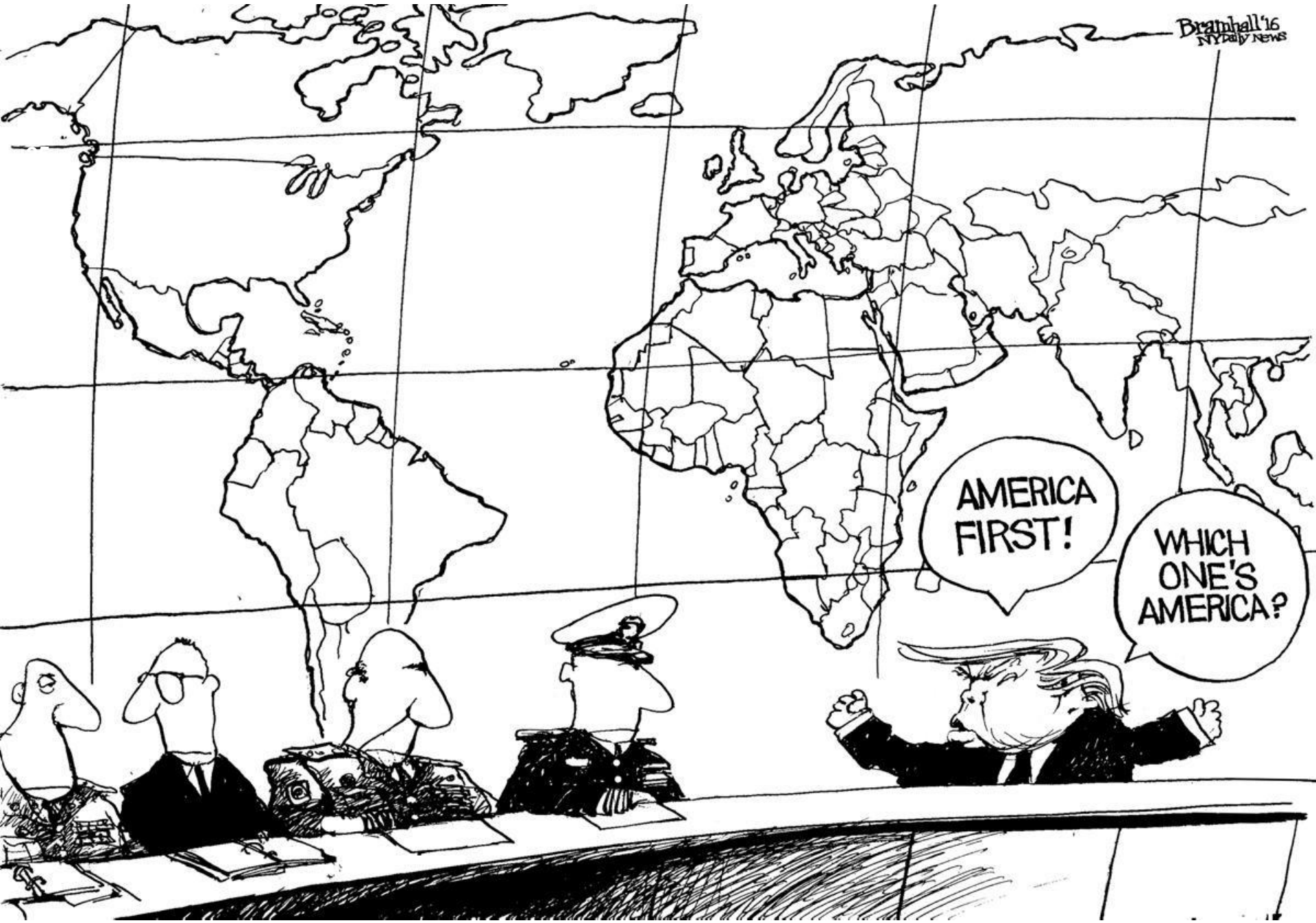
- EU comparative advantages in
 - ▣ Force aggregation
 - ▣ Attractive alternative to NATO/UN – like Georgia
 - ▣ Economic instrument coordination
- Possibility of JOINT MISSIONS NATO+EU
 - ▣ One providing military segment, the other civilian
- Global need for a fully capable EU
 - ▣ Be able to protect its own civilian focused missions

Where we are today

24

- 2014
 - ▣ 2862 troops
 - ▣ 1758 police
 - ▣ 1779 national civilian experts
 - ▣ 0 military observers

- Trump's thoughts?



AMERICA
FIRST!

WHICH
ONE'S
AMERICA?

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