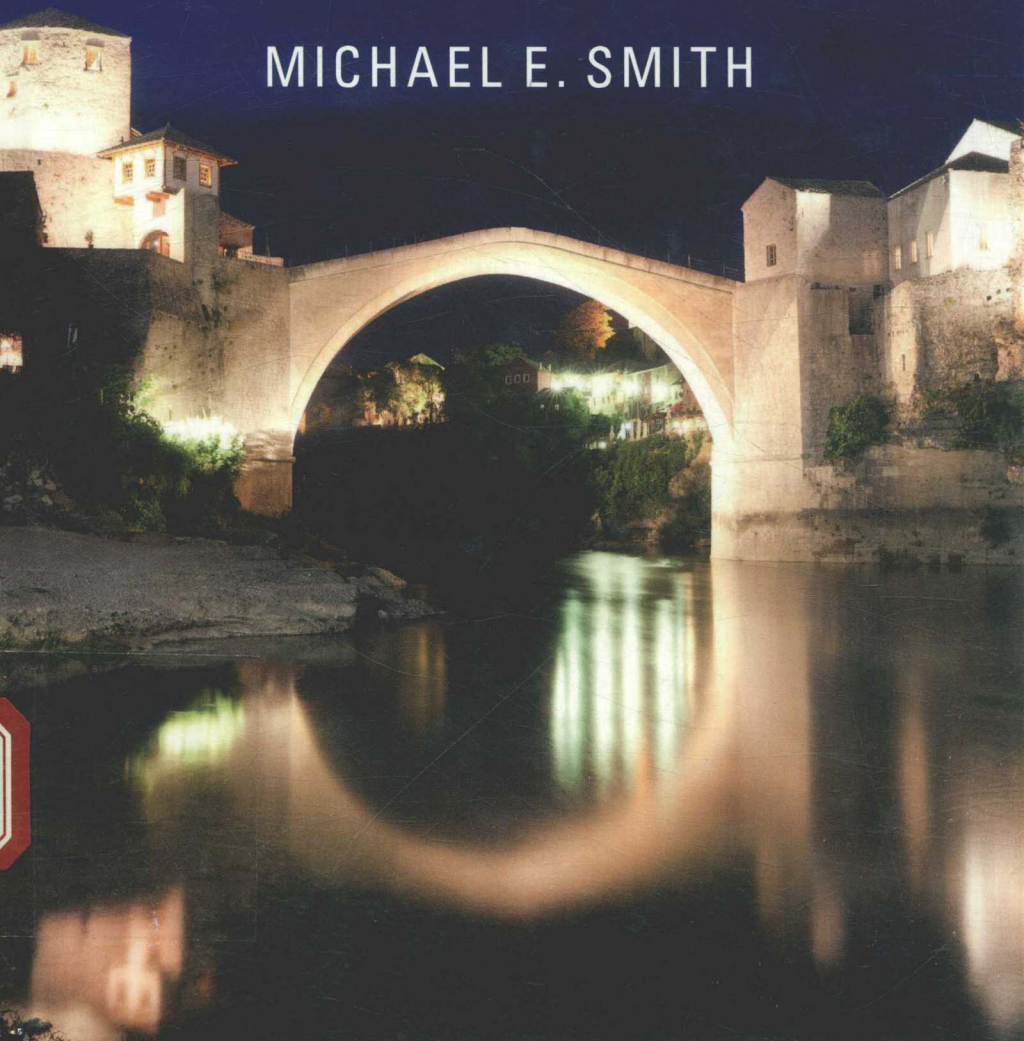# EUROPE'S COMMON SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY

Capacity-Building, Experiential Learning, and Institutional Change

MICHAEL E. SMITH

Europe's Common Security and Defence Policy

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To the memory of Professor Dave Allen
1949–2012
Gone too soon but not soon forgotten

Acknowledgements

While starting the first draft of this book, I took a short break to attend the 70th anniversary ceremonies of D-Day in Normandy. The experience was a vivid reminder that the European Union, for all its faults and complexity, is still fundamentally a peace project. It played this role in facilitating reconciliation between France and Germany after World War II, in assisting democratic transitions in former authoritarian states when they joined the EU, and then in helping to bring east and west Europe together with the accession of ten formerly communist states to the EU after the end of the Cold War. For these efforts, the EU was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012, even though some questioned whether this accolade was deserved at the time in light of the EU's apparent inability to cope with a range of serious problems, both internal and external. The most recent of these problems occurred as this volume went to press: the UK's vote in June 2016 to leave the EU, a process that could take years to complete and have a profound effect on the future of Britain and the rest of Europe.

Despite such challenges, the EU still claims to represent Europe's shared responsibility to promote peace and security abroad. The most dramatic evidence of this intention is the EU's deployment of military and police forces into conflict zones, through the policy tool analysed in this volume: the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). Having followed these developments closely for over twenty years, the sight of military officials in EU buildings is something that seemed very remote to me when I arrived in Brussels as a PhD student in 1995 to study EU foreign/security policy cooperation following the Maastricht Treaty on European Union. A number of scholars at the time also thought the idea of adding

Relations Law and Policy in the Post-Lisbon Era Conference (University of Sheffield, January 2011); and the EU Diplomatic System after Lisbon Conference (University of Maastricht, November 2010). I am grateful to the organisers of, and other participants in, those events for stimulating discussions on some of the ideas presented in this book.

Portions of the argument have appeared in several edited volumes, and I appreciate the input given by the editors of those projects: Jeremy Richardson (*Constructing a Policy-Making State? Policy Dynamics in the European Union*); Christopher Bickerton, Dermot Hodson, and Uwe Puetter (*European Politics in the Post-Maastricht Era: States, Supranational Actors, and the New Intergovernmentalism*); and Laura Chappell, Jocelyn Mawdsley, and Petar Petrov (*The EU, Strategy, and Security Policy*). My understanding of the European External Action Service was enhanced by the work of Ana Juncos, Karolina Pomorska, Sophie Vanhoonacker, Bart Van Vooren, and Ramses Wessel, all of whom contributed to a special symposium I edited in 2013 for the *Journal of European Public Policy*. I would also like to thank my editor, John Haslam of Cambridge University Press, for his support of this project; the comments of the anonymous reviewers he chose were also very helpful in terms of tightening up the final manuscript.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the years of support and friendship of the person to whom this volume is dedicated: Professor Dave Allen of Loughborough University. Along with his long-time friend and collaborator Mike Smith (of Loughborough/Warwick Universities), Dave gave me advice and encouragement when I drafted my first book on the EU in the 1990s, and he was present at several conferences, often as chair and/or discussant, where I presented the initial ideas for this book. His passing was a great loss for all of us in the EU studies community, and this volume was written in the same spirit of how Dave approached the study of EU foreign policy: as a topic important enough to be taken seriously by academics, yet whose execution as a policy often seemed inadequate to cope with the many problems facing Europe. Therefore, the study of EU foreign/security/defence cooperation can be inspiring and frustrating in equal measure, as any careful reader who manages to reach the end of this volume should learn.

Abbreviations

AAR	After Action Review
AFSOUTH	Allied Forces South (NATO)
AMA	Agreement on Movement and Access
AMIS	African Union Mission in Sudan
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
AMM	Aceh Monitoring Mission
AOO	Area of Operation
APF	African Peace Facility
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AU	African Union
BGCC	Battlegroup Coordination Conference
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
BST	Border Support Team
CAR	Central African Republic
CARDS	Community Action for Reconstruction and Development
CCM	Civilian Crisis Management
CEEC	Central and Eastern European countries
CEPOL	European Police College
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIT	Communications and Information Technology
CIVCOM	Committee for Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management
CMC	Crisis Management Concept
CMF	Combined Maritime Forces
CMI	Finnish Crisis Management Initiative
CMPD	Crisis Management Planning Directorate
COC	Committee of Contributors

CONOPS	Concept of Operations
COREPER	Committee of Permanent Representatives to the EU
COSA	Commission on Security Arrangements
CPCC	Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability
CPCO	*Centre de planification et de conduite des operations*
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
CTF	Combined Task Force
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DEVCO	Commission Directorate-General for International Cooperation and Development
DG	Directorate-General
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
DSACEUR	Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Europe (NATO)
EAR	European Agency for Reconstruction
EC	European Community
ECHO	European Commission Humanitarian Aid Office
ECLO	European Commission Liaison Office (Kosovo)
ECMM	EC Monitoring Mission
ECSA	European Community Ship-owners Association
EDA	European Defence Agency
EDC	European Defence Community
EDF	European Development Fund
EEAS	European External Action Service
EFP	European Foreign Policy
EGF	European Gendarmerie Force
ELMA	EUMS Lessons Management Application
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
ENPI	European Neighbourhood Partnership Instrument
EP	European Parliament
EPC	European Political Cooperation
ESDI	European Security and Defence Identity
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
ESS	European Security Strategy
ETF	European Transport Workers' Federation
EU	European Union
EUCE	EU Command Element
EUGS	EU Global Strategy
EUISS	EU Institute for Security Studies
EUMC	EU Military Committee
EUMM	EU Monitoring Mission
EUMS	EU Military Staff

EU NAVCO	EU Naval Coordination Cell
EUPAT	EU Police Advisory Team (in FYROM)
EUPM	EU Police Mission (in Bosnia and Herzegovina)
EUROMARFOR	European Maritime Force
EUROSUR	European Border Surveillance System
EUSR	EU Special Representative
FAC	Foreign Affairs Council (EU)
FFM	Fact-Finding Mission
FHQ	Force Headquarters
FN	Framework Nation
FNC	Framework Nation Concept
FNFA	*Force Navale France-Allemande*
FPI	Service for Foreign Policy Instruments
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GAERC	General Affairs and External Relations Council (of the EU)
GAM	Free Aceh Movement
G8	Group of 8
GPPO	German Police Project Office
HOM	Head of Mission
HR	High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy
HR/VP	High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy/Vice President of the Commission
ICO	International Civilian Office (Kosovo)
ICR	International Civilian Representative (Kosovo)
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IEMF	Interim Emergency Multinational Force
IET	Iraq Expert Team
IFOR	Implementation Force
IFS	Instrument for Stability
IMB	International Maritime Bureau
IMD	Initiating Military Directive
IMO	International Maritime Organization
IMP	Integrated Maritime Policy
IO	International Organization
IPA	Instrument for Pre-Accession assistance (EU)
IPCB	International Police Coordination Board (Afghanistan)
IPTF	International Police Task Force (UN)

IPU	Integrated Police Unit
IRTC	Internationally Recommended Transit Corridor
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force (Afghanistan)
JHA	Justice and Home Affairs
KFOR	Kosovo Force (NATO)
LOFTA	Law and Order Trust Fund for Afghanistan
MAPE	Multinational Advisory Police Element
MARSIC	Critical Maritime Routes Programme
MASE	Regional Maritime Security Programme
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MEPP	Middle East Peace Process
MIC	Monitoring and Information Centre
MINURCAT	UN Mission to Central African Republic and Chad
MMA	Mentoring, Monitoring, and Advising
MONUC	UN Organization Mission in the DRC
MONUSCO	UN Organization Stabilisation Mission in the DRC
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MPRA	Maritime Patrol Reconnaissance Aircraft
MSCHOA	Maritime Security Centre – Horn of Africa
MSO	Military Strategic Option
MSS	Maritime Security Strategy
NAC	North Atlantic Council (NATO)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NM	Nautical Miles
NSMG	NATO Standing Maritime Group
OCHA	UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OHQ	Operational Headquarters
OpCen	Operations Centre (EU)
OPLAN	Operational Plan
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PA	Palestinian Authority
PBC	Peacebuilding Commission (UN)
PCA	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement
PCP	Palestinian Civil Police
PMC	Private Military Contractor
PMG	Politico-Military Group (EU)
PRT	Provincial Reconstruction Team
QMV	Qualified Majority Voting
REJUSCO	Restoration of Justice programme

RELEX	Commission Directorate-General for External Relations
ROL	Rule of Law
RRF	Rapid Reaction Force (EU military)
RRM	Rapid Reaction Mechanism (EU civilian)
RS	Republika Srpska
SAA	Stabilisation and Association Agreement (EU)
SAP	Stabilisation and Association Process (EU)
SatCen	Satellite Centre (EU)
SEA	Single European Act (1986)
SHAPE	Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (NATO)
SIPA	State Information and Protection Agency (BiH)
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SitCen	Situation Centre (EU)
SOFA	Status of Forces Agreement
SSR	Security Sector Reform
TACIS	Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States
TEU	Treaty on European Union (1991 Maastricht Treaty)
UN	United Nations
UNAMA	UN Mission for Afghanistan
UCLOS	UN Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNDPKO	UN Department for Peacekeeping Operations
UNMIK	UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNODC	UN Office on Drugs and Crime
UNPOL	UN Police
UNSC	UN Security Council
UNSG	UN Secretary General
USAID	US Agency for International Development
VP	Vice President
VPD	Vessel Protection Detachment
WEU	Western European Union
WFP	World Food Programme
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

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Introduction

Institutional Change and Policy Expansion in EU Security Policy

Europe will be forged in crises, and will be the sum of the solutions adopted for those crises.

– Jean Monnet

How, and why, does a regional economic organisation turn itself into an international security actor, willing and able to deploy various types of assistance, including military/police forces, to countries well beyond its geographic core? In 2003, the European Union (EU) did just that, by launching a range of foreign security assistance actions thanks to the advent of a new framework: the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP).[1] The EU's first such action in 2003 was a successor mission to the UN International Police Task Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Just three months later, the EU took another step forward by launching its first-ever military operation to help oversee the implementation of a cease-fire in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Since these initial actions, the EU has steadily increased the functional complexity and geographic scope of its foreign security activities, resulting in over thirty such actions undertaken in Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. Taken together, these actions arguably represent the most ambitious security policy initiatives in the history of European integration, and they were instigated with remarkably little public discord or even awareness (Giegerich and Wallace 2004).

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[1] The CSDP operated as the 'European Security and Defence Policy' (ESDP) when most of the actions discussed here were launched. However, for the sake of simplicity I favour the term 'CSDP' throughout this volume.

In other words, the EU deliberately reformed itself in order to conduct highly risky security actions that it had never conducted before, and with an institutional mechanism and material resources that it had never used before. In the process, the EU has deployed thousands of its own citizens into dangerous conflict zones in order to help deal with various problems on the ground. These changes demand an explanation, not least because highly complex international organisations (IOs) do not normally expand the scope of their responsibilities in such a dramatic fashion. The fact that the EU has undertaken these security actions is even more puzzling from the perspective of international relations theory, as European integration has mainly involved socio-economic cooperation for most of its history. Moreover, most EU member states are also members of NATO, a formidable military alliance that provides a 'ready-made' and, some would argue, more appropriate mechanism for advancing European security/defence cooperation (Glaser 1993; Art 1996). Given these factors, some observers doubted an independent EU capacity for such action was even possible in light of the EU's difficulties in the Balkans in the 1990s (Gordon 1997/98; Zielonka 1998; Hoffman 2000). Such doubts were raised again with the EU's divisions over the American-led war in Iraq and related challenges, such as the unprecedented scope of the 2004–07 EU enlargements, which increased the EU's membership from fifteen to twenty-seven member states (Sangiovanni 2003; Shepherd 2003; King 2005).[2]

Yet by undertaking these actions, the EU has demonstrated an ability to act not only as a provider of security services, but as an innovator as well, particularly in terms of its role in state-building and civilian crisis management more generally (Cawthra and Luckham 2003; Kammel 2011). These initiatives also involved a high degree of institutional improvisation as events unfolded. In the words of a former High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, 'There was no EU template for intervening in crisis situations and it was to a large extent a case of "learning by doing"'.[3] In addition, and thanks to its efforts regarding the provision of both civilian and military/police forces, the EU has been asked to take on more conflict resolution and crisis management responsibilities by other IOs, such as the UN and the African Union (AU), and by

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[2] Followed by the accession of Croatia in 2013, making it the twenty-eighth EU member state.
[3] Javier Solana, former High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, in Flessenkemper and Helly 2013: 3.

the governments of conflict-prone states. Thus, as the global demand for various forms of international security assistance has increased since the end of the Cold War (Bellamy and Williams 2005; Gross and Juncos 2011), the EU has deliberately adapted itself to help meet those demands.

In order to understand these major changes in the course of European integration, which is a highly institutionalised process, we need to examine closely the practical relationship between multilateral security cooperation, policy or task expansion, and institutional change. Moreover, as the EU stands alone among regional IOs in its capacity to undertake foreign security assistance actions with a wide range of resources, we also need to understand what, if anything, constitutes the 'European approach' to the difficult tasks of conflict resolution, peace-keeping, and crisis management (Mace 2004). This volume seeks to provide answers to these questions and, in doing so, shed light on more general problems of contemporary multilateral security cooperation and the specific challenges of EU security/defence policy cooperation. Finally, as the EU periodically attempts to reform its foreign/security/defence policy institutions, and develop a European global strategy, in order to enhance its overall global 'actorness',[4] any recommendations for reform should be based on solid evidence about real-world EU decision-making regarding its conduct of a full range of foreign security assistance actions. This volume attempts to provide that evidence.

Understanding the EU as an International Actor

The EU defies easy explanation as a global actor. It exhibits features of an IO, a collective security arrangement, a common market, a great power concert, a security community, an international regime, a federal polity, and a nation-state, thus presenting a major challenge to analysts of inter-national relations, comparative politics, and foreign policymaking (White 1999; Hill and Smith 2011). However, since the end of the Cold War the EU has made dramatic advances in terms of its global presence, not least in the areas of its economic/development functions and Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) more generally and its CSDP mechanism more specifically. The CSDP has in fact become the most 'visible' part of the CFSP, as the effort to launch CSDP actions of various types since 2003 has not only imposed entirely new political and economic costs on EU

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[4] Often referred to in the literature as closing the 'capability-expectations gap'; see Hill 1993.