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978-1-107-02890-6 - The European Union and Military Force: Governance and Strategy

Per M. Norheim-Martinsen

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## *The European Union and Military Force*

The Common Security and Defence Policy maps out how the EU – established primarily to be an economic organisation – can purposefully prepare for and apply the use of military force. In this insightful work, Per M. Norheim-Martinsen argues that, since the EU is not a state but nevertheless does embody some non-intergovernmental characteristics, neither EU studies nor strategic studies is sufficient for fully understanding the Policy itself. Combining the two fields, the author utilises the instrumentality and clarity of the strategic approach, while retaining an understanding of the unique character of the EU as a strategic actor. In so doing, he provides a fruitful conceptual framework for analysing the development of the CSDP, how it functions in practice and how it will continue to evolve in the face of the challenges which lie ahead. This book will appeal to scholars and advanced students of European studies, international relations and strategic studies.

PER M. NORHEIM-MARTINSEN is a Senior Research Fellow at the Fafo Institute for Applied International Studies in Oslo. He has a PhD from the University of Cambridge, and has previously held positions in the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI) and the Norwegian Military Academy.

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ACT	NATO Allied Command Transformation
AMIS	African Union Mission in Sudan
AMM	Aceh Monitoring Mission
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AU	African Union
CA	Comprehensive Approach
CAR	Central African Republic
CCC	Capabilities Commitment Conference
CCM	Civilian Crisis Management
CDM	Capability Development Mechanism
CIC	Capabilities Improvement Conference
CIS	Communications and Information Systems
C4ISR	command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CHG	Civilian Headline Goal
CHOD	Chief of Defence Staff
CIMIC	Civil–Military Cooperation
CIVCOM	Committee for Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management
CivMilCell	Civil–Military Planning Cell
CJTF	NATO Combined Joint Task Force
CMC	Crisis Management Concept
CMCO	Civil–Military Coordination
CMPD	Crisis Management and Planning Directorate
CoC	Code of Conduct
COIN	Counterinsurgency
CONOPS	Concept of Operations
COREPER	Committee of Permanent Representatives
CPCC	Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability
CPI	Comprehensive Planning Initiative
CRCT	Crisis Response Coordinating Team

CRT	Civilian Response Team
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
CTG	Counter-Terrorism Group
CTM	Core Team Meeting
DAC	Deployable Augmentee Cadre
DCI	NATO Defence Capabilities Initiative
DG-E	Directorate General for External and Politico-Military Affairs
DG-Relex	Directorate General for External Relations
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
D-SACEUR	Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Europe
EBA	European Border Agency
EBAO	Effects-Based Approach to Operations
EBB1/2	European Bulletin Board (Government and Industry Contracts)
EBO	Effects-Based Operations
ECAP	European Capability Action Plan
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEAS	European External Action Service
EDA	European Defence Agency
EDC	European Defence Community
ELMA	European Union Military Staff Lessons Learned Application
ELPRO	European Union Military Staff Lessons Learned Process
EMP	Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
EMU	European Monetary Union
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
EPC	European Political Cooperation
ESS	European Security Strategy
EU	European Union
EUBG	European Union Battlegroup
EUMC	European Union Military Committee
EUMM	European Union Monitoring Mission in Georgia
EUMS	European Union Military Staff
EUPM	European Union Police Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina
Eurogendfor	European Gendarmerie Force
EUSG	European Union Staff Group in NATO-SHAPE



*List of abbreviations and acronyms*

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EUSR	European Union Special Representative
FHQ	Force Headquarters
FOC	Full Operational Capacity
FSO	Full Spectrum Operations
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GAERC	General Affairs and External Relations Council
GAM	Free Aceh Movement
HLG	Headline Goal
HR-CFSP	High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IED	Improvised Explosive Device
IEMF	European Union Interim Emergency Multinational Force in the DR Congo
IMPP	United Nations Integrated Mission Planning Process
INTDIR	Intelligence Directorate of the EU Military Staff
IPU	Integrated Police Unit
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan
JHA	Justice and Home Affairs
KFOR	Kosovo Force
LOI	Letter of Intent
MAD	Mutually Assured Destruction
MI6	British Secret Intelligence Service
MILREP	Military Representative
MINURCAT	United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad
MIP	Mission Implementation Plan
MONUC	United Nations Organization Mission in DR Congo
NAC	North Atlantic Council
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NATO-SHAPE	NATO Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe
NBG	Nordic Battlegroup
NCW	Network Centric Warfare
NDC	Nordic Defence Cooperation
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NRF	NATO Response Force
NSS	US National Security Strategy
NTM-I	NATO Training Mission in Iraq

OAE	NATO Operation Active Endeavour
OCCAR	Organisation for Joint Armament Cooperation
OHQ	Operations Headquarters
OHR	Office of the High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina
OpCen	Operations Centre
OPLAN	Operation Plan
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
Policy Unit	Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit
POP	Policy Option Paper
PSC	Political and Security Committee
PSO	Peace Support Operation
QMV	Qualified Majority Voting
R&D	Research and Development
RMA	Revolution in Military Affairs
RRF	Rapid Reaction Force
RRM	Rapid Reaction Mechanism
SAC	NATO Strategic Airlift Capability
SALIS	NATO Strategic Airlift Interim Solution
SAP	Stability and Association Process
SEDE	European Parliament Subcommittee on Security and Defence
SFOR	Stabilisation Force (Bosnia-Herzegovina)
SIAC	Single Intelligence Analysis Capacity
SITCEN	Joint Situation Centre
SSR	Security Sector Reform
TCA	Trade and Cooperation Agreement
TEU	Treaty on European Union
TFEU	Treaty on the Functioning of the Union
UAV	Unmanned Aerial Vehicle
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	African Union/United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (I and II)
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNOMIG	United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia
WEU	Western European Union
WEAG	Western European Armaments Group

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## *Preface*

The reason for writing this book was that I wanted to understand how a non-state civilian actor such as the EU can purposefully prepare for and apply the use of military force. I wanted to present a way to understand the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), how it has evolved and how it works in practice. More importantly, I wanted to offer a robust and inclusive conceptual framework for understanding how it will continue to evolve in the years to come.

The book comes at a time when the CSDP seems to have lost much of the dynamic that characterised it during its first ten years. Today, Europe is more concerned with saving the Eurozone than with launching expensive military operations in faraway regions. But the CSDP is not dead. It is evolving, sometimes in leaps but more often slowly, cumulatively, as it has since its very origins in the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) as essentially a project for peace back in 1951. This is why this book is not primarily a book about the Lisbon Treaty or the crisis of the Eurozone. It is essentially a book about continuity, and the incremental evolution of the norms, ideas, expectations and practices that underpin European security governance.

For some time now, the academic debate on the EU as a security policy actor has been stuck in the notion that the nation state can no longer provide security on its own, while the EU does not yet have the means to fill the resulting gap. At the same time, scholars have realised that cooperation in the CSDP does go beyond mere intergovernmental bargaining, even though it falls short of supranational integration. Indeed, the CSDP has been allowed to develop over the past ten years within something of a theoretical vacuum. In the field of EU studies a number of more or less fitting labels, including partial or composite actorness, (still) civilian power, or normative power, have been introduced to get to grips with the changing character of the EU as an international actor. Traditional strategic studies, on the other hand, have

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remained focused on the state and national constraints on security and defence, and have failed, therefore, to pursue explanations of how the CSDP has evolved.

Coming from a military background, I wanted to utilise the instrumentality and clarity of the strategic approach, while retaining an understanding of the unique character of the EU as an international actor. The aim has been to reduce the theoretical gap between EU and strategic studies by combining the concept of security governance with an analysis of the EU as a strategic actor. This book demonstrates how a security governance approach can be used as a tool for identifying alternative mechanisms that can help explain outcomes that are inconsistent with, or only partly explained by, realist or intergovernmental approaches. When combined with the concept of strategic actorness, it provides a fruitful conceptual framework for a nuanced analysis of what the EU has accomplished so far with the CSDP, how it works in practice, and the challenges ahead.

It is worth pointing out that this book is certainly not a defence script for a military EU. Rather I have wanted to avoid the normative perspectives that have permeated parts of the CSDP research agenda for some time now. This book is simply an attempt to understand one of, or perhaps the most, important and ambitious political project of our time.

The principal argument of the book is that, by placing a broad understanding of a Comprehensive Approach at the heart of what might be described as an emerging European strategic culture, the EU as a collective found a commonly acceptable reference point for the evolving CSDP. This has, in turn, created growing expectations of civil–military integration at all levels. The book shows that by striking a balance between the influence of state, individual and institutional actors, the EU has, in several areas, been able to lead a proactive and efficient foreign and security policy, without losing the legitimacy of the consensus mechanism. Yet institutional developments have not led to an integrated civil–military organisation. The same has been the case with capability developments and operations, which have sustained a separation of civil and military instruments, and, therefore, in many ways, failed to take advantage of the EU's inherent comparative advantage as a comprehensive strategic actor.

I would like to thank a number of colleagues and friends for their input and support during the writing of this book. Sven Biscop,

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Paul Cornish, Helene Sjursen and all of my former colleagues at the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI) have to be mentioned explicitly in this regard. However, my greatest intellectual debt is to Geoffrey Edwards whose challenging yet always friendly advice has been a constant source of inspiration throughout my short academic career.

Much of the research for this book is based on interviews with people who are or have been in close contact with the issues and events discussed. Most of the interviews were contributed on a non-attributable basis, but I would like to take the opportunity to thank all those who gave their time in speaking to me. Any errors of fact or judgement remain, of course, mine alone.

Finally, this book could not have come about without the unflinching support from and encouragement by my family, which grew from two to four during the course of writing it. My deepest gratitude, therefore, goes to my loving wife Siw, for putting up with my absent-mindedness, and sometimes frustration, during periods of intensive research, and to my dear children, Sverre and Julie, for putting everything into perspective.

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