CANADIAN FORCES COLLEGE / COLLÈGE DES FORCES CANADIENNES

MASTER OF DEFENCE STUDIES

**WHERE THERE IS A WILL THERE IS A WAY:
THE E.U. AS A HYBRID POWER PROJECTOR**

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ABSTRACT

The internal and external debate rages on as to the E.U.'s role on the global security stage. Traditionally recognized as a normative, civilian, post-modern, soft power, the E.U. has demonstrated a new actorness in global affairs of late. Indeed, its ambitions and its rhetoric indicate a willingness to assume a greater role, taking upon its rightful share of the global security burden, along with NATO and the U.S., traditionally recognized as more classical power projectors. **But does the E.U. really have the potential to project its power in a more classical sense, outside its borders?**

Using Raymond Aron's theory on power projection, where he maintains that a political entity's potential for power projection depends on the political **will** that is driving it, on the **capabilities** available to be used, and on the **environment** in which it will be applied, the E.U.'s potential for power projection, in a more classical sense, was assessed.

Overall, it has been demonstrated that without being, and perhaps without becoming a traditional power in the stricter sense of the term such as the U.S. or NATO, the E.U. seems to be endowing itself with an ambition; **the will**, and the power projection **capabilities** which exceed those, in large part, the notions of normative or post-modern power for which it has generally been associated with. Its use of power projection seems to be gradually **evolving** from a typical low risk soft power, uniquely normative and civilian approach, towards a **hybrid power approach**, **not exclusive of military power,** which projects injunction and coercion by military means if required, synergistically with other more civilian means, in order to influence its **immediate environment**.

This analysis will contribute to the growing body of research on the E.U. as a projector of a rather unique form of power and has also put forth interesting questions pertaining to the E.U.'s future.

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INTRODUCTION

The international political scene has seen significant change in the global order since the implosion of the Soviet Union in 1991. The relative world stability brought by the *de facto* "duo-pole"[1] was then replaced by the hegemonic hyper-power of the U.S.. At last, Europe and the rest of the world were poised to cash-in on the peace-dividend brought by the end of the Cold War which was to remain elusive, even non-existent. Instead, the equilibrium upon which the world's structures and institutions rested upon was shattered. Indeed, in the aftermath of 9/11, the American led war in Iraq revealed new fissures in global society in general, as well as a reassertion of American unilateralism and disregard for the rules of collective security upheld by the United Nations.[2]   Hence, given these cases of U.S. unilateralism and interventionism, the world began to view American projection of power as mostly militaristic, even imperialistic and thus regarded by theorists as ***the classical form of power projection***.

More recently, a multitude of factors including those related to globalization, demographics, instability in the Middle-East, the global economic crisis, and the rise of emerging powers, have caused the premise of U.S. hegemonic power to be cast in doubt. Indeed, the dawn of a more multi-polar world seems to be rising according to certain experts.[3] Amidst these new actors stepping onto the global power scene is the European Union (E.U.). Although in existence in some form or another since 1951

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[1] Jean-Marie Le Breton, "Les États-désunis d'Europe dans le monde d'aujourd'hui et demain," *Défense Nationale* 63, no. 7 (2007): 105.

[2] *Ibid.*, 106. Indeed the principles of multilateralism and the U.N.'s authority was discredited and marginalised by the US strategy. Gérard Claude, "Bilan et perspective de la PESD au premier 1998-2008," *Défense Nationale* 64, no. 8 (2008): 16.

[3] Benoit d'Aboville, "L'Occident, l'Europe face aux nouveaux défis," *Défense Nationale* 63, no. 3 (2007): 27. Illustrating this is the fact that emerging powers are now consuming half of the world's energy supplies. Moreover, they were responsible for four fifths of the increase in global petroleum demand for the last five years and hold seventy percent of the world's monetary reserves.

as the European Coal and Steal Community, the E.U. has developed and risen, over time, as a global

economic superpower.[4] With the advent of globalization, the E.U., as a Federation of nation-states, has

enabled its individual Member States to compete successfully and negotiate competitively with the rise

of other emerging powers such as China and India.[5] Today, the economic success story of the E.U.

seems so natural that younger European generations seem to have forgotten just how far it has come

since the end of World War II.[6]   Nonetheless, it appears that European aspirations, instead of

remaining within the realm of internal economic integration, are becoming more diversified on a wider

global perspective and focused on external issues affecting them.[7]

Indeed, it seems that Europe is on the cusp of something bigger than just a regional power and

more than just an economic power.[8] Moreover, analysts are proposing that perhaps the E.U. is in the

midst of a shift towards a more global power approach.[9] Given globalization, and the current state of

mutation in the world power scheme, the E.U. clearly has an opportunity to become a global power in a

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[4] Visuel Interactif, "La situation économique des 27," *Le monde*, (23 April 2009) [newspaper on-line]; available from http://www.lemonde.fr/electionseuropéennes/visuel/2009/04/23/la-situation-economique-des-vingt-sept_1184601_1168667.html; Internet; accessed 10 January 2010.

[5] Le Breton, "Les États-désunis d'Europe dans le monde d'aujourd'hui et demain,". . ., 107.

[6] Catherine Colonna, "L'Europe dans la mondialisation," *Défense Nationale* 63, no. 3 (2007): 5. Catherine Colonna, the current French Ambassador to the UNESCO, represents a portion of the European population, national leaders and other experts' views when she reminds Europeans that they should never forget that such prosperity should not be taken for granted and should be sturdily defended.

[7] Timothy Garton Ash, "Europe's Shape Must Not Be Dictated by Unelected Newspaper Proprietors," *The Guardian*, (5 April 2007) [newspaper on-line] http://www.theguardian.org_e.html; Internet; accessed 13 January 2010. Timothy Garton Ash supports this statement as he wrote: "Where the main achievements of Europe in the past 50 years have been inside Europe, the challenge of the next fifty will be mainly external. For its first half-century, the European project was mainly about what Europeans did to ourselves. For the next half, it will mainly be about Europe in a non-European world."

[8] Colonna, "L'Europe dans la mondialisation,". . ., 5.

[9] James Rogers, "From Civilian Power to Global Power: Explicating the European Union's Grand Strategy through the Articulation of Discourse Theory," *Journal of Common Markets Studies* 47, no. 4 (2009): 837. and Colonna, "L'Europe Dans La Mondialisation,". . ., 5.

world which is no longer bi-polar, nor hegemonically uni-polar. Consequently, some experts even

exhort that it must assume its role as a leader, amongst others, in defining the rules of the game in this

globalization era.[10]

The E.U. as a ***power projector*** has been the subject of great debate as its model is quite unique

and novel in the world.[11] The dominating trends in the debate of the E.U.'s global role have been

predominantly centered on two main "soft power"[12] schools of thought. The first school of thought,

labels it as a normative power, whereby other nations seek to emulate its integrating policies.[13] The

second school of thought labels the E.U. as a civilian power through its efforts in civilizing its

neighbour's, even foreign states' internal policies through civilian efforts vice military efforts in

exchange for the promise of integration in its common market.[14]

Truth be told however, there has been recent debate with regards to the E.U.'s less traditional

and more classical approach towards global power. The debate is centered on whether Europeans are

instigating the inception of a possible European "security culture" or a "strategic culture" or even a

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[10] Colonna, "L'Europe dans la mondialisation,". . ., 5. She synthesizes their thoughts when she states that "spontaneously [when speaking of global issues] the world turns its head, waiting, to hear Europe's voice." and Le Breton, "Les États-désunis d'Europe dans le monde d'aujourd'hui et demain,". . ., 105.

[11] Rogers, "From Civilian Power to Global Power: Explicating the European Union's Grand Strategy through the Articulation of Discourse Theory,". . ., 832.

[12] Joseph S. Jr Nye, "Soft Power," *Foreign Policy* 80, no.1 (Autumn 1990): 153.

[13] Adrian Hyde-Price, *European Security in the Twenty-First Century: The Challenge of Multipolarity* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 107. and Rogers, "From Civilian Power to Global Power: Explicating the European Union's Grand Strategy through the Articulation of Discourse Theory,". . ., 832. Interestingly, Dario Battistella maintains that it is the dual factors of Europe's lack of military capabilities as well as a lack of EU Member State consensus, which brought Europe's call for U.S. intervention in Ex-Yugoslavia, which explains the E.U.'s retreat into its charming ways or seduction operations of normative power projection. He defines normative power as a foreign policy which involves the use of multilateral pacific means in order to seduce other states into doing what they would not have done otherwise. Dario Battistella, "Le concept de puissance: Manuel d'études stratégiques" (manuscrit en cours de publication), 28.

[14] Rogers, "From Civilian Power to Global Power: Explicating the European Union's Grand Strategy through the Articulation of Discourse Theory,". . ., 832. and K.E. Smith, "European Foreign Policy in a Changing World,". . ., 28.

"military culture."[15] This culture would in fact be quite in contrast to the previous qualifiers of normative and civilian power used to describe the E.U. and its foreign policy. This culture would actually be spawning or gaining traction from recent events such as 9/11, the attacks on London and Madrid as well as the Afghanistan and Iraq wars.[16] This new culture, regardless of what it is labelled, has lead to the emergence of a E.U. foreign and security policy which engages the E.U. in what James Rogers would call "high politics"[17] and has also brought the construction of a possible European "grand strategy."[18] Indeed, a wide range of experts and E.U. statesmen and stateswomen, such as Javier Solana,[19] and Benita Ferrero-Waldner,[20] claimed that the E.U., while exercising a more global power role, will be forced to use the full range of its power: economic, normative, civilian, [and] **military** amongst others. In other words, what they call "full instrumental power"[21] in order to deal with threats and challenges.

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[15] Rogers, "From Civilian Power to Global Power: Explicating the European Union's Grand Strategy through the Articulation of Discourse Theory,". . ., 832.

[16] *Ibid*.

[17] *Ibid*.

[18] I. B. Neumann and H. Heikka, "Grand Strategy, Strategic Culture, Practice: The Social Roots of Nordic Practice," *Co-Operation and Conflict: Journal of the Nordic Studies Association,* Vol 40, no. 1 (2005): 5. and Barry Posen, "The European Security Strategy: Practical Implications," *Oxford Journal on Good* Governance, Vol 1, no.1 (2004): 35. According to these references, A grand strategy can be best conceived as a theory about how to achieve security. Security, as a concept, encompasses safety, sovereignty, territorial integrity and power position of states. A grand strategy identifies and prioritizes threats to a state's security, and similarly identifies appropriate political and military remedies. These remedies consist of chains of inter-connected political and military means and ends, including military forces, intelligence capabilities, alliances, defence industry, foreign aid programmes etc. In other words, the grand strategy, as interpreted by Posen , is a way in which to identify, protect from and respond to certain threats and challenges. Therefore, a E.U. Security Strategy, which would qualify as a grand strategy as identified by Posen, would logically identify threats and challenges and submit ways to protect from and deal with them

[19] When he was the High Representative of the Common Foreign Security Policy

[20] The European Commissioner for External Relations

[21] Rogers, "From Civilian Power to Global Power: Explicating the European Union's Grand Strategy through the Articulation of Discourse Theory,". . ., 839.

It is definitely granted that the E.U. is an economic power, maybe even a normative or civilian power. However, can the E.U. exercise a more classical global role and project its full instrumental power, including military power, outside of the European continent? Does it have the military capabilities to do so? Does it have the will to do so? Has it done so in the past? Could it do so in the future?

While the E.U. is mostly renowned for its more "civilian normative approach"[22] in employing its full instrumental power in its foreign policy actions, this paper will focus on the E.U.'s military power. More specifically, it will assess the E.U.'s potential in projecting its power, in a more classical sense, outside of Europe's boundaries.

In fact, it will be argued that without being, and even perhaps without becoming a traditional power in the stricter sense of the term, the E.U. seems to be endowing itself with an ambition and the power projection capabilities which exceed those, in large part, of the notions of Normative or Post-Modern power for which it has generally been associated to. Its use of power projection seems to be gradually shifting from a typical soft power, uniquely normative and civilian, towards a political entity which is increasingly willing to resort, only if necessary, to a form of hybrid power which also includes injunction and coercion by military means in order to influence others.

The results of this study will first contribute to the already existing body of research which indicates clear signals that the E.U. is attempting to play a much more active role in global security. Second and more specifically, it will provide an assessment of the E.U.'s potential for military power

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[22] Eva Gross, *EU and the Comprehensive Approach,* DIIS - Danish Institute for International Studies, (2008): 4.

projection, a more classical aspect of power, which has remained more or less a taboo for most Europeans and has been cause for much debate and controversy in Europe and around the world.

The E.U.'s potential for classical power projection will be analyzed through a series of logical steps. As a precursor to the analysis, it will be established how the term *power projection* will be interpreted from a uniquely European perspective.   Using [this] understanding of European power projection, a framework for analysis, proposed by Raymond Aron, an international power theorist from a more classical perspective, will be put forward. The analysis will then be conducted, using the three submitted elements of power as described in Raymond Aron's classical power projection model. Briefly, Raymond Aron maintains that a political entity's potential for power projection is something which is tremendously complex to measure, but if attempted should be based on three broad inter-related and traditionally mutually supporting **elements of power**. These three elements of power according to Aron, of **will**, **capability** and **environment,** are factors that have stood the test of time in the analysis of great powers. Hence, it can be logically deduced that if the E.U., in the analysis of its elements of power according to Aron, demonstrates that it has the will to project its power, the capacity to do so and the environment which permits it to do it, then it will have been demonstrated that the E.U. has the potential to project its power in a more classical sense.

FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

 Power Projection: The E.U.'s Perspective

In order to assess if the E.U. has the potential to project its power in a more classical sense, it is critical to understand what is in fact power projection? It is a term holding different meaning depending on which political entity is employing it. From the American perspective, the foremost projectors of military power throughout the world, it is defined as the ability of a nation to apply its primary element of national power; its military power to rapidly and effectively deploy and sustain forces in and from multiple dispersed locations to respond to crises, to contribute to deterrence, and to enhance regional stability.[23] Indeed, from Aron's point of view, power projection on the international scene is a political entity's capacity to impose its will on others.[24] It is important to raise a critical nuance before analysis begins. As stated by Jean-Paul Baquiast, a prominent European thinker from a European perspective, not wanting to paint the U.S. as Imperialists, power does not have to be projected in an imperialistic manner, but could be accomplished in a more humanistic manner.[25] It is from this perspective, a more humanistic approach, that the E.U.'s potential for power projection will be analyzed. As such, in order to properly analyse the question of power projection from a E.U. perspective, it will be necessary to explore the E.U.'s Security Strategy, which attempts to clarify what kind of actor or power the E.U. wants to be, as well as the E.U. Security and Defence Policy which looks at the will and capacity to have a credible and useful intervention mechanism. Both of these will be developed and analysed in the following chapters.

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[23] U.S. Department of Defense, ed., Publication 1-02DoD, *Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, (ed. Joint: 19 August 2009), 59.

[24] Dario Battistella, "Le concept de puissance: Manuel d'études stratégiques" (manuscrit en cours de publication), 12.

[25] Jean-Paul Baquiast, "Les peuples européens s'interdisent la puissance," *Europesolidaire*, [journal on-line]; http://www.europesolidaire.eu/article.php?article_id=82; Internet; accessed 1 Jan 2010.

Analysis Model: Raymond Aron's Elements of Power

In order to demonstrate that the E.U. has the potential to project its power outside of Europe, and considering the definition of power projection in the paragraph above, analysis will be conducted from the perspective on power and international relations proposed by Raymond Aron a prominent international relations theorist. It is paradoxical that Raymond Aron's theory is so applicable in this case. Paradoxical, first, because Aron's realist thoughts at the time, in the early 1960's, came far before the advent of the E.U. as an emerging global power. Furthermore, they were conceptualized during the Vietnam War era, which was a classical example, although disastrous for the U.S., of American power projection against the expansion of Communism.[26] Paradoxical, second, is the fact that Aron certainly did not foresee such important developments in the E.U. project of late. [27] Notwithstanding, Aron's model is ideal for analysis as it focuses predominantly on the classical military aspects of power projection.[28] Furthermore, it is not unjustly biased for the E.U., as Aron mainly focuses his analysis on other powers such as the U.S., Russia, Germany and Japan and the elements which enabled them to project their power. Moreover, his model is quite applicable for analysis, as he had already given some thought, although not in great detail, on Europe's future from a 1960's perspective.[29]

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[26] Raymond Aron, *Paix et guerre entre les nations*, 6e revue et corrigée ed. (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1962), 12.

[27] *Ibid*., 732-733. In fact, he expected that the European Common Market would never achieve the status of a federation, nor would it ever achieve a global power status as he understood it, because it was strictly based on economic and administrative treaties, without any unified military capabilities, or will to use them, and therefore would be unable to project its power

[28] Christian Malis, "Raymond Aron et le concept de puissance," *Institut de Stratégie Comparée, Commission francaise d'histoire militaire, Institut d'histoire des conflits contemporains*, [journal on-line]; available from http://www.stratisc.org/act/Malis_POWERII.htnl; Internet; accessed 10 August 2009.

[29] Aron, *Paix et guerre entre les nations. . .*, 732-733.

From Aron's perspective, power is the ability of a political entity to impose its will on others. Aron's theory on power and international relations focuses on the fact that power is a means and not an end in itself; a human relation, which is much more difficult to measure or quantify than military force itself.[30] ***The centrality of Aron's theory is that power is relative because it depends on the political will that is driving it, on the means available to be used, and on the environment in which it will be applied***.[31]

In Aron's development of his theory, he also considers ideas from other prominent thinkers of international relations and power such as Spykman, Morgenthau and Steinmetz.[32] Aron admits that the elements of power raised by these thinkers, definitely contributed to a political entity's force, but that those lists were too specific, were too mathematical and not of general applicability, constantly through time.[33] On the contrary, Aron's elements of power, while not exactly measurable, are strong indicators of a political entity's potential for imposing its will on others. He also believes that these elements of power are timeless in their applicability and interrelated, mutually affecting each other.[34] Hence, it is from these three elements of power that the E.U.'s potential for power projection will be analysed.

In Aron's terms, his first element of power is the political entity's capacity for collective action. This element of power, according to Aron, encompasses a political entity's **will to project it power**.[35]

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[30] Aron, *Paix et guerre entre les nations. . .*, 59.

[31] *Ibid.*, 59.

[32] *Ibid.*, 63. In order to see a list of those he considered and what elements of power they had taken into account in their writings, consult the reference.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] Aron, *Paix et guerre entre les nations . . .*, 64. Indeed, Battistella confirms Aron's intent, when he writes that according to his interpretation of Aron's theory, power projection on the international scene will see the triumph of a political entity's will over another's. Dario Battistella, "Le concept de puissance: Manuel d'études stratégiques,". . ., 12.

From this perspective, it is necessary to examine the E.U.'s internal organisations, strategies, plans, treaties and policies which would affect and demonstrate its will to project its power. Furthermore, previous instances of E.U. power projection will also be gauges of its will to project power.

Aron's second element of power is resources, which he describes as a political entity's materiel resources and the knowledge required to transform and use them.[36] As such, resources will be interpreted as the **E.U.'s broad capabilities**. In this sense it would be important to examine the initial capabilities, the current status of E.U. capabilities for classical power projection, and its development of future capabilities and their progress.

Lastly, Aron's third element of power is a political entity's milieu. He describes it as the space occupied by the political entity or as the space where the action is taking place.[37] Therefore, milieu will be interpreted in its narrower sense as the **E.U.'s immediate environment.** The analysis of this element of power will be conducted first more extrospectively, by examining external forces affecting the E.U.'s potential to project its power and second by examining, more introspectively, how the E.U. is attempting to affect its immediate environment.

Consequently, these three elements of power, which will be used to analyse the E.U.'s potential for power projection, even in their larger interpretation, remain consistent with Aron's principle that:

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[35] Aron, *Paix et guerre entre les nations . . .*, 65.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] *Ibid.*

> . . . the power of a political entity is based on the scene of its action, and the capacity and will to use the materiel and human resources that are provided to it.[38]

It is important to note at this point that some factors raised within the examination of these elements of power could be strongly demonstrative of a political entity's will to project its power, as well as a strong indicator of its capability to do so. As such, a factor listed below within a particular part such as the will of the E.U., could also later be described as an element of a political entity's capabilities in another part. Hence, these occurrences should not be construed as repetition but as continued analysis from a different angle.

Let us now begin the analysis of the E.U.'s potential for power projection. The first element of power to be examined will be the E.U.'s will to project its power.

PART I – THE E.U.'S WILL TO PROJECT POWER

The E.U.'s will to project its power will be examined through four complementary angles. Hence, the first chapter will examine the **three real power brokers** of E.U. power projection.[39] The analysis of the will of these power brokers and the interrelations within the principal triad of European power projection, will serve to evaluate if the E.U., has the collective will to project its power outside of Europe. Subsequently, the second chapter will look at the development of the **emerging European**

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[38] Aron, *Paix et guerre entre les nations . . .*, 65.

[39] The use of the three power brokers to evaluate European Union will is very much a realist perspective and would certainly not be endorsed by the believers of a true transnational dynamic within the E.U. (liberals and transnationalists). Hence, the will of the E.U. will also be examined from other angles, in subsequent chapters, which speak of this potential E.U. transnational dynamic.

Security Culture embodied by the European Security and Defence Policy (**ESDP**)[40] and the European Security Strategy (**ESS**). These policies and strategies are reflections of the collective will of the European people. Hence their inherent messages, their objectives and implementation logically represent the will of the people as well. It will be evaluated if the emerging European Security Culture, if there is indeed one, through the ESDP and the ESS, carries a message which corroborates that the E.U. has the intent to play a much more classical role in the global security arena. In the same vein, the third chapter will analyze the **E.U.'s decision-making, politico-institutional framework**, which enables it to decide to project its power. The ability to collectively decide to project power is inevitably linked to a political entity's will to project power, thus if demonstrated, it would contribute positively to the argument that the E.U. has the will to project its power outside of Europe. Finally, the next chapter will examine **E.U. operations** which have been undertaken. Hence, these will be examined to determine if they are in fact instances, tangible demonstrations, of E.U. will in projecting its power in a more classical sense, outside of its boundaries.

Chapter 1. The Three E.U. Power Brokers

In examining the E.U.'s will to project its power, in a more classical way, as a collective it is critical to first look at the real power brokers of E.U. power projection, what their stance is on the subject and how they are influencing it. The analysis will focus, from a politico/military perspective on **France, the U.K. and Germany**. Indeed, up to a recent past, all three were major international powers which played significant roles in world history and continue to play major roles on the global security

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[40] The acronym ESDP has been recently changed to the Common Security and Defence Policy the (CSDP). Having said this the term ESDP is still widely recognized and will be used throughout this analysis.

scene to this day, comparatively to other E.U. Member States.[41] Furthermore the trio have the largest

and arguably the most modern armed forces within the E.U.[42] and all three are considered the main

"*moteurs*"; the main engines of the European defence project.[43] They also play pivotal roles within the

greater E.U. integration project as well as with other interregional security and economic actors and

alliances.[44] .

1.1. United Kingdom

Although a definite power broker, the United Kingdom (U.K.) has been sending mixed signals

with regards to its support for the European defence and security project, especially when E.U.

relationships with NATO or the U.S. are concerned. The U.K.'s rhetoric of support for the E.U. defence

and security project has ebbed and flowed depending on the approval or disapproval of the U.S. for

specific initiatives.[45] At first, although it recognized the requirement for a stronger European security

culture, stemming from earlier European failures in Ex Yugoslavia, the U.K. seemed reluctant to fully

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[41] See Figure 1. for a list of European Union Member States.

[42] Jolyon Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 100-101. Table 4.2. Of significant note with regards to capabilities of the trio, both France and the U.K. possess nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them.

[43] Jean-Dominique Giuliani, "L'Europe de la défense a l'aube de la présidence française De l'UE," *Défense Nationale* 64, no. 7 (2008): 92.

[44] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union. . .*, 5. Germany, France, and the U.K., are all three members of NATO, and the G8, and France and the U.K. hold permanent seats in the United Nations Security Council. Of note, the E.U. has the privileges and obligations of membership of the G8, but does not host/chair summits. It is represented by the Commission and Council Presidents. Further justifying the use of the "Big Three"in the assessment of EU will to project power, the Franco-British Summit in Saint-Malo brought on the birth of the E.U. as a security actor. Although the European integration project began in 1947 with defence as its main pillar, it is only after the St-Malo Summit, in December 1998, that France, the U.K. and Germany edged the E.U. into bestowing upon itself the wherewithal to become a credible and autonomous security actor.

[45] Gérard Claude, "Bilan et perspectives de la PESD (1998-2008)," *Défense Nationale* 64, no. 8 (2008): 18.

commit both resources and personnel to the European defence project.[46] Case in point, the U.K.

maintained a more Atlantist approach rather than a European one to global security and stability when it

sided with the Americans for the invasion of Iraq in 2003 despite strong protest from the other two

power brokers.[47] However, a few months later, Prime Minister Tony Blair[48] advocated for the creation

of a European Planning Headquarters, independent of the Atlantic Alliance in order to enhance the

E.U.'s capabilities in crisis management.[49] Indeed, with the ensuing U.S. hegemony after the fall of the

Berlin Wall and as Europe ceases to be the "epicentre of U.S. security policy"[50] as American strategists

and policy makers shift their focus from the oriental borders of Europe to the Middle-East and Asia,

U.K. government officials of the Blair administration felt that it was increasingly likely that the E.U.

would be asked to assume a greater share of the burden for regional and global stability.[51] Taking this

perspective into account, it is possible that the U.K. will progressively align itself more and more with

the E.U. approach to defence and security as it has recently demonstrated in its move to lead and

actively contribute to the E.U.'s anti-piracy mission Atalanta off the coasts of Somalia.[52] The U.K.'s

recent agreement with other European states to purchase a combined Strategic Airlift Capability with the

A400 aircraft is testimony to the UK's increasing will to play a more active role in the E.U. defence and

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[46] *Ibid.*, 18.

[47] *Ibid.*, 18.

[48] Tony Blair was initially considered as a candidate for the E.U. Council Presidency in 2009.

[49] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union . . .*, 39. Coincidentally or not, American support for the increase in European defence and security capabilities followed suite shortly thereafter.

[50] *Ibid., 5.*

[51] Dirk Peters, *Constrained Balancing: The UK, Germany, and ESDP* (Mainz Germany: 2007): 27. and Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union . . .*, 143. Some experts also claim that U.K. shift from scepticism to support for the ESDP is mostly due to constrained balancing of U.S. global influence.

[52] Council of the European Union, "EUNAVFOR Somalia," http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=1518&lang=en; Internet; accessed 20 January 2010.

security project.[53] Furthermore, the U.K. has pledged troop contributions and the use of its operational

headquarters, the British Provisional Joint Headquarters, for the rapid intervention European

Battlegroups[54], as well as playing a major role in convincing the more "Atlanticist-leaning new

accession members from Central and Eastern European States to embrace this concept"[55] and participate

actively in the manning of these high readiness units, thus demonstrating British will to play a more

important role in the European defence and security project. However, the current British Prime

Minister Gordon Brown has remained aloof of the European defence and security project since public

support at home has dwindled for British military operations in general, perhaps an aftermath of heavy

demands on U.K.'s national treasure, in lives and money, for operations in Afghanistan and Iraq and the

crippling effects of defence budgetary constraints brought by the global economic crisis.[56] Of

significant concern to Europeans and proponents of a more conciliatory U.K. in European security

affairs, David Cameron, the current leader of the Conservative Party and the country's likely next Prime

Minister, has made it part of his political platform that he will attempt to pass a series of bills that would

curtail the further transfer of authorities from London to Brussels and would allow the U.K. to opt out of

E.U. rules concerning certain elements of social, judicial and employment policies.[57] Cameron's

proposals highlight a central issue to the whole E.U. debate which can be extrapolated to the premise

proposed by this thesis in which the Member State's willingness plays a central role in its embracing of

European integration or its focus on national prerogatives.

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[53] U.K. Foreign and Commonwealth Service Office, "Franco-British Summit: Strengthening European Cooperation in Security and Defense," *Defense-Aerospace*, [journal on-line] available from http://www.defense-aerospace.com/article-view/verbatim/29324/defense-declaration-from-french_uk-summit.html; Internet; accessed 25 January 2010.

[54] The term Battlegroup will be further examined in the capabilities part of the analysis.

[55] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union. . .*, 148.

[56] Bastien Irondelle et Ronja Kempin, "La coopération Franco-Allemande a l'épreuve," *Défense Nationale* 64, no. 8 (2008): 29. What seems paradoxical is that both these operations were held well outside of the ESDP.

[57] Anthony Gardner Luzzato, Stuart E. Eizenstat and Idrisss AL Rifai, "New Treaty, New Influence: Europe's Chance to Pucnh its Weight," *Foreign Affairs* 89, no. 2 (2010): 104.

1.2. France

It is safe to say that France is a strong if not the strongest proponent of the European defence and security project.[58] France desperately wants to create a "Europe that can act in response to today's challenges"[59] which will not only be recognized for its institutional quarrelling and growing pains, but for its actions. France has clearly demonstrated its will to enhance the European defence and security project when its President Nicholas Sarkozy assumed the rotating presidency of the E.U. in 2008. The president ensured that the "*relance*"[60] of the ESDP was the top priority in his work programme for his term at the helm of the E.U. [61] Furthermore, France has recently re-joined the ranks of NATO, a move seen by many as one which will reinforce the E.U. defence and security project and dissipate any thoughts that the E.U. is trying to compete or rival with the Atlantic Alliance's military capabilities.[62] In fact, many seem to think that France's decision to re-join NATO was a move to "Europeanize"[63] the Alliance by which Europe would assume much more of the burden for its own security. In the context of a Europe which is long overdue to impose itself onto the international scene as a full fledged power, France is trying to make the rest of Europe understand that there can be no common E.U. foreign policy

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[58] Hervé Morin, "Penser l'europe de demain," *Défense Nationale* 64, no. 7 (2008): 23.

[59] Irondelle and Kempin, "La Coopération Franco-Allemande a l'épreuve,". . ., 29.

[60] *Ibid*., 29.

[61] François Fillon, "Une Europe souveraine et influente," *Défense Nationale* 64, no. 7 (2008): 17. For example, France was the strongest proponent of the Lisbon Treaty and a catalyst with regards to European mobilization for its ratification. The treaty, when it comes into force in January 2010, will potentially give more teeth to the E.U. when it comes to external intervention. However, given that it is so early in its coming into force, it is virtually impossible to assess how it will affect the E.U.'s potential for power projection. Hence, the Lisbon Treaty will not be a part of this analysis.

[62] Catherine Hoeffler, "L'Union Européenne et l'OTAN dans le Livre Blanc," *Défense Nationale* 64, no. 7 (2008): 146. and Jean-Dominique Giulianni, "L'Europe de la défense a l'aube de la présidence francaise de l'UE," *Défense* Nationale 64, no.7 (2008): 93. This is quite contrary to what previous French governments were proposing. In fact, De Gaulle and Chirac's governments viewed the European security and defence project as an alternative to NATO.

[63] Camille Grand, "Sarkozy's 3-Way NATO Bet," *The Moscow Times*, sec. Opinion, 25 January 2010, [newspaper on-line] available from http://www.themoscowtimes.com_e_html.; Internet; accessed 4 February 2010.

without a credible E.U. defence.[64] According to France in fact, in order to respond to common European threats and challenges, a strong European defence is a strategic necessity.[65] Not only must this defence capability be credible, but it must also be autonomous and complimentary to NATO's military capabilities.

France has not only demonstrated its will on a diplomatic or political level with regards to the European defence and security project. More concretely, France has led the charge for review of and increase of military capabilities. It was an active leader in the European A400 Strategic Airlift Project, in the construction of a European Naval Task Group as well as in the creation of a European Strategic Transport Command for both air and sea capabilities.[66] It also lead the way for a review of the 2003 ESS, in order to ensure that it still responded to the widening of the Petersburg Tasks brought by the Lisbon Treaty. France was also a pioneer in the project for revitalisation of the European defence industry in order to ensure it remained competitive globally and a leader in research and development.[67] France was a major contributor to the Erasmus programme which encourages cooperative military training and exchanges of ideas for E.U. officers.[68] With regards to troop contributions and planning capabilities, France has contributed to E.U. Battlegroups and has volunteered the use one of its operational headquarters for E.U. operational planning. It has led E.U. operations in Chad and Congo and it is an active contributor in manpower, financial and materiel resources, in other E.U. missions.

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[64] Claude, "Bilan et perspectives de la PESD (1998-2008),". . ., 14.

[65] *Ibid*. These common threats and challenges will be covered in Part III.

[66] Morin, "Penser l'Europe de demain,". . ., 25.

[67] *Ibid*.

[68] *Ibid*.

Finally, France's zeal in pushing forward the European security and defence project has not only had positive effects. It has also engendered some level of scepticism of France's motivations from Germany and the U.K.[69] This scepticism tended to cool relations between the three engines of the E.U. during the recent French presidency of the E.U. Council. Nonetheless, France maintains that it used its presidency of the European Council to dispel any misperceptions and stereotypes about its intentions for ESDP. Furthermore, with France's reinsertion within NATO, Germany has found a new ally in its effort to prevent NATO enlargement to its neighbours, Ukraine and Georgia, as well as curtailing a Global NATO.[70] In the end however, it seems that France's true intent with regards to its reinsertion within NATO and its motivations behind its *élan* for the ESDP, have been sufficiently muddied to cause prudence and hesitance by the other two power brokers.[71]

1.3. Germany

When analyzing Germany as a E.U. defence and security power broker, it would appear at first glance that it is strongly committed to making this project work. It has been a strong vocal supporter of the ESDP..[72] It also endorsed the ambitious aims set out by the 2004 Headline Goal 2010[73] to overcome

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[69] Irondelle et Kempin, "La coopération Franco-Allemande a l'épreuve,". . ., 34. Indeed with France's re-instatement within NATO, there is belief within the U.K. leadership that this is but another French strategy to marginalize the U.K.'s role within NATO, and that France is ultimately vying for the status of preferred European partner with the U.S. It is maintained that this feeling is shared by Germany. Furthermore, there is belief within Germany that France's motivation for ESDP is to get other European States to pay for its agenda in Africa. An agenda which is not shared in Germany which is much more focused on its orient and less to its south..

[70] *Ibid.*, 35

[71] *Ibid.*, 36

[72] Franz-Josef Meiers, "Dossier Security and Defence: Germany is the ESDP's Reluctant Third Musketeer," *Europe's World* (2007), [journal on-line] available from http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/ArticleView/ArticleID/20671/Default.aspx; Internet; accessed 10 February 2010. In fact Germany stood ready to commit a contingent of up to eighteen thousand soldiers to the E.U.'s fifty to sixty thousand strong Rapid Reaction Force

identified deficiencies in E.U. military preparedness, effectiveness, deployability, interoperability and sustainability. Moreover, it was part of a tri-partite initiative, with the other two power brokers, to create a European Planning Cell within the European Military Staff back in 2003. Most indicative of its apparent support was its efforts in driving for the creation of thirteen rapid reaction Battlegroups. Indeed, more concretely, Germany will contribute fifteen hundred troops for one Battlegroup of its own and contribute to three other multinational Battlegroups in the years to come. Of significant note, Germany was the lead nation in the E.U.'s mission to Kinshasa (EU RD Congo) in 2006 and has been involved in Operation ALTHEA in Ex-Yugoslavia.

Notwithstanding, a second look will reveal glaring gaps in Germany's commitment to the European defence and security project.[74] The first gap is Germany's defence spending when compared to the other two power brokers who have committed to greater defence spending. For example, if Germany were to follow guidelines established by NATO for defence spending, it would have to boost its current defence spending by fifty percent.[75] The 1.3 percent earmarked for German defence spending in 2007 was a demonstration that this trend, of lower than expected defence spending, would be perpetuated in the near future. In fact, the German White Paper on security policy and the future of the Bundeswehr of October 2007 stated that "the tense relationship between defence requirements and financial needs for other state tasks will continue in the future."[76] The second gap is based on German forces capabilities. There are clear limitations to German capabilities in strategic transport, global reconnaissance and advanced communications which are all key aspects, capabilities wise, for the

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[73] The Headline Goal 2010 will be covered in Part II.

[74] Franz-Josef Meiers, "Dossier Security and Defence: Germany is the ESDP's Reluctant Third Musketeer," *Europe's World* (2007). . .

[75] *Ibid*.

[76] *Ibid*.

projection of power. Having said this, Germany has supported the European project for the acquisition

of a strategic lift capability like the A400 transport aircraft. Given that no budgetary provisions have

been made for the actual acquisition of these aircraft by Germany, and that its defence budget will in all

likelihood not increase dramatically over the next few years, it is doubtful that it will be able to keep its

commitments to such projects. The third gap is that the German force's capabilities, with approximately

seventy-five hundred troops deployed abroad are largely exhausted. Truth be told, Germany's Defence

Minister wanted to use its E.U. mission in Kinshasa, a four month deployment of merely 780 troops with

limited range, as they were confined to the capital, as a model for the use of German forces.[77]

Although Germany may have demonstrated an elevated level of international diplomatic will to

participate in the European defence and security project, it is quite unlikely that it will be successful, at

least in the short term, to fill the abovementioned gaps. These gaps will render it difficult to transform

current German forces into more expeditionary forces.

Furthermore, Germany's "culture of reticence"[78] will almost certainly impede on the rapid

transformation of the Bundeswehr into an expeditionary force capable of future involvement in

multinational military missions. Germany's national strategic culture is another significant domestic

limitation to Germany's participation in the European defence and security project. This aspect will be

analysed later in this chapter as the strategic cultures of all three power brokers will be compared with

each other. Furthermore, Germany's increasing assertiveness in foreign policy and sometimes

unwillingness to subordinate its national interests to those of the E.U. may continue to complicate the

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[77] Franz-Josef Meiers, "Dossier Security and Defence: Germany is the ESDP's Reluctant Third Musketeer," *Europe's World* (2007). . .

[78] *Ibid*.

search for consensus among E.U. members, especially on issues of particular concern to Germany such as energy security and relations with Russia.[79] This would be further exacerbated by Croatia's and Macedonia's accession to the E.U. as they would probably be closely aligned with German divergences.

1.4. Strategic Cultures of the Power Brokers

There are fundamental differences in the strategic cultures of the three E.U. power brokers. To start with, there is the divisive issue of the use of military power. The U.K. and France are of those who think that military power plays a vital role in sound coercive diplomacy.[80] They favour a proactive global defence and security policy which includes robust military intervention in extreme circumstances. Of note, both countries already possess modern expeditionary forces and have in the past adopted a more interventionist approach (Falklands, Indochina, Algeria). Germany on the other hand is of those who see the E.U. as primarily "a civilian actor with a clear preference for non-military solutions."[81] According to Germany, the E.U. represents its commitment to "institutionalized multilateralism"[82], the supremacy of international law, the central role of the United Nations Security Council and the need for non-military preventative engagement. Despite this, Germany has made significant military contributions in Afghanistan and Lebanon, as well as ensuring progress in the development of the ESDP during its E.U. presidency in 2007.

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[79] Gardner Luzzato, Eizenstat and AL Rifai, "New Treaty, New Influence: Europe's Chance to Pucnh its Weight,". . ., 110. EU relations with Russia will be covered in Part III.

[80] Meiers, "Dossier Security and Defence: Germany is the ESDP's Reluctant Third Musketeer,". . .

[81] *Ibid*.

[82] *Ibid*.

There are other numerous distinctions in the strategic cultures of the three power brokers, such as conscription in Germany. The German government maintains that conscription binds together the army to society and the citizen to the state.[83] It also feels that a citizen's army is a good safeguard against military interventionism around the world. This aspect ties into Germany's efforts in ensuring that the E.U.'s use of military force is primarily as a supportive element of a "comprehensive approach"[84] to a civilian led engagement in international or intranational conflicts. Germany, contrarily to France and the U.K., de-emphasizes the use of the military as an instrument of foreign and security policy. Germany maintains that military force should only be used in precisely defined circumstances and then only as a last resort and as a result of rule-based decisions emanating from the United Nations Security Council for more humanitarian causes than imperialistic ones. France and the U.K. are generally supportive of the German argument, especially with regards to the comprehensive approach, the humanistic value of intervention and the respect for the rule of law. However, they also believe that Europe should be able to decide for itself, where, when, why and how it will intervene in order to deal with global threats and challenges. Although the U.K. has tended to be more ambiguous on that specific question.

The U.K. is also perceived as the more "Atlantist" of the three, as it seems hesitant to align itself with Europe rather than with the U.S. and NATO. France and Germany on the other hand seem to be more aligned with the E.U.'s defence and security project.

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[83] Meiers, "Dossier Security and Defence: Germany is the ESDP's Reluctant Third Musketeer,". . .

[84] Jean-Pierre Tiffou, "Le merveilleux destin de la politique de sécurité et de défense commune," *Défense Nationale* 64, no. 7 (2008): 36. and Dirk Peters, *Constrained Balancing: The UK, Germany, and ESDP* (Mainz Germany: 2007): 27. For instance, German caveats to NATO in the employment of its troops in Afghanistan are a prime example.

Notwithstanding, all three E.U. power brokers, even other emerging ones such as Italy, Spain, and Poland are painfully aware that nothing good has come out of a disunited Europe.[85] The European paralysis during the Balkan wars, where the power brokers did not take the initiative to prevent the crisis, as well as the cleavages caused by the rift over European support for the Iraq war, are clear signs, read by all, that nationalistic primacy over European collective good is a dangerous game to play. Hence, especially concerning the European defence and security project of late, E.U. power brokers are seemingly using their differences in strategic cultures less as ways to paralyze or impede the development process, but more as ways to ensure it develops, slowly but surely, in the right direction. As such all three power brokers are quite active in the development and refinement of the ESDP as well as the ESS.

1.5. Assessment – Do the Power Brokers Have the Will?

It has been demonstrated that the three E.U. power brokers, France, U.K. and Germany have made significant, tangible contributions to the E.U. defence and security project. All three have led or been involved in E.U. military operations outside of Europe, and have contributed personnel, materiel, funds and capabilities in order to allow the E.U. to project its military power outside of Europe.

Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that all three power brokers have made significant diplomatic and financial commitments with regards to defence and security capability enhancement projects as well as to policy and decisional architecture advancements. These projects will facilitate the development of European power projection capabilities whether from a planning, from a strategic

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[85] Le Breton, "Les États-Désunis d'Europe dans le monde d'aujourd'Hui et demain,". . ., 110.

transport and movements, or from a collective training perspective. These capabilities will be developed in greater detail in chapter two.

It has also been demonstrated that all three power brokers are generally supportive of the development of the European defence and security project. However, it has also been demonstrated that differences in strategic cultures are omnipresent between the three power brokers. These strategic culture differences are focused mostly on the divergence in emphasis on the use of military force as a means of foreign and security policy. Although all three power brokers agree that the use of military power should be as a means of last resort, within the rule of law and for humanistic causes, France and the U.K. seem less risk averse than Germany when it comes to more forceful use of their militaries especially in high intensity conflicts. More so than Germany it seems, France and the U.K. feel that Europe should be able to decide what are the threats and challenges it faces and act on them, militarily if necessary.

In summary, it has been demonstrated that France, the U.K. and Germany, when it comes to the E.U. defence and security project, have demonstrated different levels of will to project their power outside of Europe. In general all three have demonstrated a certain level of commitment to the European security and defence project. However, it seems that opposing visions with regards to strategic cultures such as the actual employment of a nation's military forces will constrain the employment of E.U. military forces to more humanistic type missions, in a more comprehensive approach to foreign and security policy. Moreover, it seems that other factors, such as American support for a particular E.U.

mission, national considerations, and even purely economic factors may limit or hamper the E.U.'s

ability to project its power outside of Europe to more "lowest common denominator"[86] type solutions.

Figure 1. The E.U. Member States[87]
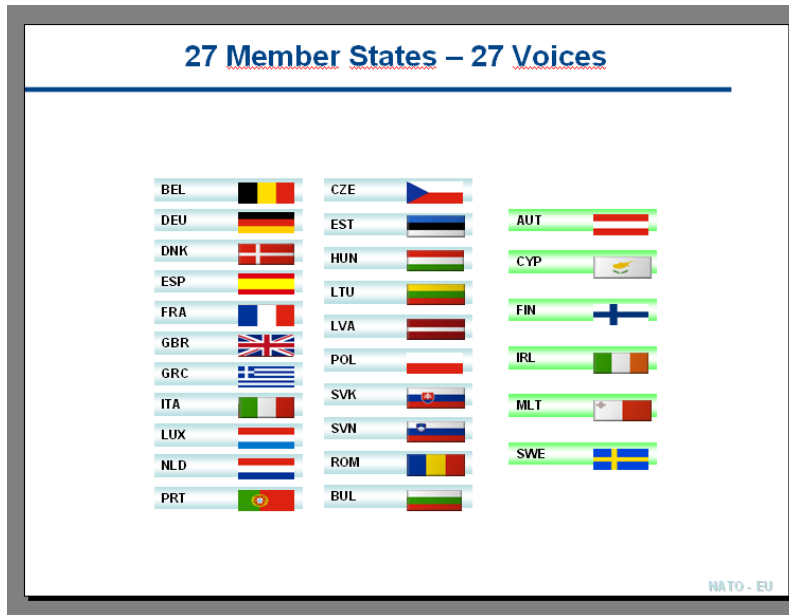
Chapter 2. The Emerging European Security Culture

The second aspect which will be used to assess the E.U.'s will to project its power outside of

Europe will be the analysis of the emergence of a European security culture which is embodied, from a

policy perspective, by the **ESDP** and the **ESS**. The messages contained in these policies and strategies

as well as their implementation should be a reasonable reflection of the will of the European people and

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[86] Daniel C. Thomas, "Explaining the Negotiation of EU Foreign Policy: Normative Institutionalism and Alternative Approaches," *International Politics* 46, no. 4 (2009): 350.

[87] Steven Everts and Heather Grabbe, "Why does the E.U. Need a Security Strategy," *Centre for European Reform*, [journal on-line]; available from http://www.cer.org.uk/pdf/briefing_security_everts_grabbe.pdf; Internet; accessed 23 February 2010.

the E.U. as a collective entity.[88] Hence, it will be assessed, in the analysis of the messages contained in these policies and their implementation, if Europeans want to play a more global role in facing their challenges and threats and have henceforth, the will to project E.U. power outside of Europe.

Traditionally, elements of security and defence were more identified with and perceived as national prerogatives.[89] In the last decade or so, there has been a significant change in the lens from which most Europeans view these same issues. This lens, which composes the Strategic Culture of the citizens of Europe, seems to have shifted from a nationalistic shade to a more European shade.[90] But really, what is a European Strategic Culture? Christopher Meyer, ex British ambassador to the U.S. and theorist of Strategic Culture offers a definition, shared in essence by other experts.[91] For the sake of demonstration, **European Strategic Culture** will be seen as:

> . . . the socially transmitted, identity-derived norms, ideas, and patterns of behaviour that are shared among a broad majority of actors and social groups within a given security community, which help to shape a ranked set of options for a community's pursuit of security and defence goals.[92]

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[88] Henri Bentégeat, "Défense et sécurité européennes," *Défense Nationale* 65, no. 2 (2009): 143. In fact Europeans are calling for it. Henri Bentégéat writes that "Europe needs not only a common vision of its challenges and stakes of its environment, but it also needs a clear conscience of what she is and what she can be."

[89] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union . . .*, 178.

[90] Christopher O. Meyer, *The Quest for a European Strategic Culture: Changing Norms on Security and Defence in the E.U.* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 528. and Nicole Gnessoto, "EU, US: Visions of the World, Visions of the Other," in *Shift Or Rift: Assessing US-EU Relations After Iraq*, ed. Gustav Lindstrom (Paris: Institute for Security Studies European Union, 2003), 18. and Henri Bentégeat, "Défense et sécurité européennes," *Défense Nationale* 65, no. 2 (2009): 143.

[91] Nicole Gnessoto, "EU, US: Visions of the World, Visions of the Other,". . ., 18. and Christopher O. Meyer, *The Quest for a European Strategic Culture: Changing Norms on Security and Defence in the E.U. . . .*, 520.

[92] Meyer, *The Quest for a European Strategic Culture: Changing Norms on Security and Defence in the E.U. . . ..*, 500. and Nicole Gnessoto, "EU, US: Visions of the World, Visions of the Other,". . ., 18.

Importantly for this chapter, Jolyon Howorth in his book, *Security and Defence Policy in the E.U.*, uses the term *Strategic Culture* to describe the "collective mindset"[93] that seems to be taking shape in the E.U.. In fact, he confirms that the ESS of 2003, *A Secure Europe in a Better World*, contains the essential ingredients of the term: Strategic Culture.[94] Moreover, he and other experts also claim that, even though the ESDP has generated much debate over whether it is or is not generating the development of a clear trans-European identity, it definitely has demonstrated significant signs of a steady, pan-European convergence towards a European Strategic Culture.[95]

Hence, both of these above-mentioned policies and their inherent messages, understanding that they are the embodiment of an emerging European Strategic Culture[96], will be analysed in the demonstration of the E.U.'s will to project its power outside of Europe.

2.1. The European Security and Defence Policy

The fundamental debate amongst Europeans with regards to the ESDP remains if it is aligned with its foreign policy's Normative Power framework[97], which uses primarily civilian instruments to deal with threats and challenges, or is it tending more towards a Global Power perspective with a robust

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[93] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union . . .*,178.

[94] *Ibid*.

[95] Gnessoto, "EU, US: Visions of the World, Visions of the Other,". . ., 18.

[96] *Ibid*. Which constitutes the aim and the means by which are incited "common thinking, compatible reactions, and coherent analysis and action."

[97] Meyer, "The Quest for a European Strategic Culture: Changing Norms on Security and Defence in the E.U.,". . ., 500.

intervention policy with capacities at the highest possible end of military technology.[98] Others, more

moderate, wish that the E.U. would limit its emergent security culture, through its policy arm, to a form

of peacekeeping with limited military involvement, which would require international approval, and

maintain a prevailing dominance of civilian means. The reality is, although it is continuously in

evolution, and given that a unified security culture seems to be emerging, the ESDP has developed into a

mix of these approaches.[99] The root cause of this is that the E.U. "does not wish or intend to become a

coercive power of a classical type."[100] In fact, facing the same threats and challenges as more traditional

powers, the E.U. is using significantly different instruments in an entirely different manner, in dealing

with them.[101] It is therefore no revelation that evaluations of the E.U. Defence and Security Policy by

more traditionalist visions are cynical.[102]

Despite this rhetoric, experts claim that the ESDP has made significant progress in areas central

to trans-European convergence on key aspects of security and defence such as capability, reliability and

legitimacy, civil-military integration and a mutually accepting relationship with the Northern Atlantic

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[98] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union . . .*, 181.

[99] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union. . .*, 181. and Fabien Terpan, "La PESD au second semestre 2008," *Défense Nationale* 65, no. 2 (2009): 34.

[100] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union. . .*, 182. We can therefore ask ourselves if the EUdoes not want to become a projector of power in the classical sense or perhaps should we ask ourselves if it does not want to be perceived as a classical power projector, but indeed has the will to increasingly project some form of power which encompasses civilian means in coordination with more classical means, such as military power, if required.

[101] Everts and Grabbe, *Why does the E.U. Need a Security Strategy. . .*, 2. and Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union . . .*, 182.

[102] Julian Lindley-French, "The Revolution in Security Affairs: Hard and Soft Security Dynamics in the 21st Century," *European Security* 13 (2009): 10. and Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union . . .*, 182. For example, For Neo-realsists such as Julian Lindley-French the divisions over Iraq have demonstrated a fractured Europe and that Europe is faced with a dilemma : "either it gets real about the role of justifiable coercion in international relations and builds structures accordingly or it admits that its concept of security is a sham and that the U.S. will decide by right and by might when and how to apply power."

Treaty Organisation.[103] In fact, far from a stagnating development, the European Council in a formal

declaration in December 2008 has determined that Europe needed to strengthen its ESDP.[104] Expert

interpretations of this recent declaration propose that it is a formal announcement or reminder of the

E.U.'s will to advance its position as a global, independent actor in matters of foreign policy, defence

and security within and outside of Europe.[105] Pragmatically, this declaration also calls for the

corresponding or enabling increase in its capacities to act using the full spectrum of European

intervention options, including "robust, interoperable and flexible military capabilities."[106] Pursuant, the

European Council has listed a series of concrete objectives so that in the years to come, the E.U. will be

able to assume, simultaneously, outside of its territory, a series of civilian and military missions of

varying scope, which correspond to the most probable scenarios of employment. Although, this

declaration is a significant demonstration of a European will to project power outside of Europe, it is

also a significant commitment to E.U. power projection capability development. Hence, the E.U. seems

to want to have the means commensurate with its ambitions. This aspect will be covered later in the

paper.

On a more practical note, which will be covered in more depth later, the fact that the E.U. has

deployed multi-national forces under E.U. banner in a wide range of different types of missions in

response to crisis around the world offers clear evidence that the ESDP is not an intangible; shrouded in

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[103] Paul Cornish and Geoffrey Edwards, "Beyond the NATO-EU Dychotomy: The Beginnings of a European Strategic Culture," *International Affairs* 77, no. 3 (2001): 587. and Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union . . .*, 187.

[104] Conseil Franco-Espagnol de défense et de sécurité 2009, "Déclaration du Conseil Franco-Espagnol de défense et de sécurité 2009," available from http://www.ambafrance-es.org/france_espagne/IMG/pdf/Declaration_CFEDS_fr.pdf; Internet; accessed 27 February 2010.

[105] Jean-Marie Bockel, "Les Avancées De l'Europe De La Défense Et De La Sécurité," *Défense Nationale* 65, no. 1 (2009): 8.

[106] Conseil de l'union européenne, *Rapport de fin de présidence*, (2008) (accessed 10 March 2010).

illusions and unrealizable expectations.[107] Instead, European countries have found that the changing

security environment has produced a range of pressures on their national strategic cultures, which have

implied the need for a necessary convergence to a more influential and more credible European Strategic

Culture, which possesses the policy arm in its ESDP, to decide upon collective action.[108] This capacity

for common collective action, the will as Aron would define it, has been the result of the collision of

passive and active forces.[109] These forces have resulted in the adoption and implementation of a

complex mix of policy instruments, some derived from realism[110], some from liberal internationalism,[111]

and some from universalism,[112] which when combined together give the E.U. a capacity for

intervention, unparalleled by any other nation or alliance.[113] Furthermore, the ESDP, driven by constant

interaction between its members and the adoption of collective norms has brought a more activist

interpretation of European goals regarding humanitarian external intervention, and correspondingly

increasing support for the role of the Union on the world stage as a military actor.[114] The above-

mentioned European goals, embodied by the ESDP, when it comes to E.U. power projection, hinge on

the broad tenets upheld by Europe's politico-military strategy framework the ESS. Let us now examine

this facet of the E.U.'s will to project its power outside of Europe.

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[107] Bentégeat, "Défense et sécurité européennes," . . ., 137. As of 2009 the ESDP had deployed over twenty missions since 2003. Bentégeat claims that when the international situation requires Europe's intervention, the twenty seven countries can come together and act.

[108] Giegrich Bastian and William Wallace, "Not such a Soft Power: The External Deployment of European Forces," *Survival* 46, no. 2 (2004): 164.

[109] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union* . . ., 199.

[110] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union* . . .,199. For example, the E.U.'s high readiness Battlegroups, sanctions and a hypothetical nuclear deterrent.

[111] *Ibid*. Such as development aid, commercial incentives, and civilian assistance.

[112] *Ibid*.   Such as conflict prevention, crisis management, nation building.

[113] *Ibid*.

[114] Meyer, "The Quest for a European Strategic Culture: Changing Norms on Security and Defence in the E.U.," . . ., 27.

2.2. The European Security Strategy

The ESS indeed calls for the development of a convergent European Strategic Culture.[115]

Conversely, the growth of the European Strategic Culture depends on the Union's ability to maintain a

coherent strategy discourse.[116]   Hence, amidst the international rift caused by the predominantly absent

Europe in the American lead Iraq war of 2003, and as an afterthought to its inability to intervene in its

own backyard in the Ex-Yugoslavia, the European Council, through its Political Security Committee[117],

demanded that an ESS be devised, outlining how the E.U. viewed itself and how it viewed the world.[118]

The concepts behind this ESS will be assessed to determine if they are congruent with Europe's apparent

increasing ambition to project its power outside of Europe. The ESS indeed reflects the comprehensive

approach to crisis management that has been a trademark of the overall normative power approach of the

E.U.   However, it does not limit itself to intervention by civilian means alone. Hence it goes further in

calling for robust military intervention if required.   Indeed, the first concept inherent to the ESS is that

of comprehensive security.[119] In this context, security is interpreted as being "indivisible" and that

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[115] Gnessoto, "EU, US: Visions of the World, Visions of the Other," . . ., 21.

[116] Vivien A. Schmidt and Claudio Radaelli, "Conceptual and Methodological Issues in Policy Change in Europe," *West European Politics* 27, no. 4 (2004): 27.

[117] European Council, "Europa: Glossary," available from http://europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/political_security_committee_en.htm; Internet; accessed 23 March 2010. The PSC is the permanent EU structure responsible for foreign policy and security. Its members are the ministers of each member's foreign affairs ministries. Under the responsibility of the Council, the Committee exercises political control and strategic direction of crisis management operations. It may thus be authorised by the Council to take decisions on the practical management of a crisis. It is assisted by a Politico-Military Group, a Committee for Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management, and the Military Committee (MC) and Military Staff (MS). Following the entry into force of the Treaty of Amsterdam, establishment of the Committee was agreed in principle at the Helsinki European Council in December 1999. The Committee was originally temporary but became a standing body after the Nice European Council in December 2000.

[118] Everts and Grabbe, "Why does the E.U. Need a Security Strategy," . . ., 2. Indeed, one of the main reasons behind the EU's divisions over Iraq was the lack of a common shared threat assessment. Each country first formed its own national viewpoint and then tried half-heartedly to find a common stance with its European neighbours.

[119] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union* . . ., 200.

Europe cannot be secure if its neighbours remain unsecure.[120] The second concept intrinsic to the ESS

is that of cooperative security. In this context, , the security concept addresses basic human rights,

fundamental freedoms, economic and environmental cooperation as well as peace and stability. It thus

underlines that security is "multi-dimensional"[121] in character. Hence, contrary to what some critics of

the ESS have written, it is apparent that the ESS does not shone away from the employment of military

power.[122] Case in point, these notions of comprehensive security and cooperative security are intricately

linked to the United Nations' term "human security"[123]. The protection of these freedoms entails "the

appropriate use of force"[124] as detailed in the ESS. It also calls for a response force, which includes

military forces, dedicated to protecting human security when required. Moreover, in establishing its

strategic objectives, the ESS stresses that none of the threats it faces are purely military, nor will they be

manageable through purely military means. However, it does underline the fact that its "first line of

defence will often be abroad, via conflict prevention, using the full spectrum of intervention in conflict

resolution."[125] It also qualifies its intervention capabilities by stating that the ESS will nourish a

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[120] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union . . .*, 200.

[121] Pierre Pahlavi, "Sécurité Et Projet d'Union Méditerranéenne: Vers Une Autre Rupture," *Diplomatie* 31, no. mars-avril 2008. and Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union. . .*, 200. This aspect was part of initial ESDP discussions between Member States at the 1999 Helsinki European Council meeting; hence it has been a principal at the heart of the ESDP and central to the development of the 2003 ESS.

[122] Richard G. Whitman, "Road Map for a Route March?: De-Civilianizing through the EU's Security Strategy," *European Foreign Affairs Review* 11 (2006): 14. Critics like Whitman claim that the EU is still mostly a civilian power but in the slow process of transforming itself into a more global power

[123] Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh, "Human Security: 60 Minutes to Convince" (Paris, France, UNESCO - Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution Sciences, 14 Sep 2005) (accessed March 2010). This has been defined as the freedom from fear and the freedom from want. It is also important to note and it is widely accepted by international relations thinkers that the E.U. has had a tendency to legitimize its military interventions or joint actions by associating them with commensurate UNSCRs

[124] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union. . .* , 201.

[125] Pahlavi, *Sécurité Et Projet d'Union Méditerranéenne: Vers Une Autre Rupture…* and Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union . . .*, 203.

European Strategic Culture which fosters "early, rapid and where necessary, robust intervention."[126] It is with this mobilization of panoply of policy instruments, which include politico-military elements that the E.U. hopes to contribute to "an effective multilateral system, which will lead to a fairer, safer and more united world."[127]   .

2.3. Strategic Culture and Will for Power Projection

Through the analysis of the emerging E.U. Security Culture and its policy and strategy aspects, it has been demonstrated that the E.U. has endowed itself with the policy and strategy architecture which can enable and indeed calls for it to project European power outside of Europe, in a more classical sense, if required.   Having said this, European power projection would involve a more comprehensive approach, by which classical military means would serve to complement civilian means in attaining synergies on the ground. This architecture or armature constitutes in itself the E.U.'s will.[128] Having said this, one must also consider the comments made earlier proposing that European aspects of security and defence have long been considered through national lenses. Hence, the emergence of the ESDP and the ESS have caused some European states, to have to undertake major reengineering of their armed forces, not only capability wise, but also from a mindset perspective in the spirit of convergence. For example, the German Government's 2006 decision to accept that German forces can and indeed must participate in crisis management operations to right humanitarian wrongs and correct flagrant imbalances of power, not between states but between leaders and their people, has been a major victory for the European defence and security project and a demonstration of the European convergence towards

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[126] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union. . .*, 203.

[127] *Ibid*.

[128] Claude, "Bilan Et Perspectives De La PESD (1998-2008),". . ., 22.

power projection outside of Europe. However, this situation also brings to the forefront that underlying

divergences in national strategic cultures and subtle, or not so subtle differences in projection of

European power, such as the actual employment of a nation's military forces in certain roles, will

inevitably constrain the employment of E.U. military forces, or elements of them, to more humanistic

type missions, in a more comprehensive approach. This, in itself, is commensurate with the perceived

European foreign policy of late.

Chapter 3. The Political/Military Decisional Framework

Soon after the ratification of the ESDP and a few years prior to the development of the ESS, the

E.U., in order to ensure that it could fully assume its responsibilities for crisis management, as an

aspiring global power, in other words to ensure it could enact the converging ideology behind its will,

the European Council, at the treaty of Nice in December 2000,[129] decided to establish permanent

political and military structures at the supra-national level. As such, the assessment of the E.U.'s

Political/Military decisional framework is the third element which will be used to evaluate if the E.U.

has the will to project its power outside of Europe. This framework will be examined hierarchically

from top to bottom in five parts as depicted in Figure 2. Hence, first, it will examine the **Political and**

Security Committee. Second, it will examine the **E.U. Military Committee**. Third it will examine the

Committee for Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management. Fourth, based on the analysis of the three

aforementioned sections, it will determine if the E.U.'s political/military decisional framework is

congruent with European will to project power in a more classical sense.

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[129] European Council, "Rapid Press Release: A Summary of the Nice Treaty," Europa, available from, http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/03/23&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en; Internet; accessed 24 March 2010.

Figure 2. The E.U. Political Military Decisional Framework[130]
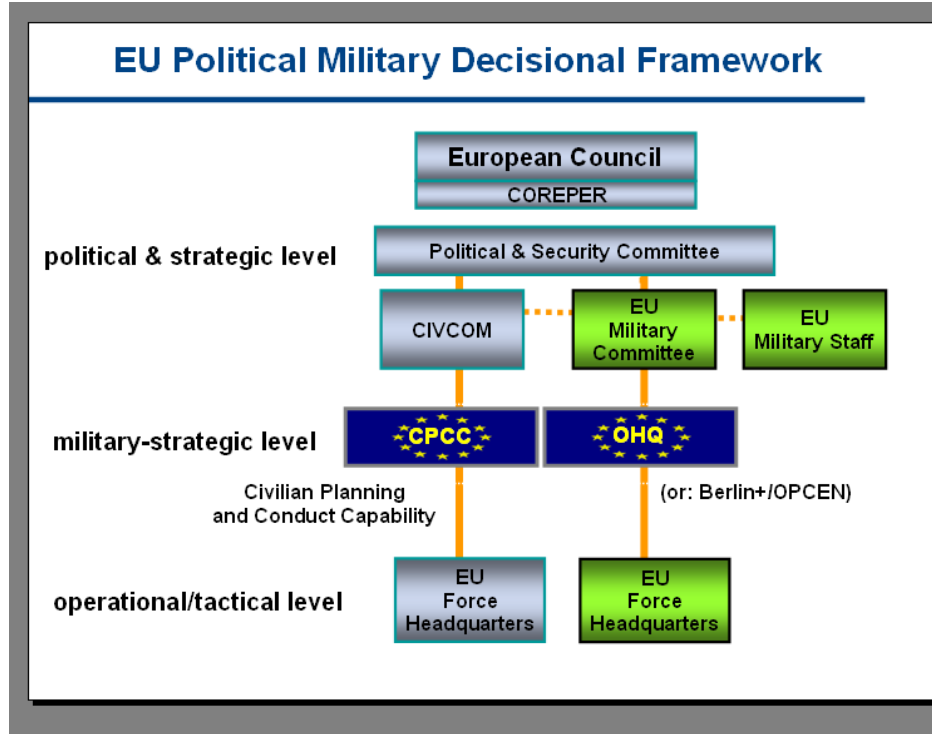
3.1. The Political and Security Committee (PSC)

The PSC's main functions are to keep track of the international situation, and to help in defining policies within Europe's foreign and security policy which includes the ESDP.[131] In more simple terms, the PSC prepares a coherent E.U. response to a crisis and exercises political control and provides strategic direction in the event of a crisis. Hence, the PSC is the strategic politico/military level body, a single institutional framework, which deals with crisis situations and examines all the options that might

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[130] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union. . .*, 69. A depiction of the CFSP and ESDP Structures.

[131] European Council, *Europa: Glossary*, 15. Also known as the COPS (the French abbreviation) the PSC is comprised of ambassadors. Ambassadors, in most cases, are political appointments made by a member state's government in power. Hence, logically, the political will of these individual member states is garnered in one institution, the PSC. The PSC serves as a preparatory body for the Council of the E.U. through its Committee of Permanent Representatives (COREPER). COREPER is responsible for preparing the work of the Council of the E.U.. It consists of the Member States' ambassadors to the E.U. ("Permanent Representatives") and is chaired by the Member State which holds the Council Presidency

be considered for a E.U. response. In fact, in order to prepare the E.U.'s response to a crisis or to pre-emptively prevent one, it is for the PSC to propose to the Council the political objectives to be pursued by the Union and to recommend a cohesive set of options aimed at contributing to the settlement of the situation. In particular, it can recommend to the Council that it adopt a "joint action"[132], which may translate in military missions or operations. Hence, the PSC also exercises "political control and strategic direction"[133] of the military aspects within a response to a crisis. Case in point, the PSC met urgently in August 2008 in response to the Georgian Crisis to determine the E.U.'s response to Russia's failure to comply fully with the ceasefire mediated by the E.U.'s President Nicolas Sarkozy earlier that month.[134] Hence it seems that the E.U. through its PSC which acts as a strategic enabler for military intervention, amongst other intervention mechanisms, to a particular crisis, has endowed itself with an institution which can enable it to project its power. Having said this, it is important to remember that since members of the PSC are representing their individual Member States' national objectives, these undoubtedly could slow down decision-making and inevitably create recommendations based on lowest common denominator responses. Nonetheless, it has also been demonstrated that these same national imperatives are in the process of converging more towards a collective European outlook on security and defence.

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[132] European Council, *Europa: Glossary. . .*, 38. Joint action, which is a legal instrument under Title V of the Treaty on E.U. (common foreign and security policy, CFSP), means coordinated action by the Member States whereby all kinds of resources (human resources, know-how, financing, equipment, etc.) are mobilised in order to attain specific objectives set by the Council, on the basis of general guidelines from the European Council.

[133] *Council Decision of 22 January 2001 - Setting Up the PSC,* 2001/78/CFSP, (22 January 2001, 2001): 2.

[134] Mark Latham, "Member States Discuss Agenda Fo Crisis Summit," *European Voice* (2008), Journal on-line; available from http://www.europeanvoice.com/article/2529august/member-states-discuss-agenda-for-crisis-summit/62044.aspx; Internet, accessed 10 March 2010.

To that end, on the basis of the opinions and recommendations of the Military Committee, which will be examined next, the PSC evaluates the essential elements (strategic military options including the chain of command, operation concept, operation plan) to be submitted to the Council.[135]

3.2. The E.U. Military Committee (EUMC)

The EUMC, an organization comparable to the NATO military committee, is the highest military body within the Council. The EUMC is composed of the Chiefs of Defence of the Member States, who are regularly represented by their permanent representatives. Paradoxically, these same representatives in many cases, represent their state at both the EUMC and the NATO Military Committee thus demonstrating that European nations are seemingly devoting as much attention to both organisations which involves the projection of more classical military power.[136] The EUMC provides the PSC with advice and recommendations on all military matters within the E.U..[137] In fact, it is [the] forum for military consultation and cooperation between the E.U.'s Member States in the field of conflict prevention and crisis management. Hence, for questions involving the military projection of force, Member States refer to the EUMC as a discussion and policy forum. As such, it provides military advice and makes recommendations to the PSC, acting within guidelines forwarded by the PSC, particularly with regard to elements such as the ones depicted in the following table.

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[135] European Council, *Council Decision of 22 January 2001 - Setting Up the PSC. . .*, 3.

[136] The Chiefs of defence, in most cases of member states, are nominated by the government in power, and are subservient to the political leadership of their country. Hence, by default, they officially represent the views and opinions of their people, their will.

[137] European Council, "CSDP Structures and Instruments," Journal on-line; available from http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=279&lang=EN; Internet; accessed 10 March 2010.

Table 1. EUMC Responsibilities[138]

The E.U. Military Committee and its Responsibilities
- The development of the overall concept of crisis management in its military aspects
- The military aspects relating to the political control and strategic direction of crisis management operations and situations
- The risk assessment of potential crises
- The military dimension of a crisis situation and its implications
- The elaboration, the assessment and the review of capability objectives according to agreed procedures
- The E.U.'s military relationship with non-EU European NATO Members, the other candidates for accession to the E.U., other States and other organisations, including NATO
- The financial estimation for operations and exercises

In crisis management situations, upon the PSC's request, the EUMC issues Initiating Directives to the Director General of the E.U. Military Staff (DGEUMS) to draw up and present strategic military options. Then it evaluates the strategic military options developed by the EUMS and forwards them to the PSC together with its evaluation and military advice. On the basis of the military option selected by the Council, it authorises an Initial Planning Directive for the Operation Commander. Furthermore, based upon the EUMS evaluation, it provides advice and recommendations to the PSC on the Concept of Operations (CONOPS) and on the Operation Plan (OPLAN) developed by the Operation Commander. Finally, the EUMC gives advice to the PSC on the termination option for an operation. Once the operation or mission is underway the EUMC monitors the undertaking of the operation to

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[138] *Council Decision of 22 January 2001: Setting Up of the Military Committee of the European Union,* 2001/79/CFSP, (22 January 2001, 2001): 4.

ensure proper execution.[139] Hence it is demonstrated that the E.U. possesses a sophisticated Military

Committee capable of recommending, analyzing, directing and possibly controlling the projection of

power in a more classical sense. Indeed, it seems that the architecture, which has allowed a typically

military focused organization such as NATO to project its power in a classical sense, is being replicated

or at least attempted to be replicated within the E.U. through its EUMC. Having said this, there is a

twist to the E.U. crisis management apparatus, which demarks it from NATO. Indeed, in parallel with

the EUMC, as demonstrated in Figure 2., the PSC is advised by a committee of experts from the civilian

perspective of crisis management. [140]

3.3. Committee on Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management (CIVCOM)

On civilian issues, the PSC is provided with recommendations and advice by the CIVCOM, a

working group at expert level.[141] This committee provides information, drafts recommendations, and

gives its opinion to the PSC on civilian aspects of crisis management. As described earlier, the ESDP

endeavours to ensure that the E.U. uses all available means to respond coherently to the whole spectrum

of crisis management tasks.[142] Hence, the CIVCOM could advise the PSC on matters of crisis

management from a civilian perspective such as policing tasks, strengthening rule of law tasks, civilian

administration tasks, civil protection tasks, and monitoring tasks.[143] For instance, in December 2009,

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[139] *Council Decision of 22 January 2001: Setting Up of the Military Committee of the European Union,* 2001/79/CFSP, (22 January 2001, 2001): 4.

[140] European Council, *CSDP Structures and Instruments*, 1. These functions do not occur independently, they are integrated and occur simultaneously.

[141] European Council, *European Security and Defence Policy: The Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management,*(2009) (accessed March 2010).

[142] *Ibid*.

representatives of the EUMC and the CIVCOM, through their E.U. Military Staff (EUMS) and their Civilian Planning Conduct Capability (CPCC), met with U.S. and NATO officials to further develop a civilian aid strategy for Afghanistan, with emphasis placed on coordination of aid in general and on agriculture.[144] Hence, it is apparent that the E.U. has put in place a politico/military decisional structure which can enable it to project some kind of hybrid form of power, a mix of both civilian normative and military power bringing synergies on the ground through a comprehensive approach. One thing for sure is that this organization, which could also be considered as a unique E.U. capability enhancing potential for power projection, is a demonstration of an increasing European will to project power in a very different manner than the classical version of power projection, but indeed includes military power if required.

3.4. A Political/Military Decisional Framework Which Enables E.U. Will

It has been demonstrated through the examination of the E.U.'s political/military decisional framework, that the E.U. has put in place a framework which should enable, through an official and sophisticated decision-making apparatus, tangible actions on the ground, whether they be from a civilian, or military perspective, or both, in a hybrid fashion. Logically speaking, decision making, from a conceptual stand-point, should always involve will. From this perspective, by empowering itself with a permanent, proven decision-making framework, and by allowing it to yield significant executive powers, the E.U. is demonstrating its resolve, its will to be able to project its power congruent with its

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[143] European Council, *European Security and Defence Policy: The Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management,*(2009) (accessed March 2010).

[144] Andrew Gardner, "EU and US Working on Civilian Strategy," *European Voice* (2009), Journal on-line; available from http://www.europeanvoice.com/CWS/Index.aspx?PageID=204&articleID=66576; Internet; accessed 10 March 2010. An area singled out by President Obama as a "focus" for US aid.

ambitions. Then why are experts asking themselves "why does the E.U. seem so constrained in its shaping and taking of decisions when it comes to defence and security questions?"[145] This complexity and these constraints derive predominantly from the "complex politico/institutional relations between the member states and the E.U. itself."[146] Consequently, critics of the E.U.'s decisional framework from a security and defence perspective have based their analysis on principles of a nation-state, a more realist perspective, when in fact the E.U. is more like "a system of governance, without government."[147]
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When considering the *ensemble* of the E.U. political/military decisional framework, it is quite unlike a federal system such as the U.S.[148] In contrast, the ultimate bases of political authority and legitimacy in the E.U. system of governance are the parts, not the centre. Hence, this places real limits, as will be demonstrated more concretely in the next section when we analyse E.U. operations, on the Union's political/military decisional framework. In fact, it places real tensions, although surmountable, between the effectiveness of the E.U.'s Security and Defence Policy and its increasingly visible need to be coherent, when the "center remains, at the member's states' will, not as strong as the parts."[149] Therefore, eventhough a recommendation for joint action or a policy initiative may be pushed through the decisional framework, it will still only be accepted if it is packaged in a favourable manner for the member states. Logically then, the ESDP is not an area where a single country or a single type of approach can impose its will on others. In short, what emerges from the analysis of the E.U.'s political military decisional framework, besides the fact that it is a complex system, is the conclusion that the

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[145] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union. . .*, 90.

[146] Hyde-Price, *European Security in the Twenty-First Century: The Callenge of Multipolarity*, 57. and Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union. . .*, 90.

[147] *Ibid*.

[148] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union. . .*, 90.

[149] *Ibid*., 91.

decisions emanating from it reflect the will of its member states. Furthermore, although at the mercy of the Member State's will, there are signs of the development of a spreading spirit of convergence.

Indeed, the E.U. has used this decisional framework in the past to lead such operations and missions which will be examined in the next section. However, before we proceed into the examination of these operations, it is important to note that although the decisional framework is formally in place and seems to be working, it is also a work in progress. As a matter of fact, much development is still required from a decision-making perspective, especially at the Military Operational Headquarters level, where the lack of this capability has negatively impacted the effectiveness of E.U. operations in some cases.[150] Having said this, on a more positive note, such developments are occurring of late, and will undoubtedly have positive effects on the overall effectiveness of E.U. operations.[151] This aspect will be examined in the next part.

Chapter 4. European Security and Defence Policy Operations

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[150] Assembly of the WEU, "EU Operational Chains of Command," http://www.assembly-weu.org/en/documents/sessions_ordinaires/rpt/2008/2009.php#P121_8287; Internet; accessed 13 February 2010. For example, in the case of EUFOR DRC, In the area of political and strategic decision-making, it was noted that there was a considerable gap (almost three months) between the Union's decision in principle and the designation of a military chain of command and in particular of an OHQ, which prevented military planning being conducted sufficiently in advance. The EUMC also noted difficulties in force generation due to the late designation of the OHQ. Force generation is inextricably linked to the force engagement plan, the responsibility for which falls to the Operation Commander (the OHQ Chief of Staff): the two processes must be undertaken simultaneously, which means that there has to be an OHQ while the force generation conferences are being held between the member states prior to the political decision to engage. Other examples are listed within this reference.

[151] European Voice, "Work-in-Progress: A Crisis-Management Merger," *European Voice* (2010), Journal on-line; available from http://www.europeanvoice.com/article/imported/work-in-progress/67138.aspx; Internet, accessed 10 April 2010.

The fourth element which will be used to assess if the E.U. has the will to project its power in a more classical sense outside of Europe will be the consideration of past and ongoing operations of the E.U. It is important to understand, from the get go, that these operations should be tangible reflections or outcomes of Europe's emerging strategic culture embodied by its ESDP and its ESS as well as the logical outcome of the E.U.'s politico-military decision making process. These mechanisms, as demonstrated in the previous chapters, are intrinsically linked and proportional to the will of Europeans. Hence the operations themselves, undertaken under the mandate of these architectures, should also, by default, be concrete demonstrations of European will.

Only in 2003, after a four-year period of institution building, strategic considerations and civil/military capability development did the ESDP undertake in Bosnia and Herzegovina its first field mission.[152] Ten years after the official inception of the ESDP, the significant increase in the number of ongoing crisis management missions is commensurate with the growing ambition of the E.U. to become a more global actor.[153] Through time, the Union seems to have understood, either through its own experiences, or from others' experiences, the critical link between security and all other dimensions of its "external actions."[154] Correspondingly, the E.U. has undertaken twenty-seven missions to date, ranging from military, to civil-military, to purely civilian, to police missions, to border control missions and military technical assistance to peace monitoring and judicial training missions. Its missions have had a global outreach. Indeed, ESDP missions have been undertaken and some are currently on-going in

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[152] Nicoletta Pirozzi and Sammi Sandawi, "Military and Civilian ESDP Missions: Ever Growing and Effective?" *Istituto Affari Internazionali* (29 November 2009), 3.

[153] Fabien Terpan, "La PESD au premier semestre 2008," *Défense Nationale* 64, no. 8 (2008), 5.

[154] *Ibid.*, Particularly from a development and human rights perspective.

eastern and western regions of Africa, in the Balkans, in the Caucasus, in the far-eastern and central regions of Asia, the Middle-East as well as on the fringe borders of Europe and Asia.[155] These European initiatives, have confirmed the evolution of the E.U. as an emerging actor on the global crisis management scene working along side, in its own unique way, with NATO and the United Nations.[156]

For the purpose of analysis, this chapter will focus primarily on the military operations of the E.U.. First, it will focus on the **military operations in the Balkans** as they are where the E.U. made its debut as a security and defence actor. Operations in the Balkans have included Operation Concordia in Macedonia in 2003, and Operation Althea in Bosnia, which began in December 2004 and is on-going today. Second, **E.U. operations in Africa** will be examined. Operations in Africa included the six month Operation Artemis in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2003, Operation EUFOR-DR Congo in 2006, Operation EUFOR-Chad/CAR which began in March 2008 and is still on-going and finally the latest E.U. mission, Operation Atalanta off the coasts of Somalia. Without delving too deeply in other types of missions, follow-on missions or complimentary missions, tied to the ones previously mentioned will also be briefly examined.

4.1. E.U. Operations in the Balkans

Prior to commencing analysis, it is important to understand the setting in which the E.U. embarked on its first ESDP missions in 2003. The Union had just wiped its bloody nose over the

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[155] Pirozzi and Sandawi, *Military and Civilian ESDP Missions: Ever Growing and Effective? . . .*, 3.

[156] Pierre Bourlot, "Les Opérations De La PESD,". . ., 72. and Pirozzi and Sandawi, *Military and Civilian ESDP Missions: Ever Growing and Effective? . . .*, 4.

"foreign policy debacle caused by the discord over the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq."[157] Considering these fresh open fissures amongst its member states, the E.U. had sustained a major head blow in its quest for a united voice in its foreign policy, and it seemed at first glance that it would not be able to recover and realize its relatively young ambition of becoming a coherent and influential global actor.[158] Furthermore, since 1999, France and the U.K. were becoming increasingly concerned over the apparent lack of European military capacities and difficulties in achieving European consensus to deal with a backyard crisis such as the one in Ex Yugoslavia.[159] These two factors, instead of setting back aspirations for a more global E.U., triggered as Jeffrey Lewis states:

> . . . a normative reframing of security and defence policy and renewed a commitment to consensus decision-making . . . which tends to produce median promises rather than lowest common denominator outcomes.[160]

These rebounds and the E.U.'s desire to demonstrate that it could agree internally and act convincingly on the global security and defence scene led to its first military mission in the Balkans.

4.1.1. Operation Concordia.

The Western Balkans remained at the centre of the E.U.'s focus for action in 2003, due to their geographical proximity and omnipresent crisis potential. Indeed, the E.U. Member States felt they were

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[157] Jeffrey Lewis, "EU Policy on Iraq: The Collapse and Reconstruction of Consensus-Based Foreign Policy," *International Politics* 46, no. 4 (2009): 432.

[158] Jeffrey Lewis, "The Janus Face of Brussels: Everyday Decision-Making in the European Union," *International Organization,* Vol 59, no.4 (2009): 410.

[159] Gardner, *EU and US Working on Civilian Strategy…*, 107. and Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union. . .*, 207. Gérard Chalier once wrote that "no matter how you size it, it is pathetic that three European states such as Germany, France and the UK, encompassing 200 million inhabitants, had to call upon the U.S., twice, to deal with the Balkans crisis in Bosnia and Kosovo against a middle-class power such as Serbia."

[160] Lewis, The Janus Face of Brussels: Everyday Decision-Making in the European Union…, 432.

unquestionably responsible for the events which had been unfolding in the region owing to their

incapacity to act militarily.[161] Hence, with a mixture of guilt and resolve, the E.U. embarked on its first

military mission. The mission in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) would also

use NATO's assets in accordance with the Berlin Plus agreements[162] between the former and the

E.U..[163] The E.U. mission took over from the NATO's operation Allied Harmony on the thirty first of

March 2003, with a mandate to contribute to a stable, secure environment so as to allow the FYROM

government to implement the Ohrid Framework Agreement.[164] The E.U. deployed a modest four

hundred soldiers, with participation from all E.U. member states except Ireland and Denmark. Hence,

the E.U.'s first mission, was demonstrative of its will to intervene but paradoxically also demonstrated

the limited military means it deployed to manage the crisis. Nonetheless, in this small mountainous

country the E.U. was successful at keeping the peace between bands of lightly armed irregulars and the

Macedonian Army.[165] Following a request from the Macedonian authorities, given that the security

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[161] Mathias Jopp and Udo Diedrichs, "Learning from Failure: The Evolution of the EU's Foreign, Security and Defence Policy in the Course of the Yugoslave Conflict," in *Crises in European Integration: Challenges and Responses* (Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2009): 99.

[162] Assembly of the WEU, "TheEU-NATO Berlin Plus Agreements," http://www.assembly-weu.org/en/documents/Fact%20sheets/14E_Fact_Sheet_Berlin_Plus.pdf?PHPSESSID=ad7ba3060e75d20eca30f2c9c9daaedd ; Internet; accessed 02/16, 2010. The EU/NATO negotiation process led to a joint declaration issued on 16 December 2002 on the establishment of a strategic partnership between the two organisations in crisis management. The permanent arrangements were finalised on 11 March 2003 and became known as the Berlin Plus arrangements after the 1996 Berlin summit which saw the official start of WEU-NATO cooperation.

[163] Cattriona Gourlay, "EU Operations Update: Past, Present and Future," *European Security Review* 19, no. October 2003 (2003), http://www.graphicmail.com/RWCode/content.asp?Section=7394&SiteID=2177; Internet, accessed 20 February 2010.

[164] European Council, "Republic of Macedonia Agency of Information," European Council, http://www.coe.int/t/e/legal_affairs/legal_co-operation/police_and_internal_security/OHRID%20Agreement%2013august2001.asp; Internet, accessed 03/21, 2010. The Ohrid Framework Agreement was the peace deal signed by the government of the FYROM and ethnic Albanian representatives on August 13, 2001. The agreement ended the armed conflict between the National Liberation Army and the Macedonian security forces and set the groundwork for improving the rights of ethnic Albanians.

[165] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union . . .*, 232.

situation remained fragile in July 2003, it was agreed to extend the operation from October 2003 to mid December 2003.

By the end of the Concordia mission, it was by then clear to the E.U. that the problem no longer lay in armed conflict but in criminality.[166] Instead of packing up and heading home, given that their military mission mandate had been accomplished, the E.U. demonstrated flexibility in its approach to crisis management and will to commit for the longer run to peace and stability.[167] On twenty-nine September 2003, E.U. Foreign Ministers agreed to deploy some two hundred police officers to the FYROM as part of Operation Proxima. The mandate of this complimentary, follow-on mission was to: consolidate the rule of law and order; reform the Ministry of the Interior and Police; promote better border management and in particular border policing; and build confidence between the local police and the population, including the Albanian minorities. The mission was therefore not one of executive policing but was rather an exercise in security sector reform and capacity building in which E.U. police experts would monitor, mentor and advise. This was reflected in the operation's codename, which was intended to convey the notion of proximity policing.[168] This follow-on operation was not deemed a success due to "inter-agency battles and competing mandates between other international bodies"[169] and the E.U. was asked to terminate its mission by the FYROM government in fear that its presence would compromise the country's chances of accelerated progress towards E.U. membership.[170] Hence it is apparent that the limited means deployed by the E.U. in its first mission only engendered limited

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[166] Pirozzi and Sandawi, *Military and Civilian ESDP Missions: Ever Growing and Effective?*, 5.

[167] *Ibid*.

[168] Gourlay, *EU Operations Update: Past, Present and Future*, 17 March 2010.

[169] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 228.

[170] *Ibid*.

mission success on the ground. It begs to be asked then, if these limited means deployed for crisis

management are in fact commensurate with limited E.U. will?

4.1.2. Operation EUFOR Althea.

Next to Operation PROXIMA, the E.U. also launched another Western Balkans military

operation, EUFOR ALTHEA in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which it took over NATO's stabilisation tasks

which until then had been carried out by the SFOR.[171] In this operation, with its up to seven thousand

E.U. soldiers and recourse to NATO's capabilities,[172] the E.U. has undertaken a significantly ambitious

military operation.[173] In fact, the E.U., with twenty-two contributing member states, has provided since

December 2004 an active contribution to the further stabilisation of the Western Balkans.[174] According

to experts, Operation EUFOR Althea has effectively "secured the peace and stability of the Dayton-Paris

Peace Accords."[175] It is no coincidence then that the E.U. decided in Brussels on the fifteenth of

February 2010 to reduce EUFOR's size, but to keep an appropriate robust military presence as part of its

overall engagement in BiH, contributing to the maintenance of a safe and secure environment.[176]

According to press releases, EUFOR will reconfigure progressively, but will also maintain the capacity

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[171] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*. . ., 236. The essential difference between NATO's SFOR and the EU's Althea was that the former represented a pure military operation while the latter was framed as part of a wider ranging EU policy for the Balkans which employs a wide range of political, economic, commercial, cultural and police instruments to eventually ensure transition to EU membership. As such the EU mission was much more a civil-military mission than a purely military operation.

[172] Under the auspices of the Berlin Plus Agreements.

[173] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union* . . ., 234.

[174] Pirozzi and Sandawi, *Military and Civilian ESDP Missions: Ever Growing and Effective?. . .*, 5.

[175] Fabien Terpan, "La PESD Au Second Semestre 2008," *Défense Nationale* 65, no. 2 (2009), 42.

[176] EUFOR ALTHEA, "EUFOR ALTHEA Mission," http://www.euforbih.org/eufor/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=12&Itemid=28; Internet; accessed 02/18, 2010.

to reverse the effects of the force reduction and to re-establish a more robust military presence if needed. Indeed, under the transition plan, EUFOR will retain approximately 2,500 troops in BiH, able to respond should the security situation require it.[177]

Overall, Operation Althea marked the transition of the E.U. into a new phase of its development, as it did not just relieve in place NATO, or deploy a small military capability but in fact furthered BiH's transfer from a stabilization phase into a consolidation phase by deploying significant military forces complemented by a civilian component enabling typically European crisis management.[178] The E.U. mission seems to be a success as it works harmoniously with all other E.U. agencies in BiH, as well as with the BiH authorities as they have adopted a holistic approach to solving the remaining barriers to reform.[179] Furthermore, the means deployed by the E.U. seem to match its will in projecting its power in the region. However, the E.U.'s intervention did not only involve classical military means but a combination of civilian and military means. Indeed, the E.U. Council is currently considering the possible evolution of Operation ALTHEA towards a non-executive capacity building mission with an additional training mandate.[180]

4.1.3. Other Balkans Missions

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[177] EUFOR ALTHEA, "EUFOR ALTHEA Mission," http://www.euforbih.org/eufor/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=12&Itemid=28; Internet; accessed 02/18 2010.

[178] Bourlot, *Les Opérations De La PESD . . .*, 73.

[179] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union . . .*, 237.

[180] Pirozzi and Sandawi, *Military and Civilian ESDP Missions: Ever Growing and Effective? . . .*, 5-6.

Although the previous paragraphs covered the main military missions in the Balkans, it is important to mention the other missions undertaken by the E.U. in order to demonstrate its steadfast willingness to seriously commit to peace and stability in the region, as well as to demonstrate its unique comprehensive approach, perhaps hybrid approach, which involves a mix of civilian and military means and effects to crisis management and power projection.

For instance, in January 2003, prior to its first military missions, the E.U. launched the Police Mission EUPM in Bosnia and Herzegovina which took over from the United Nations mission UN-IPTF. This mission involved a wide range of member states and deployed an initial force of five hundred police officers, with a security sector reform mandate. Despite mixed readings on its initial effectiveness,[181] on 8 December 2009, the Council of the E.U. has decided to extend the operation until thirty-one December 2011. Today, the operation consists of 166 international police officers, 35 international civilian staff and 220 BiH staff and its expanded mandate seeks to establish effective policing arrangements under BiH ownership in accordance with the best European and international practice. EUPM aims through mentoring, monitoring, and inspecting to establish a sustainable, professional and multiethnic police service in BiH.[182] It is now widely felt that the withdrawal of the EUPM out of BiH would have a negative impact on the political and criminal situation in the country,[183] as well as for all of Europe as most of the drug traffic coming from Afghanistan and Pakistan, destined for Europe, is funnelled through the "Balkan Route."[184] Some would object claiming that these follow-

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[181] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union . . .,*225. In his book, Jolyon Howorth claims, amongst other experts, that no matter what criteria are used to assess EUPM performance up to 2005, the indicators are depressing.

[182] EUPM, *European Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUPM),* (2009) (accessed 19 February 2010).

[183] Pirozzi and Sandawi, *Military and Civilian ESDP Missions: Ever Growing and Effective?,* 5. and Bourlot, *Les Opérations De La PESD . . .,* 73.

on missions are simply police missions and are in fact another form of European disengagement, therefore not showing any real European will or any real capabilities for power projection in a classical sense. Having said this, I would argue to the contrary, that these follow-on missions are part of the E.U.'s projection of a hybrid form of power, a rather unique form of power projection, which involves a combination of military and civilian means.

Another E.U. mission in the region was the successor to another police mission previously mentioned, Operation Proxima, which terminated on 14 December 2005. The E.U. Police Advisory Team (EUPAT) mission in the FYROM aimed at furthering support to the development of an efficient and professional police service based on European standards of policing. [185]

More recently, in December 2008 the E.U. launched its largest ever civilian mission named EULEX Kosovo with seventeen hundred personnel. This operation, with an executive mandate, is a rule of law mission which aimed at coaching Kosovo police, justice and customs institutions. The aim of the mission is to ensure that war crimes, terrorism, organised crime, corruption, ethnic crimes and other grave infractions will not escape justice and is composed of international police officers, judges, prosecutors and customs officials and approximately one thousand local staff deployed Kosovo wide.[186] While the handover from the United Nations' mission UNMIK is still not finalised, the mission is still

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[184] EUPM, *European Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUPM)*, 1-2.

[185] EUPAT, *EU Police Advisory Team (EUPAT) in the Former Yugoslave Republic of Macedonia*,[2005]) (accessed 15 February 2010). Under the guidance of the E.U. Special Representative and in partnership with the host Government authorities, thirty EU police experts were to monitor and mentor the country's police on priority issues in the field of Border Police , Public Peace and Order and Accountability, the fight against corruption and Organised Crime. EUPAT activities focused on the middle and senior levels of management.

[186] European Council, "EU CSDP - EULEX Kosovo," http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=1458&lang=EN; Internet; accessed 02/26 2010.

too young to be fully assessed.[187] The mission has had to face several obstacles concerning firstly the definition of its mandate and lately its actual deployment in the field. Serbian opposition to deal with the E.U. mission and to permit EULEX to operate in the Serb enclaves in Kosovo has only recently been overcome and the mission has only reached its full operational capability on the sixth of April 2009.[188] Furthermore, the takeover of capacities from UNMIK cannot be completed, as the United Nations mission maintains its presence in the field and exercises its authority on the autonomous police force established in Serb-majority areas.[189] Moreover, the E.U. has committed with Serbian authorities to remain neutral on the question of Kosovo's independent status, thus contributing to forming a negative image of EULEX among the population.[190] Hence, in order to allow the implementation of its mandate, the EU mission is now called to engage in a series of outreach actions to gain the trust of both the civil society and the Kosovar government.[191]

In all evidence, E.U. missions in the Balkans have note clearly demonstrated European power projection, in the classical sense, comparable to the U.S. in other theatres of operations. However, the E.U. has demonstrated an evolution in its willingness to project a hybrid form of power which involves synergistic effects of both military and civilian capabilities in the same theatre of operations focussing on different but complementary areas of crisis management. Indeed, in its own backyard, the E.U. has gone from no significant intervention at all to significant intervention in multiple domains, bringing stability and security to a very instable region, with potential for overspill into the heart of Europe.

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[187] Giji Gya and Johann Herz, "ESDP and EU Mission Update - March 2009," *European Security Review* 43, no. March 2009 (2009), http://www.isis-europe.org/pdf/2009_artrel_253_esr43-esdp-mission-update.pdf

[188] Pirozzi and Sandawi, *Military and Civilian ESDP Missions: Ever Growing and Effective?*, 6.

[189] *Ibid*.

[190] Gya and Herz, *ESDP and EU Mission Update - March 2009*, February 2010.

[191] *Ibid*.

4.2. E.U. Operations in Africa

This section will now assess whether the E.U. has demonstrated the will to project its power in a more classical sense, well outside of Europe, on a different continent, using Africa as an example.

How did the E.U. get involved in Africa, besides the fact that its main engines when it comes to security and defence, were major colonial powers, one might ask? The journey began much earlier than 2003, the year of the E.U.'s first mission in Africa. Indeed, it began with the incipience of the ESDP which was covered previously. Additionally, the Le Touquet summit in February 2003, involving France and the U.K., expressed E.U. will very clearly: "The scope of the ESDP should match the E.U.'s worldwide ambitions and help in promoting its external policy objectives of promoting democracy, human rights, good governance and reform."[192] A propos, the summit's resultant declaration recommended that the E.U. should examine how it can contribute to conflict prevention and peacekeeping in Africa, including through E.U. autonomous operations, in close cooperation with the United Nations.[193] This declaration created the expectation from the United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan, that the E.U. would fulfill its commitment.[194] Indeed, Operation Artemis and subsequent E.U. involvement in Africa was forged amidst this self-generated pressure, as well as from the strain of internal demands from member states such as France, Germany, Luxembourg and Belgium which insisted for the mounting of autonomous E.U. missions.[195] Operation Artemis was also a means to

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[192] Simon Duke, "Consensus Building in ESDP: The Lessons of Operation Artemis," *International Politics* 46, no. 4 (2009), 398.

[193] *Ibid*.

[194] European Council, "EU and Africa Towards a Strategic Partnership," http://www.europa-eu-un.org/articles/en/article_5499_en.htm (accessed 02/17, 2010).

[195] In other words, a mission that would not be dependant on NATO capabilities under the Berlin plus agreement.

restore the E.U.'s global image as well as a Band-Aid to mend the wounds inflicted by the divisions over the U.S.-led Iraq war.[196]

4.2.1. Operation Artemis

Only two months after the E.U. had launched Operation Concordia in April 2003, its first military mission, in FYROM, it launched Operation Artemis, in June 2003, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). Of significance for analysis, this military mission differed considerably from its first military mission in the Balkans. First, even though the E.U. was militarily involved in the Western Balkans, its mission in the DRC was its first ever peace-enforcing mission.[197] Hence, a *rapprochement* of the E.U. towards a more classical version of power projection. Second, Artemis would be involved in a geographical region far more removed from the European Continent than the Balkans region. Third, it differed in the sense that it would be the first E.U. independent mission, mobilized through exclusively European means. Fourth, it demonstrated that the E.U. could mount an operation through a crisis management cooperative framework it now shared with the United Nations, outside of the Euro-Atlantic framework.[198]

Operation ARTEMIS' aim was to stabilize the security situation in the crisis-ridden Ituri province in the DRC and improve the humanitarian situation in and around the main town of Bunia.[199]

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[196] Duke, *Consensus Building in ESDP: The Lessons of Operation Artemis*, 398.

[197] Pirozzi and Sandawi, *Military and Civilian ESDP Missions: Ever Growing and Effective?*, 6.

[198] Niagalé Bayoko, "L'Opération ARTÉMIS, Un Tourant Pour La Politique Européenne De Sécurité Et De Défense ?" *Afrique Contemporaine* 1, no. 209 (2004): 101.

[199] Gorm Rye Olsen, "Effective Foreign Policy without Sovereignty: The European Union's Policy Towards Africa," *Paper Prepared for the 6th Pan-European Conference on International Relations* (2007),

France was the first member state which accepted the call for assistance from the United Nations who had lost control over the security situation, and played the central diplomatic role within the E.U. to cultivate support for a E.U. endorsement.[200] France also agreed to serve as the Framework nation. Hence, organizationally and militarily, France played the central role.[201] It also provided the main air strike capabilities, which were utilized from the outset of the operation, demonstrating the level of intensity of the combat operations undertaken by the E.U. and an evolution its its willingness to project its power in a more classical sense in higher intensity operations.[202]. In addition, Germany provided approximately 350 troops, who remained stationed in Uganda, and who provided medical and logistical assistance to the main peacekeeping force. These troops were not deployed to Bunia, hence, confirming the German reticence in deploying its forces in a higher intensity combat role and it's unconfirmed willingness to support, concretely, the evolution of the E.U. into a more classical power projector.

Given that the majority of the EU's commitment was mostly from France, and that most other contributing nations, with the exception of Sweden, the U.K., and, to a lesser extent, Belgium, were not willing to take any serious military risks in the DRC and kept their troops away from the violence, some experts seem sceptical as to whether this mission was in fact a "real" E.U. mission.[203] These experts claim that the wide disparity in troop and military contributions to the operation suggests quite different

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http://archive.sgir.eu/uploads/Olsen-torino_07_1.pdf and Pirozzi and Sandawi, *Military and Civilian ESDP Missions: Ever Growing and Effective?*, 6.

[200] *Ibid*.

[201] Duke, *Consensus Building in ESDP: The Lessons of Operation Artemis*, 402. France allowed the use of its Operational Headquarters in Paris as the E.U.'s mission operational level headquarters. In addition, France provided one thousand of the total 2 200 troops committed to the mission by sixteen other troop contributing nations. Sweden, the U.K. and Belgium also committed significant numbers of troops.

[202] Olsen, *Effective Foreign Policy without Sovereignty: The European Union's Policy Towards Africa*, 8.

[203] *Ibid*., 10
and Pirozzi and Sandawi, *Military and Civilian ESDP Missions: Ever Growing and Effective?*, 10.

cost/benefit determinations from E.U. members on the national security interests at stake in the DRC.[204] For example, Germany, which originally questioned E.U. endorsement of Artemis, later changed its view upon diplomatic pressure from France and the UK. German government officials later explained their eventual acquiescence by stating that since France and the U.K. actively sought E.U. endorsement for Operation Artemis, Germany was more willing to back the mission. However, even after it agreed to endorse Artemis within the E.U., it remained reluctant to identify precisely how it would contribute militarily to the mission[205] Having said this, one should be careful not to brand Artemis as a French mission disguised as a E.U. mission, as most of the force generation and employment challenges in multinational operations noted above are also quite present within NATO.[206] Furthermore, even when NATO missions are in certain cases mostly resourced by Americans, they are still considered to be Alliance missions and not American missions. Hence, in the case of this particular mission, one cannot conclude that E.U. interests were divergent from France's interests.

Operation Artemis was strictly regarded as a transition mission, which would allow the United Nations to assemble a more permanent force. Assessments of the mission, which involved the rapid projection of E.U. forces to a distance of 6500 kilometres into unknown and non-permissive terrain was deemed a success by experts.[207] It demonstrated E.U. will to project its power well outside of its borders from a number of perspectives. First, it demonstrated E.U. will and determination in consensus based decision making as Artemis forces deployed within seven days of the United Nations Security

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[204]Olsen, *Effective Foreign Policy without Sovereignty: The European Union's Policy Towards Africa*, 8.
and Pirozzi and Sandawi, *Military and Civilian ESDP Missions: Ever Growing and Effective?*, 10.

[205] Ryan C. Hendrickson, Jonathan R. Strand and Kyle L. Raney, "Opertion Artémis and Javier Solana: Prospects for a Stronger CFSP," *Canadian Military Journal* 8, no. 1 (2008), http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vo8/no1/hendrick-eng.asp

[206] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 232.

[207] *Ibid.*, 233

Council Resolution.[208] Second, it demonstrated E.U. will as it assumed its own command of the operation through its own operational level headquarters and used its own logistical assets for mobilization and deployment.[209] Third, it demonstrated E.U. will to project power in a more classical sense, as it engaged in an operation which involved the higher intensity levels of combat operations therefore assuming, for the first time, the higher level Petersburg tasks.[210] Fourth, and last, it demonstrated E.U. will as it demonstrated its willingness to assume its global role outside of NATO framework, by cooperating with the United Nations as its legitimizing partner for operations in Africa.[211]

4.2.2. EUFOR RD Congo mission

The second military mission the E.U. launched on the African continent was a follow-on mission to the EUPOL Kinshasa Police mission, which had begun in March of 2005 and the EUSEC RD Congo, a military technical assistance mission, which had begun in June of 2005.[212] EUFOR RD Congo was launched, with full authority from the Congolese government and the United Nations Security Council, in June 2006. Furthermore, the EUFOR RD Congo mission was launched only six months after the E.U. had declared it was embarking upon a long term strategic partnership with Africa in order to "mutually ensure a peaceful, democratic, and prosperous future for all their people."[213] Amidst this new European

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[208] Duke, *Consensus Building in ESDP: The Lessons of Operation Artemis*, 404.

[209] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 234.

[210] Olsen, *Effective Foreign Policy without Sovereignty: The European Union's Policy Towards Africa*, 8.

[211] Bayoko, *L'opération ARTÉMIS, Un tourant pour la politique Européenne de sécurité et de défense ?*, 102.

[212] European Council, "EUFOR RD Congo," http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=1091&lang=EN (accessed 03/12, 2010).

[213] European Council, *EU and Africa Towards a Strategic Partnership*.

élan towards Africa[214] the EUFOR RD Congo, although a temporary mission, would assist the MONUC during the critical period encompassing the general elections of the democratic republic, from July to October 2006. The mission, using the same model as Artemis, an entirely autonomous E.U. mission under a United Nations Chapter VII mandate, was led by a German operational commander, using a German operational headquarters in Potsdam Germany, leading two thousand troops two thirds of which came from Germany and France and the other third came from sixteen other E.U. countries, thus demonstrating that not only France could lead the E.U. on significant missions in Africa.[215] Its main tasks were to support and provide security to MONUC personnel, ensure airport protection in Kinshasa, contribute to the protection of civilians under imminent threat of physical violence, and evacuation operations in case of emergency.[216]

In a Security Defence Agenda discussion paper, Richard Gowan[217] states that the E.U.'s mission EUFOR RD Congo "demonstrated the political will and military means of the E.U. to handle major crisis."[218] Having said this, although EUFOR RD Congo was successful from his perspective, he also felt that the Artemis mission was a much more complicated one.[219] Other experts also claim that the

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[214] European Council, *EU and Africa Towards a Strategic Partnership*.

[215] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 238.

[216] European Council, *EUFOR RD Congo*.

[217] Richard Gowan, *Discussion Paper for the Security and Defence Agenda - the EU's Africa Startegy: What are the Lessons of the Congo Mission?*, 2008), 2 (accessed 27 February 2010). Richard Gowan coordinates the International Security Institutions program at the Center on International Cooperation at New York University. He is a contributor to the Center's Annual Review of Global Peace Operations 2007, published this March. Mr. Gowan works on peacekeeping and multilateral security arrangements. He holds an MPhil in International Relations and BA in History from Cambridge University. As manager of the Europe Programme at The Foreign Policy Centre (London) from 2003-5, he published and broadcast widely on public opinion towards the E.U. and relations between the EU, UN and African Union. He has also worked with the OSCE Mission to Croatia, and published on the political philosophy of Raymond Aron.

[218] *Ibid*.

[219] Ibid. According to Gowan, Artemis was essentially an emergency force, deployed to hold ground, protect civilians and shoot bad guys in the midst of a crisis in the eastern DRC that had run out of the UN's control. By contrast,

E.U.'s lengthy response time to the United Nation's request for assistance, was due to internal divergences. Some of the major ones were mostly from the U.K. who was apparently hesitant in getting involved as it was already heavily invested in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and another was the apparent reluctance of Germany, feeling pressured by France to demonstrate that the Franco-German partnership was still alive, to lead the mission.[220] It is becoming apparent that the three main power brokers are indeed the main engines of European Security and Defence, but on the contrary can also become the main brakes to E.U. engagement. Having said this, the spirit of convergence within the E.U. seems to gaining more ground than actual divergence when it comes to external intervention, and the truth remains that the operation did take place and that its mission was successfully completed, and that the Congolese elections were held without major incidents. Furthermore, it has also been demonstrated that the mission was part of a greater E.U. comprehensive approach to crisis management in Africa, and judging by the declarations in the E.U./Africa strategic partnership, this engagement seems to be for the longer term.

4.2.3. EUFOR Chad/RCA mission

The projection of E.U. power in Africa has not been limited to the DRC. On 28 January 2008, and acting in accordance with the mandate set out in the UNSC, the military bridging operation EUFOR Tchad/RCA in eastern Chad and the north-east of the Central African Republic was launched. EUFOR Tchad/RCA had the following objectives: to contribute to protecting civilians in danger, particularly refugees and displaced persons, to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian aid and the free movement of

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EUFOR RD Congo was a deterrent force, intended to offer extra firepower alongside pre-positioned UN forces in and around Kinshasa – forces that, although limited in reach and unpopular with the public, were still in control.

[220] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 238.

humanitarian personnel by helping to improve security in the area of operations, and to contribute to protecting United Nations personnel, facilities installations and equipment and to ensuring the security and freedom of movement of its own staff, United Nations staff and associated personnel.[221] Figure 3 below provides a better geographical depiction of where the mission was situated and its strategic location vis-à-vis the Darfur region of Sudan.

Figure 3. The EUFOR Chad/RCA Mission[222]
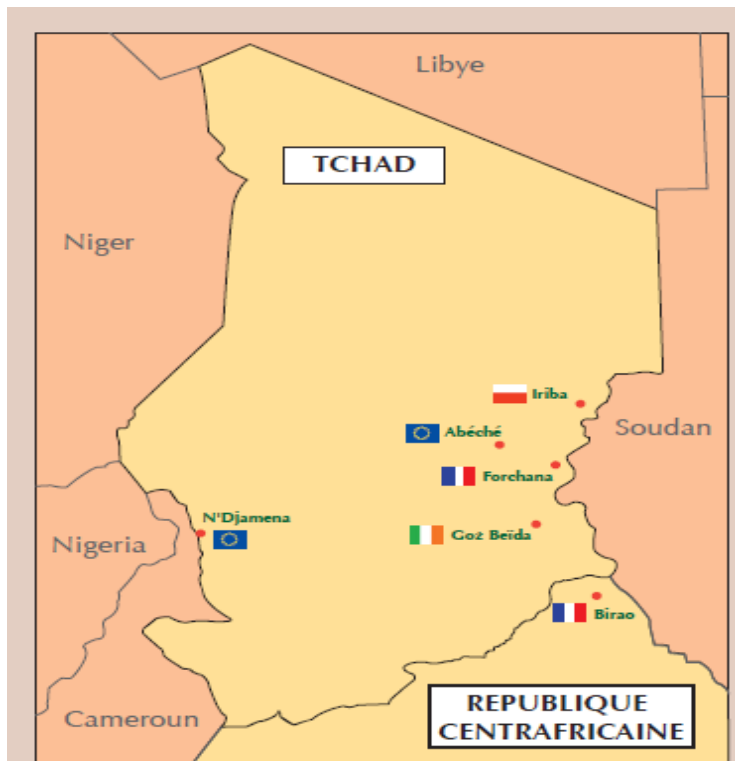
Of significant note, it has been the largest, most multinational E.U. operation in Africa to-date, involving the deployment of 3,700 troops. As an entirely independent European mission, twenty- three E.U. member states were represented in the Operational Headquarters, which was located at Mont

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[221] European Council, "EUFOR CHAD/CAR," http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=1366&lang=En (accessed 02/15, 2010).

[222] Raymond Frenken, "EU Chad/CAR Force Aims to Enhance Stability and Protection," *ESDP Newsletter* 6, no. July 2008 (2), 14.ESDP newsletter, Raymond Frenken, p. 14.

Valérien (France), and nineteen states were represented in the theatre itself.[223] The mission was commanded by an Irish General and comprised of significant contributions, either from a soldier or capability perspective, from France which provided the bulk of the troops (2500), Ireland (500), Poland (400), Sweden (202), and Austria (210).[224]

In conducting this operation the E.U. stepped up its longstanding action in support of efforts to tackle the crisis in Darfur as part of a regional approach to that crisis.[225] In fact, the establishment of EUFOR Chad/RCA formed part of a comprehensive package of enhanced E.U. commitment to a solution of the crisis in Darfur, which involved the application of the classical power projection tool of military power.[226] Hence, all E.U. instruments diplomatic, political, financial and military were mobilised in support of this effort. In other words the E.U. has in one more instance projected a more hybrid form of power, which includes both military and civilian means. The main components of this comprehensive approach comprised: increased support for A.U. and U.N. efforts to revitalise the political process with a view to finding a lasting solution, speeding up establishment of UNAMID[227] in Darfur, increased mobilisation to finance humanitarian aid, but also to secure humanitarian aid access.[228]

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[223] European Council, *EU and Africa Towards a Strategic Partnership*.

[224] Bourlot, *Les Opérations De La PESD*, 75. Other contributing countries were : Italy, Belgium, Romania, Spain, Albania, Finland, and Portugal. Other countries contributed to the mission but with smaller contributions.

[225] European Council Secretariat, *EU Military Operation in Eastern Chad and North Eastern Central African Republic (EUFOR Chad/RCA)* European Council Secretariat, (2008).

[226] Frenken, *EU Chad/CAR Force Aims to Enhance Stability and Protection*, 12. Chad, the CAR, and Sudan accuse each other of helping rebels in the diffuse border area in eastern Chad and northern part of the CAR. The EU mission did not take place in Darfur itself as this crisis is viewed as a regional problem, which must be dealt with by the African Union, for the African Union. The EU wants to play a supporting role; thus assist the African Union, in containing the problem as well as assist, in a complimentary fashion the UN Mission already in Darfur UNAMID. This is why the EU mission is in the CAR and Chad.

[227] United Nations Mission in Darfur (UNAMID)

[228] European Council Secretariat, *EU Military Operation in Eastern Chad and North Eastern Central African Republic (EUFOR Chad/RCA)*, 2.

On fourteen January 2009, the United Nations Security Council unanimously approved the deployment of MINURCAT, a United Nations police force which would take over from the European military force as planned. Two months later, Operation EUFOR Chad/RCA was transferred to the MINURCAT, which benefited from good conditions of deployment, for example, a military presence in the field since one year, existing infrastructure and a stable, efficient logistics line of operation.[229]

In May 2009, the United Nations Security Council underlined the exemplary cooperation at all levels between the E.U. and the United Nations. In parallel, in line with its comprehensive approach, the E.U. reinforced that although its military mission had ended, it still remained active at a political and diplomatic level and in the field of humanitarian and development activities in Chad, in the Central African Republic and especially in Sudan.[230]

Although the mission was beneficial for the E.U. and the United Nations from the perspective of enhancing their cooperation and reinforcing the fact that both organizations can work effectively in a mutually reinforcing role, the E.U. mission was also successful in securing the aid operations of over eighty humanitarian organisations which are operating in the region.[231] EUFOR's presence, regular patrolling and its planned targeted operations have contributed to a greater "sense of security" in its area of operation.[232]

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[229] European Council Secretariat, *EU Military Operation in Eastern Chad and North Eastern Central African Republic (EUFOR Chad/RCA)*, 2.

[230] Hans-Georg Ehrhart, "Assessing EUFOR Chad/CAR," *European Security Review* 42, no. December 2008 (2008), http://www.isis-europe.org/pdf/2008_artrel_231_esr42-euforchad.pdf

[231] Bockel, *Les Avancées De l'Europe De La Défense Et De La Sécurité*, 11.

[232] European Council Secretariat, *EU Military Operation in Eastern Chad and North Eastern Central African Republic (EUFOR Chad/RCA)*, 2.

Notwithstanding the successes of the EUFOR Tchad/RCA mission, it was a demanding operation in particular with respect to the E.U.'s force generation for the actual mission which delayed its deployment, to the volatile situation on the ground, to the vast area to be covered[233] and to the logistical constraints related to the support infrastructure in the region.   Expectedly, MINURCAT is now facing the same challenges as it is currently only manned at fifty percent of its established strength.[234] Just to make matters worse for MINURCAT and a testimony to the difficult complex situation at hand, the Chadian official, General Oky Dagache, has asked the United Nations not to renew its mandate.[235]

The mission has also been critiqued for the slowness of its response to the United Nation's request for assistance and for its effectiveness in the field.[236] It took six months for the E.U. to generate its force, deploy and declare its initial operating capability. This is partly explained by the difficulty the E.U. had in force generating enough troops for the mission, and the amount of planning and preparation required to sustain such a large force in such a difficult area of operations.[237] Furthermore, the E.U. had to marshal the contributions from twenty-three contributing nations, which adds to the complexity, but can also be considered as a better apportionment of the E.U.'s power projection burden.[238] Having said

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[233] 350 000 square kilometres – the size of Germany

[234] Health rights advocate, 21 January 2010, 2010, http://phrblog.org/blog/2010/01/21/new-danger-facing-darfuris-in-eastern-chad-chadian-government-opposes-minurcat-renewal/comment-page-1/.

[235] *Ibid*. While not unexpected, the Chadian government's reluctance to extend the MINURCAT operation, in particular the military component, is concerning due to the essential role played by the MINURCAT force in enabling humanitarian operations in eastern Chad and in north-eastern Central African Republic (CAR). Without the presence of MINURCAT, all food distribution, water, sanitation, health, and education, would have to cease immediately with the evacuation of International NGO (humanitarian) and UN staff.

[236] Bourlot, *Les Opérations De La PESD*, 75.

[237] Ehrhart, *Assessing EUFOR Chad/CAR*, 20 February 2010, 2.

[238] Bourlot, *Les Opérations De La PESD*, 75.

this, MINURCAT is also experiencing the same issues, therefore demonstrating the complexity of the situation. The volatility of the conflict, the seemingly lack of will for conflict resolution by the African national governments involved and the support bill associated to operations in that region make it extremely difficult to sustain a prolonged effort in the region.[239]

Overall, the EUFOR Chad/CAR mission has demonstrated that the E.U. has had the will to provide a significant military contribution, on its own, to a difficult, volatile and complex situation far removed from its borders. Consistently, the E.U. has combined its military efforts with other elements of its comprehensive approach to crisis management. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated once more, that it is capable of working in cooperation and in transition with the United Nations in crisis management and that its will to project its power seems dependent on the will of its three main power brokers. It has also been demonstrated that it is capable of generating support, although a lengthy process in this case, from a wider range of member states within the Union for military contributions which, in the past, had been predominantly assumed by the same nations. Furthermore, it has also been demonstrated that the E.U. is also capable of generating support from Russia, a Eurasian partner in this instance, which is not traditionally associated to the E.U. and its operations.

4.2.4. EU NAVFOR – Operation Atalanta

This is the latest military operation of the E.U. which was launched in December 2008. This mission, which was stood-up to help deter, prevent and repress acts of piracy and armed robbery off the coast of Somalia, actually saw its beginning in the creation of a E.U. coordination cell baptised EU NAVCO in September 2008 which had a mandate to coordinate the efforts of member states and certain

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[239] Ehrhart, *Assessing EUFOR Chad/CAR*, 20 February 2010, 2.

other tier states engaged in the fight against piracy off the coasts of Somalia.[240] Hence demonstrating

another evolution in the E.U.'s will to project its power as it began to play a leading role for other

regional active partners in global security. The mission itself consists of protecting World Food

Programme ships which are delivering critical aid to displaced persons in Somalia, as well as protecting

any other vulnerable ships such as commercial carriers. The mission, which had been originally

mandated for a period of twelve months, has recently been extended until December 2010.[241]

Furthermore, the E.U., which actively participates in an International Contact Group on piracy,

involving all the major nations and NATO "has established cooperative frameworks and arrangements

to enable Operation Atalanta to cooperate effectively with other naval forces and assets deployed in the

region."[242] Demonstrating its will to contribute militarily, amongst other means, to crisis management

in the region, the E.U. took the leading role, through EUNAVFOR-Atalanta, in the coordination

between the multinational, national and regional naval forces operating in the area to ensure de-

confliction, shared awareness and coordination in the disruption of piracy.[243]

Of note, as mentioned previously when assessing the main power brokers of the E.U., the

mission is led by the U.K. from its operational headquarters in Northwood and it is in fact the first time

that an independent E.U. mission has been led by the U.K..[244] The mission comprises ten contributing

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[240] Terpan, *La PESD Au Second Semestre 2008*, 43.

[241] European Council, "EUNAVFOR Somalia," http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=1518&lang=en (accessed 04/12, 2010).

[242] *Ibid*.

[243] *Ibid*.

[244] Bockel, *Les Avancées De l'Europe De La Défense Et De La Sécurité*, 12. and Terpan, *La PESD Au Second Semestre 2008*, 43.

nations which will provide a total of six to seven ships and three maritime patrol aircraft at any one time.[245]

The EU has mobilised rapidly its maritime capabilities in order to address the rise of piracy and has acquired high visibility at the international level for this accomplishment.[246] EU NAVFOR has also established effective cooperation mechanisms with other operations in the area, including the U.S.' Combined Task Force 151 and NATO Operation Allied Protector, and with other regional tier States.[247] However, the real impact of the EU's comprehensive approach still remains to be tested ashore, "where more effective interventions are needed to build institutional capacities and restore stability in the Somali territory."[248] The main problem remaining for all involved in counter piracy tasks is the legal aspect of the mission with regards to the actual detention of pirates. Having said this, the EU is in the process of establishing arrangements with the regional countries to address this challenge.[249]

Overall, the EU NAVFOR mission is significantly contributing to secure international commercial shipping lanes[250] and to ensure that critical aid can be delivered to that region, thus demonstrating that the E.U. is becoming an important global actor as its operations in that area are

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[245] Gya and Herz, *ESDP and EU Mission Update - March 2009*, 2.

[246] *Ibid*.

[247] European Council, "EUNAVFOR Somalia," http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=1518&lang=en (accessed 04/12, 2010). A good example is the agreement with Kenya for the transfer of piracy suspects detained by Operation ATALANTA.

[248] Pirozzi and Sandawi, *Military and Civilian ESDP Missions: Ever Growing and Effective?*, 9. There is indeed a EU training mission about to get under way for Somali security forces.

[249] European Council, "EUNAVFOR Somalia," http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=1518&lang=en (accessed 04/12, 2010).

[250] European Council, "EUNAVFOR Somalia," http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=1518&lang=en (accessed 04/12, 2010). More than 25 000 European commercial ships transit through that area each year.

having a beneficial impact on a global trade perspective . Furthermore, it seems that the U.K. is

reaffirming itself as a European actor and a major player inside the ESDP.[251] As Rear Admiral Phil

Jones, commander of the EU NAVFOR Atalanta stated:

> . . . This initiative clearly demonstrates the EU's determination to combat
> these criminal acts. It is also something of a privilege for the U.K. to lead
> such a milestone operation and it is an important step in securing
> international shipping and showing the international shipping community
> that something is being done. . . The EU mission to tackle piracy off the
> coast of Somalia is the latest example of the progress in European Defence
> in the last ten years and evidence of UK's commitment to ESDP. . . The
> EU has a powerful set of resources, civilian expertise, military forces,
> economic might and the most extensive diplomatic network in the world,
> as well as being the biggest donor of development funding in the world.
> This makes it uniquely placed to respond to instability.[252]

With regards to the E.U.'s comprehensive approach to the area, it is still too early to assess the

E.U.'s effectiveness.

4.3. Other E.U. Missions

The missions in the Balkans and Africa were used to demonstrate in detail, that the E.U. has

projected its power outside of Europe in the form of military missions, as well as other types of missions

as part of a uniquely European comprehensive approach, conclusively demonstrating an evolution of the

European will towards the projection of a hybrid form of power, employing a combination of civilian

and military means to create synergies on the ground. Having demonstrated this, it is also important to

underline that the E.U. has also projected its power in other regions of the globe, as far removed as

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[251] A Military Operations New Article, "Royal Navy Admiral Leads EU Anti-Piracy Mission," *Defence News* (2008), http://www.mod.uk/DefenceInternet/DefenceNews/MilitaryOperations/RoyalNavyAdmiralLeadsEuAntiPiracyMission.htm

[252] *Ibid*.

Afghanistan and Indonesia. Figure 4 provides a snapshot of E.U. missions all over the world, whether they are civilian missions or military missions.

Figure 4. Overview of the E.U. Missions and Operations – Jan 2010[253]

These E.U. operations that have been conducted and that are on-going today tell us much about the E.U.'s new "actorness" in the area of international crisis management and one can logically extrapolate, given its demonstrated evolution, on what the Europe Union will continue to develop into; an increasingly global projector of E.U. hybrid power through its ESDP.[254] Indeed, experts claim that:

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[253] European Council, "Missions and operations of the EU April 2010," http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=268&lang=EN (accessed 04/12, 2010).

[254] Pirozzi and Sandawi, *Military and Civilian ESDP Missions: Ever Growing and Effective?*, 17.

> . . . In the light of its increasing experience and self-confidence in the area
> of operative action, the EU has expanded its action field in security policy
> by including global deployment: its initial geographical focus on the
> European continent has been extended to comprise also global missions. If
> the Balkans still represents the most important region for ESDP both
> quantitatively and qualitatively, the Middle East and particularly Africa
> are becoming increasingly important key regions for future ESDP
> operations. The operative readiness of the E.U. to intervene in traditional
> and new scenarios has allowed it to achieve worldwide recognition as a
> security actor.[255]

From a purely operational perspective if "a positive evolution" is measured by the pure diversity,

geographical spread of operations, and increasing intensity of operations in which the E.U. has been

involved in, then an undoubtedly positive overall assessment can be made of the operative ESDP actions

having taken place until now.[256] Furthermore, no other security actor has the potential to provide

security in a way as comprehensive as the E.U., due to the wide range of civil and military instruments

at its disposal.[257] On the other hand, however, the trends and developments which have been outlined

earlier clearly point out that there are important challenges which must be dealt with if the E.U. still

wants to reach its strategic objectives outlined in the ESS and not get a bad name by pursuing a "show

the flag" policy.[258] Indeed, the E.U. will have difficulty in increasing its already admitted influential

power, in the Western Balkans and in the Middle East and Africa, as long as the limitations of the

operations which have been described earlier remain unresolved.[259]

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[255] Pirozzi and Sandawi, *Military and Civilian ESDP Missions: Ever Growing and Effective?*, 17.

[256] Gya and Herz, *ESDP and EU Mission Update - March 2009*, 2.

[257] *Ibid.*

[258] Pirozzi and Sandawi, *Military and Civilian ESDP Missions: Ever Growing and Effective?*, 17.

[259]*Ibid.*

Chapter 5. A Summary of the E.U.'s Will to Project Power

In keeping with Aron's first element of power, the preceding analysis was conducted from the perspective of four complementary facets which were deemed to be dependent of, and reflective of the will of the E.U. to project its power in a more classical sense. In summary, the examination of these four facets was unable to provide a definitive *yes* or a definitive *no* to the question of does the E.U. have the will to project its power in a more classical sense. Indeed, it is apparent that the only credible answer which can be derived from the analysis is that ***more and more yes*** and ***less and less no***. What is clearly demonstrated throughout these four facets is an evolution towards a Europe which is increasingly willing to project a form of hybrid power which includes civilian normative power as well as military power working together to achieve synergies in the field when required.

In fact, at first look, in analyzing the three power brokers of the E.U. when it comes to classical power projection, it seems that as much as the big three can be the ***engines*** for E.U. intervention, they can also be the ***brakes***, when their national self-interests and strategic cultures are divergent. Indeed it is apparent that while Germany seems to be sitting on the fence when it comes to classical power projection, France's ambitions of an assertive Europe, similar to the U.S. and NATO, seem to be cancelled out by British Atlanticism and overall scepticism of Franco/German military cooperation. Having said this, there seems to be a swell of European convergence of late when it comes to defence and security and all three have recently led or are currently leading E.U. military operations.

The analysis of the emergence of a European Security Culture did not elucidate the great debate of whether the E.U. now possesses a security culture such as the U.S. or not. However, through its ESDP and its ESS, it has been clearly demonstrated that there has been a shift, an evolution, even within

the last decade, **of an increasing E.U. will to become a more active global security actor**. Perhaps

not in a classical sense as we know it, but perhaps more **as a projector of a hybrid form of power**

which involves a synergistic combination of civilian and military means.

The analysis of the E.U.'s politico/military decisional framework demonstrated that the E.U. had

endowed itself with a sophisticated decisional apparatus capable of systemically enabling its ambitions

contained in its ESS and through its ESDP. However, the dichotomy in the relationship between the

Member States and the politico/military decisional framework was also demonstrated in the sense that

although the framework is the central forum for decision making, **the real power seems to still lie with**

the parts, the Member States. Hence, quite contrary to a classical power projector such as the U.S., it

is the sum of the parts, not the center, which enables, and can also disable E.U. power projection.

Finally, E.U. operations around the globe were analyzed, more specifically those in the Balkans

and Africa. These operations when considered as a whole, demonstrated all at once E.U. resolve and

indecisiveness, rapid reaction and laborious force generation, strength and weakness. However, what

was clearly demonstrated was an evolution **of the E.U.'s will to take on increasingly higher intensity**

operations with greater risk, usually associated to more classical forms of power projection. It was

also apparent that the E.U.'s approach to power projection was a comprehensive one, projecting a form

of hybrid power which could in some demonstrated cases project a robust military capability if required.

What remains to be seen now is if E.U. will is reflected in its capabilities indeed allowing it to

project its will; its power outside of its boundaries.

PART II – THE E.U.'S CAPABILITIES TO PROJECT POWER

As discussed earlier, the end of the cold war, and conflicts in the Balkans on Europe's borders brought much change from the perspective of its security and defence. More specifically, these significant changes and events, gave impetus to increased European military cooperation.[260] Hence, the ESDP developed rapidly as an offspring of the European constitutional project. The E.U.'s evolution into a more prominent global security actor, reflective of its increasing will to project a hybrid form of power, has been examined in the previous chapter; looking at its main power brokers, its strategic culture, its security and defence policy and its security strategy, and its politico/military decision-making framework. What has not been examined or assessed yet, but what should be tightly knitted with the E.U.'s will to project power, according to Aron, is the E.U.'s capabilities to project power in a more classical sense.

According to Battistella, an analyst and corroborator of Aron's theory on international relations, a political entity's ability to coerce another one, or make it do something that it would otherwise not have done rests first and foremost with its military capabilities.[261] Indeed, according to Aron, even though power projection is a human relation, **a political entity's potential to act is based on its capabilities**.[262] Accordingly, in order to examine the E.U.'s potential for power projection in a more classical sense, it is essential, consistent with the model proposed by Aron, to analyse its resources. As described earlier in the proposed analytical framework, a political entity's will to project power, needs to be supported by, and integrated with, a second element of power, which is its resources. Aron describes

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[260] EUobserver.com, 2009, http://euobserver.com/13/28451.

[261] Battistella, *Le Concept De Puissance: Manuel d'Études Stratégiques*, 25.

[262] EUobserver.com, 2009, http://euobserver.com/13/28451.

this element of power as a political entity's materiel resources and the knowledge required to transform and use them.[263] As such, resources will be interpreted in this chapter as the E.U.'s broad **capabilities**. More specifically, it will predominantly focus on the E.U.'s military capabilities in relation to the projection of its power in a more classical sense, outside of Europe's borders.

Hence, in order to analyse and assess the E.U.'s capabilities in projecting its power in a more classical sense outside of Europe, this chapter will first examine the **European Defence Agency (EDA)**, its creation, roles and responsibilities, achievements and challenges. One could ask why the EDA was not examined along with the other institutions such as the PSC or the EUMC in the first part of this analysis. Indeed, similarly, the creation of the EDA, and the responsibilities bestowed upon it are in a sense demonstrations of European will to pursue the development of its necessary capabilities in order to project its power. However, its analysis will occur in this part on capabilities, as it **plays a central role in E.U. capability development**. Hence, the analysis of the EDA thus serves as a bridge; a transition, between the two parts. Second, it will examine the member states' contributions as well as the development of E.U. capabilities through its **Headline Goals**, its **Capability Development Plan** and **Structured Cooperation initiatives**. Finally, it will examine the **improvements in E.U. military capabilities** themselves and make an assessment of these capabilities and determine if they are congruent, or not with the E.U.'s will to project power outside of Europe.

Chapter 6. The European Defence Agency (EDA)

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[263] Aron, *Paix et guerre entre les nations . . .*, 65.

The statement in the European Constitution, which underlines that "Member States shall undertake progressively to improve their military capabilities," was a catalyst for the establishment of the EDA. [264] Hence, in relation to the previous part of this analysis, which assessed the E.U.'s will to project its power, it could be said that the EDA is also a tangible sign, a corollary of European evolution and will. However, in its analysis of the EDA, this chapter will concentrate on assessing the more concrete development of E.U. capabilities, enabling its power projection in a more classical sense. Indeed, since its creation, the EDA has played a central role in European military capability development. The EDA was institutionalized in 2004 through pan-European recognition that such an agency was a pre-requisite, even a necessity, for a credible foreign policy.[265] In fact, Javier Solana, High Representative of the Common Foreign Security Policy and first Head of the EDA stated with high hopes that:

> . . . The need to bolster Europe's military capabilities to match our aspirations is more urgent than ever. And so, too, is the need for us to respond better to the challenges facing our defence industries. This Agency can make a huge difference.[266]

Still, the creation of the EDA was met with some scepticism, as previous attempts at fostering European cooperation on arms production and procurement had not yielded significant results.[267] Indeed, the EDA was an evolution of the questionably successful Western European Armaments Organization

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[264] EUobserver.com, 2009, http://euobserver.com/13/28451.

[265] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 92. The crisis in Kosovo and in the rest of Ex-Yugoslavia demonstrated that compared to the U.S., European forces could do little more than play a facilitating or back-up role.

[266] EUobserver.com, 2009, http://euobserver.com/13/28451.

[267] EUobserver.com, 2009, http://euobserver.com/13/28451.

(WEAO) and of the Western European Armaments Group (WEAG). Hence, the EDA is a

demonstration of European evolution in its efforts in developing its capabilities to project its power.

6.1.Aim of the European Defence Agency

The EDA aims at developing military capabilities in the fields of crisis management and to

promote and enhance European armaments cooperation. It also aims at strengthening the European

industrial and technological base, in the field of defence, to create a competitive European Defence

Equipment Market (EDEM) and promote research.[268]   In this sense, the EDA attempts to fulfill the

same role, although on a much smaller scale, as the United States Joint Forces Command (USJFCOM)

in trying to integrate the efforts of the other U.S. services towards capability development. Worth noting

is the fact that prior to the EDA, armaments cooperation between Member States had taken place outside

of the E.U. framework, if it happened at all, thus demonstrating a positive evolution in E.U. cooperation

from a capabilities perspective.[269]

6.2. Mission of the European Defence Agency

The EDA's mission is to support the European Council and the member states in their efforts to

improve the E.U.'s defence capabilities and to sustain the ESDP.[270] Particularly from a E.U.

perspective, its mission is critical and urgent given that increasingly, for myriad reasons, there is a

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[268] European Council, "European Defence Agency," Europa,
http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/foreign_and_security_policy/cfsp_and_esdp_implementation/r00002_en.htm
(accessed 02/15, 2010).

[269] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 109.
[270] European Council, *European Defence Agency*….

requirement for linkages between the Union's military capabilities and its means to produce them.[271]

This urgency was reflected by the fact that although the Constitutional Treaty had not been ratified by

all member states, the European Council, which represents the political will of the member states, pre-

emptively authorised the creation of the EDA. Alexander Weis, current Chief Executive of the EDA,

claims in the EDA's latest 2010 bulletin as he looks forward:

> . . . The coming years will pose additional problems under the impact of
> global economic crisis. Defence budgets will not escape from the wider
> government expenditure cuts . . . investment is likely to suffer most from
> budget cuts in the short term. The need to combine efforts and invest
> together, through collaborative Research and Technology and armaments
> cooperation, will further grow in these circumstances. Rather than falling
> back [on] national solutions, European cooperation should be the road to
> take.[272]

Hence, in this sense, it is foreseen that European cooperation in this field should continue to

evolve positively, based on external factors which will tend to accelerate and amplify it.[273] Clearly it is

demonstrated that there seems to be an evolution process, or at least a perceived will, for increased

cooperation in military capability development from the perspective of the EDA.

6.3. Objectives of the European Defence Agency

The EDA's objectives are directly linked to E.U. military capabilities as demonstrated in the

following table. As such, it can be interpreted that the EDA is an essential capability in itself, if it is

assumed that capabilities usually generate effects, contributing to operational effectiveness. Of note,

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[271] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 109.

[272] Alexander Weis, "EDA at Five," *EDA Bulletin* February 2010, no. 13 (2010), 2-7.

[273] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 133.

there is no similar all encompassing agency, responsible for the development of military capabilities, dealing with such a multitude of nation states, demonstrating once again a level of uniqueness in the E.U.'s security and defence project and also demonstrating an evolution in multi-national cooperation from a military capabilities perspective.

Table 2. Objectives of the European Defence Agency. [274]

Objectives of the European Defence Agency	
Contribute	to identifying the Member States' military capabilities objectives and evaluating observance of the capability commitments given by the member states
Promote	Harmonization of operational needs and adoption of effective compatible procurement methods
Propose	Multilateral projects to fulfil the objectives in terms of military capabilities, ensure coordination of the programmes implemented by the Member States and management of specific cooperation programmes
Support	Defence technology research, and coordinate and plan joint research activities and the study of technical solutions meeting future operational needs
Contribute	To identifying and if necessary implementing any useful measure for strengthening the industrial and technological base of the defence sector and for improving the effectiveness of military expenditure

6.4. Accomplishments of the European Defence Agency

Having looked at the EDA's aim, its mission and its objectives it is visible that the E.U. has endowed itself with an institution which could potentially enable the development of its defence planning, military capability objectives and armaments coordination in line with the tasks it wants to assume.[275]   Indeed, the EDA has had many successes (see Annex A) and has been one of the key elements in efforts to bring about more coherence and integration in defence cooperation among E.U. member states.[276]

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[274] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 109.

[275] Petersburg Tasks

One of its major accomplishments is the creation of a Capability Development Plan (CDP) which

will be analysed later in this chapter.[277] Briefly however, since its inception in 2008, the CDP has been

recognized by the Member-States and is being used more and more as a significant driver in their

national plans, thus demonstrating once more that the E.U. is evolving towards increased cooperation

and integration from a military capabilities perspective.[278] Other significant achievements have been in

the establishment of codes of conduct for member states when it comes to defence procurement and

supply chain management. These codes of conduct "mark a breakthrough for changing nationally

protected equipment markets and procurement policies to opening up a truly European Defence

Equipment Market (EDEM)."[279] For consideration when assessing the EDA's impact on the

development of E.U. military capabilities, the EDA has produced a list of achievements since its

inception, and these have been included at Annex A. These achievements, when weighed collectively,

clearly demonstrate an evolution in the level of cooperation between E.U. member states in fields that

have a significant impact on the E.U.'s operational effectiveness. In order to quickly examine a few for

instance, the creation of a European Helicopter Training Programme (HTP) is a first in innovation at the

European level. The HTP will deliver up-to-date training "for real world requirements"[280] to the

participating Member States. This is an example where capability development did not necessarily

require major equipment procurement. From a major capability perspective, the advances in the

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[276] Josef Batora, "European Defence Agency: A Flashpoint of Institutional Logistics," *West European Politics* 32, no. 6 (2010), http://pdfserve.informaworld.com//779365_731255110_916240045.pdf

[277] Weis, *EDA at Five*, 2.

[278] *Ibid*.

[279] Weis, *EDA at Five*, 2.

[280] Dimitrios Moutsiakis and Laurent Donnet, "EATF: Reducing Military Airlift Capability Shortfalls in Europe," *EDA Bulletin* February 2010, no. 13 (2010), 14.

European Air Transport Fleet (EATF) are moving along positively with the signatures by fourteen

Ministers of Defence of a letter of intent in November 2009, which established a network for sharing;

indeed a pool of European airlift assets.[281] Advances in the Maritime Surveillance domain with

MARSUR, has significantly improved data sharing and decision making from a Maritime Surveillance

perspective amongst participating Member States.[282] Finally, the EDA has been gathering defence data

since its inception and is now in a position to identify trends in European defence spending and make

extrapolations for the future. Using this data, the EDA is now capable of better effectiveness

measurement towards the achievement of benchmarks it has established for itself, as well as for Member

States.[283] Some of these statistics will be raised in the sections to come demonstrating some of these

evolving trends in increased cooperation. Hence, from the EDA's perspective, it is focussed on

capabilities into being, in other words in their development phase. Thus, the EDA itself and the

capabilities mentioned above, although demonstrative of an evolution towards increased capabilities and

increased effectiveness, are not indicative of a current, clear-cut capability to project power in a more

classical sense. Having said this, there are clear indicators of an increased cooperation between some

member states and of an evolution towards the development of capabilities for more classical power

projection.

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[281] Dimitrios Moutsiakis and Laurent Donnet, "EATF: Reducing Military Airlift Capability Shortfalls in Europe," *EDA Bulletin* February 2010, no. 13 (2010), 14.

[282] The Wise Pen Team, "A Different Approach to Achieving Maritime Surveillance," *EDA Bulletin* February 2010, no. 13 (2010), 20.

[283] Paul Horrocks, "The Relevance of the Agency's Defence Data," *EDA Bulletin* Februrary 2010, no. 13 (2010), 20.

6.5. The European Defence Agency – An enhancement to E.U. Capabilities?

Although it has been demonstrated previously that the E.U. has been increasingly active in crisis management operations around the globe, the recognized levels of cooperation in the defence domain within the E.U. remains a subject of debate.[284] This debate revolves around the perception that diverging national interests, in the field of military cooperation, have been barriers, hampering the development of E.U. capabilities.[285] Indeed, the EDA works in a policy area traditionally marred by elevated divergence amongst actors regarding fundamental notions of what level of integration and which principles of interaction in the defence domain are appropriate for each Member State within the E.U., which countries should participate in defence cooperation, and what coordination and cooperation mechanisms and instruments should be used.[286] In all these dimensions, the EDA has been a "centripetal force trying to amalgamate different visions of how various aspects of defence integration in the E.U. should be organised"[287], but the truth remains that it is up to the "owners of the Agency", the Member States, to decide what initiatives will be taken.[288] Hence demonstrating once more an evolution in the development or should we say an emergence of more classical means of power projection within the E.U. but also the limitations related to Member State divergences in the establishment of capability development priorities and to commitments of financial resources.

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[284] Josef Batora, "European Defence Agency: A Flashpoint of Institutional Logistics….

[285] Slijper, *Potentially Powerfull: The European Defence Agency at Five Years*, 1.

[286] Josef Batora, "European Defence Agency: A Flashpoint of Institutional Logistics….

[287] Terpan, *La PESD Au Second Semestre 2008*, 37. For instance in November 2008, the Foreign Affairs Ministers, within the "Conseil Affaires Générales Relations Extérieures (CAGRE)", adopted a declaration clarifying the indispensible link between the EDA and the "organisme conjoint de cooperation en matière d'armement (OCCAR)" which is comprised of France, UK, Italy and Belgium, underlining synergies and integration for the development of European capabilities. Indeed, the OCCAR has become the executive arm of the EDA. Bockel, *Les Avancées De l'Europe De La Défense Et De La Sécurité*, 12. and Terpan, *La PESD Au Second Semestre 2008*, 43.

[288] Jo BGen (Ret) Coelmont, "An EDA as Ambitious as the Lisbon Treaty," *EDA Bulletin* February 2010, no. 13 (2010), 6.

Indeed, there are obvious tensions between the logic of supranational regulation and the logic of intergovernmental networking; between the logic of defence sovereignty and the logic of pooled defence resources; between the Europeanist and the Euro-Atlanticist logic; and finally between the logics of liberalisation and Europeanization of the defence market.[289] In fact, while the former logic provides for the emergence of synergic effects in the E.U.'s defence industrial sector, for economies of scale and for competition driven reduction in equipment prices, the latter logic limits competition by limiting market access of non-European producers.[290] The challenge here is that in a number of areas the most advanced military technologies are in fact developed and produced outside the E.U., mostly in the U.S.. Hence, in the short to medium term, the logic of Europeanization of the defence market negatively affects the EDA's ability to attain its overarching goal of profoundly improving the military technological capacities of E.U. forces.[291]

Another recurrent criticism of the E.U.'s efforts in the field of security and defence is related to the overlapping and inefficiency of member states defence capabilities. This has usually been justified by the securitisation of national defence industries, an essential feature for the survival of the European nation-states.[292] Nonetheless, recent steps in both the economic (large number of mergers and acquisitions within the European defence industry sector) and the political (security and defence integration measures within the E.U.) arenas have contributed to changes in recent rhetoric. In fact, experts are now extrapolating that E.U. member states' plans will evolve more towards the EDA's

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[289] Batora, *European Defence Agency: A Flashpoint of Institutional Logistics*, 1076.

[290] *Ibid*. A question which has been central to the recent spat between the EADS and Boeing for the USAF contract for Air Refuellers.

[291] *Ibid*.

[292] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 117.

proposed framework and less towards national-only-centric plans, which have proven inefficient and to a certain degree ineffective.[293]

Overall, it has been demonstrated that the **EDA is in fact an enhancement to E.U. capabilities** in power projection. It seems, based on the analysis presented that it will allow for the evolution in the development of the E.U.'s military capabilities to continue. It has been demonstrated that the **EDA is indeed a bridge between E.U. will and capabilities**. Having said this, although it is a clear indicator of increased cooperation amongst Member States and an enhancement to overall military capability development, its effectiveness can also be limited by the Member State divergences. Finally looking at its accomplishments at Annex A, and based on the analysis herein, it seems at first look that European capabilities, traditionally associated to more classical power projection, are on the right track for **coming into being**. In other words, they **remain at their infancy stage**, but are growing.

Chapter 7. E.U. Military Capabilities – The Beginning

In order to assess if the E.U. has the potential to project its power outside of the E.U. from a capabilities perspective it is important to understand how the E.U. began in its assembly of military capabilities, where it is today and where it seems to be going in the future.

Since the Petersburg meetings in 1992, the E.U. had been slowly moving towards the creation of a military capability, which would mainly focus on peacekeeping missions. The process of creating

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[293] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 117.

such a capability gathered steam after it was officially launched with the ESDP in 1999.[294] The Cologne

European Council meetings of June 1999 ended with a clearly stated determination that:

> . . . the E.U. shall play its full role on the international stage. To that end, we intend to give the E.U. the necessary means and capabilities to assume its responsibilities regarding common European policy on security and defence . . . the Union must have the capacity for autonomous action, backed by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and the readiness to do so, in order to respond to international crises. . . .[295]

Indeed detractors will claim that even in European military capability development, Europe is still at the

stage where it can only express its will to project a classical form of power. Nonetheless, this

determination is one of the early signs of a European evolution towards the development of a military

capability to project its power in a more classical sense, outside of Europe.

7.1. Initial E.U. Capabilities and the Helsinki Headline Goal

The determination which was highlighted previously translated into a more tangible target being

established, a "Headline Goal", at the Helsinki conference in December 1999.[296] This target involved

the establishment of E.U. military capabilities, to deal with the "Petersburg Tasks,"[297] by 2003. What

became known as the **Helsinki Headline Goal of 2003 (HHG)** involved the full range of the Petersburg

tasks and also involved the rapid deployment and sustainment of approximately fifteen brigades

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[294] Collin Robinson, "The European Union's Current Status," *Center for Defence Information* (11 Sep 2002), http://www.cdi.org/program/document.cfm?documentid=199&programID=37&from_page=../friendlyversion/printversion.cfm

[295] European Council Secretariat, *Background - Development of European Military Capabilities: The Force Catalogue* (2006).

[296] *Ibid*.

[297] Robinson, *The European Union's Current Status*, 15 Mar 2010. The Petersburg Tasks involved Humanitarian Missions, Rescue Missions, Peacekeeping missions and tasks of Combat forces in crisis management such as Peacemaking.

(roughly fifty to sixty thousand troops), which needed to be self-reliant; in other words, not dependant

on U.S.' assets, as well as deployable at full strength within sixty days for a period of one year. By

November 2000 the first Force Generation Conference produced the first E.U. Forces Catalogue[298]

which contained the initial contributions of military capabilities by the participating Member States.

Annex B contains the initial contributions by the Member States.

The determination of the Cologne European Council meetings also engendered the creation of

the Political and Security Committee (PSC), the E.U. Military Committee (EUMC) and Staff (EUMS)

which have been assessed earlier from Aron's perspective of a political entity's will to project its power.

In response to the detractor's argument raised earlier, from Aron's perspective of capability, it can also

be argued that these politico/military decisional armatures are in fact capabilities as well, as they have

been essential to the implementation of the new policy.[299] Having said this, it is considered that these

structures have already been assessed and will not be covered again in this section.

Of significant note, looking at the initial contributions by the member states is the fact that

predominantly, these forces **were not construed as [new] forces within a state's arsenal**. These forces

were dual purposed as they were earmarked for both their state's contribution to NATO, as well as to the

E.U..[300] Obviously one can denote the potential for friction or at least the potential for slowness in the

decision making process in the event where the NATO and the E.U. might disagree on the employment

of forces, as well as the potential for one organization to have reciprocal influence on the other through

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[298] Robinson, *The European Union's Current Status*, 15 Mar 2010... Became Known as the Helsinki Force
Catalogue.

[299] *Ibid*.

[300] *Ibid*.

these said commitments.[301] In the event of such a crisis, state governments would decide where, and

under which banner, they would deploy their forces, with potentially disastrous consequences to the

perception of unity of either organisation.[302] Hence, a state's commitment to the Helsinki Forces

Catalogue **did not equate to a guarantee that its capabilities would be made available** in the event of

a crisis. Notwithstanding, the May 2003 General Affairs and External Relations (GAERC) meeting

declared that the deadline for contributions had been met and that "the E.U. now [had] the operational

capability across the full range of Petersburg Tasks, only limited and constrained by recognized

shortfalls."[303] Although the GAERC was quick to proclaim success it still remains unclear if the

capabilities brought forward by the HHG are solid indications of European capabilities for classical

power projection. Having said this, the fact that the E.U. had by 2006 engaged in sixteen missions, in as

many countries, on three continents, adds a degree of credibility to the GAERC's statement.[304]

In assessing and analyzing the HHG what is clear is that these initial goals in military capability

development were primarily focused on **quantity vice capability and quality**. Also, the nature of the

operations which the E.U. aimed to mount was still unclear at the time, thus making it difficult to assess

in any way and also making it very difficult to determine what capabilities would be required.

Nonetheless, the HHG did underline shortfalls in strategic systems which would enable effective power

projection if remedied. The main areas of strategic deficiency which were noted were in air-to-air

refuelling, combat search and rescue, planning and mission headquarters, nuclear biological and

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[301] Robinson, *The European Union's Current Status*, 15 Mar 2010... .

[302] Although there was no concurrent EU deployment on-going at the time, the UK's participation in the US led invasion of Iraq amidst EU objection was a blow to overall EU unity.

[303] European Council Secretariat, *Report on the Development of European Military Capabilities-Forces Catalogue*, (2006).

[304] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 92.

chemical defences, special operations forces, theatre ballistic missile defence, unmanned aerial vehicles, strategic airlift, space, and interoperability.[305]

7.2. The Headline Goal – 2010 (HLG 2010)

The HHG was portrayed as having solved the E.U.'s military capabilities challenge from a quantitative perspective. However, the E.U. soon realized that in order to meet the ambitions set in its European Security Strategy (ESS) of 2003, it would need to assemble more "highly-trained, rapidly deployable, and effectively sustainable forces to meet the objectives of the revised Petersburg Tasks" than what it had in its current Helsinki Forces Catalogue.[306] Although the HLG 2010 was officially endorsed in 2004, considering the reductions of European forces and qualitative aspects of those forces, the challenges at hand were quite considerable and evidently demonstrated when one browses the Table of European Armed Forces of 2004 at Annex C. The E.U. has been striving to achieve those objectives laid out in the HLG 2010 to this day. Hence, although the **HLG 2010 is very much a work-in-progress, it is another demonstrated evolution in the E.U.'s more classical power projection capabilities**. It also demonstrates that from a capabilities perspective, it is becoming clearer and clearer that the E.U. is a power projector of some form, **coming into being, but is not quite there yet**.

The process by which the HLG 2010 would achieve its objectives was quite thorough. First, it established five scenarios which encompassed the full range of military operations.[307] From these

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[305] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 92..

[306] *Ibid*., 106.

[307] European Council Secretariat, *Report on the Development of European Military Capabilities-Forces Catalogue*, (2006). These scenarios included : separation of parties by force; stabilisation, reconstruction, and military advice to third

scenarios, the EUMS developed templated military options[308], from which were deduced requisite

capabilities that the E.U. would need. Furthermore, generic force packages were compiled which

identified the predicted force groupings that the E.U. would require to solve a crisis. The amalgamation

of this information led to the creation of a Requirements Catalogue, which listed the actual types of

units, resources and assets required in order to fulfill the E.U.'s needs.[309]

With a realistic Requirements Catalogue in hand, and an educated idea of what the Member

States could contribute[310] (European Forces Catalogue), the E.U. was now able to properly assess its

shortfalls and begin with the process of addressing them (Progress Catalogue).[311] One of these shortfalls

identified by the HLG 2010 was the absence of an organization such as the EDA which was covered

earlier. **Hence, the EDA is a clear by product of the European evolution and a catalyst towards**

military capabilities traditionally associated to more classical ways of projecting power. Indeed the

EDA works hand in glove with the EUMS, the EUMC, and of course the Member States, to bridge the

gaps between the Member States' "haves" and the European "needs".[312]

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countries; conflict prevention; evacuation operation; and assistance to humanitarian operations. EU Council Secretariat, Background, Development of European Military Capabilities

[308] From a European perspective of course – Hence these included significant civilian capabilities as well.

[309] European Council Secretariat, *Report on the Development of European Military Capabilities-Forces Catalogue*, (2006).

[310] *Ibid*. The member states needed to complete a capacity questionnaire (HLG Questionnaire) to determine which capabilities they could and wanted to provide based on the requirements catalogue.

[311] *Ibid*.

[312] European Council, *Report on the Development of European Military Capabilities,* (2009).

7.3. The Capability Development Plan (CDP)

The aim of the CDP, a cooperative effort between the EDA, the EUMC and the Member States, is to provide the latter with information which could facilitate their decision-making in the context of national capability choices, stimulate their cooperation and facilitate the launching of new joint programmes which overcome present and future E.U. shortfalls. It aims at providing guidelines for future work in the fields of research and technology, armament and industry and forms the cornerstone of EDA's activities.[313] Hence, although it is facilitated by the EDA, the CDP is not a supranational plan. In fact, it is created by and for the Member States.[314] Hence, the **Member States are the lynchpin when it comes to military capability development**. As some experts maintain, the Member States "just need to seize the opportunity."[315] One can now see the obvious critical link between E.U. capability development and the Member States' will to buy into the ESS and its views on Europe's interests and roles in global security.[316]

When looking at specific military capabilities, the CDP is based on the goals identified in the HLG 2010, and in particular on the conclusions of the 2007 Progress Catalogue.[317] The CDP also

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[313] Jean-René Le Goff, "Le plan de développement des capacités: Un outil révolutionnaire," *Défense Nationale* 64, no. 7 (2008), 40.

[314] European Council, *Report on the Development of European Military Capabilities...*, 6.

[315] Jean-René Le Goff, "Le plan de développement des capacités: Un outil révolutionnaire…, 40. and Fillon, *Une Europe Souveraine Et Influente*, 21. and Morin, *Penser l'Europe De Demain*, 25.

[316] *Ibid*.

[317] European Council, *Report on the Development of European Military Capabilities...*, 6. The Progress Catalogue identifies quantitative and qualitative military capability shortfalls on the basis of the requirements set out in the Requirements Catalogue 2005 and the contributions compiled in the Force Catalogue 2007. It analyses their potential implications for military tasks to be carried out in crisis management operations. The Force Catalogue not only provided the basis for identifying the EU's shortfalls but also the potential operational risks arising from not filling these requirements. This analysis resulted in the Progress Catalogue, approved by the Council in November 2007, which sets out

considers other information that is useful for decision-making concerning the management of shortfalls, such as existing NATO capabilities and assets and future developments, an estimate of the capability required in 2025, on the basis of research into foreseeable developments, available technology and potential threats, current plans and programmes announced by the Member States, and lessons learned from current operations with regard to capabilities.[318] **Hence, the CDP is a significant component of a long-term E.U. objective of becoming a more active global security actor, as it is a catalyst to the convergence of Member States' military capabilities towards a more coordinated and unified approach**. The capability development process can be best depicted by Figure 5 at the end of this section.

As a means of demonstrating the evolution in E.U.'s inter-state cooperation in the enhancement of its military capabilities it is important to note that in July 2008, the EDA Steering Board approved the general conclusions of the 2007 Progress Catalogue and initiated work on an initial group of twelve capability areas in the initial CDP.[319] These twelve prioritized actions relate to approximately fifty percent of the capability shortfalls contained in the critical group of the initial CDP.[320]

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recommendations to the Member States on managing shortfalls. The Progress Catalogue, together with the EUMC's subsequent work on prioritising the shortfalls, is a key contribution to the Capability Development Plan drawn up by the Member States via the EDA and the EUMC. An analysis of the new contributions made by Member States in the Force Catalogue 2009 will enable to assess whether these new contributions have significantly impacted on the identified military shortfalls in the HLG 2010 process. This analysis is to be finalised and reported by October 2009. It will provide a basis for a possible update of the Capability Development Plan by mid 2010.

[318] *Ibid*.

[319] European Council, *Report on the Development of European Military Capabilities...*, 6. The initial tranche of 12 selected actions included: Measures to counter man-portable air defence systems, Computer network operations, Mine counter-measures in littoral sea areas, Comprehensive approach - military implications, Military human intelligence and cultural/language training, Intelligence, surveillance, target acquisition and reconnaissance architecture, Medical support, Chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear defence, Third party logistic support, Measures to counter improvised explosive devices, Increased availability of helicopters, and Network-enabled capability (NEC).

[320] European Council, *Report on the Development of European Military Capabilities. . .*, 6. Of note, the CDP, which is a living document, can be continuously updated to account for various new inputs and lays emphasis on the need to ensure the best possible coordination with similar work carried out by the North American Treaty Organization. Additionally, in

It can thus be said that the CDP is an enhancement to European military capabilities as it contributes positively to the development of military capabilities and therefore the E.U.'s potential for power projection in a more classical sense. Its creation in itself is yet another **demonstration of the E.U.'s evolution towards being a more serious and more effective global security actor**. Although the CDP is but a prospective tool to reveal obvious deficiencies and establish strategies to mitigate these, the more it is bought into and adhered to by the Member States, the better the E.U. will be equipped to deal with crisis management.[321] To paraphrase Jean-René Le Goff: "The EDA is the orchestra conductor, his baguette is the CDP, let's just hope there are enough willing musicians; the member states."[322] Hence the analysis of the CDP is also another element contributing to the idea that from a capabilities perspective, the E.U. **is in the process of endowing itself with the capabilities traditionally associated to a more classical form of power projection**. Analysis also indicates more and more conclusively that its military capabilities for classical power projection **are in becoming but not quite there yet**.

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cooperation with the EUMS, the EDA has performed a programme of bilateral or multilateral meetings with Member States to make the CDP known outside the circle of Defence Ministries, by presenting it to other national bodies such as national armament or research and technology agencies. Cooperation between the EUMC and the EDA also takes place within integrated development and EDA project teams intended to support Member States in their efforts to make good the shortfalls identified.

[321] Le Goff, *Le Plan De Développement Des Capacités: Un Outil Révolutionnaire*, 42.

[322] *Ibid.*, 45.

Figure 5. The E.U.'s Capability Development Process [323]
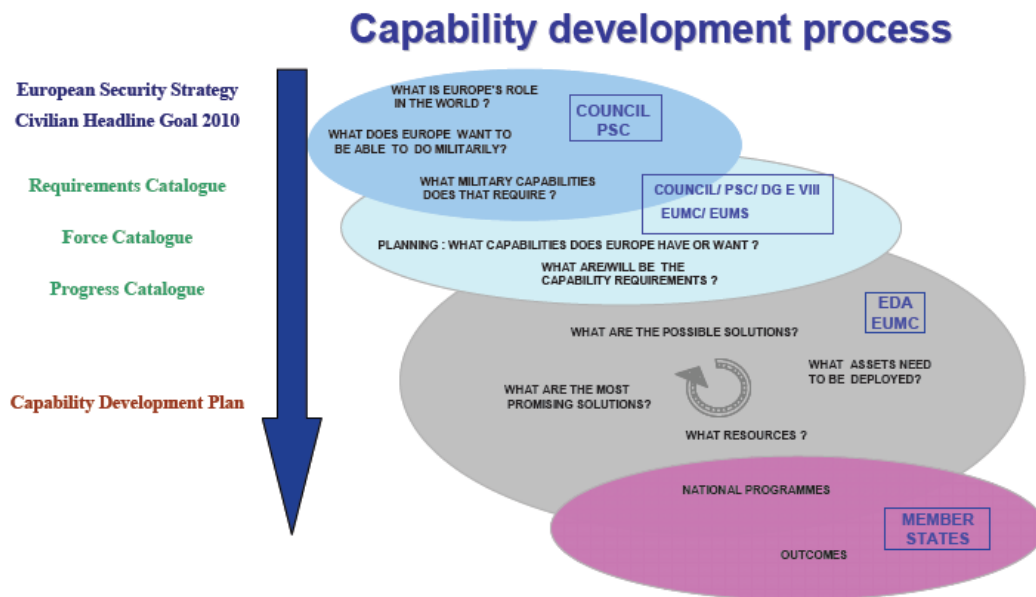
7.4. Challenges in Addressing the Gap: The CDP and Permanent Structured Cooperation

The previous sections in this chapter focused predominantly on the mechanisms, created by Europeans, to identify and address capability shortfalls within E.U. military capabilities such as the EDA, the HHG, the HLG 2010, and the CDP. This section will look at **how the capability gaps, identified through these mechanisms, will be addressed**.

At first, the inefficiency of Europe's armed forces was well recognized through blatant inaction in the field, such as the early stages of the crisis in Ex-Yugoslavia, and through the organizations or mechanisms previously mentioned. They were also evidenced, from a personnel perspective, by the contents of Annex C, and from a capabilities perspective, by the gaps identified in the CDP. The fact that the twenty-seven E.U. Member States spend collectively in approximation of two hundred billion

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[323] European Council, *Report on the Development of Europea Military Capabilities. . .*, 6.

Euros per year on defence and that out of their approximately two million European men and women in uniform, **only ten to fifteen percent were estimated to be deployable was a consequence of these inefficiencies**.[324] There were numerous causes such as the maintenance of a plethora of small scale capabilities, unnecessary intra-E.U. duplication and overlap, large numbers of quasi non-deployable conscripts, capability gaps in terms of enablers such as strategic transport, command, control and communications, as well as the slow realization by the member states that they were now required to shift their mindset from territorial defence, a vestige of the Cold War, to more expeditionary-type tasks.[325] **Hence, deficiencies in European military capabilities and tardiness in remedying these were not necessarily due to the lack of European political will contrary to some detractors' beliefs**.

Of course, E.U. Member States, as demonstrated earlier, by their collective will and relatively new mechanisms such as the EDA, the HLG 2010 and the CDP, are now attempting to address these inefficiencies thus demonstrating **an evolution towards a E.U. which is equipped to satisfy its ambition of playing a greater global security role**. Although most E.U. Member States share great interest in solving inefficiencies, unsurprisingly, some Member States have mobilized greater will, and greater resources than others to address the capability gaps.[326] "Permanent Structured Cooperation"[327]

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[324] Daniel Kehoane, "European Military Capabilities: Sharing the Burden," *ESDP Newsletter* 6, no. July 2008 (2008), 26. and Sven Dir Biscop, *E Pluribus Unum? Military Integration in the European Union: Egmont Paper, Royal Institute for International Relations* (Brussels: Academia Press, 2005), 3.

[325] Sven Dir Biscop, *E Pluribus Unum? Military Integration in the European Union: Egmont Paper, Royal Institute for International Relations* (Brussels: Academia Press, 2005), 3.

[326] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 107.

[327] Sven Dir Biscop, *E Pluribus Unum? Military Integration in the European Union: Egmont Paper, Royal Institute for International Relations* (Brussels: Academia Press, 2005), 3. and *European Parliament Resolution of 10 March 2010 on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy and the Common Security and Defence Policy (2009/2198(INI)),* 2009/2198, (10 Mar 2010, 2010) . Member States willing to take part in Permanent Structured Cooperation would commit to agreeing on levels of investment in defence equipments, to bringing their defence apparatus into line with each other as much as possible by harmonizing military needs, to pooling and specialization, to enhancing their forces availability,

would allow those countries of the Union that wish to continue to work more closely together and to assume a more assertive role in capability development, to do so, while respecting the single institutional framework of the Union.[328] However, although Permanent Structured Cooperation seems to be endorsed by the majority of the member states, it has yet to be enforced and operationalized and is not considered a "silver bullet which will solve all problems of Europe's military."[329] Furthermore, it also comprises a level of risk, especially when one considers its inclusiveness. In other words, if one can participate with its existing capabilities, without enhancing its levels of deployable forces and equipment, then Permanent Structured Cooperation brings no real value added to the CDP. Hence there must be a balance between the inclusiveness of Permanent Structured Cooperation and Member State commitment.[330] Of note, the European Parliament in one of its latest sessions in early March 2010 has officially recommended that Permanent Structured Cooperation be put in place in a more formal manner in order to allow for the swifter development of European military capabilities.[331] Having said this, the Chief Executive of the European Defence Agency (EDA), Alexander Weis, believes the idea of Permanent Structured Cooperation, may already be redundant due to the work of his organisation. "I wouldn't say it was outdated, but it has maybe been overtaken by the creation of the European Defence

interoperability, flexibility and deployability, to addressing the shortfalls identified by the CDP, and finally to taking part in equipment development programmes in the context of the EDA

[328] European Council, *Europa: Glossary*, 1.

[329] *European Parliament Resolution of 10 March 2010 on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy and the Common Security and Defence Policy (2009/2198(INI)),* 2009/2198, (10 Mar 2010, 2010): .

[330] Sven Dir Biscop, *E Pluribus Unum? Military Integration in the European Union: Egmont Paper, Royal Institute for International Relations* (Brussels: Academia Press, 2005), 6.

[331] *European Parliament Resolution of 10 March 2010 on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy and the Common Security and Defence Policy (2009/2198(INI)),* 2009/2198, (10 Mar 2010, 2010). The Parliament also stresses the urgent need to put in place permanent structured cooperation based on the most inclusive criteria possible, which should enable the Member States to increase their commitments under the CSDP.

Agency."[332] Nonetheless, what remains evident is that the **E.U. Member States will remain the lynchpins for bridging the capability gaps and the main incentive for such cooperation is what will appeal to national finance ministers**; in other words, the potential for increasing the efficiency of their defence budgets.[333]

Chapter 8. Are E.U. Capabilities Reflective of European Will to Project Power?

As stated previously, the HLG 2010 endorsed in 2004, moved away from the raw-numbers quantitative aspects of the HHG and focused on qualitative criteria. Based on the political and military objectives of the ESS, the E.U. entered "a new stage"[334] in the development of European military capabilities with the stand-up of the EDA and the creation of the Civil-Military Planning Cell (CMPC) in 2004, both of which are uniquely European capabilities in their comprehensive approach to crisis management and capability development. This new stage has in fact been evolving over the last six years. Indeed, shortly thereafter in 2005, the European Defence Ministers approved the creation of the European Capabilities Action Plan (ECAP) Road Map and the "Single Progress Report"[335] to help in monitoring progress in all areas of capabilities. The ECAP handed-in its final report in 2007 and its responsibilities for capability development have been absorbed by the EDA. The work of the ECAP has translated into the CDP 2025 a key planning milestone for European capability development and

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[332] Paul Ames, "EDA Head Cool on Lisbon Treaty's Structured Cooperation," *Europolitics*, no. 10 February 2010 (2010), http://www.europolitics.info/sectorial-policies/eda-head-cool-on-lisbon-treaty-s-structured-cooperation-art262716-13.html

[333] Sven Dir Biscop, *E Pluribus Unum? Military Integration in the European Union: Egmont Paper, Royal Institute for International Relations* (Brussels: Academia Press, 2005), 19.

[334] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 106.

[335] European Council Secretariat, Report on the Headline Goal 2010, Brussels: (2004) (accessed 15 Mar 2010).

European defence industry.[336] Hence, another demonstrated evolution towards European military

capabilities in becoming.

8.1. The E.U. Battle-Group Concept

The E.U. has since built upon the HHG and the HLG 2010 and committed to be able to respond

to crisis with rapid and decisive action with the creation of the E.U. Battle-Group Concept as part of a

larger "E.U. Military Rapid Response Concept (MRRC)"[337], a potentially effective response to the

whole spectrum of crisis-management operations.[338] The figure below depicts the impressive breadth of

participating Member States and their contributions to the E.U. Battle-Group Concept. Member States'

buy-in, contributions and commitment to this concept have allowed the E.U. to have, on high-readiness

stand-by, two battle-groups on a rotational basis until 2011. The MRRC although primarily land-

centric, will soon be complemented, in a joint fashion, with similar rapid response concepts from the air

and maritime perspectives.[339] Although, the E.U. battle-group concept has maintained great interest and

involvement from participating Member States, and is a clear demonstration of a positive evolution

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[336] Terpan, *La PESD Au Second Semestre 2008*, 10.

[337] European Council Secretariat, Report on the Headline Goal 2010, Brussels: (2004) (accessed 15 Mar 2010).

[338] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 106. and European Council Secretariat, Report on the Headline Goal 2010, Brussels: (2004) (accessed 15 Mar 2010). On 1 January 2007, the EU achieved full operational capability to conduct two concurrent rapid response operations of the size of a Battlegroup (BG) of around 1 500 men. Since then, Member States have managed collectively to make permanently available to the EU two BGs (1500 up to 2500 personnel). BGs are a specific form of Rapid Response elements. They remain on standby for six months and can be ready to start implementing their mission within 10 days after the Council's decision to launch the operation and for a maximum of four months. A Battlegroup Coordination Conference is organised every six months to receive offers from Member States to populate the standby roster. It is for the Member States concerned to resolve any difficulties concerning compatibility with their commitments to other organisations, in particular in the NATO Response Force (NRF). Member States conducted a review of the Military Rapid Response Concept from a joint perspective, taking into account the necessary global approach to crises. The revised concept was agreed by the EUMC in January 2009 and noted by the PSC in April. It newly defines the military rapid response time as a period from 5 to 30 days from the approval of the Crisis Management Concept to the moment when operations commence in the Joint Operations Area.

[339] European Council Secretariat, Report on the Headline Goal 2010, Brussels: (2004) (accessed 15 Mar 2010).

towards a more classical European power projection capability, the fact remains that it has yet to have been deployed. The question therefore needs to be asked; why were the battle-groups not employed as part of the Force Generation concept for the EUFOR Chad/CAR mission? Would their *rapid* employment as the core element of a European Task Force have made the European response significantly timelier, thus more effective? Hence, there is building scepticism with regards to if these innovative units are indeed a real capability enhancement to European military capabilities and an example of military integration or just numbers used for show.[340] However this debate is not uniquely of concern to the E.U.. Indeed, NATO is dealing with the same debate with its NATO Rapid Reaction Force (NRRF). Nonetheless, these evolutions are definite improvements in European military capabilities, especially evident since the turn of the millennium.

Figure 6. E.U. Battlegroups[341]

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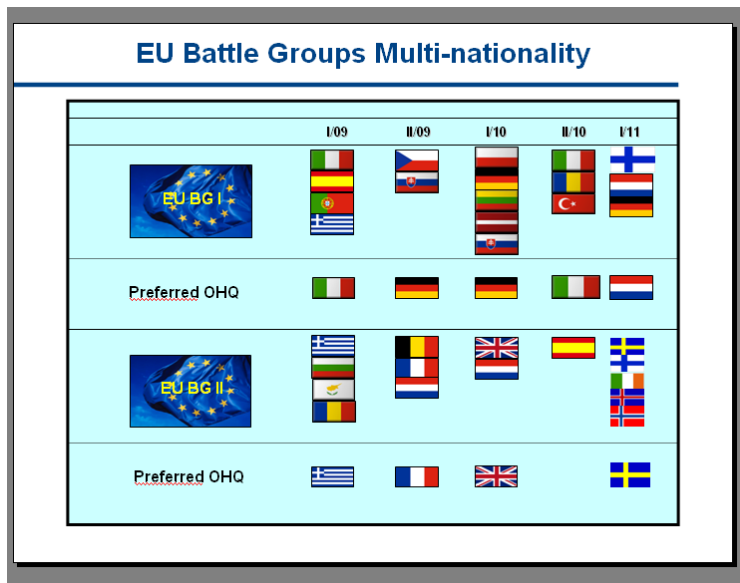
[340] Pirozzi and Sandawi, *Military and Civilian ESDP Missions: Ever Growing and Effective?*, 17. and Giji Gya and Johann Herz, "ESDP and EU Mission Update - March 2009," *European Security Review* 43, no. March 2009 (2009), http://www.isis-europe.org/pdf/2009_artrel_253_esr43-esdp-mission-update.pdf and Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 115.

[341] European Council, Single Progress Report on the Development of European Military Capabilities, Brussels http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/09/st08/st08715.en09.pdf ; Internet; accessed 15 Mar 2010.

8.2. Strategic Airlift

Accordingly, the E.U.'s military capabilities have continued to develop especially from a

qualitative perspective. For example, the E.U. Heads of State and Government agreed at their informal

meeting at Hampton Court in 2005 that Strategic lift was indeed a key capability gap, if not the most

critical one for power projection, identified by the CDP, and should therefore be one of their capability

improvement priorities.[342] Since then various multinational initiatives have been undertaken in order to

secure the availability of assets or to use available assets in a more efficient manner including the

"Strategic Airlift Interim Solution" (SALIS)[343] contract, the "Strategic Airlift Capability (SAC)"[344], the

establishment of the "Movement Coordination Centre Europe (MCCE)"[345] and the build up of the

"European Air Transport Command (EATC)."[346] The EDA Steering Board in February 2008

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[342] Morin, *Penser l'Europe de demain. . .*, 23.

[343] European Council, *Single Progress Report on the Development of European Military Capabilities. . . .* Quick access to Russia and Ukraine owned AN-124-100 aircraft for the airlift of heavy equipment and/or outsized cargo. Contract signed by Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Turkey and UK.

[344]Ibid.and Daniel Michaels, "Airbus A400M Transporter Plane Nears Takeoff," *EU Digest* (2009), http://www.eu-digest.com/labels/A400%20military%20transport%20aircraft.html Consortium for an initial capability which involves the fielding of three C-17. The participating nations are Bulgaria, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Slovenia and Sweden. This project also includes a longer term European objective which involves the A400 Strategic Lift Project. An agreement was reached in principle in February 2010 between the seven nations in the project and EADS the parent company of A400M manufacturer Airbus. EADS had been struggling with regards to the financing of the project due to the global economic crisis but came to an agreement with the seven customers - Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Spain and Turkey - which ordered 180 of the turboprop transports. The program is almost four years behind schedule, but should start delivering aircraft this summer. The deal is a 20 billion euro one and involves an additional aid rescue package of 3.5 billion euros to ensure the aircraft will be delivered without further delays. The EDA is striving to pool many of these aircraft for the E.U

[345] *Ibid*. The MCCE is a multi-national organisation established in July 2007 with the main purpose to coordinate and optimise on a global basis the use of airlift, sealift and land movement assets owned or leased by national militaries of the member Nations. Twenty one nations are presently member of MCCE.

[346] *Ibid*. EATC is to take over operational control of the transport fleet of following countries: Belgium, France, Germany, Luxemburg and The Netherlands. The EATC will also attempt to integrate a civilian contracted capability (with assured access clauses within the actual contract) which would give robustness to the strategic deployment capability of the EU.

determined that the capability deficiencies had not quite been compensated for and decided to establish a European Air Transport Fleet (EATF). The EATF is a European framework for enhanced cooperation in military air transport, which aims at the common employment and efficient usage of all present and future military air transport assets that are available, regardless of type or origin such as the C-130 and the upcoming A-400 fleets. This would be an opportunity for Europe to optimise its assets and hopefully promote further acquisitions to address critical European airlift shortfalls.[347]   The EATF in its full swing would be an enhanced and much more comprehensive version of the current C-17 support concept between the U.S., U.K. and Canada.

This is but one capability, yet a critical one, under development, which will undoubtedly help develop concrete solutions for meeting E.U. operational requirements and clearly demonstrates an evolution in the development of E.U. capabilities required for power projection in a more classical sense.[348] One could therefore argue that this is an indicator that **the E.U. seems to be developing its capabilities, in order for them to correspond to its increasing will to project its power outside of Europe**.

8.3. Civilian Capabilities for Power Projection

It is impossible to provide an assessment of E.U. military capabilities without at least skimming over its civilian capabilities as these two apparently go hand-in-hand when it come to crisis intervention from a uniquely European perspective.

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[347] The A400 is one of these projects.
[348] European Council, *Single Progress Report on the Development of European Military Capabilities. . . .*

Indeed, the E.U. has been developing the civilian aspects of crisis management in its four priority areas of civilian action as defined by the Feira (Portugal) European Council in June 2000.[349] The areas of civilian action are: police, strengthening the rule of law, strengthening civilian administration, and civil protection. Of note, the initial targets in the four priority areas, set by the Feira Council have now been reached and even exceeded. Member States' voluntary commitments, as expressed at the December 2004 civilian capability commitment conference, have been significant, thus demonstrating clear buy-in by the Member States and also demonstrating the widespread Pan-European understanding that military power projection in the classical sense, is not sufficient, by itself in crisis management. For instance, in the police domain, the E.U. aims to be capable of carrying out any police operation, from advisory, assistance and training tasks to substituting to local police forces. Member states have undertaken to provide more than five thousand police officers (5761), of whom up to fourteen hundred can be deployed in less than thirty days. From a strengthening the rule of law perspective, Member States now realize that efforts deployed on an international scale to reinforce and if necessary restore credible local police forces can only be successful if a properly functioning judicial and penitentiary system backs up the police forces. Hence, Member States have undertaken to provide 631 officers in charge of crisis management operations in strengthening the rule of law (prosecutors, judges, prison officers). From a civilian administration perspective, a pool of experts has been created, capable of accepting civilian administration missions in the context of crisis-management operations, and if necessary, being deployed at very short notice. Member states have pledged a total of 565 staff. Finally, from a civil protection perspective, the initial objectives consisted of fielding two to three assessment and/or coordination teams, capable of being mobilized around the clock; the fielding of intervention teams of up to two thousand persons for deployment at short notice; as well as additional or

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[349] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 124.

more specialised means which could be dispatched within two to seven days depending on the particular needs of each crisis. Member states have committed to provide 579 civil protection experts and 4445 staff for intervention teams. Monitoring is also one of the civilian ESDP priority areas, identified by the December 2004 European Council. The monitoring capability aims to provide a generic tool for conflict prevention/resolution and/or crisis management and/or peace-building. An important function of the monitoring missions is to contribute to "prevention/deterrence by presence."[350] From a political and international relations perspective, the monitoring missions also enhance E.U. visibility on the ground, demonstrating its engagement and commitment to a crisis or region. Member states have committed 505 personnel.[351] Overall, when assessing the E.U.'s capabilities from a civilian perspective, it is clear that it has evolved significantly and its capabilities are effectively quite unique. **Indeed, the projection of the combination of these means, Europe's civilian capabilities, along with its developing military capabilities, demonstrates a form of hybrid power, where both means bring synergies on the ground.**

However, much like the E.U.'s military capabilities, there are limits and challenges with regards to its civilian capabilities for crisis management. One of these limits, mentioned earlier from a military perspective, was the **qualitative aspects** of the capabilities developed in the framework of ESDP. In fact, the civilian capabilities for crisis management also need further improvement in order to enhance the ability of the E.U. to deploy, at short notice, well-trained personnel and adequate assets responding to appropriate interoperability and sustainability standards. Only by meeting these improved qualitative

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[350] European Council, *European Security and Defence Policy: The Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management*, 8.

[351] European Council, *European Security and Defence Policy: The Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management*, 8.

requirements will the E.U. be able to cover the full spectrum of tasks it is called to perform in crisis responses, in connection with increasingly complex interventions.[352]

8.4. The E.U. Permanent Planning Center

More recently, in March 2010, the European Parliament put forward a motion to re-consider the creation of a permanent, multi-national E.U. military planning center fully integrated with the CPCC, completely independent of NATO as well as the reconsideration that Permanent Structured Cooperation should be fully implemented.[353]   According to some experts, the E.U. cannot be serious about military capability development and crisis management until it develops its own independent, permanent planning and evaluation center; in other words a planning center which is independent of NATO, as well as independent from the Member States.[354] Hence this demonstrates that the E.U.'s ambition to establish such an important planning and command and control capability is not waning and that it is constantly evolving into a more serious global security actor.   It can therefore be said that **European military capabilities are still in wanting and not quite into being**.

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[352] Pirozzi and Sandawi, *Military and Civilian ESDP Missions: Ever Growing and Effective?*, 15.

[353] *Résolution Du Parlement Européen Sur La Mise En Oeuvre De La Stratégie Européenne De Sécurité Et La Politique De Sécurité Et Dedéfense Commune,* 2009/2198(INI), 10 March 2009 sess., (10 March 2009).
The actual documents reads that the European Parliament calls once again for the establishment of a permanent EU operations centre overseen by the Vice-President/High Representative, which would be responsible for operational planning and the conduct of military operations; calls for this operations centre to be attached to the EEAS; stresses that the division of the existing system into seven headquarters makes it less effective and responsive and generates huge costs, and that a permanent interlocutor in the military sphere is essential for civil and military coordination on the ground; takes the view that the permanent operations centre could therefore be classed as a form of military planning and conduct capability, and located in the same place as the CPCC in order to allow the necessary synergies for effective civilian and military coordination; reiterates that the EU operations centre would facilitate cooperation with NATO, without compromising the decisional autonomy of both organisations; The Parliament also stresses the urgent need to put in place permanent structured cooperation based on the most inclusive criteria possible, which should enable the Member States to increase their commitments under the CSDP.

[354] Jolyon Howorth, "Une Nouvelle Pensée Stratégique Pour l'Europe," *Défense Nationale* 64, no. 7 (2008), 101.

As a positive viewpoint, overall, considering the development of European capabilities and synergies in strategic airlift, and the potential establishment of a permanent planning headquarters, it seems that these advances coincide with Jean-Marie Bockel's "triple logic", where he explains that Europe requires first and foremost a certain autonomy when it comes to strategic and operational planning, deploying and sustaining of forces, second it requires to develop its defence industry and third, it requires an increased level of interoperability between Member State armed forces.[355]

8.5. A Financial Outlook to Capability Development

From a financial analysis perspective of the E.U., with regards to its potential impact on military capabilities development, the participating Member States spent collectively two hundred billion Euros on defence in 2008. A figure, which some analysts claim, "has yielded little bang for the buck."[356] Although European defence expenditures have stayed level, in nominal terms, for the last three years, in real terms, defence expenditures decreased by 4.3 percent in 2008. This is a significant sum, and in terms of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), percentage wise, defence expenditures have been steadily declining, from 1.78 percent in 2006 to the February 2010 level of 1.63 percent of Europe's twelve point two trillion Euros economy. When defence expenditures are examined as a proportion of the total European Government expenditure, the fall is even steeper than that compared with GDP, standing at 3.78 percent in 2006 and at 3.51 percent in 2008. Moreover, this occurred during a period of

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[355] Bockel, *Les avancées de l'Europe de la défense et de la sécurité*, 12.

[356] Fillon, *Une Europe Souveraine Et Influente*, 21. and Jolyon Howorth, "Une Nouvelle Pensée Stratégique Pour l'Europe," *Défense Nationale* 64, no. 7 (2008), 101. Fillon maintains that EU Member States spend 40% of the US defence budget per year and yet this yields little bang for their buck. Howorth explains this by the fact that the EU, with this significant budget, must field twenty-five armies, twenty-one air forces and eighteen navies for no reason which is any longer clear or obvious. He also specifies that just three countries in the EU, France, UK and Germany, spend 65% of the combined defence budgets.

considerable economic growth, before the impact of the global economic crisis in the second half of 2008 became visible. Hence, one could extrapolate that defence expenditures will most likely be even more constrained for the near future. Case in point, according to the European Commission, Europe's economy contracted by -4.0 percent in 2009. The 2010 forecast is for GDP to fall -0.1 percent and the Government deficit as a percentage of GDP is forecast to be -7.3 percent of GDP. With this economic landscape and the bleak-looking clouds on the horizon, the prospects for investing more in military capability development does not look very promising, for certain defence sectors, such as research and development and technologies, already showing disquieting indicators of sliding trends over the past three years.[357]

Nonetheless, there are some positives aspects in certain crucial areas of European capability development such as total investment in procurement, which has increased from 38.80 billion Euros in 2006 to 41.91 billion Euros in 2008. This figure now represents a substantial 20.9 percent of total European defence expenditure.[358] Another positive trend is that the participating Member States are increasingly collaborating in the fields of common defence expenditures; perhaps by necessity more than choice.   Even so, European collaborative defence equipment procurement,[359] as a percentage of total equipment procurement has increased from 20.9 percent in 2006 to 21.2 percent in 2008. These figures can be interpreted as promising signs that collaboration has been recognised by participating Member States as an important method to make more efficient the necessary business of developing European military capabilities. Even more promising is the increase in European collaborative research and technology (R&T) spending. The percentage of total R&T investment has increased from 9.6

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[357] Horrocks, *The Relevance of the Agency's Defence Data*, 27.

[358] *Ibid*. The collective benchmark agreed by participating Member States in the HLG 2010 and its CDP is 20%.

[359] Meaning between at least two Member States.

percent in 2006 to 16.5 percent in 2008. This trend is in line with the EDA's call to spend more, but also more together, in Europe on R&T and it marks excellent progress in the direction of realising the collective 20% benchmark, agreed by European Defence Ministers in November 2007.[360] It also demonstrates the recognition that money spent collaboratively will increase economies of scale and reduce duplication between European countries, giving Ministries of Defence more bang for their buck from a technology perspective.

Overall, since its inception, the EDA has seen an increasing share of this collaborative R&T come through its doors and endeavours to ensure that the funds are spent in the most efficient and expeditious manner in order to ensure that capabilities are delivered to participating Member States and ultimately the E.U..[361] Overall, from a financial perspective, the EDA claims that:

> . . . the twin pressures of static budgets and growing operational demands mean that the E.U. governments have little choice but to pool more of their military resources in the future. If E.U. defence ministers managed to share more resources, those benefiting would include not only their armed forces, who would get badly needed military equipment, but also European taxpayers, who would get better value for money.[362]

Hence, from a financial perspective, there are clear indicators that the evolution towards enhanced European cooperation for the development of military capabilities, which will allow the E.U. to project its power in a more classical sense, if required, will continue, and that Member States will be drawn, perhaps by necessity, more towards the European approach to capability development than by the Nation-centric approach of the past.

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[360] Horrocks, *The Relevance of the Agency's Defence Data*, 27.

[361] Horrocks, *The Relevance of the Agency's Defence Data*, 27.

[362] Kehoane, *Europan Military Capabilities: Sharing the Burden*, 27.

Chapter 9. Summary of the E.U.'s Capabilities to Project Power

This part assessed E.U. capabilities for power projection from the perspective of the EDA as an umbrella organization responsible for their development, as well as through the assessment of the Member States contributions and the subsequent development initiatives undertaken. Furthermore, it attempted to assess if E.U. capabilities were congruent with E.U. will to project power in a more hybrid form, which is not exclusive of more classical means of military power.

Reflecting on Part I and how the EDA bridges both parts, it seems that the tasks the E.U. wants to undertake on the global security stage are clear as embodied by the Petersburg Tasks. The political and military ambitions of the ESS also seem clear. However the Petersburg tasks and the ESS say nothing with regards to the scale of operations. From a quantitative perspective, the ESDP is still limited by the HHG of 1999.[363] Hence there is an obvious missing link between the ESS and its inherent political objectives and capability development goals from a quantitative perspective as described in the HHG 1999 and the HLG 2010.[364] However, this missing link is partially solved by elements of the HLG 2010 such as the high readiness Battlegroups and the forthcoming air and maritime high readiness assets. **Nonetheless, an evolution in European military capabilities is definitely visible**.[365] It is even more clearly visible through Europe's development of a hybrid power approach.

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[363] Sven Dir Biscop, *Permanent Structured Cooperation and the Future of ESDP* (Brussels: Academia Press for Egmont - The Royal Institute for International Relations,[2008]) (accessed 28-01-2010), 17. Which states that the EU must be able to project and sustain 60 000 troops for a period of one year.

[364] Kehoane, *Europan Military Capabilities: Sharing the Burden*, 27.
[365] Remacle, *De l'Euro à La PESC, d'Amsterdam à Helsinki: Les Balbutiements d'Un Acteur International*, 498.

Although this part highlighted positive developments in E.U. military capabilities, it also highlighted significant challenges, especially from a global economic perspective and from a national securitisation of defence perspective. All in all, this part **did demonstrate a clear evolution in the E.U.'s capabilities, in a quantitative perspective, but especially in a qualitative perspective**, where developments in key strategic military capabilities will definitely improve the E.U.'s potential to project its power, in its unique European way.

Having said this, although the E.U.'s military capabilities are into becoming and are of those traditionally associated to a more classical form of power projection, **it seems that the E.U. intends to use these, if required, to project a more hybrid form of power**, by which it combines both civilian and military means to achieve synergies on the ground.

Nonetheless, it is apparent that the **development of E.U. military capabilities hinges on the Member States' will**, Aron's first element of power. Hence, in military parlance, the will of the Member States seems to be the center-of-gravity in the development of military capabilities. Furthermore, as maintained by certain European experts, it could also be said, but remains to be seen, that the development of European capabilities will edge the E.U. more towards a typical NATO approach to crisis management.[366]

The fact that the E.U. is able to act only in "tailored"[367] crises for which the limited instruments and capabilities at its disposal are adequate and sufficient, shows that the ambitions and realities of the

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[366] Remacle, *De l'Euro à La PESC, d'Amsterdam à Helsinki: Les Balbutiements d'Un Acteur International*, 498.
[367] Frenken, *EU Chad/CAR Force Aims to Enhance Stability and Protection*, 15. EU Chad/CAR force aims to enhance stability and protection, interview with Lieutenant General Pat Nash EUFOR Chad/CAR Mission Commander

E.U. as a globally active security provider still do not go hand in hand. Indeed, together with the quantitative and qualitative limitations as stated above, the tensions will remain between the articulated ambitions of a rising world power on the one hand, and the scarce allocated resources on the other.[368] Furthermore, the threats for Europe, as assessed in the ESS of 2003 and reiterated in its ESS Implementation Report of 2008[369] make it apparent that the nature of the risks at hand do not allow for any clear-cut geographical priorities to be set. These risks are "borderless"[370], in terms of their impact beyond their immediate area of origin as well as in terms of the multitude and diversity of potential crisis areas. Hence, it can be said, therefore, **that without strong Member State will to advance the idea of a powerful and autonomous ESDP with efficient E.U. institutions and a wide range of effective instruments at its disposal, the E.U. runs the risk of losing its spirit as an important and distinguished global security actor**.[371]

PART III – THE E.U.'S ENVIRONMENT

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[368] Éric Remacle, "De l'Euro à La PESC, d'Amsterdam à Helsinki: Les Balbutiements d'Un Acteur International," *Annuaire Française De Relations Internationales* 45, no. 1 (2000), 498.

[369] European Council, *Report on the Implementation of the European Securiy Strategy: Providing Security in a Changing World* (Brussels: ,[2008]) (accessed 15 Mar 2010), 1.

[370] European Council, *Report on the Implementation of the European Securiy Strategy: Providing Security in a Changing World* (Brussels: ,[2008]) (accessed 15 Mar 2010), 1.

[371] Pirozzi and Sandawi, *Military and Civilian ESDP Missions: Ever Growing and Effective?*, 17.

The assessment of the E.U.'s potential for power projection, will now continue through the third part of the proposed analytical framework. Raymond Aron's third element of power is what he terms as a political entity's "milieu" where he describes it as the space it occupies or the space where the action is taking place.[372] As stated earlier in the proposed analytical framework, Aron's milieu is interpreted herein in its narrower sense as the **E.U. and its immediate environment**. It has been a deliberate decision to not approach Aron's third element of power from a global perspective as this would have required a much greater scope of research and would have diluted the opportunity for analysis and assessment. Instead Aron's milieu will be assessed from an intrinsic and extrinsic perspective. Indeed, focussing on the most important determinants whether because of their influence or power as organisations, as states or as regions due to their geostrategic value and proximity. In this sense, this part will examine how major powers such as NATO and the United States (U.S.) affect the E.U.'s potential to project its power in a more classical sense, outside of its immediate environment. Subsequently, this part will look at how the E.U. is attempting to influence its immediate environment with its European Neighbourhood Policy; thus projecting its power upon its neighbours. Finally, this part will examine the E.U.'s actions on its fringes in the region of the Black Sea, a critical region from an energy security perspective and arguably the most critical region for Europe's subsistence.

The previous two parts demonstrated an evolution in the E.U.'s collective will and capabilities to project its power in a more classical sense, outside of Europe. Both parts also indicated that the E.U.'s Member States were the lynchpins in both domains. In evaluating the environment of the E.U., and its effects on Europe's potential for power projection, it will also be assessed if the Member States still play such a critical role in this third element of power. Most importantly, both parts indicated that the E.U.

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[372] Aron, *Paix et guerre entre les nations*, 65.

seemed to want to project a hybrid form of power, through which it creates synergies on the ground by employing in a somewhat coordinated fashion both civilian and military means in crisis management.

Chapter 10. The E.U. and NATO

In the 1990's, both the Alliance and the Union were forced to assume new roles and new responsibilities in a transformed security context even though they shared similar values and the same resources.[373] From that point on, the Alliance went from a collective defence perspective in response to the Cold War to a more global collective security perspective after the fall of the Berlin Wall, deploying its forces, within the E.U.'s immediate environment, in Bosnia in 1994 and in Kosovo in 1999. The events of 9/11 also led to even greater NATO transformation with the deployment of NATO forces in Afghanistan, and its declaration of war on terror.[374] The Union also undertook significant transformation in the same timeframe, in terms of acting within its immediate environment, albeit from a totally different angle. Indeed, as an aftermath of the Balkans crisis in its own backyard, the Union re-launched the concept of "*European Defence*" at the Saint-Malo Summit of 1998, beginning its evolution from a purely economical and political union to a more complete one encompassing a diplomatic and a defence and security apparatus.[375]

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[373] Henri Bentégeat, "L'Alliance Et l'Union," *Défense Nationale* 65, no. 4 (2009), 17. Values such as Freedom and civil liberties, democracy and respect for the rule of law and respect for human rights.

[374] Laurent Scheek, "Des Trois D Aux Trois C: L'Interdépendance Ouverte Du Rapport UE-OTAN," *Défense Nationale* 65, no. 2 (2009), 129.

[375] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 135.

Despite significant developments by NATO and the E.U. from the perspective of their roles as global security actors, attempts by NATO and the U.S. at containing the E.U. and its security and defence policy to a more regional role have been unfruitful as the E.U. has deployed on twenty-seven missions since 2003, many of which have been well outside the European continent, in Africa, Indonesia and the Near and Middle East.[376] Today, although still embryonic, the E.U. possesses a ESDP somewhat independent of its relations with NATO.[377]

One could certainly not have foreseen this in the late 1990s. As a matter of fact, only three days after Saint-Malo and the Union's overt claim for an autonomous operational level planning center, Madeleine Albright, U.S. Secretary of State, rebutted with the principle of the three Ds: no transatlantic decoupling (NATO must remain the instrument of choice for questions of defence and security), no duplication (of NATO capabilities) and no discrimination (towards NATO members who are not members of the E.U.).[378] Hence, there was clearly discernible NATO and U.S. reticence in supporting the idea of a E.U. which could eventually project its power outside of its immediate environment. Nonetheless, the burgeoning ambitions of both organisations as global security actors did not lead to a symmetric development of their defence and security apparatus, neither to a convergence of their identities.[379] Hence, the E.U. is not reducible to its defence and security dimension, whereas NATO has specialized in this very domain. In fact, as mentioned in previous chapters, the E.U.'s instruments of

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[376] Pirozzi and Sandawi, *Military and Civilian ESDP Missions: Ever Growing and Effective?*, 3. and Henri Bentégeat, "L'Alliance Et l'Union," *Défense Nationale* 65, no. 4 (2009), 18.

[377] Scheek, *Des Trois D Aux Trois C: L'Interdépendance Ouverte Du Rapport UE-OTAN*, 129.

[378] *Ibid*. Some members of the E.U. felt that the three Ds were an attempt by the U.S. to curtail European military capability development, especially from the perspective of Europe's defence industry and market, in order to ensure that the U.S. remained the prominent provider of weapons and military equipment in general.

[379] *Ibid*.

power projection are significantly different than NATO's.[380] Indeed, reflecting on the more

complementary nature of the EU/NATO interrelationship during the E.U.'s infancy stage as a security

actor, the E.U. was incapable of independent, large scale, military centric, high intensity operations

without NATO's planning capabilities, and without U.S.' politico-military means attached to it.[381]

Commonly recognized, the E.U.'s strengths lay in its multi-lateral, more inclusive, multi-dimensional

comprehensive approach as it bases its external interventions on myriad civilian means, supporting its

diplomacy with a credible military force. These differences in approaches are at the very crux of the

NATO/E.U. relationship.[382]

It has been demonstrated in the previous chapter that E.U. capabilities have evolved and are

continuously evolving for the better, making the E.U. a much more effective global security actor and

capable of much more effective power projection abroad than before. Furthermore, with recent

developments from a capabilities perspective with the progress in the advancement of the A400 project

and the European Parliament's re-invoking of the requirement for an autonomous permanent planning

center, it seems that the E.U. wants to move even further towards its ESS ambitions. Furthermore, the

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[380] Bentégeat, *L'Alliance Et l'Union*, 17.

[381] Scheek, *Des Trois D Aux Trois C: L'Interdépendance Ouverte Du Rapport UE-OTAN*, 129. These are all elements included in the Berlin Plus agreements between NATO and the EU of 2003. Indeed the EU, with its Berlin Plus missions CONCORDIA and ALTHÉA had established a dependency relationship with NATO. The EU was forced to compensate for its structural and capability deficiencies in order to act upon its ambitions as laid out in its ESS of 2003, which allowed NATO to become a structuring element of the EU's security and defence apparatus.

[382] Bentégeat, *L'Alliance Et l'Union*, 17. According to Bentégeat, the Union and the Alliance cannot be the same as their capabilities are different, the interests they defend are not completely similar, and their ways of intervening are incomparable. He states that the Alliance is a military strategic organisation, while the Union is a political and economical organisation, by which both organisations use completely different means to deal with crisis management. Of note, NATO and the U.S. are realizing with their operations in Afghanistan and Iraq that a comprehensive approach, involving political, economic, civil and military actions, is a pre-requisite to successful crisis management. Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, p. 116. When commenting on the value of NATO/EU cooperation on strategic airlift, he stated that neither organisation can now fully accomplish its role without the other one. Indeed he adds that the advances of one organisation are of the interest of the other and vice-versa. The increasing interconnectedness of both organisations makes the development of the ESDP inevitable and in fact desirable for both.

E.U.'s quest for autonomy is ever present, having mounted more independent missions than those requiring the enactment of the Berlin Plus Agreements. It is even doubtful that the E.U. will ever have systematic recourse to NATO capabilities again.[383] Hence it is clearly visible that there is convergence between Aron's first element of power, European will and its relations in this context with NATO. Therefore, it seems that European will, will indeed determine its relationship with environment. Also, the E.U. has clearly unobserved the Atlanticist principle of NATO's first right of refusal for intervention, to the point where NATO is no longer the principle forum for dialogue between the E.U. and the U.S. when it comes to security matters and terrorism. In truth, direct accords between Brussels and Washington have been numerous, even more so since 2003.[384]

Consequently, the NATO/E.U. relationship as of today seems much less based on the principles of the three **D**s of the immediate post Saint-Malo period. Indeed, it seems more focused on the three **C**s, as proposed by Laurent Scheeck a prominent specialist in European Affairs, of cooperation (from a strictly military and the Berlin Plus perspectives)[385], competition (for the same resources as put forth by the Member States (of which membership in many cases is overlapping - see figure 7))[386] , and complementarity (by the fact that both organisations are actively engaged in global security and present in the field).[387] Hence, it seems that both organisations can develop without being a detriment to the

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[383] Bentégeat, *L'Alliance Et l'Union*, 17.

[384] Bentégeat, *L'Alliance Et l'Union*, 17.

[385] Scheek, *Des Trois D Aux Trois C: L'Interdépendance Ouverte Du Rapport UE-OTAN*, 129.

[386] Bentégeat, *L'Alliance Et l'Union*, 17. Indeed both NATO and the EU are competing for the same resources from the same Member States. The only limited difference is the approach of these forces on the ground depending on which organization they represent and what type of mission they are fulfilling. There are very good examples of close cooperation in order to alleviate such competition such as the example of Op Atalanta off the shores of Somalia, where both organisations are working closely together.

[387] Scheek, *Des Trois D Aux Trois C: L'Interdépendance Ouverte Du Rapport UE-OTAN*, 129. Indeed both organisations are present in Afghanistan, Kosovo, and Bosnia where NATO is reforming the security sector and the E.U.,

other. However, and somewhat of a paradox, their relationship today seems to depend less on the

official agreements such as the Berlin Plus Agreements or official declarations such as the joint

NATO/E.U. declaration on ESDP of 2002, but more on the international context of the day,

geographical locations of interventions, and mostly on the political will of their Member States.[388] Thus

the NATO/E.U. relationship remains volatile and Member State alignment, for the most part, remains

unpredictable. Indeed, there has been a multiplication of possible interactions between Member States.

Case in point, a Member State, which is part of both organisations, and assuming that it would not have

the means to intervene by itself, may choose to intervene externally as part of a NATO mission, or as

part of a E.U. mission, which is supported by NATO through the Berlin Plus Agreement, or as part of a

stand alone, E.U. mission, using one of the operational level headquarters volunteered by a few more

militarily capable Member States. Hence the question can be asked: if interaction between NATO and

the E.U. depends above all on the distinct will of the Member States, can there still be a power

projection dynamic which belongs distinctly and independently to the European Union as a whole?

Nevertheless, experts are calling for increased cooperation and perhaps coordination to a certain level

between the two organisations in order to alleviate the costs of unprofitable competition, undermining

each organisation's credibility, authority and effectiveness.[389] Trust, transparency and confidence seem

to be the words of the day in those circles. Indeed, they are calling for the dropping of unfounded fears

of NATO military power choking the development of E.U. military capabilities. Recent cooperation

between both organization's military staffs and committees has demonstrated a willingness to progress

in this relationship which will only flourish once both NATO and the E.U. fully understand and accept

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with Op ALTHEA is ensuring a secure environment for development. Jaap de Hoop also adds that in these operations, and from the perspective of capability development, the success of each organisation is dependent on the other's successes and advancements from each side mutually contribute to each other's security.

[388] Scheek, *Des Trois D Aux Trois C: L'Interdépendance Ouverte Du Rapport UE-OTAN*, 128.

[389] Bentégeat, *L'Alliance Et l'Union*, 20.

each others role in achieving global stability.[390] It can also be maintained that each organisation needs

to fully understand what its own role is prior to any such undertaking, or even the realization that they

might be shaping each others views of themselves.[391]

For the years to come, it is maintained by many experts that Europe will still require NATO's

protection in the case of a major threat which would endanger the European continent itself.[392] Having

said this, the new Lisbon Treaty calls for European mutual assistance, from a military capabilities

perspective, in the event of natural disasters, terrorist attacks, or even detected terrorist threats, thus

demonstrating yet again an evolution in the European security and defence project towards further

autonomy from NATO.[393] Nonetheless, NATO needs a stable and prosper Europe, capable of ensuring

more and more of its own security and capable of playing an increasingly important role on the global

stage. Furthermore, they seem to be considering their mutual relationship from a more pragmatic

perspective, seemingly aligning themselves from a capability development perspective, as well as from a

foreign policy perspective.[394] Leaders are realizing and publicly stating that both organisations cannot

afford to limit their political dialogue to the Berlin Plus Agreements any longer and must seek increased

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[390] *Ibid*. The SALIS contract and the common Heavy Lift Helicopter Project are but a few examples of inter-organization cooperation and complementarity.

[391] Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, "Les Relations OTAN-UE: Au Seuil d'Une Nouvelle Ère," http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2009/s090207a.html (accessed 02/19, 2010). In his speech just prior to the French Presidency of the European Council, he specifically mentions that both organisations should align themselves from a Mediterranean and Middle-East policy perspective. Of note, the EU is part of the quartet which is attempting to broker a peace deal in the middle east along with Russia, the U.S. and U.N.

[392] Scheek, *Des Trois D Aux Trois C: L'Interdépendance Ouverte Du Rapport UE-OTAN*, 176. and Bentégeat, *Défense Et Sécurité Européennes*, 23. and Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 176.

[393] Bentégeat, *Défense Et Sécurité Européennes*, 140.

[394] Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, "Les Relations OTAN-UE: Au Seuil d'Une Nouvelle Ère… In his speech just prior to the French Presidency of the European Council, he specifically mentions that both organisations should align themselves from a Mediterranean and Middle-East policy perspective. Of note, the EU is part of the quartet which is attempting to broker a peace deal in the middle east along with Russia, the U.S. and U.N.

cooperation.[395] Hence it seems that both NATO and the E.U. are mutually and fundamentally seeking a

Europe capable of projecting its power outside of Europe.[396] However, although NATO seems to have

appropriated itself with a global remit, this should not imply that the E.U. Member States will

automatically step into line where ever the U.S. administration wishes to deploy NATO forces in

support of its foreign policy. The E.U. is very unlikely to support an external intervention without a

United Nations mandate.

Also, compatibility issues between the NATO Rapid Reaction Force (NRRF) and the European

Rapid Reaction Force (ERRF) will continue to define the relationship between NATO and the E.U..

Reinforcing the precept that both organisations are somewhat in competition, NATO and the E.U. will

be drawing from the same force reservoir[397], might be sharing the same Command and Control

elements, depending if the mission is a Berlin Plus one or not, for the time being, will be dealing with

the realities of working with the big kid on the block with U.S. troops and capabilities as part of the

equation, and will be dealing with legacy issues such as NATO's perceived right of first refusal.

E.U. relationships with both the U.S. and NATO are forcibly similar in many aspects and cannot

be divided in many facets. Hence, the conclusions of this section will tie into the conclusions of the next

one as it covers U.S. and E.U. relations and how these affect the E.U.'s potential for power projection.

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[395] Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, "Les Relations OTAN-UE: Au Seuil d'Une Nouvelle Ère… and Robert E. Hunter, "The European Security and Defence Policy: NATO's Companion or Competitor?, *The Rand Corporation* (2002), 154. This statement by the NATO Secretary General was a bit of a jab at Turkey who has been an impediment to progress in EU/NATO relations, especially from an intelligence sharing perspective, due to the existing rift over Aegean airspace with Greece and recognition of Cyprus as a divided island by the EU.

[396] Remacle, *De l'Euro à La PESC, d'Amsterdam à Helsinki: Les Balbutiements d'Un Acteur International*, 499.

[397] Henri Bentégeat, "Europe De La Défense: État Des Lieux," *Défense Nationale* 64, no. 6 (2008), 21.

Figure 7. NATO and E.U. Membership

Membership EU/NATO

EU = 27 Member States

NATO = 28 Member States

AUT, CYP, FIN, IRL, MLT, SWE

BEL, DEU, DNK, ESP, FRA, GBR, GRC, ITA, LUX, NLD, PRT, CZE, EST, HUN, LTU, LVA, POL, SVK, SVN, ROM, BUL

CAN, USA, ISL, NOR, TUR, ALB, CRO

21 EU + NATO
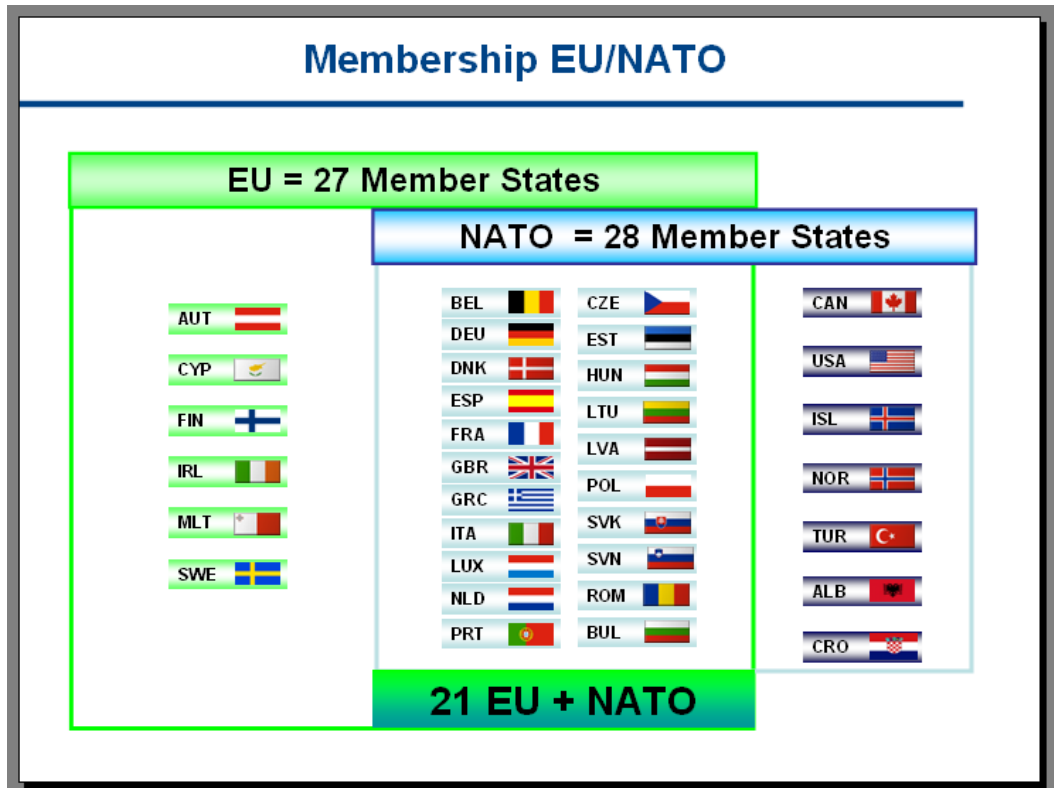
Chapter 11. The European Union and the United States of America

It is only logical to cover the relations between the E.U. and the U.S. immediately after the section which covers relations between the E.U. and NATO as they both consist of key elements of the transatlantic relationship. They could have been covered in the same section, but the relationship between both these actors, especially since the 1998 Saint-Malo Summit is so complex and evolving that it requires an analysis by its own.

In order to set the table, let us begin with the dynamic of mutual suspicion between these two actors. It is widely maintained in some European circles that NATO is but another instrument to further U.S. grand strategy.[398] Indeed, it is the famous Trojan Horse concept reinforced by Wolfwowitz in the early 1990's whereby the U.S. should attempt to prevent at all costs the emergence of rival powers and revived by the Bush doctrine. This suspicion was also reciprocal. U.S. fears about the ESDP were based on suspicions of any French initiatives, which were assumed to be systematically threatening to U.S. global leadership. Hence, the suspicions of any French involvement in the E.U.'s potential for power projection were complicating for transatlantic relations.   Furthermore, the U.S. feared that an autonomous permanent planning center for the E.U. might tempt Europeans to get involved in military adventures for which they were ill-prepared for, thus forcing the U.S. to intervene, at a moment that was not theirs to decide if conditions deteriorated. From this perspective, Europeans maintained that the U.S. simply had difficulty coming to terms with a E.U. which could now strike a balance between its rhetoric and reality on the ground.[399] Furthermore, the U.S. was suspicious that the E.U. might one day come to compete with NATO or its own U.S. security policy.

Hence, amidst this climate of mutual suspicion, initial U.S. reaction to the ESDP was one of overall reticence. In fact, the call for an autonomous permanent planning center by the E.U. was as divisive for the U.S. from an internal perspective as the Iraq war was divisive for Europe from a foreign policy perspective.[400] Indeed, U.S. reaction to the European project ranged from the conditional "Yes but…" which characterized the Bush Presidency and the rhetoric by the Secretary of State Madeleine

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[398] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 135.

[399] *Ibid*.

[400] *Ibid*.

Albright, to the apparent enthusiastic relief of "Yes please!" to the inquisitive yet sceptical "Oh yeah ?"

and of course to the unconditional opposition of "No way !"[401]

Since the end of the Cold War, U.S. interests have shifted away from the European Continent,

towards the Middle-East and its Gulf States as well as towards Asia. Hence Europe's place in U.S.

foreign policy seemed in a state of uncertainty which made one side uncomfortable, and the other left

searching for its role in its own security arena, if it indeed had one. As the E.U. embarked on its security

and defence project in the late nineties early two-thousands, the future of this transatlantic relationship

seemed quite unclear. The U.S. stance gradually shifted from reluctance to officially welcoming

Europe's sharing of its security burden, while remaining fearful of potential E.U. challenges to its global

leadership as well as its effects on U.S. Grand Strategy and on NATO.[402] Reciprocally, although Europe

was enthusiastic for its new security and defence project, it still remained fearful of precipitated U.S.

abandonment. Furthermore, and adding to this sense of mistrust, there was much speculation in

Washington that the new European security and defence project was aiming more at European

integration than at the actual fielding of military capabilities.[403] Hence, it is clearly demonstrated that

there was an element of mistrust on behalf of both sides, mutual misunderstanding of each others' intent

and fear of the unknown.

Much diplomatic effort on behalf of the E.U. was put forth early on to dispel any misgivings by

the U.S. and to reassure them that the ESDP would in fact enhance and strengthen the Alliance rather

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[401] *Ibid*.

[402] Indeed the U.S. remained fearful that the new European security and defence project would drive a wedge between the E.U. and NATO. It has also been suggested that the U.S. encouraged Turkey's accession to the EU in order to slow down the development of the ESDP.

[403] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 141.

than weaken and undermine it. Even the NATO Secretary General at the time, a former U.K. Defence

Secretary, countered the U.S.' three **D**'s with his own three **I**'s which meant "improvement in Europe's

military capabilities, inclusiveness of all NATO allies and indivisibility of transatlantic security."[404]

The E.U.'s charm operation continued well into the next U.S. administration's mandate as it sent notable

heads of state such as the U.K.'s Tony Blair in 2001 to speak with the new U.S. administration.   Despite

Europe's efforts, the U.S. position remained the same throughout the early stages of the new millennium

as demonstrated by President Bush's speech to NATO heads of state in Brussels in 2002, where he

stated that the U.S. would welcome a capable European force, properly integrated [into] NATO that

provided new options for handling crisis [when NATO chose not to lead].[405] Hence, ESDP was

acceptable, as long as it did not constitute a challenge to the U.S. or to NATO. This stance was, from

that point on, shared by a limited number of capitals in Europe, especially by London in the early

millennium and by those new NATO accession Member States, mostly ex-Republics of the U.S.S.R.

who were now newly dependent on NATO for security against Russia, and anxious to find a security

umbrella, relatively easy to accede to.[406] This view was never generally accepted across the E.U.. This

aspect of a division within the E.U., between Atlanticist and Europeanist would be put to even more

evidence with the unilaterally U.S. led coalition of the willing invasion of Iraq in 2003.

Interestingly, since the U.S. has become deeply involved in Iraq and Afghanistan, the

predominantly reticent U.S. views of the ESDP have tended to give way to more overt expressions of

support. This shift was also notable within the E.U.. Indeed, looking back, the U.S. led Iraq war,

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[404] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 135. The UK Defence Secretary was George Robertson.

[405] *Ibid*., 141

[406] Donald Rumsfeld, U.S. Secretary of Defence in 2003 refered to this dichotomy as Old and New Europe, referring to the European states which supported the U.S. invasion of Iraq. His comments raised much debate within the U.S. and the E.U., especially in France, and Germany.

independent of the United Nations' banner of legitimacy, independent of traditional allies within NATO, and independent of key E.U. members such as France and Germany, had a significant negative impact on the United Nations, on NATO and on the E.U. in 2003. In fact, it divided the E.U. and NATO into Atlanticist and Europeanist sides. Hence demonstrating once more the central role played by the E.U. Member States and the negative impact they can have when their interests are divergent. It is also demonstrated that they are extremely sensitive, some more than others, to the whims of the U.S.. There is therefore more proof to the hypothesis that the E.U. is perhaps dependant on the good will and perhaps even faith of its Member States.

From the Atlanticist perspective, the U.K. has been consistently the most Atlanticist of the major European partners, even before the Iraq war.[407] In hindsight, explaining this is the fact that the U.K. has remained fearful that any serious European efforts to become autonomous from NATO would encourage U.S. isolationism or withdrawal from Europe. In its belief, the U.K. was backed by the Netherlands, Portugal, Norway, Germany to a certain extent at the time, and the new E.U. Accession States.[408] The U.K. endorsed the 1998 Saint-Malo project because it realized that only a strong Europe, capable of acting militarily and capable of carrying its share of its own security burden, would ensure continued U.S. support to the Alliance. Congruently, the U.K. and its Prime Minister Tony Blair managed to convince the other Atlanticist Member States that the ESDP was [the] way to save the Alliance.[409]

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[407] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 141.

[408] *Ibid*. Although Germany was initially aligned with NATO, it grew increasingly uncomfortable with NATO/U.S. interventionism. It has, since 2003 aligned itself more with the ESDP but as noted in chapter one, reluctantly supports its more interventionist stance since the ESS. The simultaneous accessions of 2004 concerned the following countries: Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. Seven of these were members of the former eastern bloc, with one from the former Yugoslavia and the remaining two being Mediterranean islands. Part of the same wave of enlargement was the accession of Bulgaria and Romania in 2007, who were unable to join in 2004 but constitute according to the Commission part of the fifth enlargement. These states had begun their accession talks much before the advent of the Iraq war in 2003.

Hence as the Iraq war dragged on, Atlanticist Member States learned to "balance their traditional institutional preference for NATO with increasing commitment to and support for the ESDP."[410] Additionally, as mentioned previously in the Part I, where the engines of Europe were analyzed, it was the U.K. which convinced the latest accession members in 2004-2005, who were more Atlanticist than Europeanist, to actively embrace the European battle-group concept and participate actively in the European security and defence project. This was indeed a watershed in the Atlanticist realization that the ESDP would not exist or develop without this critical capability. It was, according to European experts "a pragmatic acceptance of a strategic reality."[411] Indeed, newer E.U. accession members such as Poland[412] who had also traditionally aligned themselves with NATO demonstrated an evolving trajectory, a shift towards the ESDP. Truth be told, Poland participated actively in the 2008 EUFOR Chad/RCA mission with a significant contribution to E.U. efforts with four hundred troops and key capabilities such as tactical helicopters. This therefore demonstrates that although the U.S. led Iraq war temporarily damaged both NATO and the E.U.; it in fact caused many Atlanticist Member States to engage more seriously in their support for the ESDP.

On the other end of the spectrum Finland and Ireland have traditionally refused to be aligned with NATO and have preferred to participate in ESDP missions. France, Germany since 2003, Belgium and Luxembourg have traditionally been the more Europeanist Member States. Some also maintain that with France's reinsertion into the NATO structure, it will work as a balancer between the two organisations and be the honest broker within NATO with regards to the U.S. grand strategy. Hence, an

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[409] However, Denmark did not buy the sales pitch and firmly opted out of the ESDP, considering that NATO was the only security actor it wished to be associated to.

[410] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 148.

[411] *Ibid*.

[412] Poland acceded to the EU in May 2004.

interesting paradox comes to light where the integration of traditionally Atlantist Member States, such as Poland, into the ESDP, far from weakening it, have contributed to its reinforcement. On the other hand, France's reinsertion into the NATO, far from weakening the ESDP, might in the end prove to be beneficial to it.

Hence it has been demonstrated that there has been an evolution in the U.S. and E.U. relationship. This evolution has seen a shift from clear suspicion and reluctance to greater acceptance, even support for a E.U. capable of projecting its power outside of and within its immediate environment. However, at the core of the problems which underpin the entire relationship between the E.U. and the U.S. is the fact that the latter has privileged and prioritized intervention through military instruments over civilian instruments, unilateral approaches over multilateral ones, war-fighting over nation-building and ad hoc forming of coalitions of the willing over alliance nurturing.[413] As a result, no matter their common long terms interests and proximate values that would tend to bind them together; the U.S. and the E.U. currently find themselves in very different places when it comes to their apparatus and strategy for crisis management.[414] Hence, the E.U. will remain cautious when it comes to its relationship with the U.S. especially from a political foreign policy perspective, and therefore also with NATO. Why NATO? One might ask. The E.U. will remain cautious of an organisation which is transforming itself from one whose original explicit purpose was to deliver U.S. engagement in the cause of European security, into one whose unspoken purpose seems to be to deliver increasingly capable European engagement in the cause of U.S. global strategy.[415]

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[413] Robert Kagan, *Power and Paradise: America and Europe in the New World Order*, (London: Atlantic Books, 2003), 3.

[414] Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, 157.

[415] *Ibid*.

From a purely military perspective, the relationship with the U.S. has become a second order priority as the E.U. tends to focus more on the development of its own internal military capabilities through its own common European defence industry and armaments market. Nevertheless, this is not the case from a foreign policy perspective, nor from an economic perspective. The E.U. will want to continue in the establishment of a strong relationship with the U.S. with a view to, what European foreign policy experts are increasingly calling for, shaping its own environment.[416] The E.U. does not seem to want to deviate from its own principles of the primacy of legitimacy through the United Nations, dialogue amongst nations, multilateral efforts and primacy of civilian means over military means. This will indeed continue to be one of the main differences between U.S. classical power projection and the projection of European power. Hence the E.U. needs to, increasingly and much more actively, begin to shape its environment by influencing other powers to adopt views similar or complimentary to those of the E.U.. The Member States of the E.U. will be likely to achieve far more in key areas if they operate as one single actor. Hence, given the current economic crisis, as well as grim forecasts in budget allocations for defence, European unity, vis-à-vis the U.S. from a defence industry and armaments markets perspective will be even more critical.

Chapter 12. The E.U. and its Neighbourhood Policy

In analyzing the E.U.'s environment, its transatlantic relationships, with both NATO and the U.S., have been looked at to determine how these relationships might affect its potential to project its power outside of its immediate environment. However, given its geographical positioning, the transatlantic relationship is not the only one which has bearing on the E.U. from many perspectives.

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[416] Groupe de travail du CARA, "PESD, Qu'Elles Priorités?" *Défense Nationale* 64, no. 7 (2008), 112.

Indeed, the European Commission has been well aware of this fact, and has developed in 2004 a European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), reflective of the objectives of the December 2003 ESS. The ENP aims at avoiding the emergence of new dividing lines between the enlarged E.U. and its neighbours and instead strives to strengthen the prosperity, stability and security of all concerned.[417] Hence the ENP emerges from the principle that the E.U. is not secure, unless its neighbours are secure.

Clearly, the ENP sets out in concrete terms how the E.U. proposes to work more closely with its neighbours. The ENP, although much wider in scope is quite similar to what NATO's Partnership For Peace (PfP) is trying to accomplish from a purely military perspective. Hence the ENP although not exclusively military focused, encompasses the same aspects covered by a more classical form of power projection. Indeed, the E.U. offers its neighbours a privileged relationship, building upon a mutual commitment to common values such as democracy and human rights, rule of law, good governance, market economy principles and sustainable development. In fact, the ENP goes beyond existing relationships to offer a deeper political relationship and economic integration with the E.U., but not within it. The trade-off is that the level of ambition of the relationship depends on the extent to which these values are shared by the courted state, hence demonstrating the normative power of the E.U. and also the central role played by the courted states in the effectiveness of the ENP. This normative aspect of the E.U. also allows it to contemplate more actively the projection of its power from a more classical sense, since as it has been demonstrated by the European integration project that economic and political integration can lead to increased integration from a foreign policy and security perspective.[418] In fact, it

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[417] European Commission, "The Policy: What is the European Neighbourhood Policy," European Commission, http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/policy_en.htm (accessed Mar 18, 2010).

is maintained that the E.U. uses enlargement as a means of "locking its neighbours into stable and democratic transition."[419] Hence, in order to realise the vision of building an increasingly closer relationship with its neighbours, and a zone of stability, security and prosperity for all, the E.U. and each ENP partner reach agreement on reform objectives across a wide range of fields "such as cooperation on political and security issues, to economic and trade matters, mobility, environment, integration of transport and energy networks or scientific and cultural cooperation."[420] The E.U. can thus provide the full range of its comprehensive approach, which includes military, to support the implementation of these objectives, in support of their partners' own efforts.

Of note, the ENP remains distinct from the process of enlargement although it does not prejudge, for European neighbours, how their relationship with the E.U. may develop in the future.

The ENP applies to its *immediate neighbours*, who border Europe by land or sea.[421] The central element of the ENP is the bilateral ENP Action Plans agreed between the E.U. and each partner. These ENP Action Plans set out an agenda of political and economic reforms with short and medium-term priorities[422] and are based on the country's needs and capacities, as well as the E.U.'s interests.[423] They

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[418] Hiski Haukala, "The European Union as a Regional Normative Hegemon: The Case of European Neighbourhood Policy," *Europe - Asia Studies* 60, no. 9 (2008), 2.

[419] Hiski Haukala, "The European Union as a Regional Normative Hegemon: The Case of European Neighbourhood Policy," *Europe - Asia Studies* 60, no. 9 (2008), 2.

[420] European Commission, *The Policy: What is the European Neighbourhood Policy*, 1.

[421] European Commission, *The Policy: What is the European Neighbourhood Policy*, 1. The ENP applies to the countries of Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Moldova, Morocco, Occupied Palestinian Territory, Syria, Tunisia and Ukraine. Although Russia is also considered as a neighbour of the EU, EU/Russia relations are instead developed through a Strategic Partnership.

[422] *Ibid*.

[423] European Commission, "How does the ENP Work ?" European Commission, http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/howitworks_en.htm (accessed Mar 18, 2009).

cover security and conflicts, political dialogue and reform, economic and social cooperation and

development, trade-related issues, market and regulatory reform, cooperation in justice and home affairs,

societal sectors such as transport, energy, information, environment, research and development and

human dimensions such as people-to-people contacts with civil and military leaders, business,

education, public health. The incentives on offer, in return for progress on relevant reforms, are greater

integration into European programmes and networks, increased assistance and enhanced market access.

How does the ENP affect the E.U.'s potential to project its power outside of Europe? The ENP

definitely enhances the E.U.'s projection of power, as it is a power projection tool in itself.[424] Not

necessarily from a classical sense of solely-military power projection, although it does facilitate and

complement it, in the sense that it does seem to secure the E.U.'s immediate environment, but more

from a typically European concept of power projection. For instance, the ENP's objective of spreading

peace and prosperity across the borders of the E.U. does prevent artificial divisions and does create

benefits for the ENP partners and for the Union alike.[425] Hence, the ENP is a concrete example of E.U.

power projection which involves not only civilian means, but also military means, a type of hybrid

power, which is not mutually exclusive in its employment of both facets.

What is really at stake, and the real reason why the ENP has been put in place, is the E.U.'s

ability to develop an external policy complimentary to its enlargement which is effective at promoting

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[424] Haukala, *The European Union as a Regional Normative Hegemon: The Case of European Neighbourhood Policy*, 2. As maintained by Haukkala, the enlargement process acts as a conduit through which the EU, as a normative power, can [project] its norms and values in a way that is both efficient and legitimate. Haukkala states "It is through the unique and rich combination of sticks and carrots that are present in the accession process that the EU can exert the strongest influence on its partners."

[425] European Commission, *Communication from the Commission: A Strong European Neighbourhood Policy* (Brussels: Commission of the European Communities,[2007]).

security and of course transformation and reform.[426] In other words, considering its environment, the

E.U. is using its ENP to project its power, its interests really, outside of Europe. Case in point, the E.U.,

much like NATO today, has always been faced with the dilemma of inclusion vs. exclusion. In other

words, how far should it stretch its borders?[427] According to its Treaty, European borders are quite fluid

and any European country can be considered as a potential candidate for membership. Hence,

translating such notions into coherent E.U. foreign, defence and security policies is an extremely

complex endeavour. Accordingly, the E.U. cannot afford to weaken its successful integration process by

enlarging without thought and evaluation of the impacts of offering membership to new states. Neither

can it afford to set explicit discriminatory limits either.[428] Therefore, the ENP is Europe's response to

this inclusion, exclusion dilemma and is thus another example of the E.U.'s evolving nature as an

international actor in view of the profound changes that currently characterise its external relations with

its neighbours.[429]

A clear-cut example of how the E.U. uses the ENP to further its power projection potential is the

way it is tackling what it terms "Frozen Conflicts."[430] The number of Frozen Conflicts in Europe's

neighbourhood remains high, too high for the Union's comfort in fact.[431] Transnistria, Abkhazia, South

Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh, the Middle East and Western Sahara remain of major concern to the E.U.

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[426] *Ibid*. and Ecaterina McDonagh, "The European Neighbourhood Policy: The European Union's Newest Foreign Policy Instrument" (PhD, Departmen of Political Science, Trinity College Dublin), 1 (accessed 18 Mar 2010).

[427] Ecaterina McDonagh, "The European Neighbourhood Policy: The European Union's Newest Foreign Policy Instrument"… 1.

[428] Ibid. A clear 'exclusion' policy will isolate countries that can pose a variety of economic, political and security threats to the EU.

[429] Ibid., 29.

[430] European Commission, *Communication from the Commission: A Strong European Neighbourhood Policy*, 6.

[431] Haukala, *The European Union as a Regional Normative Hegemon: The Case of European Neighbourhood Policy*, 18.

and its ENP partners. The EU has a direct interest in working with its partners to promote their resolution.[432] Of course, the E.U. is already active in preventing and resolving conflicts but it remains convinced that more should be done through ESDP measures that have recently been launched. Furthermore, E.U. Special Representatives have been appointed and police, border control and border assistance missions are developing their activities in the regions of those Frozen Conflicts. These are all positive actions accomplished by the E.U., however, it maintains that these actions need to be planned and coordinated with longer-term European Commission policies which address the overall institutional and governance context and thus favour stabilisation. The deployment of the full gamut of tools, would increase E.U. influence and avoid the limitations of military only solutions or short-term crisis management. The E.U. remains convinced that the ENP will foster convergence between political, economic and legal systems, enabling greater social inclusion and contributing to confidence building and most of all stability and security. The example of the E.U. Border Assistance Mission to Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova integrate the European Commission and the Foreign and Security Policy instruments in one effective comprehensive approach demonstrating how this can work.[433] Another example is its participation as an observer in the Joint Control Commission for South Ossetia.

Indeed, given the E.U.'s history of peace and stability through regional integration, it has added value to bring to the efforts of individual Member States in solving these Frozen Conflicts and it seems to be prepared to assume a greater role in the resolution of conflicts in its neighbourhood.[434] This

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[432] European Commission, *Communication from the Commission: A Strong European Neighbourhood Policy*, 6. These Frozen Conflicts undermine E.U. efforts to promote political reform and economic development in the neighbourhood and because they could affect its own security, through regional escalation, unmanageable migratory flows, disruption of energy supply and trade routes, or the creation of breeding grounds for terrorist and criminal activity of all kinds.

[433] European Commission, *Communication from the Commission: A Strong European Neighbourhood Policy*, 6.

[434] This rhetoric is maintained in the EU's 2003 ESS.

demonstrates that Aron's first element of power, the will of the E.U. also determines its involvement in its milieu; its immediate environment.

Conflicts will always be a key focus of political dialogue with ENP partners. The E.U. ensures that the conflicts remain on the agenda of dialogues with relevant international organisations and third countries. The Commission stands ready to develop, together with the Council, further proposals in the field of conflict resolution, using both Community and non-Community instruments such as NATO and other regional security apparatus such as the African Union. Hence, the E.U. is committed to ensure that the potential offered by political dialogue is fully exploited for other issues, such as fighting terrorism, combating the drug trade, controlling migratory flows, ensuring civil protection, and especially instituting good governance. This demonstrates a comprehensive approach to security whereby the whole apparatus of the E.U. comes to bare in securing its environment. This process is in a sense a projection of power of some sorts, outside of Europe's borders, within its immediate environment. Hence, it has been demonstrated that through its ENP, the E.U. is indeed enhancing its ability to project its power outside of Europe in order to promote stability and security, notably through the sustained promotion of democracy, human rights and the rule of law. This type of power projection does not exclude military power. Indeed it seems that Europe's hybrid power approach includes the more traditional tools involved in classical power projection. Case in point are the missions covered in Part I. But more specifically applicable to this part is the European missions in the Balkans, where the E.U. is projecting its power using its unique European means, which involve classical power projection tools such as military power.

It has been demonstrated that the E.U. uses its ENP as a means of projecting its power, in a typically European way, which is a hybrid form of power projection, in its immediate environment. Having said this, E.U. enlargement and its ENP are not the only means by which the E.U. tries to project its hybrid form of power. Indeed, Aron's interpretation of the "**milieu**" of a particular power also focused on the space where the action in question was taking place. In this sense, it makes complete sense for the E.U. to be particularly interested in the Black Sea region. From an energy security perspective, for the E.U., the Black Sea region is indeed where the action is taking place. The E.U.'s regional initiative termed the "Black Sea Synergy"[435] will be used as a means to analyze E.U. actions in the Black Sea region and how these affect or demonstrate the potential for power projection by the E.U.. Also, given that Russia is a key strategic player in the Black Sea region, a major purveyor of energy to Europe and the rogue partner of the bilateral E.U./Russia Strategic Partnership, relations between Russia and the E.U. will also be examined.

Chapter 13. The E.U. and the Black Sea Synergy

Energy dependence is today at the heart of European preoccupations and it will be increasingly so if the figures proposed by the International Energy Agency are correct, by which it states that Europe will grow increasingly dependent on energy, from fifty percent in 2000 to seventy percent in 2030.[436] Indeed, in 2006 the E.U. was made painfully aware of the fragility of its energy supply from Russia, as well as of the importance of a common external energy policy for its twenty-seven Member States.[437] Hence, since then, the E.U. has been greatly focusing its power projection efforts on elements of energy

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[435] SouthEast europe project, 28 June 2007, 2007,
http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?event_id=238980&fuseaction=topics.event_summary&topic_id=109941.

[436] Fondation pour l'innovation politique, "Indépendance énergétique de l'UE: L'Enjeu de la Mer Noire," *Défense Nationale* 64, no. janv - avr (2008), 71.

[437] *Ibid.*, 72.

security.[438] As a demonstration of typical E.U. power projection outside of Europe's traditionally

recognized borders, but within its immediate environment, there are three E.U. policies that are relevant

in the context of the Black Sea Synergy. First, the pre-accession process in the case of Turkey; second,

the ENP which has five eastern European partners active in Black Sea cooperation; and third, the

Strategic Partnership with the Russian Federation.

Indeed, on 1 January 2007, two Black Sea littoral states, Bulgaria and Romania, joined the E.U..

Hence, more than ever before, the E.U. had reason to focus on the prosperity, stability and security of

the region around the Black Sea. The Black Sea region, as depicted at Figure 8, is crucial to Europe

principally because of its location at the juncture of Europe, Central Asia, and the Middle-East and the

transit of oil and gas.[439]   It is, however, also a region with unresolved Frozen Conflicts, with many

environmental problems and insufficient border controls thus encouraging arms trafficking, terrorism,

illegal migration and organised crime which, if uncontrolled, spill into Europe.[440] In spite of significant

positive developments in the last years, differences still remain in the pace of economic reforms and the

quality of governance among the different countries of the region. It is in this sense that the E.U. has

significant impetus in projecting its power in the region. Of significant note, speaking of *acting*, Europe

is acting purely in its own interest, without the legitimacy of United Nations Security Council

Resolutions, nor under the NATO umbrella, nor for a humanitarian cause which has drawn sympathy

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[438] Fondation pour l'innovation politique, "Indépendance énergétique de l'UE: L'Enjeu de la Mer Noire,"…, 73.
[439] Fabrizio Tassinari, Black Sea Synergy : Strategies for Europe's New Frontier, Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, SouthEast Europe Project Blog, http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?event_id=238980&fuseaction=topics.event_summary&topic_id=109941, 28 June 2007, 1.

[440] European Commission, *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament: Black Sea Synergy - A New Regional Cooperation Initiative* (Brussels: Commission of the European Communities,[2007]) (accessed 17 Mar 2010). This fully transparent and inclusive initiative is based on the common interests of the E.U. and the Black Sea region and takes into account the results of bi-lateral and communal consultations with all Black Sea states. The Black Sea Synergy is intended as a flexible framework to ensure greater coherence and policy guidance.

from the around the globe. Hence demonstrating a shift in European projection of power, where it is now capable of standing on its own legs, without the backing of organizations such as the United Nations, nor NATO. Having said this, Europe's dynamic regional response to the problematic issues can also greatly benefit the citizens of the countries concerned as well as contribute to the overall prosperity, stability and security in Europe. The E.U. has already made major efforts to stimulate democratic and economic reforms, to project stability and to support development in the Black Sea area through wide-ranging cooperation programmes.[441] Given the confluence of cultures in the Black Sea area, growing regional cooperation could also have beneficial effects beyond the region itself.[442]

It is important to understand that it is not the E.U.'s intention to propose an independent Black Sea strategy, since the broad E.U. policy towards the region is already set out in the pre-accession strategy with Turkey, the ENP and the Strategic Partnership with Russia. Hence, the Black Sea Synergy is an initiative complementary to these policies that "focuses political attention at the regional level and invigorates ongoing cooperation processes."[443] The cooperation process, although *strongly* encouraged by the E.U., still remains a prerogative of the concerned states. The states remain the principal interlocutors in cooperation; hence the E.U. is more of a catalyst, creating synergies between inter-state initiatives. Therefore, again, the E.U. is very much dependent on the will of the states involved in this process.[444] Consequently, the E.U. has enhanced its role through increased political involvement, even

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[441] Fabrizio Tassinari, Black Sea Synergy : Strategies for Europe's New Frontier…, 1.

[442] Fabrizio Tassinari, Black Sea Synergy : Strategies for Europe's New Frontier…, 4. The scope of actions of this regional initiative could extend beyond the region itself, since many activities remain strongly linked to neighbouring regions, notably to the Caspian Sea, to Central Asia and to South-Eastern Europe. There would definitely be a close link between the Black Sea approach and a E.U. Strategy for Central Asian resources. Black Sea cooperation thus includes substantial interregional elements.

[443] *Ibid.*

military involvement in ongoing efforts to address the Frozen Conflicts in the region such as Transnistria, Abkhazia, Nagorno-Karabakh and the not so Frozen-Conflict in South Ossetia and has proposed, to the concerned states, that it should also look at ways of enhancing its participation in monitoring these through increasingly significant military monitoring missions.[445] Hence, it is again apparent that the European Model for power projection does not exclude more classical means, and that these means are used as normative enablers in shaping its immediate environment. It maintains that special attention must be paid to promoting confidence-building measures in the regions affected, including cooperation programmes specifically designed to bring the otherwise divided parties together. Hence, it seems once-gain that in this particular context that the E.U.'s ability to project its power is dependant on the relations it maintains with the states at hand and their national political will to cooperate.

As mentioned previously, the Black Sea region is a production and transmission area of strategic importance for E.U. energy supply. It offers significant potential for energy supply diversification and it is therefore an important component of the E.U.'s external energy strategy, thus a key element in its foreign and security policy. Energy supply security and diversification is in the interest of its partners in the region, as well as in the interest of the E.U. itself. Given the security challenges inherent to the region, the potential for necessary military intervention, in the region, by the E.U. is elevated. It is believed that through the Black Sea Synergy and its more civilian components, enhancing regional cooperation, significant military intervention will be avoided, but if required, *facilitated* by these inter-

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[444] Fondation pour l'innovation politique, "Indépendance énergétique de l'UE: L'Enjeu de la Mer Noire,"…, 74. Those states are Bulgaria and Romania (new EU mbrs since 2007), their accession has facilitated the EU's involvement in the region, Turkey (a potential accession state, which will definitely have a priviledged relationship), Russia, Ukraine, Central Asia.

[445]European Commission, *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament: Black Sea Synergy - A New Regional Cooperation Initiative… .*

dependencies and cooperative agreements already in place.[446] Consequently, the E.U. continues to

enhance its relations with energy producers, transit countries and consumers in a dialogue on energy

security. This dialogue promotes legal and regulatory harmonization through official initiatives, in the

framework of the ENP, in the framework for accession of states like Turkey and for the EU-Russia

Strategic Partnership and Energy Dialogue.

The complementary E.U. Black Sea regional initiative aims at a comprehensive approach, which

does not rule out military intervention if necessary and includes all countries in the region. Hence,

Europe's ENP and its complementary Black Sea Synergy aim at gaining leverage with the states in the

region.[447] Therefore the close ties the E.U. maintains with the Black Sea states and the Organisation of

the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC)[448] could substantially contribute to the success of the

Black Sea Synergy. These dialogues will be very important from a geostrategic perspective, as Russia

seems to be reasserting itself in the region.[449]

Chapter 14. The E.U. and Russia

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[446] Fabrizio Tassinari, Black Sea Synergy : Strategies for Europe's New Frontier…, 3.

[447] Fabrizio Tassinari, Black Sea Synergy : Strategies for Europe's New Frontier…, 1.

[448] European Commission, *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament: Black Sea Synergy - A New Regional Cooperation Initiative…* .   At present seven E.U. Member States have observer status with BSEC and the E.U. plans to obtain observer status as well in the near future. (The Czech Republic, Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Poland and Slovakia) The fact that Russia and Turkey are its founding members, is a decisive advantage.

[449] Fabrizio Tassinari, Black Sea Synergy : Strategies for Europe's New Frontier…, 1. President Putin commented in 2007 that Russia "is returning to the region."

Experts around the globe are claiming that the Black Sea region is an area of future power projection by the global powers.[450] Indeed, considering Russia's standing in the region, it is claimed that the E.U. driven Black Sea Synergy is indeed a Black Sea Strategy aimed at consolidating its recent enlargement and promoting stability and security on its borders and in this region of strategic importance for European subsistence.[451]

It is clear that the relationship with Russia, a major Black Sea power, is rather uncomfortable nowadays.[452] Indeed, even though the European strategy in the region is independent from NATO and the U.S., Europe seems to be willing to tackle the Russian problem in-step with the U.S.[453] Long gone are the days of 2005 when Russia and the E.U. seemed mutually fervent to pursue cooperation; a Strategic Partnership between each other on key issues such as security, economy, science, culture and economy.[454] Indeed, since Medvedev's coming into power as President, Russia has invaded Georgia, and has cut Ukrainian and European gas deliveries intermittently amongst panoply of other irritants, thus making the E.U. wonder if it still wants a strategic partnership with Russia or just a relationship.[455] The E.U. now questions Russia's reliability as a partner in pan-European security, when it has "flouted the principles of international law in Georgia."[456] Case in point, the "Putin-Medvedev" doctrine of Russia

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[450] *Ibid*.

[451] Fabrizio Tassinari, Black Sea Synergy : Strategies for Europe's New Frontier…, 1.

[452] *Ibid*.

[453] *Ibid*. Is this perhaps due to its current lack of power projection capabilities from a military perspective ?

[454] Radio free europe - radio liberty, 20 May 2009, 2009, http://www.rferl.org/content/EURussia__A_Not_So_Strategic_Partnership/1735977.html. At the same time recent developments tend to demonstrate that the cooling of relations is not irreversible.

[455] European Parliament, "Thoughts on a Strategic Partnership with Russia," http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/expert/infopress_page/030-48801-040-02-07-903-20090209IPR48762-09-02-2009-2009-false/default_en.htm (accessed 03/12, 2010).

[456] *Ibid*.

defending the rights of its citizens, wherever they are and by whatever means necessary, as in Abkhasia, is causing concern within the European Parliament.[457] It is also seemingly causing concern within Black Sea states as a new found "élan" is noticeable in their willingness to cooperate between each other and with the E.U..[458] Apart from Russian pressure in Georgia and Ukraine, the deterioration of links is best exemplified by the growing dysfunctionality of the commercial heart of the E.U.-Russia partnership, exemplified by their energy trade.[459]

Hence, overall, when considering E.U. and Russian relations from the perspective of the Black Sea and energy security, there seems to be a paradigm shift and the development of an interesting dichotomy, where the E.U. and Russia are demonstrating that they both have the will to be more assertive in the region, but that they are also mutually dependent on each other.[460] They both maintain a rhetoric which seeks greater cooperation and partnership, but their actions do not coincide with it. Truth be told, relations between Russia and the E.U. should remain at the forefront when it comes to energy security, or for any thought of E.U. expansion eastwards for that matter. It is therefore safe to say that the projection of E.U. power in the region will remain predominantly economic, perhaps even civilian in nature, with on-going border control and police missions, maybe even limited military observer

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[457] Radio free europe - radio liberty, 20 May 2009, 2009, http://www.rferl.org/content/EURussia__A_Not_So_Strategic_Partnership/1735977.html. and Alain Lamassoure, "L'Union éeuropéenne existe: Moscou et Washington l'ont rencontrée," *Défense Nationale* 65, no. 2 (2009), 27. This was also reminded to Russia upon its invasion of Georgia. Russia was convinced, by the President of the European Council at the time that it had much to lose by alienating all of Europe in its actions non congruent with a modern democratic country.

[458] European Parliament, "Thoughts on a Strategic Partnership with Russia,"

[459] Radio free europe - radio liberty... . The EU has spent years trying to get Russia to abide by the provisions of the Energy Charter, which aspire to provide transparent and market based rules for international energy cooperation. As such it would oblige Russia to open up the development of its hydro-carbon reserves and the running of its pipelines to foreign commercial involvement. Russia wants to scrap the Energy Charter and replace it with a new one which would strengthen its hand as the EU's principal external energy provider.

[460] *Ibid*.

missions. However, until, the E.U. can muster the more classical military power projection capabilities to match Russian ones, as well as significantly diversify its energy supply, to the point where it is no longer dependant on Russian energy, the E.U. will have to pursue its current policy in the Black Sea region. Indeed, Europe's hybrid power approach by which it projects the full gamut of its power projection tools, in a comprehensive approach, including classical ones such as its military power, seems the most effective one for the Black Sea region. Is this driven by the geostrategic context in question or by pure European will to project this type of power? It would be logical, according to Aron's theory, to conclude that the answer would be yes to both as they go hand-in-hand.

Figure 8. The Black Sea Region[461]

Chapter 15. A Summary of the E.U.'s Environment

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[461] Fabrizio Tassinari, Black Sea Synergy : Strategies for Europe's New Frontier…, 2.

In the analysis of the E.U.'s environment, a narrower approach was chosen vis-à-vis Aron's theory. Indeed, the main determinants to European power projection in a more classical sense, based on influence, power, geostrategic importance and proximity, were analyzed. The analysis itself was conducted from both an extrinsic and intrinsic perspective. As such, intrinsically, it was assessed how NATO and the U.S. affected the E.U.'s potential for power projection. Subsequently, extrinsically, the E.U.'s ENP, its Black Sea Synergy and its relations with Russia were analysed.

From the NATO and the U.S. perspective, it was demonstrated that both officially supported and had much to gain from a Europe which could assume its share of the global security burden. However, they both remained concerned that a stronger E.U. would entail a weaker NATO and entail a new competitor to U.S. military dominance. It was also brought to the forefront that the main differences between the E.U. and NATO and the U.S. was the E.U.'s comprehensive approach, by which it projected a hybrid form of power, not exclusive of classical means such as military power, thus creating synergies on the ground enabling effective crisis management. Overall, although both the U.S. and NATO had initial negative effects on the development of the ESDP and European power projection, it is now apparent that the E.U. will increasingly be more and more capable of standing on its own feet, when it will come to projecting its power in a more classical sense. Finally, it seems that recent U.S. and NATO actions have caused a European convergence towards its ESDP and its own form of hybrid power projection.

From the perspective of the E.U.'s ENP, its Black Sea Synergy and its relations with Russia, it is apparent that these means are indeed a uniquely European form of hybrid power projection. They are power projection tools of themselves, encompassing all of Europe's projection means, including

classical military power, as part of a comprehensive approach to shape and frame the E.U.'s immediate environment. Indeed, they have been normative enablers, allowing the E.U. to stabilize and promote security on its borders, as well as solve its inclusion, exclusion and even perhaps east-expansion dilemma. Having said this, Europe's energy dilemma is another story all together and could affect the stability of the region. Indeed, experts are calling for more power projection in the region in the future, by the great powers due to Russia's recent assertiveness in South Ossetia and its current hold of energy resources so crucial to Europe's subsistence. In the end, until Europe sufficiently develops its classical force projection military capabilities, and sufficiently diversifies its energy supply and suppliers, it should pursue the same strategy as it has of late in this geostrategic region.

CONCLUSION

Using the framework proposed by Raymond Aron, in which he maintained that a political entity's potential for power projection ***depends on the political will that is driving it, on the means available to be used, and on the environment in which it will be applied***, this analysis attempted to assess the E.U.'s potential for projecting its power, in a more classical sense, outside of Europe's boundaries.

Considering the breadth of information available, its relative subjectivity, and the findings proposed in the three parts inherent to this analysis, it is evident, and congruent with Aron's theory, that attempting to assess a political entity's potential for power projection is a complex undertaking and extremely difficult. Especially when that political entity, the E.U., is a complicated one at best and not very typical of a nation-state, and is more often than not, torn between its parts and its whole, while both

of those are still struggling with exactly what role they want to play, individually and collectively, on the global security stage.

Overall, it indeed can be argued and has been demonstrated that without being, and even perhaps without becoming a traditional power in the stricter sense of the term as we know it, the E.U. seems to be endowing itself with an ambition; **the will**, and the power projection **capabilities** which exceed those, in large part, the notions of Normative or Post-Modern power for which it has generally been associated with. Its use of power projection seems to be gradually shifting from a typical low risk soft power, uniquely normative and civilian approach, towards a political entity which is increasingly willing to resort to a form of hybrid power which is not exclusive of military power and includes injunction and coercion by military means in order to influence others. Given the current state of global affairs, it also seems that both NATO and the U.S. who apparently have they hands full, will encourage the E.U.'s new actorness in assuming its share of the security burden. The E.U.'s ENP, its recent Black Sea Synergy, and its dealings with Russia are also demonstrations that it is increasingly willing and capable of getting seriously involved in the security of its **immediate environment, using its hybrid form of power projection**.

In conducting the analysis, three broad issues have surfaced consistently, which should be examined more closely in any further assessment of the E.U.'s potential for power projection.

 First   is the **pivotal role played by the Member States** of the E.U. in all three elements of power as proposed by Aron. As demonstrated by the recent swell in European convergence for security and defence matters, the Member States can be enablers for E.U. power projection. However, it has also

been demonstrated that they can be the brakes as well, mostly when their strategic cultures diverge or when they are influenced by external factors which hold political sway with their national governments. This dichotomy, between nationalistic needs and E.U. wants, begs the question if the findings herein on the European will, capabilities and environment, as proposed in this analysis, are **really based upon a European transnational dynamic or if they are driven by a handful of willing states**, some more than others, coaxing and even perhaps strong-arming the others along with them. Considering this, the **E.U. will continue to be torn between inclusion and exclusion, expansion and consolidation**. Each one needs to be carefully studied as they will have significant impacts, on the E.U.'s potential for power projection, even if it maintains its hybrid power approach to the subject.

Second, in all three elements of power as proposed by Aron, it was clear that the E.U. was **not a traditional power projector in the classical sense comparable to the U.S. or NATO**. Indeed, it was demonstrated in the fundamentals of its will, in the capabilities it was developing, and in the strategy for its immediate environment, elements resembling those of a more classical version of power projection, but the difference lay in the purpose, the multiplicity and in the synergistic employment of these means, along with more soft power mechanisms, in framing, containing and shaping its environment. **As the E.U.'s classical power projection military capabilities increase in scope, will it maintain its hybrid power projection approach** to its immediate environment or will it be edged towards more NATO or even U.S.-like interventions in the name of securing its energy and economic lifelines, masked as securing a "better future" for its immediate neighbours?

Third, only time will tell how the E.U. and its ESDP will pursue its ambitions [and] deal with its threats in the future. However, it has been clearly demonstrated that **the E.U. has evolved significantly**

in its role on the global security stage. Driven by its will, it seems that the E.U. has gone from a paralysed bystander, stunned by problems in its own back yard and caught in a post Cold War hibernation state related to an appearance of absence of threat, absence of consensus and mismanagement of inadequate resources to an active leader in strategic high risk trouble spots around the globe. **It seems to be evolving in all the elements of power raised by Aron as it is actively developing its more classical military power projection capabilities, within its very own and unique hybrid power approach and is actively engaged in shaping and stabilizing its immediate geostrategic environment around its borders as well as extended areas which impact its security.**

Interestingly, it seems that the E.U.'s future, as a power projector of a hybrid form of power, inclusive of military power in a more classical sense, **will also be determined by the elements of power raised by Raymond Aron**. Whether it be its will, through convergence or divergence of its Member States, its capabilities through global economic crisis or through major technological breakthroughs or partnerships, or whether it be through its immediate environment, through thawing of frozen conflicts on or within its borders, or through major diplomatic breakthroughs or political change, it thus seems that Aron's elements of power are indeed timeless, although very realist-like, in the assessment of a political entity's potential for power projection.

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Annex A. EDA Achievements since 2004

EDA achievements since 2004

Projects & Programmes

HELICOPTERS AVAILABILITY

- Helicopter Training Programme (starting 2010)
- Future Transport Helicopter
  (Initial Operational Capability (IOC) 2020+)

INSERTION UAS INTO NORMAL AIRSPACE

- MID-air Collision Avoidance System (MIDCAS)
  (demonstrator 2012) - € 50m / 48 months
- Military Airworthiness

NETWORK ENABLED CAPABILITY (NEC)

- EU NEC Concept noted by PSC
- NEC Implementation Study in Progress

MARITIME SURVEILLANCE (MARSUR)

Wise Pen Think Piece intermediate Report delivered, contributed to GAERC November 2009 conclusions, final report in March 2010;

- MARSUR Networking Demonstration Phase preparation ongoing, phase starts end of 2010;
- Maritime Mine Counter Measures ad hoc Category B project with 12 cMS plus Norway in full swing;
- Future Unmanned Aerial Systems ad hoc Category B project progressing with 7 cMS.

CHEMICAL, BIOLOGICAL, RADIOLOGICAL AND NUCLEAR (CBRN)

- Identification Monitoring Equipment Development and Enhancement Programme ad hoc Cat B project launched, 9 cMS plus Norway;
- civ-mil CBRN EOD Staff Planners and Incident Commanders Course conducted with 33 participants from 10 pMS.

COUNTER IMPROVISED EXPLOSIVE DEVICES (CIED)

Intermediate Search train the trainers course successfully conducted, 27 participants from 12 pMS.

JOINT INVESTMENT PROGRAMMES IN R&T

- JIP Force Protection (ex: sniper detection) - 3 years / € 55 m
- JIP Innovative Concepts and Emerging Technologies (ICET)
  - 2 years/€ - 15.5 m

INTELLIGENCE

- Open Source Intelligence (OSINT) Pilot courses: completed
- Intelligence analysis pilot courses: in progress
- Common Standardized User Interface (CSUI): Concept Demonstrator delivered

INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE & RECONNAISSANCE (ISR)

- ISR Architecture CST approved
- ISR Architecture design study: in progress
- Imagery CST: in progress

STRATEGIC TRANSPORT

- European Air Transport Fleet (EATF)
- Intra-theatre mobility evaluation study

ADVANCED EUROPEAN JET PILOT TRAINING (IOC: 2015)

SPACE

- European Satellite Communications Procurement Cell (IOC : 2010) - CAT B launched
- Earth Observation
- Multinational Space-based Imaging System (MUSIS) (IOC 2018)- Connectivity to Global Monitoring for Environment and Security (GMES)
- Critical Space Technologies for European non-dependences
- Space Situational Awareness - mil requirements and synchronisation with ESA. CST drafting in finalisation.

Source : EDA bulletin, EDA at Five, by Alexander Weis, Chief Executive. issue 13 Feb 2010, http://www.eda.europa.eu/,

CIS

- Information Exchange Requirements studies: delivered
- Information Exchange Gateways: in progress
- C4i EU Battle Group reference Architecture Study: in progress

COMMUNICATIONS

- Software Defined Radio Technological Demonstrator: ESSOR: (€ 129 m + connectivity with the European Commission)
- SDR: Up-to now: EDA + Cion funding approx. 50 million Euros (excl. cat B)
- Radio Spectrum: World Radio Conference 2012 preparation in Progress
- EDA coordination with EC, 10 projects for approx. 50 million euros (excl. cat B)

LOGISTICS

- EU TPLS Platform (operational since 07/2009)
- Fuel and Energy (starting up)
- Seaborne Logistic Support
- Medical Support

CAMP PROTECTION

- Future Interoperability of Camp Protection Systems (€ 8 m)

COLLABORATIVE R&T CAT B PROJECTS FOR 2007-2008-2009

- Projects approved by the Steering Board - € 278 m
- Contracts signed - € 222 m

Policies & Strategies

STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK

- Long Term Vision
- Capability Development Plan
- European Defence Technological and Industrial Base Strategy
- European Strategy for Armaments Co-operation
- European Strategy for Defence R&T

REGIME ON DEFENCE PROCUREMENT

- Code of Conduct on Defence Procurement
- Code of Best Practice in the Supply Chain
- Electronic Bulletin Board (operational)
- Code of Conduct on Offsets & Offsets Portal (operational since 7/2009)

Source : EDA bulletin, EDA at Five, by Alexander Weis, Chief Executive. issue 13 Feb 2010, http://www.eda.europa.eu/,

Annex B. Initial Contributions by European Union Member States - 1999

Appendix: Forces Contributed to Helsinki Force Catalogue

Austria: one mechanized infantry battalion, one light infantry battalion, 1 Nuclear, Biological, Chemical Defense unit, one "humanitarian civilian assistance package," one Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC) element, one helicopter transport squadron, one transport company, 100 observers/experts.

Belgium: Land: one mechanized brigade, plus smaller units as part of humanitarian operation for up to six months. Air: 24 F-16 fighters, eight C-130 and two Airbus transports. Navy: two frigates, mine countermeasures (MCM) vessels.

Denmark: No contribution; opted out of ESDP at Maastricht in 1992.

Finland: Land: one mechanized infantry battalion, one engineer battalion, one transport company, one CIMIC company. Navy: one MCM command and support ship. Joint: 15-30 experts/observers.

France: Land: 12,000 troops from a 20,000 pool; Mechanised, light, airborne (for a year), and amphibious brigades headquarters. Air: Combined Air Operations Center, 75 combat aircraft, eight air-refueling aircraft, three long-range and 24 medium-range transports, two Airborne Warning & Control System aircraft, combat search & rescue (CSAR) helicopters. Navy: Two battle groups, each with one nuclear attack submarine (SSN), four frigates, three support ships, and maritime patrol aircraft. One would include the nuclear powered aircraft carrier *Charles de Gaulle* with 22 aircraft aboard. Mine countermeasures vessels. Joint: Permanent military operations headquarters at Creil if required, others at operational and tactical levels, satellite communications, reconnaissance satellites and aircraft.

The Eurocorps headquarters has also been offered for the force.

Germany: Land: Nucleus land component headquarters, up to 18,000 troops from a pool of 32,000 at division and brigade level, including armored, air assault, and light infantry brigade headquarters and seven combat battalions. Air: Nucleus air component headquarters, six combat squadrons with 93 aircraft, eight surface-to-air missile (SAM) squadrons, air transport, other support elements. Navy: Maritime headquarters, 13 combat ships, support. Joint: Permanent military operations headquarters at Potsdam if required, nucleus operational headquarters

Source : The Center for Defence Information, http://www.cdi.org/program/document.cfm?documentid=199&programID=37&from_page=../friendlyversion/printversion.cfm, accessed 24 Feb 2010, and Ian Kemp & Luke Hill, "Europe on Standby", Jane's Defence Weekly, Dec. 12, 2001

Greece: Land: one operational headquarters, one mechanized or other brigade, one light infantry battalion, one attack and one transport helicopter company. Air: 42 fighter aircraft, four transport aircraft, one Patriot SAM battalion, one short-range air defense (SHORAD) squadron. Navy: Escorts, one submarine.

Ireland: one light infantry battalion, 40-strong Army Ranger Wing Special Forces unit, headquarters, observer, and support elements. 850 total.

Italy: Land: one corps-level headquarters for six months, one division headquarters for a year, 12,500 troops from a 20,000 pool (including an airmobile brigade for up to six months and three other brigades), one railway-engineering battalion, special forces, one CIMIC group, one Nuclear, Biological, Chemical Defense company. Air: a Combined Air Operations Center (air component headquarters), 26 Tornado and AMX combat aircraft, six CSAR helicopters, four C-130J transport aircraft (from 2003), nine tactical transport aircraft, two air refueling aircraft, three maritime patrol aircraft, two SHORAD units. Navy: A sea or shore-based maritime component headquarters; one task group with one aircraft carrier (*Giuseppe Garibaldi*), one destroyer, three frigates, four patrol ships, one submarine, four MCM ships, two amphibious ships, one oceanographic vessel, eight helicopters.

Luxembourg: one reconnaissance company, one A400M transport aircraft. 100 total.

Netherlands: Land: with Germany, Headquarters I German-Netherlands Corps, one mechanized Brigade, 11th Airmobile Brigade, one amphibious battalion. Air: one to two F-16 fighter squadrons; transport aircraft, SAM squadrons. Navy: Air defense and command frigates, multipurpose frigates, landing platform dock *Rotterdam*.

Source : The Center for Defence Information,
http://www.cdi.org/program/document.cfm?documentid=199&programID=37&from_pag
e=../friendlyversion/printversion.cfm, accessed 24 Feb 2010, and Ian Kemp & Luke Hill,
"Europe on Standby", Jane's Defence Weekly, Dec. 12, 2001

Portugal: Land: one infantry brigade, including reconnaissance, armored, artillery, engineer, signals, logistics, military police, and CIMIC elements; two teams of military observers. Total 4000. Air: squadron with 12 F-16, four C-130 transports, 12 C212 tactical transports, three maritime patrol aircraft, four tactical air control parties, four medium transport helicopters. Navy: one frigate, one submarine, one survey ship, one support ship.

Spain: Land: division headquarters to coordinate humanitarian operations and a brigade HQ for other operations, one brigade, mountain unit, one light infantry battalion at high readiness available as an immediate reaction force. Air: one Mirage F-1 squadron, one F/A-18 squadron each of 12 aircraft, six transport aircraft, two each surveillance, electronic warfare, and strategic transport aircraft (A400M). Navy: one carrier group including carrier *Principe de Asturias*, two frigates and support ships, one submarine, one MCM ship, Spanish-Italian Amphibious Force (SIAF).

Sweden: One mechanized infantry battalion including intelligence, electronic warfare/signals, reconnaissance, engineer, and explosive ordinance disposal units.

Air: tactical reconnaissance element of four AJS 37 Viggen to be replaced in 2004 by four JAS 39 Gripen multirole fighters, one airbase unit (225 personnel), four C-130 transport aircraft. Navy: two corvettes, one support ship.

United Kingdom: Joint: Permanent Joint HQ (Northwood) if required, at least one mobile joint headquarters, including a Combined Air Operations Center (CAOC). Land: either an armored or a mechanized brigade, each of which could be sustained for at least a year, or 16th Air Assault Brigade, which could be deployed for up to six months. Combat support forces such as artillery, air defense, and attack helicopters could also be deployed, supported by logistics forces. Total 12,500. Navy: one aircraft carrier, two SSNs, up to four destroyers or frigates, and support vessels. An amphibious task group including one helicopter carrier and 3rd Commando Brigade could also be made available. The aircraft carrier, helicopter carrier, and submarines could not necessarily be sustained continuously for a whole year. Air: up to 72 combat aircraft, including naval fighters, with 58 associated support aircraft including 15 tankers, strategic transport aircraft, and Chinook and Merlin transport helicopters. This total would be available for an initial six months to cover initial theatre entry; for a longer term commitment the number would reduce.

Source : The Center for Defence Information, http://www.cdi.org/program/document.cfm?documentid=199&programID=37&from_page=../friendlyversion/printversion.cfm, accessed 24 Feb 2010, and Ian Kemp & Luke Hill, "Europe on Standby", Jane's Defence Weekly, Dec. 12, 2001

European Armed Forces, 2005							
Professional or Conscript		Number of Personnel					
		Army	Navy	Air Force	Total in 2004	Total 1988	%Reduction
Austria	Conscript 33200			6700	39900	54700	-27
Belgium	Professional since 1994	24800	2450	10250	39200	88300	-56
Cyprus Conscript		10000			10000	13000	-23
Czech Rep	Professional since 2005	16663		5609	22272	197000	-89
Denmark	Conscript 12500		3800	4200	21180	29300	-28
Estonia Conscript		3429	331	193	4934	n/a	n/a
Finland	Conscript 20500		5000	2800	28300	35200	-20
France	Professional since 2001	133500	43995	63600	254895	457000	-44
Germany	Conscript 191350		25650	67500	284500	489000	-42
Greece	Conscript 110000		19250	23000	163850	214000	-23
Hungary	Professional since 2004	23950		7500	32300	99000	-67
Ireland	Professional 8500		1100	860	10460	13200	-21
Italy	Professional since 2005	112000	34000	45875	191875	386000	-50
Latvia	Professional since 2006	1817	685	255	5238	n/a	n/a
Lithuania Conscript		11600	710	1200	13510	n/a	n/a
Luxembourg	Professional since 1967	900			900	800	+12
Malta Professional		2237	(joint)	(joint)	2237	1200	+86
Netherlands	Professional since 1996	23150	12130	11050	53130	102200	-48
Poland Conscript		89000	14300	30000	141500	406000	-65
Portugal	Professional since 2003	26700	10950	7250	44900	73900	-39
Slovakia	Professional since 2006	12860		5160	20195	n/a	n/a
Slovenia	Professional since 2004	6550		(530)	6550	n/a	n/a
Spain	Professional since 2001	95600	19455	22750	147255	309500	-52
Sweden	Conscript 13800		7900	5900	27600	67000	-59
UK	Professional since 1963	116760	40630	48500	205890	316700	-35
Norway Conscript		14700	6180	5000	25800	35800	-28
Turkey Conscript		402000	52750	60100	514850	635300	-19

Source : Howorth book, p. 100.

Notes: Countries in bold are the original 15 EU member states prior to 2004. Six of the EU-15 (members prior to EU-enlargement) still field conscripted armies. Half of the EU Accession States (those who became members in 2004) retain conscripted forces, but one of these, (Latvia) plans to end conscription in 2006. In some cases overall numbers are in excess of the sum of the three armed forces because paramilitaries and other forces are included in the official tallies. Norway and Turkey are included here although they are not EU members, because Norway participates in ESDP through NATO and the Berlin Plus Agreements, participates in EU Joint Actions, and has pledged personnel and equipement to the ESDP Rapid Reaction Force. Turkey is included because it has a complex agreement with the EU through the EU-NATO Partnership and, if it joined the EU, it would become by far the largest armed force in the Union. (Source: the military balance 2005-2006, p 45-150)

Source : Howorth book, p. 100.