

The European Security and Defence Policy







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Introduction

As a union of 25¹ states with over 450 million people producing a quarter of the world's Gross National Product (GNP), the European Union is inevitably a global player. It should therefore be ready to share in the responsibility for global security and building a better world.

(EUROPEAN SECURITY STRATEGY – ESS), INTRODUCTION)

The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) is operative today, just a few years after it came into existence at the Cologne European Council in 1999. While, up until 1999, the European Union (EU) had virtually no capability for civil-military crisis management, it has now become an important crisis manager. The security and defence dimension of the EU is now no longer a "project" but a reality.

Today, Europeans are assisting with the security of the Rafah crossing point in the Gaza Strip, training Iraqi judicial officers, and supporting the Palestinian, Bosnian and Congolese police. In Aceh (Indonesia), European advisers have been monitoring the implementation of the peace process. Yet the European Union is also making its influence felt militarily, thereby creating security for the people of the Western Balkans, in the immediate vicinity of the European

Union. European soldiers have similarly been instrumental in ensuring that the first democratic elections the Democratic Republic of the Congo has seen in 40 years went off peacefully.

The civilian and military operations of the European Union contribute towards the management of crises, towards exporting peace and towards looking after the foreign and security interests of the EU. In this context special importance is to be attached to conflict prevention.

Regular opinion polls have shown that the vast majority of the citizens of the EU are in favour of a Common EU Foreign and Security Policy. Clarity as to the objectives and the

¹ After the accession of Bulgaria and Romania on 1 January 2007 the European Union now has 27 member states.



The EU carries responsibility in many Operations and Missions worldwide.

means to achieve them is required to enable the EU to do justice to its responsibility as a player in security policy. The European Security Strategy (ESS) of December 2003 is the first document to formulate corresponding guidelines for the EU. Germany has been instrumental in this regard and has shown commitment to making sure that the strategy gives prominence to the importance of international law and the role of the United Nations (UN).

Germany is making a significant and widely acknowledged contribution to the ESDP. In doing so, Germany has – from the very start – also lent its support to a pari passu development of civilian and military capabilities and is now involved in the civilian ESDP missions with police, customs personnel and experts. As a result of the reform of the Bundeswehr (Federal Armed Forces),

Germany will be able in future to satisfy the requirements of military crisis management as part of the EU – and of NATO – to an even greater extent than before.

The strategic partnership of the EU and NATO is and continues to be indispensable to the success of the ESDP. The EU and NATO do not compete but complement each other. It is only through joint, concerted effort that the democracies of Europe and North America are able to ensure their security. A dynamic ESDP strengthens the European pillar of NATO and, also, the Alliance as a whole.

Germany in Europe – opportunities and risks in a changed security environment



Foreign Minister, Dr. Frank-Walter Steinmeier, with the EU High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy, Dr.Javier Solana, in March 2006.

Our security environment has become fundamentally different since the radical changes of 1989-1990 (collapse of the Communist system leading to the dissolution of East Germany in 1989 and Germany's reunification in 1990). The challenges Germany and Europe are now facing are totally unlike those at the time when our continent was divided. The events of 11 September 2001 made this absolutely clear.

The principal parameters may be summarised as follows:

- >> Threat analysis today focuses on terrorist groups operating worldwide and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The significance of traditional national and Alliance defence (i.e. against a conventional attack by one or more states) has diminished considerably by comparison. Defence can no longer be narrowed down to geographical borders today.
- >> Today's international system is no longer determined by blocs but by a multitude of states.

- >> The contribution of the United States (U.S.) is indispensable in dealing with the formidable challenges confronting us, although the U.S. also has to rely on multilateral cooperation.
- >> To an increasing extent, German security policy is being formulated and implemented within the framework of the EU. The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) of the EU and the ESDP as an integral part of the CFSP have assumed an evergreater importance. In this context, the ESDP plays a decisive part in building up a pari passu partnership with the U.S.
- >> The transnational networking of political, societal and economic players reflects the changed international relations and continues to increase in significance.
- >> The UN is the most important institution for the solution of global problems. The UN Security Council continues to be the central decision-making body as well as an instrument that bestows legitimacy according to international law.



Defence Minister, Dr. Franz Josef Jung, and his Finnish counterpart, H.E. Seppo Kääriäinen, at the handing over of the handing of the security and defence portfolio of the EU Council Presidency in December 2006.

"The EU stands for political stability, security and prosperity in Germany as well as in the other member states." From the governmental White Paper 2006 on the security policy of Germany and the future of the Federal Armed Forces.

Europe has, on the one hand, become a zone of stability and security in the past 15 years but, on the other hand, we are being threatened by developments in remote regions. Conflicts on other continents can directly impact on our security. Terrorist groups, for instance from the domain of Islamic fundamentalism, have set their sights not only on the U.S. but also on Europe.

It is important against this background that the Europeans assume an even greater responsibility for their security in the future, both in the EU and in NATO. The adoption of the European Security Strategy in December 2003, not least because of Germany's initiative, is an expression of this appreciation. We need a comprehensive approach where civilian and military assets are used and emphasis is placed on conflict prevention.

It is a fact that European unification and transatlantic partnership continue to be the main supporting pillars of Germany's foreign and security policy.

European Security Strategy

On 12 December 2003, the European Council adopted the European Security Strategy (ESS), designated "A Secure Europe In A Better World". Germany had supported the development of such a paper early on and provided important impetus for it.

The ESS serves to establish the strategic position following the double paradigm

shift of 1989-1990 and 11 September 2001. Also, the ESS forms the basis for the strategic dialogue required with our principal partners, in particular the United States.

The Strategy directly addresses the citizens of the European Union. Security policy is an area of politics that is bound up with great hopes and expectations of the EU on the

part of its citizens. The Security Strategy formulates for the first time in broad terms a comprehensible framework for the Common Foreign and Security Policy that will serve as a guideline for the EU member states and institutions.

The Security Strategy distinguishes between the global challenges and risks, on the one hand, and the instruments the EU has at its disposal to counter those challenges and risks, on the other. In doing so, the Security Strategy starts out from a comprehensive concept of security. Thus, security is not just interpreted in military terms. The decisive factor is, rather, the security of the citizens, which is to be ensured comprehensively.

The Strategy initially identifies five principal threats to our security: international terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, the instability and failure of states, and organised crime.

The Strategy subsequently defines three overall goals:

>> The EU must employ the entire range of instruments at its disposal early on in face of the new threats, which are never of a purely military nature and can therefore never be countered exclusively by military means. The first "line of defence" will often be abroad, according to the Strategy. Early action and combating the causes of conflicts take priority.

- >> Notwithstanding the significance the EU has as a global player, one of the focal points of the Strategy is the creation of security in our immediate neighbourhood to facilitate the development of an arc of stable and responsibly governed states extending from the eastern borders of the EU to the Mediterranean.
- >> The EU is committed to a world order based on effective multilateralism and international law, thus expressing the conviction of the Europeans that no nation can deal with the new global threats on its own.

The Strategy pleads for a more active foreign policy involving the selective employment of the wide range of diplomatic, trade and development policy instruments, through to the use of military means as a last resort. Civilian and military capabilities have to be strengthened. It is also necessary to intensify the cooperation between the EU and its strategic partners.

A number of important German concerns are reflected in the document. For instance, the Strategy places great emphasis on the preventative instruments of the EU. The commitment to the Statutes of the United Nations clearly shows that military force may be used only as a last resort and only in accordance with the UN Charter. This also means that the primary responsibility for peace and security rests with the UN Security





Council. Moreover, the Strategy highlights the importance of arms control for security within and outside Europe. The significance of the strategic partnership between the European Union and NATO is also adequately reflected.

Germany has come out firmly in favour of adopting the European Security Strategy. The Strategy remains true to the identity and values that the EU incorporates as a "power based on the rule of law". However, it also underscores the fact that the EU has become a "civilian power with teeth" – willing to act if rules are broken.

Milestones and fundamentals of ESDP

Important sign posts were set for the development of CFSP / ESDP In the context of the severely limited scope for action that the European Union had in terms of security policy when Yugoslavia fell apart with great bloodshed, especially in the course of the armed conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo.

In the Maastricht Treaty, which became effective in 1993, the member states formulated for the first time the goal of a Common Foreign and Security Policy, for the EU. The Amsterdam and Nice Treaties (1999 and 2003, respectively) secured significant

improvements, in particular the creation of the office of the High Representative (HR) for CFSP, which Javier Solana has held since November 1999. Mr. Solana gives a face to European foreign and security policy.

As a result of the Treaty of Amsterdam, the socalled Petersberg Tasks of the Western European Union (WEU) – humanitarian and rescue tasks, peacekeeping tasks, and combat missions in the context of crisis management including peacemaking measures – have been incorporated into the "Acquis Communautaire" of the EU. The current version of this spectrum of possible



EU crisis management tasks is Article 17 of the Treaty of Nice, which entered into force in February 2003.

The 1999 Cologne European Council is considered to be the occasion at which the ESDP came into being. At this meeting, the EU heads of state and government adopted a "Declaration on Strengthening the Common European Policy on Security and Defence". The central objective of ESDP is the conduct of international crisis management operations and the establishment of the required civilian and military capabilities.

The conclusions of the 1999 European Council meeting in Helsinki sum up the logic of the ESDP in a few sentences: "The European Council underlines its determination to develop an autonomous capacity to take decisions and, where NATO as a whole is

not engaged, to launch and conduct EU-led military operations in response to international crises. This process will avoid unnecessary duplication and does not imply the creation of a European army." At the same time, the heads of state and government decided to improve and make more effective use of the resources available for civilian crisis management, an area in which the Union and its members states have already acquired considerable experience.

The ESDP is an integral part of the CFSP. It therefore obeys the traditional rules of intergovernmental cooperation. Decisions have to be taken unanimously. The European Council (i.e. the heads of state and government of the member states) lays down the principles and guidelines that point the way for the CFSP. Decisions concerning the ESDP are usually taken by the EU Council of Ministers. The council in charge of this area is the "General Affairs and External Relations Council" (GAERC), which is primarily a body where the foreign ministers get together. The defence ministers also meet regularly in the GAERC format.





The EU had to adapt its organisations and procedures to fulfil the special requirements of crisis management operations. The most important decisions were taken in December 2000 at the Nice European Council meeting. The bodies listed below were set up:

- >> Political and Security Committee (PSC): The PSC comprises ambassadors of the 27 EU member states and deals with all issues concerning the CFSP. In the area of crisis management, the PSC – on behalf of the Council – exercises "the political control and strategic direction" of missions.
- >> EU Military Committee: The Military Committee is made up of the Chiefs of General Staff of the member states who, in the weekly meetings, are represented

by highranking officers. The Military Committee advises the PSC on all military crisis management issues, in particular in connection with the development of military capabilities and makes suitable recommendations.

>> Committee for Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management (CIVCOM): This committee, which consists of diplomats and specialists, also does the groundwork for the PSC and issues recommendations and statements.



The multinational EU Operations Headquarters (OHQ) in Potsdam. EUFOR RD CONGO was led militarily from here.

Military capabilities

In formulating the "European Headline Goal" at its 1999 Helsinki meeting, the European Council set a planning target for the development of military capabilities in order to be able to carry out the entire spectrum of crisis management tasks provided for in the EU Treaty. The intention was to enable the member states by 2003, for EU-led operations, to deploy within 60 days and sustain for at least one year forces of 50.000 to 60.000 troops capable of the full range of Petersberg Tasks.

The European Headline Goal was achieved for the most part in quantitative terms by 2003. However, there were still deficiencies in capabilities mainly in terms of quality, particularly in the areas of strategic transport, strategic reconnaissance, and command and control. The "European Capabilities Action Plan" (ECAP) constituted a first step towards removing those deficiencies. Under ECAP, concrete results such as the Strategic Airlift Interim Solution (SALIS) were achieved, which provides the member states with assured access to large-capacity transport aircraft including the Leipzigbased Antonov.

The European Defence Agency (EDA) set up in 2004 is to assist and push ahead with the removal of deficiencies in capabilities.

The European Security Strategy, the draft for the EU Constitution, and initial experience gained from EU operations have led to a need to review and adapt the European Headline Goal. To this end, a new planning target has been adopted. The new Military Headline Goal (Headline Goal 2010 - HG 2010) is to be achieved by 2010. The first measures towards achieving the new HG 2010 were initiated in 2005 when the military capability requirements of the EU were analyzed and identified. Since then, the process has been carried on in a continuous and consistent manner. In a second decisive step the EU member states, in 2006, pledged to the EU assets and capabilities to fulfil the above requirements. The aim is ultimately to compare the pledged assets and capabilities with the requirements in order to determine the crisis management potential of the EU and to show where there is a need for action.

On the basis of a Franco-British-German initiative, the EU decided to set up rapidly deployable battlegroup size forces by 2007 in order to improve its rapid response capabilities. The EU battlegroups (BGs) are rapidly deployable, coherent combat forces capable of conducting limited independent operations or the initial phase of a largerscale operation. A battlegroup is based on an infantry battalion and additionally comprises the HQ and the required support forces. The nucleus of a battlegroup is made up of approximately 1,500 soldiers.

From 1 January 2007 onwards, two battlegroups will achieve full operational capability, each for a period of half a year. Germany will, as of 1 January 2007, lead the battlegroup set up jointly with Finland and the Netherlands.

The creation of a European Union organisational unit at SHAPE and of a NATO liaison element with the EU Military Staff has ensured better preparation of EU operations, with access to NATO assets and capabilities. In addition, a civil-military cell has been set up at the EU Military Staff (planning cell) which is also responsible for the nucleus of an organic EU Operations Centre. Under certain conditions this collective capability can be used for the planning and conduct of EU autonomous operations, especially when a joint civil/military approach is required and no national HQ has been designated for this task.

European Defence Agency (EDA)

After the European Council had founded the EDA in June 2004, the latter started work in Brussels in December of the same year. Although most of 2005 was then devoted to getting the EDA up and running, the first projects were also launched. The EDA currently comprises a staff of about 95 who, under the leader-ship of a management team, work in the four operational directorates listed below:

- >> Capabilities,
- >> Research and Technology,
- >> Armaments, and
- >> Defence Industry and Market.

The EDA, with the support it provides for European armaments cooperation, its activities in the field of defence research and technology development, and the efforts it has made to strengthen Europe's defence technology and industrial base, is expected to make a decisive contribution to the further development of CFSP and ESDP and to promote the implementation of these two policies in the form of concrete, enhanced European capabilities.

At the same time, it assists in harmonising military requirements / statements of short-falls of the member states involved. It is, in particular, to assume a coordinating function between already existing structures and organisations (network function), pool activities, and achieve maximum synergy in its areas of responsibility.

The EDA is legally independent but remains part of the uniform institutional framework of the EU. It works under the political control of the Council of Ministers and technically is subordinate to the steering committee of the member states involved, under the chairmanship of the Secretary General / High Representative of the EU.

Civilian capabilities

Civilian crisis management is less conspicuous for the general public than military missions. However, the experience gained in the Balkans and in Afghanistan has shown that civilian instruments are an indispensable part of crisis management. In general soldiers need the support of police and civilian experts to be able to restore stability in a postconflict situation or to prevent the renewal of a conflict.

The parallel and balanced development of civilian and military capabilities is a hallmark and special strong point of the ESDP. For this reason, Germany strongly supports a strengthening of the civilian capabilities of the EU and a professionalisation of civilian crisis management.

The Feira (June 2000) and Gothenburg (June 2001) European Council meetings formulated corresponding objectives for civilian crisis management. The heads of state and government decided to establish capabilities focusing on policing, the rule of law in state government, civilian administration and protection following disaster.

In December 2004, the European Council decided on a Civilian Headline Goal 2008 for civilian crisis management. Its main Objective: to identify and build up the civilian capabilities the EU requires by 2008.



Civilian aid-workers undergo mission preparation at the Centre for International Peace Missions (ZIF)

The measures listed below, in particular, are intended to ensure the qualitative and quantitative improvement that the Civilian Headline Goal intends to bring about in the area of civilian crisis management:

- >> Mobilisation of sufficient resources for civilian crisis management in order to create the ability to conduct several parallel civilian missions for an extended period, including a largerscale "substitute mission" in a difficult environment.
- >> Enhancement of the rapid reaction capability in the civilian sector (by deploying socalled integrated civilian crisis response teams, among other things).
- >> Closer dovetailing of civilian and military crisis management.

Member states and the EU offer a number of programmes to prepare police personnel and civilian experts for missions within the framework of the ESDP. Cooperation with Non governmental organisations (NGOs) is of particular importance in this context. The Berlin Centre for International Peace Operations (ZIF), which was founded in April 2002 in close coordination between the Federal government and the Parliament, deserves special mention. The ZIF is today one of Europe's leading organisations for the training and recruitment of civilians.



Satellite imagery of Kinshasa in support of election monitoring operation EUFOR RD CONGO in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Example:

The European Union Satellite Centre

BY FRANK ASBECK, DIRECTOR OF THE EU SATELLITE CENTRE

The European Union has had a satellite centre since 1 January 2002 that is tasked with supporting EU decisionmaking within the framework of CFSP and ESDP. To this end, the Centre assesses satellite imagery and supplementary information such as aerial imagery, and undertakes analyses that are made available to the Council Secretariat and, usually, also to the member states. It is located in Torrejón de Ardoz in the vicinity of Madrid (Spain).

The PSC exercises political supervision over the Centre, which, as far as its operational functions are concerned, reports directly to the General Secretary / High Representative for CFSP, Javier Solana. Frank Asbeck from Germany is the current director of the Satellite Centre.

The European Union has set itself the task of pursuing strategic goals more actively. The security challenges Europe is confronted with are global in nature. To cope with these challenges, Europe must be capable of sound judgement and action on a global scale. Satellite reconnaissance is inherently global and can therefore make a valuable contribution to Europe's competence to make sound judgements and take action.

The focal points of activity reflect the priorities of the European Security Strategy. Special emphasis is therefore being placed on the following issues: proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and delivery systems, combating international terrorism, regional conflicts and rendering support to crisis and conflict management. Assistance with the planning, preparation and conduct of EU missions and operations is becoming increasingly important. Sound and up-todate knowledge of the geography of the deployment location is fundamental to any mission. The Satellite Centre has so far contributed analyses to all EU operations, in particular the two EUFOR operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina (ALTHEA) and in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

International organisations, too, may assign tasks to, and receive products from the Centre under certain conditions. The Satellite Centre did assist with the United Nations mission in Congo (MONUC), for instance. Close cooperation also exists with NATO, the African Union (Sudan), and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

The tasks member states assign to the Centre primarily concern their contributions to humanitarian and peacekeeping missions. Lebanon is a current example of this, as are the relief measures launched after the 2004 tsunami disaster in Asia and the 2005 Pakistan earthquake.

Member states are, to an increasing extent, availing themselves of the Satellite Centre's training capacity, which was originally intended for the continuing training of the Centre's staff. Also, representatives of the member states get together several times a year at Torrejón to discuss practical aspects of satellite imagery interpretation in connection with intelligence collection on foreign and security matters. In this way, the Centre provides input to the development of European cooperation in the field of digital satellite imagery interpretation.



High Representative Javier Solana visits the EU Satellite Centre in Torrejón, Spain.





EU crisis management operations

Since 2003, the EU has conducted the operations listed below:

- >> Since January 2003: The European Union Police Mission (EUPM) in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which assists local police forces with the establishment of policing structures and the combating of organised crime and corruption (also refer to Kilian Wahl's presentation on p. 28).
- >> March to December 2003: EU Military Operation CONCORDIA to stabilise the situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, with access to NATO assets and capabilities.
- >> June to September 2003: French-led EU Military Operation ARTEMIS in the Democratic Republic of the Congo to stabilise security and improve the humanitarian situation in the Ituri district.
- >> December 2003 to December 2005: EU Police Mission (EUPOL PROXIMA) to develop a professional police service in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.
- >> July 2004 to July 2005: EU Rule of Law Mission EUJUST THEMIS in Georgia to strengthen constitutional structures and advise on the reform of the criminal justice system.

- >> Since December 2004: EU Military Operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUFOR ALTHEA), superseding the former NATOled SFOR operation, and the largest EU crisis management operation so far, initially involving about 7,000 soldiers. The operation is being conducted with access to NATO assets and capabilities (also refer to Admiral Witthauer's presentation on p. 21).
- >> Since April 2005: EU Police Advisory Mission in Kinshasa (EUPOL KINSHASA) in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. European police experts have been advising Congolese police forces, in particular a specially trained police unit for the protection of Congolese government institutions.
- >> Since May 2005: Security Sector Reform Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (EUSEC DR CONGO). European experts are assisting with the reform of the security sector in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.
- >> Since July 2005: EU Integrated Rule of Law Mission (EUJUST LEX). Training of senior representatives of the Iraqi judiciary and

- police in the development of a modern judiciary based on the rule of law.
- >> Since July 2005: Assistance with the African Union's (AU) Operation AMIS aimed at bringing peace to the Darfur province in Sudan. The EU is rendering both military and police support to the AU (for instance by transporting AU peacekeepers to the mission area, and by training and advising AU police personnel).
- >> Since September 2005: Civilian mission in Georgia aimed at assisting the Georgian Border Guard Service and other relevant institutions.
- >> September 2005 to December 2006: EU Monitoring Mission in Aceh/Indonesia (with the participation of several ASEAN countries). At the request of both parties to the conflict, the EU is monitoring the implementation of the peace agreement between the Indonesian government and the separatists in Aceh Province in Northern Sumatra. The monitoring mission is focusing on the following: surrender of weapons by the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and destruction of these weapons; reintegration of GAM fighters into civilian society; withdrawal of Indonesian troops and police units from the region; monitoring of the human rights situation.
- >> Since November 2005: European Union Border Assistance Mission at Rafah Crossing Point in the Palestinian Territories (EU BAM Rafah). On 15 November 2005, Israel and the Palestinian Authority concluded an agreement that also provides for the opening of the Rafah international border crossing point between Gaza and Egypt. Approximately 70 EU observers are monitoring the Palestinian border and customs checks at Rafah. The mission is making an important contribution to the Middle East peace process (also refer to Franz Vogl's presentation on p. 24).
- >> Since December 2005: EU Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine (EU BAM). The mission, which has a two-year mandate, aims to improve Moldovan-Ukrainian cooperation on border issues by having what is now more than 100 EU observers conduct unannounced visits along the Ukrainian-Moldovan border.
- >> Since January 2006: EU Police Mission in the Palestinian Territories (EUPOL COPPS). The mission is helping to develop a workable and efficient policing structure under Palestinian responsibility. In pursuance of this task, EU experts are acting as advisors to Palestinian police officers.
- >> January to June 2006: EU Police Advisory Team in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (EUPAT). Following the



termination of EUPOL PROXIMA, the transition mission EUPAT continued to provide advisory support to the Macedonian police, albeit in a modified form. In this way the European Commission prepared the takeover of the support activities.

>> July to November 2006: EU Military Operation to Provide Security during the Elections in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (EUFOR RD Congo). At the request of the United Nations, European military forces assisted the Congolese security forces for the duration of the election period (also refer to General Viereck's presentation on p. 26).

Example:

EU Military Operation ALTHEA in Bosnia and Herzegovina BY REAR ADMIRAL HANS-JOCHEN WITTHAUER, COMMANDER OF THE SARAJEVO OPERATION

On 5 December 2006, I was the first German officer to assume command of EU Operation ALTHEA. This is a sign of Germany's readiness to continue to assume responsibility for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Since 1995, the Bundeswehr (German Federal Armed Forces) has made a significant contribution to stabilising the peace process in Bosnia and Herzegovina within the framework of NATO Operations IFOR (from 1995 to 1996) and SFOR (from 1996 to 2004). It has, since 2 December 2004,

continued its visible commitment under an EU flag as part of Operation ALTHEA as well as under a NATO flag at the Sarajevobased NATO HQ.

SFOR and EUFOR ALTHEA have created a secure and stable environment as a prerequisite for rebuilding the political, social and economic structures of the country. Considerable progress has so far been achieved in developing Bosnia and Herzegovina further towards a pro-European, multiethnic and democratic state based on the rule of law.



Built for the NATO Operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Camp for European follow-on Operation ALTHEA.

As the threat level has decreased, it has been possible to reduce gradually the presence of international armed forces – including the German contingent.

Thus, Bosnia's and Herzegovina's prospects for integration into European and Euro-Atlantic structures continue to improve. The development of the country entered a critical phase when, in November 2005, negotiations for a Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) with the EU were initiated as a prerequisite for possible subsequent membership of the EU.

In this context, the aims are to continue the implementation of reforms in important areas such as policing, the economy and public service broadcasting, alongside the swift conclusion of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement as a condition for a further rapprochement between Bosnia and Herzegovina and the EU and progress in constitutional reform. Last year, we were able to successfully tackle the reform of the armed forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Now there is virtually no longer any risk of a military confrontation occurring between the entities and ethnic groups. This means that the country is experiencing a sound development, enabling the international community to adjust its military presence step by step to the normalisation of everyday life and increasingly to hand over responsibility for the future of the country to state and local institutions. Bosnia and Herzegovina is already taking over responsibility for important tasks such as mine clearance and weapons collection.

There is thus, also in the case of Operation ALTHEA, increasing scope for adjusting the presence of armed forces. Depending on the political decisions taken in Brussels, the "Transition Concept" for ALTHEA envisages - as a first step - reducing the operational forces locally to a multinational battalion as early as the spring of 2007. The liaison and observer teams already established will continue to fulfil their mission throughout the country. Owing to the deployment of these teams. EUFOR is able not only to "have its finger on the pulse of the population". thereby keeping abreast of the overall situation, but also to demonstrate the multinational commitment of the EU. The operational forces remaining on site will continue to have the capability to respond to changes in the situation. Furthermore, the concept of sharing resources with NATO under the "Berlin Plus" arrangements offers sufficient safeguards for the impending reductions. Depending on the progressive normalisation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, further adjustments may take place in terms of force strength and structure.

I welcome the chance to continue to shape, in a responsible position, a peace process that has so far been visibly successful and to command and control a multinational force that flexibly adapts to its changing tasks and cooperates closely and confidently with the population and the international community in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Example:

The EU Border Assistance Mission at the Rafah Crossing in the Palestinian Territories

BY FRANZ VOGL, DEPUTY HEAD OF MISSION AND COMMANDER
OF THE GERMAN CONTINGENT EU BAM RAFAH

As a result of a resolution taken by the Council of the European Union on 12 December 2005, the EU has set up a border assistance mission at the Rafah crossing point in the Gaza Strip.

On 15 November 2005, the Israeli government and the Palestinian Authority had concluded an "Agreement on Movement and Access" through the good offices of the High Representative for CFSP, Javier Solana, and U.S. Foreign Secretary Condoleezza Rice. Among other things, this agreement had as its aim to (re)open the Rafah crossing point on 25 November 2005, which had been closed in September 2005 following the Israeli withdrawal from the Palestinian Territories. The presence of a third neutral party at the crossing point was an essential precondition in this context.

The EU, at the invitation of both parties, offered to perform the functions of this third party as of 25 November 2005 and to set up EU BAM Rafah at the Rafah crossing point in order to assist with the implementation of the agreement and of the provisions pertaining to the Rafah crossing point.

The mandate for this mission comprises

- >> active monitoring of the Palestinian border and customs checks at the Rafah crossing point ("monitoring"),
- >> checking the work routines at the terminal for adherence to international standards ("verifying"),
- >> conducting an (efficiency) evaluation of the way tasks are carried out in terms of border checks, customs checks, and overall security ("evaluation"), and
- >> providing training assistance for the Palestinian border police and customs service ("mentoring").

EU BAM Rafah has no executive mandate, i.e. the Palestinian authorities perform all sovereign tasks and exercise all sovereign powers themselves, with monitoring and advice provided by European border police and customs experts ("strengthening local police forces"). The monitors are, however, authorised to demand border police/ customs checks and/or checks of each passenger, piece of luggage and goods to be repeated if the performance of the controls does not comply with international standards.





The EU essentially pursues three objectives with this mission:

- >> confidence-building between the parties (to the conflict),
- >> development of capacities (training and equipment support), and
- >> optimisation of crossborder cooperation with Egyptian border authorities within the framework of "border management".

To ensure that these goals are achieved, a total of 78 experts – mainly border police and customs personnel from 15 EU member states – monitor the daily performance of tasks by the Palestinian border and customs staff at the crossing point. The mission assists the Palestinian Authority with the development of capacities (training and continuation training, equipment, technical support) and regularly evaluates the progress made by the Palestinian police and customs officers. The German contingent in EU BAM Rafah is made up of five civilian servants (3 members of the Federal Police, 2 members of the Federal Customs Administration).

The Rafah crossing point is a gateway for passenger and vehicular traffic as well as for the export of goods. In total, more than

350,000 travellers have entered or left the Palestinian Territories since the terminal was reopened in November 2005, thereby availing themselves of the regained freedom of movement. The export of goods (mainly agricultural produce), which is in its initial stages, represents an important contribution to the economic development of the Palestinian Territories.

The aftermath of the electoral victory of the radical Islamic Hamas group in the Palestinian parliamentary elections on 26 January 2006 and Hamas' non-recognition of the criteria laid down by the socalled Middle East Quartet – acknowledgement of Israel's right to exist, renunciation of the use of force, and recognition of existing agreements with the State of Israel – as well as the Middle East crisis in the summer of 2006 have aggravated the prevailing conditions for EU involvement in Rafah and for the smooth operation of the crossing point.

However, this does not detract from the important role the mission continues to play in improving the humanitarian situation in the Palestinian territories and in contributing to the advancement of the Middle East peace process.

Example:

EU Military Operation to Provide Security during the Elections in the Democratic Republic of the Congo – EUFOR RD Congo BY LIEUTENANT GENERAL KARLHEINZ VIERECK, OPERATION COMMANDER

Since 30 July 2006, the European Union had been conducting military operation EUFOR RD CONGO to provide security during the parliamentary and presidential elections in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The basis for the EUFOR RD CONGO operation of the European Union was UN Resolution 1671 (2006), which limited the operation to a fourmonth period during the elections. The task of providing security during the elections in support of the United Nations mission in the Congo (MONUC) was clearly defined, as was the securing of the international airport at Kinshasa, the protection of civilians facing immediate physical danger, and the conduct of possible limited evacuation operations in the event of unrest during the election period.

Within the framework of the MONUC UN mission around 16,700 military personnel, whose tasks include the security and logistics preparation of the elections, are currently deployed in Africa's third-largest country. The conduct of the MONUC operations focuses on the east of the country. As a result, the number of MONUC military forces available for providing security during the elections in the capital of Kinshasa, the political "centre of gravity", is comparatively small.

The United Nations turned to the EU in late December 2005 to request support for the implementation of the elections, as it was not possible to increase the manpower level for MONUC, which still is the UN's largest operation worldwide. EUFOR RD CONGO, alongside two ongoing civilian EU missions conducted within the framework of ESDP is to be seen as the military component of Europe's commitment to the Congo, a country that has so far gone from one crisis to the next, on its way to more democracy and security.

Under the responsibility of the Council of Europe in Brussels, the EU Political and Security Committee (PSC) had assumed political control and strategic-level leadership of the EU military operation. I was formally appointed commander of the EU operation in EU Council Joint Action 2006/319/CFSP of 27 April 2006. I commanded and controlled the operation from the Potsdam-based military strategic Operation Headquarters (OHQ), which comprised a staff of some 150 persons and had been activated for the first time. The Chairman of the EU Military Committee served as my central Point of Contact (POC) in Brussels. Subordinate to the OHO, a Force Headquarters (FHQ) with a staff of about 190 was set up in the RD Congo under the command of French Major General Christian





Damay, who was responsible for conducting the operation in theatre.

The deployed forces were stationed with an "advance element" in Kinshasa and with the "on call force" in adjacent Gabon. The "advance element" essentially comprised the FHQ with its supporting components, an infantry company available to be deployed at immediate notice, a security company, ground and airbased reconnaissance elements, a Psychological Operations Element, helicopter forces, and a light airtransportable surgical hospital (LASH) (Role 2). The "on call force" was made up mainly of two Task Groups with a substantial infantry component, another Role 2 surgical hospital, and transport aircraft. A Europe-based battalion with a substantial infantry component was available as a final escalation capability element.

The multinationality of the operation was reflected at all levels, in particular in the HQs. A total of 21 EU member states were involved in the mission. France and Germany, having contributed the largest contingents, formed the backbone of the theatre-based force, which was made up of some 2,000 soldiers. Other contributing nations to EUFOR RD CONGO included in particular

Poland with its security company, and Spain with the manoeuvre company in Kinshasa, as well as Belgium, Italy, Greece, Turkey, the Netherlands, Sweden, Portugal, Finland, Ireland, Austria, Luxemburg, Slovenia, Cyprus, The United Kingdom and Switzerland.

After a brief planning period, the required planning documents (Concept of Operations and Operations Plan) were drawn up in close coordination between the two HQs. The EU Movement Coordination Centre at the OHO was in charge of coordinating the multinational deployment, and advance parties prepared the reception of the troops. In parallel, a concentrated "Information Operations Campaign" did the groundwork for the successful execution of the operation. The presence of EUFOR contributed to the peaceful elections in July and November. In mid-August, when a critical situation occurred between supporters of the candidates running for the presidential elections, EUFOR's courageous and swift intervention succeeded in nipping any escalation in the bud. Also, the close coordination among EUFOR and EUPOL/EUSEC and the successful cooperation between the United Nations and the EU. both during the coordination and planning phase and in theatre, set a shining example for future military ESDP operations.

Example: EU Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina European reconstruction aid to the Bosnia and Herzegovina Police

BY KILIAN WAHL, CHIEF OF PRESS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS OF EUPM

On 1 January 2003, some 500 international police officers, with the support of some 70 civilian experts and 300 locals, embarked on their job aimed at transforming the security forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina into a multi-ethnic, democratic and effective police force that serves the citizens and is free from political manipulation and exertion of influence. What the Mission members found was a fragmented, ethnically divided police service. Both the citizens and the police were suspicious of each other.

This situation presented a major challenge for the European Union Police Mission (EUPM) in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the first and hitherto largest-scale crisis mission launched within the framework of the European Security and Defence Policy.

The Mandate of EUPM

In late 2005, the original three-year mandate was extended by another two years. Today EUPM comprises some 200 international experts including 170 police personnel and 30 civilian advisers who are supported by a 211-strong local staff.

Germany is currently involved in EUPM with 16 police officers and 3 civilian experts. Being an exclusively advisory mission whose staff are unarmed and do not have any executive powers, EUPM focuses on the activities listed below:

- >> police restructuring,
- >> assistance with combating felonies and organised crime,
- >> setting up a community police service (keywords: transparency, responsibility).

Mission Successes

Negotiations on police restructuring are underway. The set-up of SIPA (State Investigation and Protection Agency), a powerful multiethnic modern police force whose organisation is based on the model of the German Federal Office of Criminal Investigation (BKA), is coming along nicely, and some initial successes against organised crime have been visibly achieved. Internal and external mechanisms of control have been created in order to remove corrupt policemen involved in criminal activities from the system. The State Border Service (SBS), the border police of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is now able to protect the



EU Police officials – essential upholders of order and also reconstruction helpers in many crisis regions.

national borders and combat drug smuggling, trafficking in human beings and gunrunning.

These successes are not exclusively attributable to EUPM, of course. EUPM cooperates closely with other European and international organisations, especially with the High Representative of the international community and EU Special Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Christian Schwarz-Schilling, with EUFOR (Operation ALTHEA), and the Office of the European Commission.

The Concept is Working

Surveys and statistics show that crime in Bosnia and Herzegovina is on the decline and that people are regaining confidence in their police. The country, which until recently had been embroiled in one of the bloodiest conflicts since the end of World War II, is thus returning somewhat towards normality and security.



EU and NATO: Strategic partnership

The purpose of the ESDP is not to supplant NATO but to supplement it. "In those cases where NATO as a whole is not engaged". the EU should have a capability to launch and conduct its own military operations. Two scenarios apply in this context: EU-led operations with access to NATO assets and capabilities (examples: Operation CONCOR-DIA in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; Operation ALTHEA in Bosnia and Herzegovina), and those without access to NATO assets and capabilities (examples: Operation ARTEMIS and Operation EUFOR RD CONGO in the Democratic Republic of the Congo). The latter category is referred to as "autonomous" operations and is to be expected mainly in the event of missions of limited size and duration and when swift action is called for.

Germany attaches great importance to the use of NATO assets and capabilities whenever and wherever this is possible and appropriate. For this reason, the conclusion of the EU-NATO permanent arrangements (Berlin Plus) in March 2003 was hailed as a milestone. Most EU and NATO member states belong to both organisations and therefore seek complementarity and the creation of synergies.

NATO had already presented an offer to the EU at the Washington Summit of April 1999 founded on the existing cooperation between NATO and the Western European Union (WEU) and referred to as "Berlin Plus". NATO essentially offered the EU access to "assets and capabilities" of the Alliance as well as access at all times to NATO planning capabilities for EU-led operations. This is important especially in view of the fact that, unlike NATO, the EU does not have an organic military command structure at its disposal. This assistance is founded on the condition that NATO "as a whole" will not assume any crisis management role if an eventuality actually arises.

The development of military capabilities also calls for close coordination between the EU and NATO as a central prerequisite. This is to ensure that enhancements of military capabilities are "mutually reinforcing". According to the official statement of the Prague NATO Summit of November 2002, the same applies to the "creation of a NATO Response Force (NRF) and the related work of the EU Headline Goal." The build-up of military capabilities carried out within the framework of the ESDP has the additional effect of strengthening the interoperability of U.S. and European armed forces in NATO.

NATO is and continues to be the basis of our collective defence. No other organisation is in a position to accomplish this fundamental task in the foreseeable future.



However, a strong Alliance calls for capable partners, also in Europe. From Germany's point of view, a dynamic ESDP is intended to strengthen the European pillar of NATO and the Alliance as a whole.

Main focal points of the German EU Presidency in 2007 with respect to the ESDP

Germany intends to further strengthen and develop the ESDP both during its Presidency of the EU Council in the first six months of 2007 and beyond. The issues listed below will be prominent in this context:

1. Crisis management missions and operations

With respect to European neighbours, the German Presidency will focus in particular on stabilising the Western Balkans. Following the end of the Kosovo Status Negotiations, the EU will ensure the implementation of the realised regulations, among other things by conducting its so far largest ESDP mission, which will take over responsibility for the judiciary and the police from the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).

2. Further development of EU operational crisis management capabilities

The civilian and military instruments the EU has at its disposal for crisis prevention and management are to be further improved and strengthened, inter alia within the framework of the EU Headline Goal processes (Civilian Headline Goal 2008 and Military Headline Goal 2010).

The rapid crisis reaction capability represents an important requirement of this process and is to be accorded special consideration. As early as 1 January 2007, rapidly deployable and fully operational European battlegroups will be made available for missions in trouble spots.

At the same time, the EU Operations Centre, if activated, would enhance the planning and command capabilities of EU missions.

3. Consolidation of strategic partnerships

Germany is committed to efficient and complementary cooperation between the EU and NATO with the aim of strengthening the strategic partnership between these two organisations, which is to be achieved by intensifying political dialogue and cooperation in the areas of missions and capability development.

In keeping with the precepts of effective multilateralism, Germany is also committed to increasing cooperation between the EU and the UN in the field of crisis management.

The U.S. is an important partner of the EU where crisis management is concerned. Cooperation between these two partners in the area of crisis management is to be intensified and improved.

4. Conceptual development of the ESDP

The increasingly complex nature of conflicts and postconflict situations calls for a strengthening of civil-military coordination for planning and conducting the relevant missions.

Experience gained from more than a dozen missions since 2003 can be put to use in the further shaping of the ESDP so as to point the way ahead. Of central interest is EUFOR RD CONGO, which was the first genuinely multinational and autonomous military ESDP operation and took place in the second half of 2006.

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