

Can the EU Rebuild Failing States? A Review of Europe's Civilian Capacities

Daniel Korski & Richard Gowan

Foreword by Jean-Marie Guéhenno



**EUROPEAN
COUNCIL
ON FOREIGN
RELATIONS**
ecfr.eu

ABOUT ECFR

The **European Council on Foreign Relations** (ECFR) is the first pan-European think-tank. Launched in October 2007, its objective is to conduct research and promote informed debate across Europe on the development of coherent, effective and values-based European foreign policy.

ECFR has developed a strategy with three distinctive elements that define its activities:

A pan-European Council. ECFR has brought together a distinguished Council of over one hundred Members – politicians, decision makers, thinkers and business people from the EU's member states and candidate countries – which meets twice a year as a full body. Through geographical and thematic task forces, members provide ECFR staff with advice and feedback on policy ideas and help with ECFR's activities within their own countries. The Council is chaired by Martti Ahtisaari, Joschka Fischer and Mabel van Oranje.

A physical presence in the main EU member states. ECFR, uniquely among European think-tanks, has offices in Berlin, London, Madrid, Paris and Sofia. In the future ECFR plans to open offices in Rome, Warsaw and Brussels. Our offices are platforms for research, debate, advocacy and communications.

A distinctive research and policy development process. ECFR has brought together a team of distinguished researchers and practitioners from all over Europe to advance its objectives through innovative projects with a pan-European focus. ECFR's activities include primary research, publication of policy reports, private meetings and public debates, 'friends of ECFR' gatherings in EU capitals and outreach to strategic media outlets.

ECFR is backed by the Soros Foundations Network, the Spanish foundation FRIDE (La Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior), Sigrid Rausing, the Bulgarian Communitas Foundation and the Italian UniCredit group. ECFR works in partnership with other organisations but does not make grants to individuals or institutions.

www.ecfr.eu



**EUROPEAN
COUNCIL
ON FOREIGN
RELATIONS**
ecfr.eu

CAN THE EU REBUILD FAILING STATES? A REVIEW OF EUROPE'S CIVILIAN CAPACITIES

Daniel Korski & Richard Gowan
Foreword by Jean-Marie Guéhenno

The European Council on Foreign Relations does not take collective positions. This paper, like all publications of the European Council on Foreign Relations, represents only the views of its authors.

Copyright of this publication is held by the European Council on Foreign Relations. You may not copy, reproduce, republish or circulate in any way the content from this publication except for your own personal and non-commercial use. Any other use requires the prior written permission of the European Council on Foreign Relations.

© ECFR October 2009

ISBN 978-1-906538-17-0

Published by the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR), 5th Floor Cambridge House, 100 Cambridge Grove, London W6 0LE.

london@ecfr.eu

Acknowledgements

We would first like to thank *Zora Kostadinova*, who helped on all aspects of this report – particularly the audit of member state capabilities – and without whom it would never have reached completion. *Tom Nuttall*'s first-rate editing made an esoteric subject immensely more accessible. *Alba Lamberti*, *Mark Leonard*, *Jeremy Shapiro* and *Nick Witney* gave very helpful advice on the report at different stages of its development.

Special thanks are due to ECFR council members *Jean-Marie Guéhenno* and *Emma Bonino*, as well as *Daniel Keohane* and *Eva Gross*, all of whom read and commented on drafts and the report's key ideas. We would also like to thank *Bruce Jones*, *Rahul Chandran* and *Jake Sherman* of New York University's Center on International Cooperation for many helpful conversations on civilian deployments, and the staff of Baked for giving Richard Gowan workspace.

This report has benefited from data provided by individual experts from the 27 EU member states. Each conducted a survey of his or her country's civilian capacities. We have been informed by their research, but responsibility for the arguments and analysis advanced in this paper lies with us alone. Our thanks go to: *Eric Brattberg*, *Benoît Gomis*, *Matthias Bernold*, *Sofie Rafrafi*, *Iliya Nalbantov*, *Giorgos Kentas*, *Jan Záviesický*, *Jacob Bang Jeppesen*, *Tomas Jermalavicius*, *Philippe Maupai & Anne Fitzpatrick*, *Clara Weinhardt & Leonard Ghione*, *Stavros Drakoularakos*, *László Botz*, *Stephen Douglas*, *Dario D'urso*, *Toms Rostoks & Zaneta Ozolina*, *Tomas Jermalavicius*, *Jean-Marie Majerus*, *Stephen Calleya*, *Kees Homan*, *Maria Wagrowska*, *Joaquim Carvalho*, *Oana Popescu*, *Klemen Grosheļj*, and *Xira Ruiz*.

Contents

Foreword by Jean-Marie Guéhenno	7
Executive summary	11
Introduction	21
Chapter 1: The Bosnia template	27
An EU way of peace	
A guide to ESDP missions	
The challenge of crisis management	
Why civilian capabilities matter	
Chapter 2: Worthy intentions, broken promises: the member state problem	43
Why is it so difficult to recruit?	
The member state audit	
Chapter 3: Bureaucracy and in-fighting: the Brussels problem	53
The Commission vs the Council	
Inside the Council	
The problem of civilian-military integration	
Chapter 4: Policy recommendations: a new way of doing missions	63
The scalable assistance partnership	
Revitalising the Brussels institutions	
Finding the right staff	
Strengthening training	
Supplying new missions	
Gearing EU states to the task	
Increasing democratic legitimacy	
Conclusion	
Annex 1: The mechanics of ESDP	75
Annex 2: Audit of EU member states' civilian capabilities	79

Foreword

Jean-Marie Guéhenno

In the next two decades, the persistent weakness of some states and regions may well prove a greater strategic challenge to the international community than the emergence of new powers like China. Having been in charge of UN peacekeeping for eight years, I believe we are not prepared to meet this challenge. We have been used to balancing power with power, but we are ill-equipped to deal with weakness: fragile states may require military deployments of peacekeepers, but strengthening them or managing their collapse requires much more complex strategies, drawing heavily on civilian capacities.

One would expect the European Union, supposedly the civilian power *par excellence*, to be at the forefront of this effort, and certainly well ahead of the US, which has often been criticised for a Pentagon-dominated approach. Yet the Americans are fast learning the lessons of their difficulties in Iraq and Afghanistan, and energetically building their civilian capacities. The Europeans, despite having set themselves ambitious “civilian headline goals” in 2004, are at risk of being left behind.

Nine years ago, the Brahimi report provided a roadmap for the transformation of UN peacekeeping, drawing lessons from the disasters of the 1990s. Today, as a result, the UN – in spite of its limitations – is far better equipped than the EU to project its civilian as well as its military capacities. The EU now needs to engage in a similarly comprehensive overhaul – and this report is a good place to start.

Part of the problem has been the unwieldy divide between the European Commission and the Council Secretariat in crisis situations. I have observed at first hand – in Afghanistan, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, in Kosovo – the damaging consequences of excessively complex institutional arrangements, and of a dogmatic conceptual distinction between “security”

and “development” issues that makes no sense in the kind of crisis situations that threaten fragile states.

The Lisbon treaty provides an institutional framework that should allow the EU to move beyond such damaging internal divisions. This report is important because it provides an action plan to transform this new strategic direction into an operational reality. As the authors argue, urgent action is needed on several fronts.

First, the EU and its member states must develop a better understanding of what makes a multidimensional peace operation effective: the importance of speed, whether to arrest a deterioration into violence or to make the most of the brief window of opportunity that opens in the immediate aftermath of a conflict; the need to comprehensively orchestrate interventions so as to maximise leverage, something that has been tragically missing in the international community’s efforts in Afghanistan; and, crucially, the importance of submitting every component of the effort – military, police, civilian – to a single unifying political vision.

Second, member states must not treat mobilisation of civilian capacities as an afterthought. They need to identify the right expertise, to provide the right training and to create the right incentives to attract the best people. They need to enact systematic debriefing procedures, and transform what are currently ad hoc and disjointed national efforts into a more systematic pan-European endeavour.

Third, the machinery in Brussels, as well as within missions, must reflect the new understanding of how to make peace operations effective. No bureaucracy or council – however eminent its members – can micromanage the complexities of a multidimensional engagement from afar. What is needed is for Brussels to provide strategic oversight and direction, with clear benchmarks, to a Special Representative of the European Union in the field, who is granted authority over all the components representing the EU and empowered to make real decisions.

The integrity of the military chain of command is a specific issue that will need to be considered, but too much distance between the military and civilian components of an operation does not work, as the US has discovered in Iraq and NATO in Afghanistan. Meanwhile, greater integration of EU efforts on the ground must be paralleled in Brussels. The Lisbon treaty and the creation of the External Action Service provide an opportunity to streamline the European machinery: operational effectiveness requires more integrated planning and more consolidated advice and direction. At the same time, field missions need

practical support and new capacities may have to be built from scratch. The EU, like the UN, was not built to run operations. It now needs to create the capacities for that task – and, following in the UN’s wake, it should be able to avoid making the same mistakes.

This report is severe on the performance of the EU as a “civilian power”. Tough love, perhaps. But the good news is that no group of countries in the world has more civilian capacity potential than the EU, and that opinion polls conducted across more than 50 countries find more support for a rise in the EU’s global influence than for any other major power. This is an extraordinary vote of confidence. Can Europe live up to it?

Executive summary

The European Union prides itself on its so-called “civilian power”.¹ The EU is meant to be able to deploy almost 10,000 police officers to faraway theatres, to exploit the expertise of more than 40,000 diplomats, to dip into the world’s largest development budget – and to ensure that its deployed civilians are able to work hand-in-glove with military deployments. This is an essential element of power in a world where stability in Afghanistan, Yemen or Somalia is seen as key to security on the streets of Hamburg, Marseille and Manchester.

But this supposed civilian power is largely illusory. The EU struggles to find civilians to staff its ESDP missions, and the results of its interventions are often paltry. For example, international crime networks still see the Balkans as “as a land of opportunities”,² despite the fact that EU police trainers have been operating in the region for the best part of a decade. Ten years after the creation of ESDP, most EU missions remain small, lacking in ambition and strategically irrelevant.

The Bosnia template

The EU’s 2003 police training mission in Bosnia established a template for subsequent missions: “capacity-building” through long-term police and security reform, usually in the form of small teams of European experts training and mentoring local law-enforcement officials.

¹ The notion of the EU as a “civilian power” was first developed by François Duchêne. See François Duchêne, “The European Community and the Uncertainties of Interdependence”, in *A Nation Writ Large? Foreign-Policy Problems before the European Community*, ed. Max Kohnstamm and Wolfgang Hager (London: Macmillan, 1973). For a discussion on civilian power, see Karen E. Smith, “Still ‘civilian power EU?’”. Paper presented at CIDEL Workshop, Oslo, 22-23 October 2004.

² “EU Organised Crime Threat Assessment”, Europol, 2008

The “Bosnia template” may have made sense in the Balkans, a region with a legacy of authoritarian policing dating back to the communist era.³ But elsewhere this model has proved ineffectual. The EU has focused on judicial reform in places where basic security has not been properly established, like Iraq, Afghanistan and Congo, or in theatres where locals have no incentive to co-operate politically, like the Palestinian territories.

The sites of future EU deployments are unlikely to resemble the Balkans; the next generation of security challenges will require a far stronger emphasis on crisis management skills. The experience the EU has acquired over six years of ESDP missions may not leave it best placed to cope with these challenges. When the EU has deployed into hostile environments, its personnel have usually been protected by UN, US or NATO troops; when it has managed to deploy speedily and without protection, as in Aceh and Georgia, its civilian capacities have been put under severe strain. EU civilian missions are woefully ill-prepared to deal with threats to their own security, and the EU has struggled to co-ordinate the activities of its civilians with military forces – even its own peacekeepers.

The member state problem

The EU has no standing civilian forces and so relies on member states to round up personnel for its missions. Most governments are failing in this task.

The so-called Civilian Headline Goal (CHG) process, approved in 2004, was a rigorous attempt to get member states to commit civilians for potential deployment scenarios. Each member state pledged a certain number of civilians, and yet the CHG process does not appear to have helped the EU get boots on the ground. The most high-profile ESDP missions in recent years – Kosovo and Afghanistan – have never reached full strength; the Afghan mission alone is 130 staff short.

Some of the difficulties in recruitment are common to all member states. Civilian personnel tend to have day jobs in courts or police stations, and many will not be keen on spending six months or more away from their families. And few incentives exist for managers to release personnel; when an employer receives a request for staff, all too often it simply means a financial and staffing

headache. Even civilians who do pre-commit to overseas deployments may get cold feet when faced with the prospect of six months in Helmand.

Yet despite these common problems, individual member states must shoulder most of the blame for the sorry state of ESDP recruitment. Our comprehensive survey of the civilian capabilities of all 27 member states reveals a melange of approaches to training, planning, debriefing and recruitment – and, of course, the numbers of civilians sent on missions. Some countries appear to take their ESDP responsibilities extremely seriously; others barely make the effort.⁴

The Professionals

Denmark, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom

The EU’s top performers have extensive and often obligatory training for civilians, have developed cross-governmental planning processes, and seek to debrief all deployed personnel to learn lessons. Finland and Germany have drawn up plans aimed at boosting civilian capabilities, and other governments in this category have committed themselves to doing the same. Recruitment in these countries is conducted carefully and comprehensively, often with cross-departmental units, and all six take civilian-military integration extremely seriously.

The Strivers

Austria, Belgium, France, Ireland, Italy and Romania

These countries show signs of wanting to build their civilian capacities but have yet to put in the necessary hard graft. While France, Italy and Romania are all major contributors to civilian ESDP missions in terms of absolute numbers deployed, they fall down elsewhere. None of these countries appears to have put much thought into recruitment, and debriefing procedures in France and Italy are extremely patchy. Recruitment procedures are poor in all of these countries except Belgium, and few offer a comprehensive approach to training. There are indications of effort, however: Italy, Belgium and France have permanent ESDP planning units, and training is compulsory in most of these countries.

⁴ Of course, European governments have obligations beyond ESDP; many deploy civilian experts into a number of other bilateral or internationally run missions, such as the NATO operation in Afghanistan. Our assessments refer specifically to a country’s civilian contributions to ESDP efforts.

The Agnostics

The Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia and Spain

These seven countries seem unconvinced about the value of civilian deployments. Planning is a problem for all seven; all countries report poor inter-ministerial co-operation and admit that civilian crisis management does not enjoy a high level of political visibility. Debriefing in most of these countries is informal and not linked to any lesson-learning systems. Spain, a curious case of a would-be civilian power, deploys only 2.8% of its CHG pledge, making it the EU's greatest perpetrator of broken promises.

The Indifferents

Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Greece, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg and Malta

Other than Lithuania, which seems to be attempting to improve its performance, no country in this category seems to take the task of developing civilian capacities seriously. Only Greece and Malta have compulsory training for police; Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia only train personnel deploying to Afghanistan. Planning and debrief procedures in these countries are also very weak.

The Brussels problem

While most of the blame for the failings of civilian ESDP can be placed at the door of member states, the institutions in Brussels should not escape censure. The Commission/Council turf wars have been particularly damaging. The European Commission has a long background in relief and development work, and Council-run ESDP missions are supposed to focus on emergency situations requiring a rapid response. In theory, this development vs security approach could have allowed the two bodies to carve up distinct "spheres of influence", with the Commission focusing on capacity-building work and the Council deploying ESDP missions in response to crises. But in practice things have been far messier, and persistent squabbles between the two organisations have hampered the EU's ability to intervene in a coherent manner throughout the so-called "conflict cycle".

Further problems are to be found inside the bureaucracy that executes ESDP missions. Bureaucratic mismanagement has seen the EU represented by up to

five multiple bodies in some theatres, with in-fighting and incoherent policy the inevitable consequence. A culture of micromanagement from Brussels means that EU officials on the ground are often wary of taking strong positions, lest they be contradicted by the next email from headquarters. This problem is aggravated by a tendency in Brussels to focus on trivialities as a proxy for substantive discussion. Member state representatives can spend hours discussing interpreters and armoured vehicles, but will shy away from dealing with real issues. On top of all this, struggles inside the Council Secretariat hamper attempts to ensure that the civilian and military components of ESDP work together effectively, with the various responsible bodies mired in confrontation and mistrust.

A new mission concept

If the EU is to deliver on its potential, then it will need to rethink its entire approach to foreign interventions – beginning with the nature of what an ESDP mission is.

While the Bosnia template may have proved reasonably effective in the Balkans, it is not suited to many of the crisis management situations that the EU can expect to deal with in the coming years. The next generation of ESDP missions are likely to look more like Gaza, Afghanistan and Somalia: fluid, violent and with few clear-cut good and bad guys. To respond effectively to scenarios like these, the EU needs to adapt its mechanisms and staff to focus on three factors: speed, security and self-sufficiency.

Speed. The success of a mission is often dependent on the number of personnel that can be deployed within its first three to six months. While the EU has long recognised this in principle, it rarely delivers in practice.

Security. Threats to ESDP missions are mounting. Civilians will not always be able to rely on troops to ensure their security.

Self-sufficiency. Civilians will have to become better at taking the initiative, and their superiors in Brussels will have to be prepared to cut the apron strings. This is particularly important where the EU wants to insert civilians into large, dangerous theatres with poor infrastructure, such as Afghanistan or central Africa.

The scalable assistance partnership

To ensure that speed, security and self-sufficiency are at the heart of future interventions, the EU must scrap the idea that civilian missions are best designed by diplomats and European Council officials in Brussels. Responsibility must shift to civilians on the ground, whom the EU should deploy early to develop *scalable assistance partnerships* with unstable countries.

The EU already has a useful model for this in the form of the special representative (EUSR). The EU should appoint EUSRs in each of the 20 countries it considers to be at greatest risk of instability⁵ – each of them heading an office staffed by a range of experts. At the first sign of danger, the EU should embed conflict assessment and prevention teams in the EUSR’s missions to diagnose sources of tension, launch dialogues between potential combatants, and advise local EU officials. If serious conflict erupts and a fully fledged ESDP mission is launched, the teams should be augmented by planners from the Council Secretariat, the Commission and EU governments.

Delegation is key: the EUSRs will be in charge of all facets of any EU intervention, and will refer back to resident EU ambassadors rather than to Brussels. If a mission is forced to scale up, the EUSR should remain in charge of co-ordinating all EU operatives, including, where possible, armed forces.

Plans for missions should be drawn up under the supervision of the EUSR, with all relevant EU institutions and member states signing on. Drafting the plan in the field rather than in Brussels creates space for genuine co-operation between EU representatives and host governments – and so, crucially, should provide EU missions with a greater sense of legitimacy among locals.

Revitalising the Brussels institutions

The new mission concept can only be effective if complemented by developments in Brussels. First, assuming the Lisbon treaty is passed, the new high representative for foreign policy should appoint a senior deputy to oversee the EU’s policy towards fragile and failing states. Second, the new External Action Service (EAS) should be structured to support integration in the field. The

Lisbon treaty states that all Commission delegations will turn into EU embassies – single units representing all the EU’s different institutions. These embassies could prove particularly effective in the 20 countries on the EU’s watch list if headed by EUSRs and integrated into the mission set-up proposed above.

But structural integration will be insufficient. To ensure that any problems with interventions are nipped in the bud, six-monthly reviews should be carried out by a mixed team of staff from the Council, the Commission and the EU-ISS (the EU’s in-house security think tank). Each mission should have “best practice” officers, reporting directly to the EUSR, who would draft reports on how to avoid past mistakes. Additionally, a “lesson-learning” unit should be set up in the Council Secretariat to synthesise reports from the field. Finally, each intervention must work to a set of benchmarks, progress of which should be tracked regularly.

Some thought should also be given to the links between civilian and military operations. The EU should consider developing its “battle groups” – battalion-sized (1,500 troops) groups deployable at 15 days’ notice – into civilian-military “force packages”. These could contain not only military personnel with civilian skills but also civilian experts “seconded” into key slots.

Finding the right staff

EU governments need to invest in better staff. As a first step towards the ultimate goal of 20 EUSRs, the new high representative could propose the pre-appointment of five, each with a speciality, such as mediation, and perhaps also regional expertise. The EUSRs and their teams would train annually, visit existing missions and be briefed regularly on ESDP.

Beyond staff at the most senior level, one of the main problems facing recruitment for civilian missions is the absence of a full ESDP career track. The most logical answer to this would be to establish an EU-wide civilian reserve, but few member states seem willing to commit to this.⁶ So as a compromise, the EU should adopt a three-tier model:

⁵ The Commission and the Council Secretariat operate “conflict indicators” – watch lists of countries in danger of slipping into violence.

⁶ The Lisbon treaty does, however, include a provision about setting up a civilian reserve.

- Tier 1: Subject-matter specialists from across the EU on standby reserve contracts
- Tier 2: A smaller group of mid-level government officials offered by member states and divided into niche areas of expertise
- Tier 3: A group of administrative staff contracted directly by the European Commission and functioning as a standing cadre or deployed into the EU's regional hubs

This model will allow the EU to recruit the staff it needs in both the professional and administrative categories, while allowing member states to retain control over missions through senior and mid-level posts. Once personnel have been pre-picked and the EU has agreed to deploy a mission, it should have the right to call up staff directly.

It will take time to introduce this three-tiered model; as an interim measure an “ESDP fellowship” should be set up to create the nucleus of a conflict-focused cadre. Every two years a competition would be held to fill the slots on the fellowship, with places reserved for personnel from the Commission, the Council Secretariat and member states. Thirty fellows would be offered a five-year “mini-career”, including an assignment in an ESDP mission, secondment to other EU institutions, a year at a military academy and then a job in the Council Secretariat.

Strengthening training

To improve training, the EU should set up a central European Institute for Peace. Member states will want to continue running courses for their own personnel, so the aim should be to create a hub-and-spoke system, with the new institute becoming the EU's main provider of core training. To ensure common standards across the EU, a training inspectorate should be set up in the Council Secretariat to inspect facilities and programmes across member states.

The best way to improve the decision-making of EU staff faced with volatile situations on the ground, however, is to ensure they have a clear operational doctrine. What else will the various institutes train to and the inspectors inspect? To this end, a working group should be established to oversee the drafting of a civilian doctrine, with the actual work undertaken by outside experts.

Supplying new missions

The new mission concept will not solve the many “back office” problems the EU faces on issues like procurement and financing. To bring support services as close to the policy side as possible, the EU should create a deployment support office as part of the EAS. Greater thought also needs to be given to the integration of civilian and military logistics and procurement. To this end the European Defence Agency could be given a broader role on civilian equipment, perhaps through the creation of a deputy executive director to look after civilian issues and civilian use of military assets.

Gearing EU states to the task

Without a step change in member states' commitment to civilian capabilities, there is little hope for ESDP interventions. The Council Secretariat should explicitly ask each member state to:

- *Update* rosters of civilians and police officers regularly
- *Establish* a cross-governmental unit to undertake planning for all missions
- *Create* cross-governmental funding pools for civilian deployments
- *Train* a cadre of planners in the foreign affairs ministry
- *Ensure* that all deploying staff, civilian and police officers receive regular training
- *Develop* a systematic process for debriefing deployed staff
- *Send* police officers and civilians on military exercises

The EU should also set up some form of compensatory central fund for deploying departments/organisations, with the compensation rate set at, say, one-and-a-half times the total costs associated with the deployed employee – a model that has proved effective in Canada.

Further measures could be adopted to nudge member states in the right direction. Each country in the Professionals grouping should be asked to “adopt” two of the Agnostics, tutoring their officials, passing on best practice and so on. The European Parliament should consider linking mission-related funding to countries' National Action Plan delivery efforts. Civilians from countries deploying less than, say, 25% of their CHG commitments should not be eligible for senior positions in ESDP missions. To ensure member states

stick to their pledges, each National Action Plan should be peer reviewed by a fellow member state once every four years. The EU-ISS could produce an annual scorecard “naming and shaming” poor performers.

Increasing democratic legitimacy

Finally, the EU should institute a review of civilian–military capacities every five years, with the help of the European Parliament as well as national legislatures. An ESDP joint committee, made up of European and national legislators, could hold country-specific hearings with EUSRs and on specific missions. To increase legislature oversight, after an ESDP action has been authorised the European Parliament should request a briefing from the Council Secretariat providing analysis of the situation, the rationale for the chosen course of action, and an explanation of how the proposal relates to other EU and international activities. After each mission, the Council should also be asked to provide an “after action” review, including a report on lessons learned.

A decade after the creation of ESDP, it is time for European leaders and institutions to place trust in the men and women who are dedicating their careers to helping – and in some cases risking their lives for – others hundreds or thousands of miles away. The EU must find good people, support them – and then let them go. If it can find the will to do so, and if member states make the civilian efforts that ESDP demands of them, Europe will find itself well equipped to respond to the global crises that lie in wait.

Introduction

The European Union prides itself on being able to deal with fragile and failing states outside its borders, from Kosovo to Kabul, through what it believes to be its distinctive combination of “hard” power – coercion by military or other means – and “soft” power – persuasion through trade, diplomacy, aid and the spread of values. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), launched in 1999, exemplifies the EU’s commitment to the so-called “comprehensive approach” – a strategy that emphasises the importance of combining civilian and military tools when dealing with external security challenges.

In practice, the EU’s ability to project military power has been undermined by lack of investment and a weak security culture in most member states, as Nick Witney has argued,⁷ but it is said to make up for this through its so-called “civilian power”.⁸ The EU is meant to be able to call upon almost 10,000 police officers and deploy them to faraway theatres, to exploit the expertise of more than 40,000 diplomats, to dip into the world’s largest development budget – and, critically, to ensure that its deployed civilians are able to work hand-in-glove with military deployments, whether European or otherwise. This is an essential element of power in a world where stability in Afghanistan, Yemen or Somalia is seen as key to security on the streets of Hamburg, Marseille and Manchester.

⁷ Nick Witney, “Re-energising Europe’s Security and Defence Policy” (European Council on Foreign Relations, July 2008).

⁸ The notion of the EU as a “civilian power” was first developed by François Duchêne. See François Duchêne, “The European Community and the Uncertainties of Interdependence”, in *A Nation Writ Large? Foreign-Policy Problems before the European Community*, ed. Max Kohnstamm and Wolfgang Hager (London: Macmillan, 1973). For a discussion on civilian power, see Karen E. Smith, “Still ‘civilian power EU?’”. Paper presented at CIDEL Workshop, Oslo, 22-23 October 2004.

The EU's patchy record

But the EU's supposed civilian power is largely illusory. A single thread runs through the 22 overseas interventions the EU has launched under ESDP: from Kosovo to Iraq to Chad to Georgia, the EU has struggled to find civilians to staff its missions. Two months after the EU's police mission to Macedonia deployed in late 2003, for example, it still faced a personnel shortfall of 30%.⁹ More recently, the EU's police mission in Afghanistan remains at just half its authorised strength, with little more than 200 police on the ground – leaving poorly trained, underequipped and underpaid local police to fend for themselves.

Even when the EU does manage to sustain a significant mission abroad, the results are often paltry. Despite the fact that the EU has trained police forces in the Balkans for most of this decade, for example, EUROPOL (the EU's law enforcement agency) says it still has insufficient information “to evaluate the threat posed by organised crime groups from Bosnia, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia”, and that international criminal networks see the region “as a land of opportunities”.¹⁰ Last year, as the EU was preparing to launch its largest ever rule of law intervention in Kosovo, a senior member of the mission said he “doubted” whether it would have any impact on organised crime.¹¹ The truth is that most EU missions are small, lacking in ambition and often strategically irrelevant.

The story is not one of unmitigated failure. The EU has helped to reconstruct Bosnia, its monitoring mission in Aceh is seen by many as crucial for stability in the Indonesian province, and following last year's Russian-Georgian war the EU deployed its monitoring mission with impressive speed. To listen to the EU's assessments of its own missions, however, one would think that *every* intervention had been a triumph. The EU deemed its police training mission in Iraq a “success”,¹² for example, despite the fact that it was unable to operate inside the country and that it was not rated particularly highly by the US.¹³ The EU's spirited defence of its Kabul police mission belies not only independent

⁹ For more on the EU's Macedonia operation, see Tobias Flessenkemper, “EUPOL Proxima in Macedonia, 2003-2005” in *European Security and Defence Policy: An Implementation Perspective*, ed. Michael Merlingen and Rasa Ostrauskaite (London: Routledge, 2007).

¹⁰ “EU Organised Crime Threat Assessment”, Europol, 2008.

¹¹ Interview with European diplomat, 3 August 2008

¹² European Union @ United Nations, “EUHR Solana welcomes extension of EU Integrated Rule of Law Mission for Iraq”, press release, 30 June 2009, http://www.eu-un.europa.eu/articles/fr/article_8838_fr.htm.

¹³ Daniel Korski, “EU Just Lex: an ESDP Mission Against All The Odds” in a forthcoming EU-ISS volume on ESDP.

What is civilian capability?

Although fragile and failed states are likely to need assistance in a range of tasks – building or rebuilding local institutions, rejuvenating the economy, reconstructing dilapidated public facilities, training local officials – in practice the EU has largely restricted itself to a narrow range of specialisations.

In June 2000, the EU created six categories of civilian capability: police, rule of law, civilian administration, civilian protection, monitoring, and mission support. But most civilian ESDP missions have focused on rule of law assistance, particularly police reform, and so most deployed staff have been drawn from the first two categories.

Those deployed on police missions can range from local police constables – who might be patrolling in Bedford or Heidelberg were they not in Kosovo or Kinshasa – to senior officers; Britain has twice deployed a chief constable, the highest rank in the British police, to help build the Palestinian police, for example. The work undertaken by deployed EU police may include helping to draft new laws, institute training programmes for criminal investigations, reform administrative systems or oversee arrests.

assessments of its performance¹⁴ and the private views of US officials, but even the experiences of former and current staff.¹⁵

Conversely, criticism of ESDP missions is often muffled or relegated to unread academic journals. Few senior officials in Brussels have seen the failures of ESDP up close and personally; nobody in the EU's top tier has ever served in a mission. To European politicians of a certain generation, the creation of an autonomous European defence capability at St Malo in 1999 was a milestone in the drive towards strategic independence from the US and NATO. Many seem to have allowed this pride to blind them to ESDP's failings, preferring to

¹⁴ See, for example, International Crisis Group, “Rebuilding the Afghan State: The European Union's Role”, Asia Report No. 107, 30 Nov 2005; Eva Gross, “Security Sector Reform in Afghanistan: The Role of the EU”. Paper presented at the ISA's 50th Annual Convention “Exploring The Past, Anticipating The Future”, New York, NY; Shada Islam and Eva Gross, “Afghanistan: Europe's credibility test”, (European Policy Centre policy brief, March 2009).

¹⁵ This emerged during several ECFR interviews with current and former EUPOL Afghanistan staff members.

celebrate past missions and the “*acquis* ESDP” – the accumulated principles, rules, procedures and institutions used for missions.

Fulfilling the potential

So why is the EU failing to deliver on its potential? Based on extensive research in all 27 EU member states, interviews with more than 50 EU officials and reviews of completed and ongoing ESDP missions, this report identifies three main reasons for the EU’s failings: the weakness of the concepts governing ESDP interventions, the absence of civilian capacity in almost all 27 EU member states, and institutional wrangles in Brussels that can have a devastating impact hundreds or thousands of miles away on the ground. The following three chapters address these challenges in turn.

Most EU missions are small, lacking in ambition and strategically irrelevant.

But while the problems are serious, there are grounds for optimism. Three factors should make the EU better placed than its “rivals” – such as NATO or the OSCE – to help fragile and failing states: local presence, “joined-up” policy potential, and global legitimacy. First, the EU and its member states have by far the largest diplomatic network in the world. More than 40,000 officials work in the foreign ministries of the 27 member states, across some 1,500 diplomatic missions, while the European Commission has a network of over 120 delegations.¹⁶ Second, while the EU is a long way from delivering a joined-up ESDP approach that combines diplomatic, developmental, commercial and military instruments, there is no doubting its potential to do so considering the size of the EU’s economy, the attractiveness of its consumer market, its role as a pre-eminent provider of foreign aid and its considerable military capabilities. Finally, the EU enjoys unrivalled legitimacy. A 2007 ECFR/Gallup poll based on interviews with 57,000 people from 52 countries found greater support for an enlarged global role for the EU than for any other world power.¹⁷

¹⁶ For a discussion of EU diplomatic representation, see David Rijks, “The New Member States and the Pressures for Global Representation”, EU-CONSENT Working Paper, presented at “The CFSP: Issues of Representation and Responsibility”, Cambridge, UK, 27-28 April 2007; and David Rijks and Richard Whitman, “European Diplomatic Representation in Third Countries: Trends and Options”, in *Towards a European Foreign Service*, European Policy Centre Working Paper, n. 28.

Furthermore, the stars are aligning for a renewed push on civilian capabilities in the EU. The last two years have seen a growing convergence among member states – particularly Britain and France, the EU’s two biggest military powers – on the importance of a well-resourced civilian element in security policy.¹⁸ The current and forthcoming EU presidencies – Sweden, Spain and Belgium – all promise support for the “EU as civilian power” agenda.¹⁹ And if the Lisbon treaty comes into force, the EU’s new diplomatic corps – the External Action Service (EAS) – should make it easier for the EU to forge a comprehensive failed-state strategy by linking up the diplomatic instruments of member states.

¹⁷ 35% of respondents said they believed a rise in the EU’s global influence would contribute to the world becoming a better place, against 20% who wanted to see its power decline. See Ivan Krastev and Mark Leonard, “New World Order: The Balance of Soft Power and the Rise of Herbivorous Powers” (European Council on Foreign Relations policy briefing, October 2007).

¹⁸ In March 2008, Gordon Brown told parliament that “in the same way that we have military forces ready to respond to conflict, we must have civilian experts and professionals ready to deploy quickly to assist failing states and to help rebuild countries emerging from conflict”. The French *Livre Blanc*, a blueprint for the government’s national security reforms, “stresses the importance of civilian and civil-military operations in crisis management”.

¹⁹ Sweden in particular has been a “civilian warrior” for decades, and was instrumental in pushing the EU’s nascent civilian capability process forward during its 2001 EU presidency. Carl Bildt, the Swedish foreign minister, is unique among his EU counterparts in having seen ESDP missions from three angles: in Brussels, from a member state capital, and in the field (he served in Bosnia from 1995 to 1997).

Chapter 1

The Bosnia template

The EU's 2003 police training mission in Bosnia – the first civilian ESDP deployment – established a template for subsequent missions: “capacity-building” through long-term police and security reform. This was usually in the form of small teams of European experts training and mentoring senior local law enforcement officials. Although the EU theoretically holds out the possibility of taking on an executive mandate – doing the actual policing, rather than just training the police – in practice few member states favour this approach. The EU has deployed only one mission with a quasi-executive role – EULEX in Kosovo, where Europeans have been on the frontline, using tear gas to break up rioters in May 2009 for example. Almost everywhere else – from Georgia to Kinshasa – the EU has stuck with smaller missions, training and mentoring others.

An EU way of peace?

Most of the EU's civilian missions since 2003 (see pp30-38) have fallen into three categories:²⁰

- **Managing the legacy of the Yugoslav wars.** In Bosnia, Macedonia and Kosovo, the EU has focused on building police forces that are not only competent but acceptable to mutually suspicious ethnic groups. In each case, the theory behind the intervention has been simple: volatile situations can be stabilised by unbiased policing and justice.

²⁰ Exceptions include the Aceh monitoring mission and the border monitoring missions in Moldova and Gaza.

- **Building state capacity in the middle east.** The EU has applied a similar template to the middle east, launching small police reform programmes in the Palestinian territories and Iraq, and attempting to deploy a larger police mission in Afghanistan. In the latter two cases the EU has aimed to support US strategy while at the same time distinguishing European actions from the American military presence.

- **Backing up the UN in Africa.** The EU has engaged in police training and security sector reform in Africa, primarily in the Democratic Republic of Congo. These small missions have usually worked in the shadow of much larger UN peacekeeping operations.

The “Bosnia template” made a lot of sense in the Balkans, a region with a legacy of authoritarian policing dating back to the communist era, and where during wartime police had often acted effectively as murderous paramilitaries.²¹ But in its civilian missions outside the Balkans, the EU displays signs of what management experts call “naïve transference”: taking a model that works in one context and repeating it somewhere entirely unsuitable. So the EU has, for example, focused on justice reform in places where basic security has not been properly established, like Iraq, Afghanistan and Congo, or in theatres where locals have no incentive to co-operate politically, like the Palestinian territories.

An early example of naïve transference came in Congo. Having established policing deployments in Bosnia and Macedonia in 2003-04 with some success, the EU deployed similar missions to Kinshasa in 2005-06 to train local police and improve the Congolese army’s payment systems. But it soon became apparent that the EU hadn’t taken into account the sheer size of the country and the magnitude of government corruption, which rendered its small missions largely irrelevant. EU-trained Congolese police may have managed rioting in Kinshasa, but this meant little to those caught up in the brutal conflicts on the country’s eastern border, 1,000 miles away.²²

The EU’s efforts to improve policing in the Palestinian territories, meanwhile, have been derailed by the conflict between Hamas and Fatah. The EU’s refusal to recognise Hamas means that it cannot operate in Gaza, and many conspiracy-minded Gazans believe the EU is simply training Fatah police for future conflicts

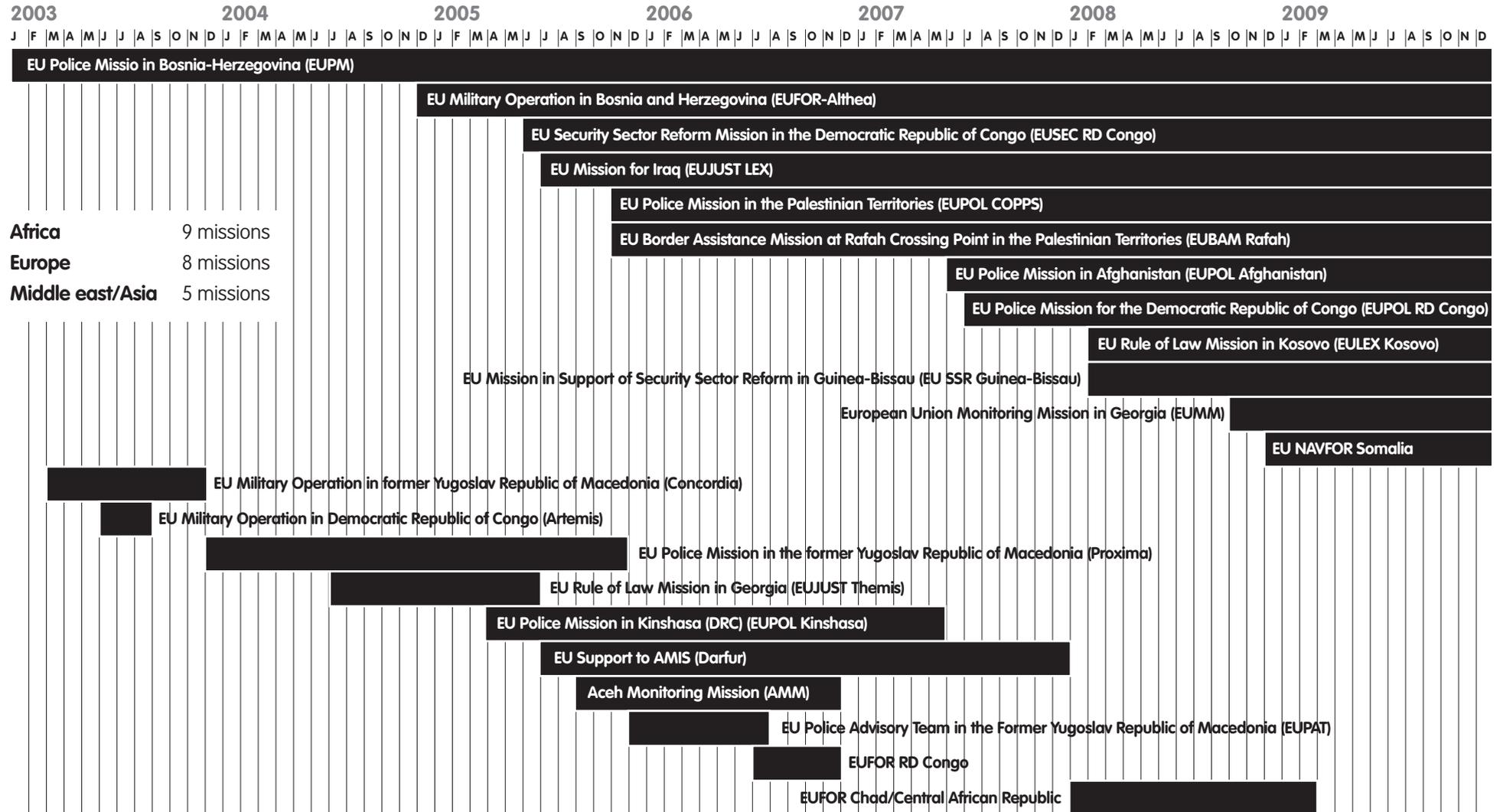
with Hamas. In Iraq, the EU’s mission to train Iraqi police officers and judicial personnel has been undermined by the simple fact that it does not operate inside the country. And in Afghanistan, a mixture of political, bureaucratic and security concerns has stopped the EU’s police mission from getting off the ground. The bulk of police training is now carried out by the US.²³

²¹ See Dominique Orsini, “Future of ESDP: Lessons from Bosnia”, *European Security Review*, Number 29, June 2006.

²² See Giji Gya and Johann Herz, “ESDP and EU mission update”, n. 43 (March 2009).

²³ See Shada Islam and Eva Gross “Afghanistan: Europe’s credibility test”, (European Policy Centre policy brief, March 2009).

ESDP missions to date ²⁴



²⁴ This timeline is based on ISIS Europe's ESDP Mission Analysis Partnership. See <http://www.isis-europe.org/index.php?page=responding>

A guide to ESDP missions

Current operations ²⁵

EU Police Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina (EUPM)

Launched January 2003

Budget: €122.3m overall

Taking over from the UN, EUPM was for a long time the EU's largest police mission, numbering some 500 police officers, with a non-executive mandate to train the local police. The transition from the UN to the EU was smooth, but the mission struggled to attract the high-calibre staff it needed, while co-operation with EUFOR (see below) and the EU Special Representative (EUSR) has been poor. The mission expires in December 2009. It counts 166 international police officers, 35 international civilian staff and 220 local staff.

EU Military Operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUFOR-Althea)

Launched December 2004

Budget: €71.7m overall

EUFOR, which took over from NATO's SFOR operation,²⁶ was the first EU military mission. Originally numbering 7,000 troops, now down to 2,000, the mission has helped maintain stability in Bosnia but has struggled to establish a role in crime-fighting. Co-operation with the EU police mission and the EUSR has been patchy.

EU Security Sector Reform Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (EUSEC RD Congo)

Launched June 2005

Budget: €8.45m for 2008-09

Advisory and assistance mission for security sector reform in Congo, counting 60 EU staff. The mission has had strained relations with the Congolese government, which prefers to work with Angolan advisers.

EU Mission for Iraq (EUJUST LEX)

Launched July 2005

Budget: €30m until June 2009

Currently planned to run until June 2010, the EU's Iraq mission is tasked with training and developing senior cadres in the Iraqi police, judiciary and prison system. But as several contributing member states have not allowed it to operate inside Iraq, the mission has had to focus on out-of-country training and regional conferences. Retaining high-calibre staff has been a challenge in these circumstances. Though useful as a signal to the Iraqis and Washington of the EU's engagement in Iraq, it is difficult to claim that the mission has had any real impact.

EU Police Mission in the Palestinian Territories (EUPOL COPPS)

Launched November 2005

Budget: €6.3m for 2009

Tasked with assisting the reform of the Palestinian Authority's police, the mission consists of some 50 police officers and judicial experts. Their work has been complicated by the fragile political situation: the mission is not established in Gaza because the EU refuses contact with Hamas, while the myriad Palestinian security and defence organisations in the West Bank make it difficult for the mission to operate effectively there. Many see the mission as merely the EU's attempt to establish a toehold should a larger international mission be needed following a peace settlement with Israel.

EU Border Assistance Mission at Rafah Crossing Point in the Palestinian Territories (EUBAM Rafah)

Launched November 2005

Budget: €7m

This mission, with a mandate to "provide a third-party presence at the Rafah crossing point" between Gaza and Egypt, has been suspended since mid-2007 as a result of security threats in Hamas-controlled Gaza. The EU has expressed its determination to redeploy as soon as conditions permit, but given the inflexibility of the parties in the region the mission is likely to remain on standby for the foreseeable future.

²⁵ This assessment of ESDP missions has benefited greatly from help by Daniel Keohane of EUISS, whose forthcoming review of ESDP's ten-year life will provide a more extensive and authoritative assessment of missions to date. See Giovanni Grevi, Damien Helly and Daniel Keohane (editors), *European Security and Defence Policy: The first 10 Years (1999-2009)*, (EU Institute for Security Studies, 2009).

²⁶ The mission has been carried out under the so-called "Berlin Plus" arrangements, which allow the EU to draw on NATO's military assets in its peacekeeping missions.

EU Police Mission in Afghanistan (EUPOL Afghanistan)

Launched June 2007

Budget: €64m

The EU's mission in Afghanistan, which took over from a German-run police programme, has a mandate to support the Afghan government in establishing a police force that respects human rights. Intended to employ 400 police officers, the mission has struggled to attract 280 and has seen its leadership change three times in two years. The mission's mandate is due to expire in June 2010, though is likely to be extended.

EU Police Mission for the Democratic Republic of Congo (EUPOL RD Congo)

Launched July 2007

Budget: €6m a year

The successor mission to EUPOL Kinshasa, this is the EU's first police mission in Africa. The mission comprises experts in police, justice and security sector reform. Thirty-two staff from nine EU member states have been deployed, along with four Angolans.

EU Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX Kosovo)

Launched February 2008

Budget: €265m for February 2008-June 2010

With a target of 1,800 personnel, EULEX is the EU's largest civilian mission; its tasks include mentoring Kosovo's police, courts and customs officials. The mission took time to find its feet: the handover from the UN to the EU was bumpy and the mission has had particular difficulty finding judges and prosecutors. Several EU states opposed to Kosovo's independence, such as Spain, have blocked the mission from developing relations with the EUSR, Peter Feith. Nevertheless, EULEX has successfully deployed into Serb areas in spite of sporadic violence by Serb extremists.

EU Mission in Support of Security Sector Reform in Guinea-Bissau (EU SSR Guinea-Bissau)

Launched June 2008

Budget: €5.6m a year

This mission, which counts 16 civilians from six member states and 14 locals, advises local authorities on security sector reform. Though the mission has contributed to reform, it is overshadowed by an expanding UN office with a similar mandate and has struggled in the face of a crime wave engulfing the country. Some have claimed that such a small mission should not be deployed under ESDP. Its mandate expires this November.

European Union Monitoring Mission in Georgia (EUMM)

Launched October 2008

Budget: €35m

EUMM was launched to monitor the ceasefire between Russia and Georgia, assist confidence-building and oversee compliance with human rights law on both sides. The mission was the EU's fastest ever deployment: it took just two weeks to get 200 monitors on the ground. Russia, however, has not allowed the monitors to patrol in South Ossetia or Abkhazia, and there are widespread reports of low morale in the mission as a result.

EU NAVFOR Somalia

Launched December 2008

Budget: €8.3m a year

The mission contributes to the deterrence and repression of piracy off the Somali coast. As the EU's first ever naval operation the mission carries some symbolic importance, but its comparative advantage over the concurrent NATO maritime mission and the multinational "Combined Task Force 150" is unclear.

A guide to ESDP missions *Completed operations*

EU Military Operation in former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (Concordia)

March-December 2003

Budget: €6.2m a year

The first ESDP military mission, Concordia was launched at the invitation of the Macedonian government. The mission took over from NATO, and while the EU was able to make use of NATO's military assets, there were practical problems of co-operation, including security clearances and information-sharing.

EU Military Operation in Democratic Republic of Congo (Artemis)

June-September 2003

Budget: Approximately €7m

The EU's military mission in Congo had a mandate to improve security and the humanitarian situation in the troubled eastern part of the country, where UN troops were struggling to keep order. Approximately 2,000 troops took part, with contributions from 14 member states as well as Brazil, Canada and South Africa. Although Artemis is generally seen as the clearest example of an ESDP military success, the mission's reputation was marred by reports that French troops had tortured civilians. It is fair to say, however, that Artemis saved the UN peacekeeping force from a major defeat.

EU Police Mission in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (Proxima)

December 2003-December 2005

Budget: €30m overall

A two-phase operation with a mandate to monitor, mentor and advise on law and order in Macedonia, including the fight against organised crime. Proxima I counted 186 international police officers and Proxima II 169 staff (138 police officers, three civilian personnel and 28 experts). The mission struggled to link police, justice and penal reforms.

EU Rule of Law Mission in Georgia (EUJUST Themis)

July 2004-July 2005

Budget: €2m

Comprising ten EU experts and local legal assistants, EUJUST Themis was mandated to help the Georgian government reform the criminal justice sector. This proved to be too ambitious for a mission lasting just a year and operating in a volatile post-revolutionary environment, and ultimately Themis made little progress.

EU Police Mission in Kinshasa (DRC) (EUPOL Kinshasa)

April 2005-June 2007

Budget: €4.3m overall

The first EU civilian deployment to Africa, this mission's mandate was to monitor and advise the Congolese police in Kinshasa. It comprised around 30 personnel from six EU member states.

EU Support to AMIS (Darfur)

July 2005-December 2007

Budget: €300m overall

The EU established this civil-military mission in order to support the African Union (AU) mission to Darfur (AMIS), providing the AU with assets, planning and technical assistance. The EU's mission comprised 30 police officers, 15 military experts and two military observers. Although complicated by competition in Brussels between NATO and the EU, the mission provided a lifeline to underequipped African forces.

Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM)

September 2005-December 2006

Budget: €15m overall

AMM's task was to monitor the implementation of parts of the peace agreement signed by the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). The mission comprised 125 monitors from five EU member states, Norway, and Switzerland, as well as 93 personnel from ASEAN countries. Hailed for its speed and co-operation with ASEAN, the mission also came in for criticism when the GAM instituted a harsh version of sharia law just as AMM was preparing to leave.

EU Police Advisory Team in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (EUPAT)

December 2005-June 2006

Budget: €1.5m

EUPAT, which took over from Proxima (see above), was intended to support the implementation of police reform and to encourage co-operation between the judiciary and the police in Macedonia. Comprising 30 police advisers from 16 EU member states, EUPAT suffered from some of the same problems as its predecessor, including competition with other international actors.

EUFOR RD Congo

July-November 2006

Budget: €100m

This military mission supported the UN mission in Congo during the country's 2006 election. Its main tasks were deterring hostile and disruptive forces, protection of civilians, airport security and evacuation. It performed reasonably well given this very limited mandate, although its forces were hampered by national "caveats" on their use. 2,400 troops from 21 EU member states, Turkey, and Switzerland were deployed.

EUFOR Chad/Central African Republic

January 2008-March 2009

Budget €119.6m overall

The EU's Chad mission aimed to protect civilians and UN personnel from Chad's numerous militias, and to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian aid. After a delayed deployment, it performed well militarily despite coming under frequent attack. However, civilian duties were left to an understaffed UN mission (which has now also taken over military duties). EUFOR Chad is the biggest EU military mission to date – when fully deployed, it numbered 3,700 personnel from 23 EU member states, as well as Croatia, Albania and Russia.

The challenge of crisis management

The EU's unsuccessful attempts to apply the Bosnian template to theatres with entirely different characteristics to the Balkans provide a clue to one of the biggest challenges the EU faces. While its approach is based on some sound assumptions – building peace takes time, and justice is key to lasting stability – in the future the EU is unlikely to find itself deploying to theatres that closely resemble the Balkans; security challenges over the coming decades are likely to require a far stronger emphasis on crisis management skills. Recent research suggests that the number of civil wars is once again on the rise,²⁷ and the EU can expect to find itself called upon to deploy into countries or regions emerging from conflict.

The post-cold war experience of NATO and the UN suggests that the six-month period after major violence ends is critical: factions move fast to assert power, cut political deals and test the credibility of peacekeepers. The uncomfortable truth is that the EU has little experience of taking the lead role in such volatile situations. When the EU does deploy into hostile environments, its personnel are usually protected by NATO, the UN or the US, and its work tends to be overshadowed by larger, better-funded missions. When the EU has managed to deploy speedily and without protection, as in Aceh and Georgia, its civilian capacities have been put under severe strain.

ESDP missions have largely avoided fatalities to date – the first military deaths at the hands of combatants came in Chad in mid-2008. But operating in volatile environments nevertheless requires civilians to be able to protect themselves from harm, and EU civilian missions are woefully ill-prepared for this. In many cases civilians are entirely unarmed; only in Baghdad and Kabul have they been provided with bodyguards.

If EU missions struggle to protect themselves, it is all the more important that they are comfortable working with the military missions they often work alongside. The EU has struggled in the past to co-ordinate its civilian activities with other militaries,²⁸ but even when the EU is responsible for concomitant military and civilian missions it struggles to get them to work together effectively. The EU's flagship military initiative – its battalion-sized "battle

²⁷ J. Joseph Hewitt, Jonathan Wilkenfeld & Ted Robert Gurr, "Peace and conflict 2010", Center for International Development and Conflict Management, University of Maryland. See <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/pc/>

²⁸ A dispute between Greece and Turkey means EU and NATO cannot formally co-operate, even on the ground.

groups” – has been developed without concern for civil-military integration. As the next chapter will argue, few EU governments make it a priority to ensure that civilian experts are familiar with the military’s way of operating.

Outside the Balkans, the EU displays signs of “naïve transference”: taking a model that works in one context and repeating it somewhere entirely unsuitable.

Civilians operating on ESDP missions have also suffered from an over-reliance on instructions from Brussels and have not always proved willing or able to take the initiative in the field, even on relatively minor operational issues. (As we will go on to argue, much of the blame for this lies with overbearing institutions in Brussels.) Again, here the Bosnian template will not be appropriate in theatres with fundamentally different characteristics; while civilian staff in Sarajevo may be able to liaise with Brussels with relative ease, this is hardly the case in Chad.

Finally, the EU still lacks many of the elements required to sustain the deployment of civilians in the field, from pre-purchased equipment stocks to contracts with private suppliers of fuel, food and so on.²⁹ EUJUST Themis in Georgia was not fully equipped until halfway through its 12-month mandate, and the EU’s postwar monitoring mission in Georgia had to rely on Italy and France deploying pre-formed units, like gendarmes, to ensure that the missions had the requisite number of armoured vehicles – hardly a sustainable solution.

Why civilian capabilities matter

As things stand, it seems clear that the EU is not geared to deal with the challenges of crisis management and that its civilian capabilities need a severe overhaul. Yet some may wonder if it is even worth trying. A growing number of sceptics argue that the catastrophic Afghan campaign marks the end of the era of western state-building efforts. Within the EU, strategic thinkers are

starting to focus more on containing Russia and managing strained defence budgets than on fixing failed states.³⁰ Public opinion is turning against large-scale foreign adventures.

But the history of the Afghan war should confirm rather than undermine the case for civilian interventions. Had the US and NATO deployed a more credible civilian presence following invasion in 2001, the country might have been set on the path to stability.³¹ In the final section of this report, we set out an alternative model for civilian deployments – involving early, flexible engagement in troubled states – that we believe to be more effective than the current European way of peace.

²⁹ Five years ago, the EU’s “Action Plan for Civilian Aspects of ESDP”, adopted by EU governments, talked about the possibility of signing framework agreements for the provision of standard equipment, which could be triggered upon decision to launch a mission.” Action Plan for Civilian Aspects of ESDP, adopted by the European Council (17-18 June 2004).

³⁰ Richard Gowan, “After Afghanistan”, *ESharp*, September/October 2009.

³¹ For a recent compelling statement of this case see Seth G Jones, *In the Graveyard of Empires: America’s War in Afghanistan* (W.W. Norton, 2009)

Chapter 2

Worthy intentions, broken promises: the member state problem

The EU has no standing civilian forces and so relies on member states to round up personnel for its missions. Ten years into ESDP's life, most governments are failing in this task.

Member states have proved no slouches when it comes to delivering on paper. The first numerical targets were pledged at the Gothenburg Council in 2001, when European leaders committed to make 5,000 police officers available for ESDP missions, 1,000 of them deployable within 30 days, as well as 200 rule of law experts (prosecutors, judges and jailers) within 30 days.³² Yet despite these worthy pledges, the EU continued to struggle to populate its missions.

The so-called Civilian Headline Goal (CHG) process was meant to change all that. Approved in 2004 by the European Council, the CHG was a rigorous attempt to identify personnel requirements for possible deployment scenarios – for example, what an EU mission to take over from the UN in Kosovo would look like. EU governments were then asked to offer civilians to fill the vacant slots in these would-be missions, with a few non-EU countries, such as Norway and Canada, invited to contribute as well. A number of technical innovations were drawn up to help member states meet these targets: sophisticated software programs were put in place and, for the first time, a list of non-human resources, such as equipment, was compiled. In December 2008, member states created National Action Plans to help guide them towards fulfilment of their respective CHG pledges.

Yet for all its methodical rigour and ground-breaking ideas, the CHG process does not appear to have helped the EU get boots on the ground. The most

³² For a full history of the development of the EU's civilian crisis management, see Annika S Hansen, "Against All Odds: The Evolution of Planning for ESDP Operations Civilian Crisis Management from EUPM Onwards", Study 10/06, ZIF

high-profile ESDP missions in recent years – Kosovo and Afghanistan – have never reached full strength; the Afghan mission alone is 130 staff short. Across all 12 ongoing ESDP missions, the shortfall is probably at least 1,500.³³ Many key staffing gaps – in finance and logistics, for example – are not even covered by the CHG. In private, diplomats admit that despite its good intentions, the CHG remains a “numbers exercise”³⁴ whose ambitions outstrip the ability of member states to deliver. One diplomat from a new EU member state describes it as nothing but a “declaration”.³⁵

Why is it so difficult to recruit?

Some of the difficulties in recruitment for ESDP missions are common to all member states. Civilian personnel tend to have day jobs in courts, police stations or, in some cases, outside the public sector. Many will not be keen on leaving behind families and careers at home, often for many months at a time. Police officers and judges, in particular, seldom benefit from participating in overseas missions – the new skills they acquire while deployed abroad rarely count in their favour once they return home. And few incentives exist for managers to release their personnel; when a request for staff comes in from central government, to the employer all too often it simply means a financial and staffing headache. Professionals from the private sector, such as engineers, architects, and budget specialists, can be even harder to recruit and deploy.

A further problem is that there is no career track for civilian specialists; the EU cannot offer a career that, say, starts in a mission, leads to a job in the Council Secretariat, is followed by a secondment to the European Commission before going to another mission or on a one-year training course. This means civilians know that once their overseas work has finished, they will have to worm their way back into their previous jobs. With a few exceptions – such as the “golden ticket” given to British diplomats who volunteered to work in Iraq in 2003-04, which guaranteed them preference in bidding for future jobs – most officials have to trust their superiors, wink and nod, that they will be allowed to resume their work once they return.

³³ Precise data are difficult to ascertain, as personnel figures fluctuate from month to month.

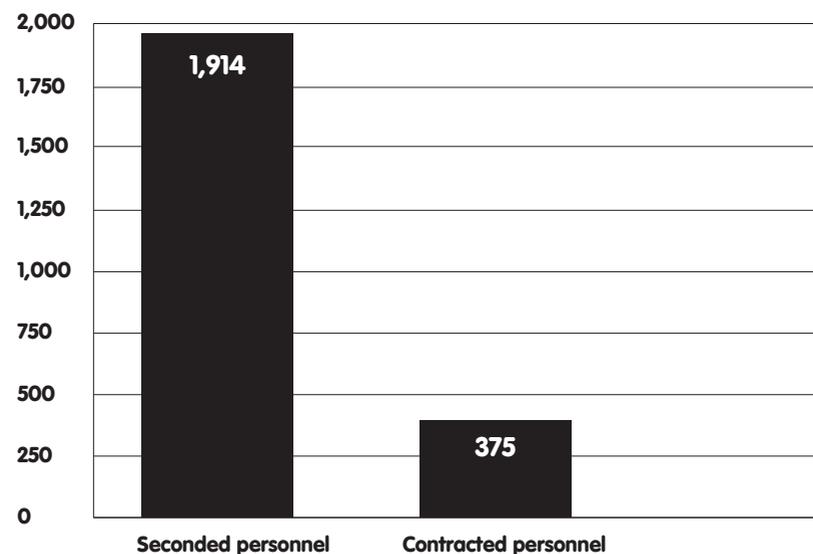
³⁴ Interview with European diplomat, Brussels, December 2008.

³⁵ Interview with European official, Brussels, December 2008.

Faced with these problems, a number of EU governments – Britain, Denmark, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden – have rosters of “pre-picked” civilians who have committed to deploy overseas when the need arises. Other countries operate rosters of police officers only. But with so many ongoing commitments – not only for ESDP missions, but UN, NATO and OSCE operations – this pool is soon exhausted. And of course, a civilian may sign up in advance to deploy abroad but then get cold feet when faced with the prospect of six months in Helmand.

Despite these obstacles, the EU has proved wary of turning to the private sector to staff its missions: as the chart below indicates, seconded personnel far outnumber contractors and local experts in EU missions. Contracting is not without its problems: too much reliance on “outsiders” makes it difficult to gather lessons, improve performance, set benchmarks and institutionalise best practice. But that speaks to developing a more intelligent model of using contractors, not abandoning the idea.

*Figure 1. Total EU personnel in ESDP missions: contracted vs seconded, as of 31 August 2009*³⁶



³⁶ Figures provided by the Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability (CPCC), 14 September 2009.

The member state audit

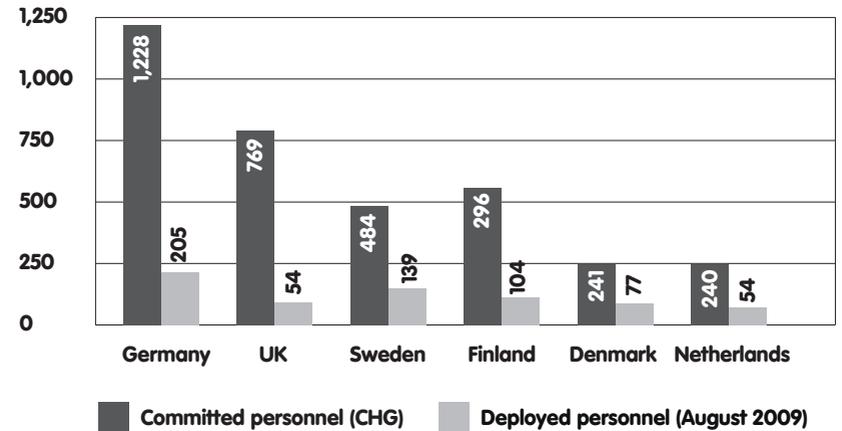
Yet individual member states must shoulder most of the blame for the sorry state of ESDP recruitment. Our comprehensive survey of the civilian capabilities of all 27 member states reveals a melange of approaches to training, planning, debriefing and recruitment – and, of course, the numbers of civilians sent on missions. Some countries appear to take their ESDP responsibilities extremely seriously; others barely make the effort.³⁷

A note on the methodology (see p79 for full details). Our audit assesses countries on a number of criteria; deployment is only one of them.³⁸ Four divisions of member states emerge, and some may find the results surprising. France, Italy and Romania, who lead the EU in terms of absolute number of civilians deployed, languish in the second division as a result of their poor performance in categories like civilian recruitment or debriefing procedures. Conversely, Britain, which has only 54 civilians serving on ESDP missions makes it into the top flight. We stand by these results: putting the focus on sheer numbers says little about how seriously governments take civilian capabilities and missions. It would be the same as judging an army based on its size alone rather than its effectiveness of its troops.

The Professionals

Denmark, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom

The EU's top performers have extensive and often obligatory training for civilians, have developed cross-governmental planning processes, and seek to debrief all deployed personnel after their tours in order to learn lessons. Together, these six countries account for 633 civilians deployed on ESDP missions and 3,258 pledged personnel through the CHG process.



Both Finland and Germany have drawn up plans specifically aimed at boosting civilian capabilities, and other governments in this category have committed themselves to doing the same: Britain's national security strategy states that the government will establish a 1,000-strong civilian standby capability. The Swedish government regularly highlights its commitment to civilian missions, although has not yet identified a specific target for numbers of deployable personnel.

The Professionals also stand out for their recruitment techniques. In Germany, the Centre for International Peace Operations (ZIF), a quasi-governmental institute, is responsible for the recruitment and training of civilian personnel for all overseas deployments. ZIF maintains a regularly updated roster of trained civilians and, with the German foreign office, selects candidates for deployment. In Britain, the cross-departmental Stabilisation Unit manages a database of deployable civilian experts – a model which has inspired similar arrangements in both the Netherlands and Denmark.

The six countries differ in their use of contracted police officers: Britain and the Netherlands use private contractors while Germany, Denmark and Sweden employ only serving police officers. There is also variation in funding models: the Danish government, for example, allocates a specific portion of the national budget for police deployment, meaning police authorities incur no financial loss when officers go on missions. In Germany, police officers sent abroad continue to draw a salary from the federal state police.

³⁷ Of course, European governments have obligations beyond ESDP; many deploy civilian experts into a number of other bilateral or internationally run missions, such as the NATO operation in Afghanistan. The assessments in this chapter refer specifically to a country's civilian contributions to ESDP efforts, based on figures supplied by the Civilian and Planning Conduct Capability (CPCC), 14 September 2009.

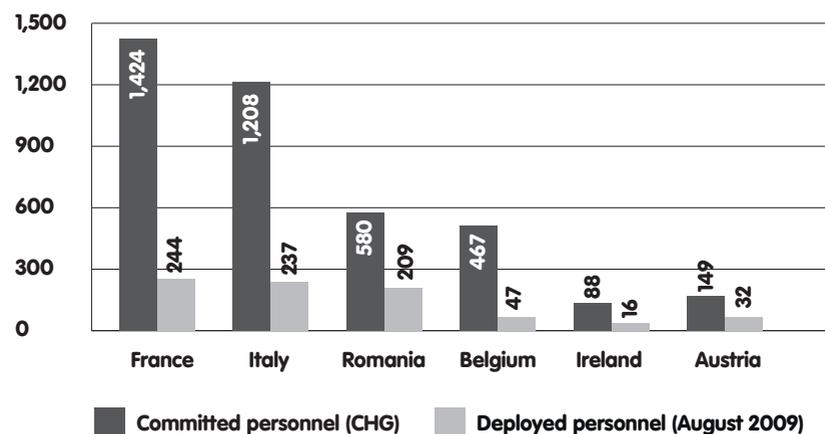
³⁸ Figures of civilian deployments change rapidly, as ESDP missions expand or contract and the commitment of EU governments waxes and wanes. Because figures of deployed civilians are not made publicly available, it is very difficult to obtain the exact numbers at any given time.

All six governments take training and civilian-military integration extremely seriously. In Germany, police officers and trainers attend military exercises (although other civilian staff do not). In Denmark, all civilians attend training courses at the Danish Emergency Management Agency, while those deploying alongside the military receive relevant pre-deployment preparation. Sweden and Britain enjoy similar arrangements.

The Strivers

Austria, Belgium, France, Ireland, Italy and Romania

Many of the countries in this group are shown signs of wanting to build their civilian capacities but have yet to put in the necessary hard graft. Together, they have deployed 785 civilians on ESDP missions, compared with an overall CHG pledge of 3,916.



While France, Italy and Romania are all major contributors to civilian ESDP missions, they fall down elsewhere. None of these countries appears to have put much thought into civilian recruitment, and debriefing procedures in France and Italy are extremely patchy. Despite pledging in 2008 to treat civilian missions as seriously as their military equivalents, the French government continues to have one of the strongest “military-first” bureaucratic cultures in the EU.

The French pledge is, however, typical of the apparent concern of these countries to improve their civilian capabilities. France has recently established a unit within the ministry of foreign affairs dedicated to planning and co-ordinating deployments. The Irish government is looking into designing a national strategy on civilian crisis management. Belgium has launched a database of civilian personnel for ESDP deployments.

Civilian recruitment procedures are poor in all of these countries, except Belgium. A case in point is Austria where, according to a local expert, “competences are split between five state departments and various sections within these departments”.³⁹ Romania reports that it plans ESDP missions through “an informal network comprising representatives of all ministries involved in ESDP, activated on short notice”. Italy, Belgium and France do, however, have permanent ESDP planning units.

Training is compulsory in almost all these countries, though in Romania’s case it is offered only to police officers. But few offer a comprehensive approach to training, and few allow civilian participation in military exercises (Irish civilians attend a limited number of courses in military schools). France scores badly on training in general because individual ministries are responsible for their own personnel, with no central standards.

The Agnostics

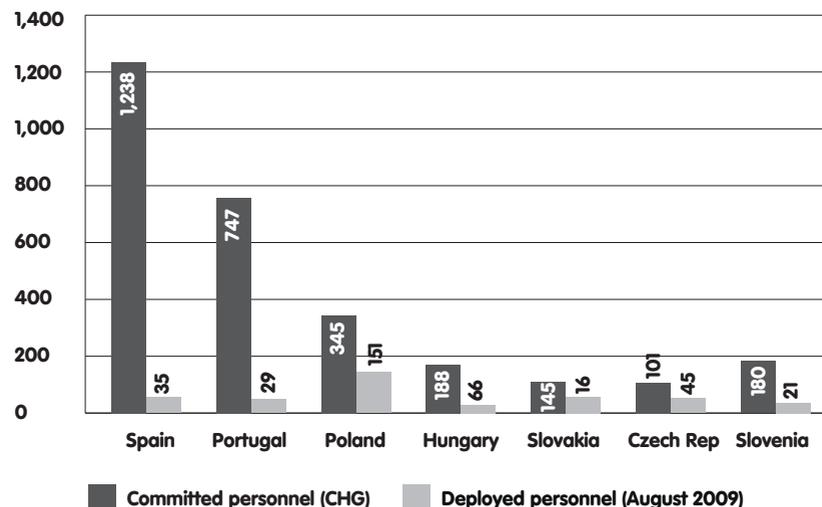
The Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia and Spain

These seven countries seem unconvinced about the value of civilian deployments. Together, they are responsible for 363 civilians serving overseas, and have pledged 2,944.

Poland, the biggest contributor to ESDP missions among these countries, is still prohibited by domestic legislation from deploying civilian personnel other than police officers. The same applied to Slovakia until recently.

Planning is a problem for all countries in this division, with ad hoc organisation within foreign affairs ministries being the order of the day. All countries report

³⁹ Figures provided by the Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability (CPCC), 14 September 2009.



poor inter-ministerial co-operation, and admit that civilian crisis management does not enjoy a high level of political visibility. Poor recruitment practices make the problem worse – few of the Agnostics have any sort of reliable registry of staff for deployment. (The exceptions are the Czech Republic and Slovakia.) Slovenia relies on the ministry of defence to staff, train and fund civilian missions.

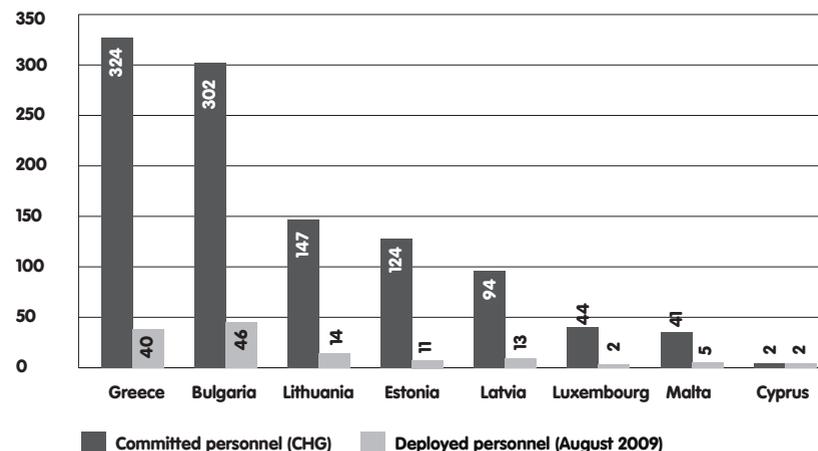
A curious case of a would-be civilian power, Spain deploys only 35 civilians, all but three of them police officers. This represents just 2.8% of their CHG pledge, making Spain the EU's greatest perpetrator of broken promises. In 2008 not a single Spanish civilian expert underwent training for deployment. The country keeps a rule of law roster, although it is not regularly updated, and one expert described its unofficial roster for civilian experts in the unit for peacekeeping operations as "so unofficial that nobody knows how to be a part of it".⁴⁰

Apart from Slovakia, debriefing in these countries is informal and not linked to any lesson-learning systems. Other than Hungary and the Czech Republic, training in these countries is restricted to police officers. As for civilian participation in military training exercises, performance here is very poor in all countries other than Spain.

The Indifferents

Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Greece, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg and Malta

Other than Lithuania, which seems to be attempting to improve its performance, no country in this category seems to take the task of developing civilian capacities seriously. Together, they have deployed 133 civilians abroad, and have pledged to make 1,078 available for ESDP missions.



Only Greece and Malta among these countries provide compulsory training for police. Malta offers pre-deployment training nationally, although it would score higher if it improved its civilian participation in military education. Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia train only personnel deploying to Afghanistan (Lithuania is planning on extending this to all civilians). In Bulgaria, the ministry of foreign affairs says training for civilian personnel missions is the job of seconding ministries. But when asked, the line ministries could only say "some form of training" took place. Luxembourg appears to have a robust planning process, co-ordinated by the foreign and interior ministries, but offers no compulsory training or courses in military schools. Planning and debrief procedures in these countries are also very weak.

Chapter 3

Bureaucracy and in-fighting: the Brussels problem

While most of the blame for the failings of civilian ESDP can be placed at the door of member states, the institutions in Brussels should not escape censure. The legendary turf wars between the European Commission and the Council have had a particularly damaging impact, while the heaving bureaucracy of the Council's operational arms seriously impedes the efforts of deployed civilians to operate effectively in the field.

The Commission vs the Council

The European Commission and the Council have been at loggerheads ever since the 1997 Amsterdam treaty, which for the first time granted a role for overseeing civilian missions to the Council Secretariat. The Commission had a long background in relief and development work (see box, p55), with most of its assistance aimed at building local institutions. Conversely, the Council-run ESDP missions were supposed to focus on emergency situations requiring a rapid and dynamic response. In theory, this development vs security approach could have allowed the two bodies to carve up distinct “spheres of influence”, with the Commission focusing on long-term capacity-building work in less high-profile parts of the world while the Council deployed ESDP missions in response to crises. But in practice, things have been far messier.⁴¹

In 2004, for example, the Commission and Council squabbled over weapons trafficking in Africa. European governments acting through the Council wanted to support ECOWAS (a grouping of west African states) in stemming the flow of weapons through the region, but the Commission brought a case

⁴¹ Ursula C. Schroeder, “Governance of EU Crisis Management” in *Evaluating the EU's crisis missions in the Balkans*, ed Eva Gross, Michaël Emerson (Brussels: CEPS, 2007).

to the European Court of Justice claiming that such matters fell under the ambit of development rather than security policy, and were hence the Commission's responsibility rather than the Council's. (The court ruled in the Commission's favour.) Yet examples such as this show up the weakness of the underlying model: while weapons trafficking may be a "long-term" issue that calls for strong local institutions – and hence a Commission operation – once those trafficked weapons are used to fight a war the Council will be asked to deploy an ESDP mission, requiring the slow and difficult transfer of knowledge and contacts from the Commission.⁴²

Spats in Brussels can seriously damage the EU's reform efforts abroad, as a second example shows. In 2003, the Commission insisted on creating a plan for Bosnia's development, ignoring the proposal for police reform already developed by the office of Paddy Ashdown, the EU's special representative. The Commission's plan focused on more general issues inspired by the *acquis communautaire*, such as the need for a law on statistics. The country's fractious politicians, who never missed an opportunity to procrastinate, were only too happy to see divisions emerging in the international community. The situation was temporarily resolved when Ashdown sent a number of edits to the Commission's plan to the external relations commissioner – by chance, his former British parliamentary colleague Chris Patten – who then passed them on as his own. But once Ashdown left office, police reform stalled again as momentum was lost, and the situation remains unresolved to this day.⁴³

The development/security distinction may have been useful when the European treaties were agreed. But today this way of viewing the world hampers the EU's ability to intervene in a coherent manner throughout the so-called "conflict cycle", from conflict prevention through crisis management to rebuilding and development. Ashdown now insists that the policy process for fragile and failed states must be seamless: planning for the post-conflict phase should take place at the same time and on the same footing – indeed, preferably with the same people – as planning for military interventions.⁴⁴

⁴² On other occasions, the underlying flaw in the development/security dichotomy has allowed institutions to operate well outside their usual spheres. PAMECA III, the EU's police mission in Albania, looks, smells and feels like the EUPM in Bosnia, an ESDP mission. But it is actually a "project" funded by the Commission, and receiving no support from the Council Secretariat.

⁴³ The two bodies are not always in conflict: last year's "Rehn/Solana" paper outlining the EU's Bosnia policy was a good example of how the Council and Commission can work together fruitfully. But any hopes of a permanent détente were dashed in 2007, when External Relations Commissioner Benita Ferrero-Waldner blocked the merger of the EUSR and the EC delegation in Kabul, in spite of broad-based support and precedents in both Skopje and Addis Ababa.

⁴⁴ Remarks by Paddy Ashdown, CIPR GAG Annual Lecture, 17 October 2008.

The role of the Commission

The European Commission has three roles in the EU's policy towards fragile and failing states.

First, it uses its considerable development funds to help the world's poorest countries, as well as former colonies, deal with the underlying causes of conflict. Since 2001, the Commission's development assistance has become more attuned to security-related issues. Much of its aid is dedicated to conflict-affected countries like Afghanistan, Congo, the Palestinian territories and Sudan.⁴⁵

Second, the Commission operates alongside Council-led ESDP missions in a number of countries. In Kabul, for example, where the Council has deployed a police mission, the Commission funds a rule of law programme, aimed, among other things, at reforming the ministry of justice.

Third, the Commission, as the EU's budget-holder, pays for the civilian components of ESDP missions.

Inside the Council

ESDP missions are planned and executed by the ambassador-level Political and Security Committee (PSC), which exercises its control on behalf of EU member states. The situation has improved immeasurably over ESDP's short life; just a few years ago, there was only a skeletal structure in Brussels to undertake this work. But three problems still plague decision-making.

First, bureaucratic mismanagement. Early ESDP missions were hobbled by institutional arrangements that made it impossible to operate effectively. In Bosnia, for example, the EU was represented by no less than five bodies: an EUSR, a monitoring mission, a police mission, a military operation and the Commission delegation. Unsurprisingly, it proved difficult to create coherent policy: there were regular disagreements between officials across a wide range

⁴⁵ The EC does not routinely publish details of its development funding, but data can be gleaned from annual reports.

of issues. Yet in an institutional echo of the naïve transference described in chapter 1, the EU modelled the organisational make-up of its presence in Kosovo partially on Bosnia, with similarly poor results. By contrast, UNMIK, the former international administration in Kosovo, brought together a number of international organisations, all of them under the authority of the special representative of the UN secretary-general.

Even when they do have coherently organised civilians on the ground, the Brussels overlords seem happy to ignore their advice. In April 2007, after a fact-finding mission, the Commission and the EU envoy in Georgia proposed a deployment of police and border liaison officers to South Ossetia and Abkhazia. But in the PSC discussions, progress was stymied by Greek foot-dragging and in the end nothing came of the proposal. A year later the EU was caught on the hop by the Russia-Georgia conflict with no locally based sources of information.

Directions from Brussels to missions are often “unactionable fluff”, in the words of one EU official

Tied to all this is the second problem – a culture of PSC micromanagement that, as Julian Braithwaite, a former adviser to Paddy Ashdown in Sarajevo, has written, is “rarely suited to the real-time, high-risk, decision-intensive business of crisis management”.⁴⁶ One official who has worked with the EU in the Balkans grumbles that “European policymaking consists of sending an endless flow of PDFs to and from Brussels”.⁴⁷ EU officials on the ground are often wary of taking strong positions, lest they be contradicted by the next email from headquarters. (Again, a comparison with the UN is instructive: when a UN mission is agreed, the secretariat seeks the approval of UN states just twice – first for authority to begin planning, and second for approval of the finished plans.)

The problem of micromanagement is aggravated by a tendency in Brussels to focus on trivialities as a proxy for substantive discussion. Member state representatives can spend hours discussing interpreters and armoured

⁴⁶ See Julian Braithwaite, “State-Building and The European Union”, in *Rescuing the State: Europe’s Next Challenge*, ed. Malcolm Chalmers (The Foreign Policy Centre, British Council, the European Commission in association with Wilton Park, April, 2005).

⁴⁷ Interview with former EU official, 3 September 2009.

Show me the money

Funding for missions in fragile states has emerged as one of the EU’s key challenges. Civilian missions are funded from the CFSP budget, under the supervision of the Council, and implemented by the European Commission.

Once a mission has been agreed, the Commission commits, contracts and disburses the allocated budget on the basis of the operational needs as presented in the mission plan (the CONOPS document). It is then presented to the Foreign Relations Counsellors working group for approval at the same time as the Joint Action (the legal basis for an intervention). Unless the Joint Action is adopted, the Commission will not release the funds for the mission. Funds can only be released for one year, although in some specific cases, slightly shorter or longer budgetary periods have been agreed.

This set-up has run into problems. It has been particularly difficult to align procurement cycles with mission implementation – with the start of missions frequently preceding the arrival of the necessary equipment. This is particularly the case for armoured vehicles and other “big ticket”, expensive items with long order-to-delivery timelines. As the EU has no pre-deployed equipment depot, kit has to be bought anew or dispatched from one mission to the next. For EUMM Georgia, the EU did not manage to procure vehicles and governments were therefore asked to withdraw their offers of staff unless they could provide vehicles too – which few could.

vehicles, but will shy away from dealing with real issues and the confrontational debates they would inevitably entail. As a result, directions from Brussels to missions are often “unactionable fluff”, in the words of one EU official⁴⁸ – and operatives on the ground receive little strategic guidance but instead a stream of instructions about operational matters they are in a better position to decide upon themselves.

⁴⁸ Correspondence with EU official, 25 September 2009.

The third problem afflicting Council decision-making is the informal nature of the relationships between the various organs that deal with ESDP and the domestic bodies responsible for issues like justice, terrorism and policing. There has never, for example, been a joint meeting of the EU's foreign and interior ministers. This is replicated at each step of the hierarchical ladder: the justice and home affairs counsellors have never sat down with the external relations counsellors. Getting people who sit in national capitals together regularly has also proven hard. The EU's police chiefs last came together in 2003, and have never met with the management board of EUROPOL to discuss crime-fighting in the Balkans. The relationship between the military and the police has been crucial to every ESDP mission, and yet police chiefs have never met formally with chiefs of defence staff.

The problem of civilian-military integration

The EU's "comprehensive approach" is supposed to ensure that the military and civilian components of overseas interventions complement each other. But struggles inside the Council Secretariat, the bureaucratic machinery used by the PSC, mean that, for now at least, the ideal of civilian-military co-operation remains just that.

In the early days of ESDP, when police missions were deployed to Bosnia and Macedonia to work alongside NATO troops, it soon became apparent that if the Secretariat was to be granted an operational role in missions, it would need some kind of mechanism to ensure civil-military integration. To this end, a new EU "CivMil" cell was dreamed up at the so-called "chocolate summit" in 2003,⁴⁹ accompanied by a strategy document that emphasised the importance of civilian-military co-ordination as a feature of the way the EU does crisis management.⁵⁰

The CivMil cell was used to help plan for the operations in Aceh and Darfur. But it was never really accepted by the other parts of the Council bureaucracy,⁵¹ and was kept out of the planning process for a number of other missions. When it conducted a fact-finding mission for a potential ESDP mission in Congo, for

example, its report was ignored by other parts of the Council Secretariat. In an attempt to deal with this problem, in 2005 European leaders created a further body within the Council Secretariat – the Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability (CPCC) – to plan specifically for civilian missions.

What's the plan?

The EU's planning process has come a long way since the early days of ESDP (although it remains horrifically – almost absurdly – complex; see Annex 1). But the Council Secretariat still faces four major challenges:

1. *A lack of experienced civilian planners.* For generations diplomats have operated on the basis that variable contingencies make long-range planning impracticable, if not impossible. This is not to say that civilians do not know how to plan: health, interior and agriculture and development ministries spend much of their time doing exactly that. But few of these processes lend themselves to the dynamism of an ESDP mission; planning a water-treatment project in Mozambique is not the same as developing quick-fix programmes in Iraq.
2. *An over-reliance on military planning methodologies.* ESDP planning systems have been shaped by often unsuitable military methodologies. For example, staff in Tbilisi preparing for the EU monitoring mission last year were forced to turn to local air traffic controllers for the flight times of supply planes, as it took too long to decode emails that the Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability (CPCC), following military procedure, was encrypting.
3. *An inability to engage host governments.* Consultation between the EU and the governments into whose countries ESDP missions deploy is too vague and ill-defined. "Host" governments are, at best, consulted only at the highest levels and in the most general terms, rather than through a genuinely collaborative process that brings local officials into the EU's planning from the beginning.

⁴⁹ See Charles Grant, "Resolving the rows over ESDP", Centre for European Reform, October 2003.

⁵⁰ Stephen Pullinger, ed, "Developing EU Civil Military Co-ordination: The Role of the new Civilian Military Cell", Joint Report by ISIS Europe and CeMIS (June 2006).

⁵¹ Per M Norheim-Martinsen, "Matching ambition with institutional innovation: The EU's Comprehensive Approach and Civil-Military Organisation", Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (3 July 2009).

4. *Integrating the Commission's planning processes with that of the Council.* Although the Council now ensures that ESDP mission planning is compatible with the Commission's work, the two bodies nevertheless still employ separate planning processes. While the two separate plans produced may not always be contradictory, they still lack the synergy that would flow from a single, integrated plan.

Although the direction of travel is clear, links between the various bodies involved in planning for missions remain weak, as evidenced most recently by the monitoring mission in Georgia. Even when it became clear early on that the mission would be civilian-run and unarmed, the planning work inside the Secretariat was done by the directorate for defence issues rather than the directorate for civilian crisis management. During the preparation phase, CPCC jealously guarded its role, denying the civilian crisis management directorate contact with the mission. The relationship between these two bodies remains tense, in part because the dividing line between their respective responsibilities has never been policed effectively.

The final problem has been the attempt by the civilian side of the house to replicate designs produced on the military side; experience has shown that this approach is not suited to civilian missions where there is a particular need for delegation of authority. Some of these problems may be overcome by the merger of the directorates for defence issues and for civilian crisis management into the crisis management and planning directorate, which in turn will likely become part of the External Action Service under the Lisbon treaty.⁵² But even if Lisbon is passed, many of the problems of civ-mil co-operation will remain unless addressed directly. As Koen Vervaeke, the EUSR to the African Union, has said, Lisbon may actually place a greater bureaucratic burden on people undertaking his role. It certainly has the potential to exacerbate the micromanaging tendencies in Brussels.

The role of the European Parliament

The intergovernmental nature of ESDP limits the role of the European Parliament (EP): most power rests with national legislatures. But the EP does have some levers. By law, it must be consulted on the main aspects of European foreign policy. It must hold an annual debate on the implementation of the EU's common foreign and security policy (CFSP), including ESDP, and it can address questions to the Council and to the Commission. The EP can also pass resolutions on specific topics (as it has done on EUFOR in Congo), and issue "own-initiative" reports. This amounts to a powerful bully pulpit, and has been used to advance important ideas such as a proposed civilian reserve. Any European Commission funding also has to be approved by the EP.

With a view to improving co-operation among legislatures with a stake in overseas deployments, the EP has also started a dialogue with EU member state parliaments on CFSP and ESDP, and is engaged in a dialogue with the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

Chapter 4

Policy recommendations: a new way of doing missions

With its extensive network of embassies and diplomatic missions, the access it enjoys to both civil and military instruments and its broadly favourable global reputation, the EU should be uniquely well placed among global foreign policy actors to deal with the challenges posed by fragile and failed states. As this report has shown, however, its civilian missions are struggling under a number of debilitating problems. If the EU is to deliver on its potential, then it will need to rethink its entire approach to foreign interventions – beginning with the nature of what an ESDP mission is.

While the Bosnia template – long-term reform of policing and judicial institutions – may have proved reasonably effective in the Balkans, it is not suited to many of the crisis management situations that the EU can expect to deal with in the coming years. That doesn't mean that painstaking institution-building is a thing of the past – the EU is only just getting started in Kosovo, for example. But beyond the Balkans, the next generation of ESDP missions are likely to look a lot more like Gaza, Afghanistan and Somalia: fluid, violent, and with few clear-cut good and bad guys.

Many EU governments may want to steer clear from such trouble-spots, particularly in Africa. There is certainly a need for greater political debate about where the EU should deploy civilians. While recent events suggest that east and west Africa and the broader middle east may well require further civilian interventions in the years ahead, most European governments – perhaps noting the limited impact of the EU's missions in Guinea-Bissau and Congo – would probably prefer to focus on developments close to home and leave the rest of the world to the UN and other bodies.

But they may not have much choice. Can the EU really stand back if al Qaeda establishes a growing presence in the Maghreb, Yemen descends into full-

blown civil war or a successful but fragile middle eastern peace process creates the need for large-scale civilian deployments in the West Bank and Gaza?

To respond effectively to scenarios like these, the EU needs to adapt its mechanisms and staff to focus on three factors: speed, security and self-sufficiency.

Speed. The success of a mission is often dependent on the number of personnel that can be deployed within its first three to six months, when the political environment is at its most volatile. While the EU has long recognised this in principle, it very rarely delivers in practice: the Bosnia template involves sending in the EU once the fighting is long past.

Security. Threats to ESDP missions are mounting. In November 2008, a small bomb was hurled at the offices of the EU envoy in Kosovo. In June 2009, a suicide bomber rammed an EU police vehicle in northern Afghanistan, wounding three Germans. And al Qaeda will certainly see EU civilians as legitimate targets. Civilians will not always be able to rely on troops to ensure their security.

Self-sufficiency. Civilian personnel will have to become better at taking the initiative, and their superiors in Brussels will have to be prepared to cut the apron strings. In the US, the Iraqi and Afghan experiences have inspired much talk of the “strategic corporal” – the junior soldier whose decisions (Do we enter this mosque? How friendly can we be with locals?) shape the wider success or failure of a campaign. Similarly, the EU should be in the business of creating “strategic civilians”. This is particularly important where the EU wants to insert civilians into large, dangerous theatres with poor infrastructure, such as Afghanistan or central Africa.

The old-style mid-sized ESDP mission, staffed by people who live apart from the local community and often stay for just six months, is no longer up to the job. The EU needs to be able to deploy civilians rapidly to dangerous places and to let them operate closely with local populations. Mission leaders and staff alike need to be able to make political decisions, disburse funds and woo hearts and minds – without fearing that their choices (and careers) will be shredded in Brussels boardrooms long after the fact.

In essence, the EU needs to give its civilians the same degree of autonomy that the US military gave its troops in Iraq during the 2007 “surge”: the freedom to go deep into local communities, learn their habits and politics and build

stability from the ground up. It’s a tall order. But if the ponderous US defence bureaucracy can make the change – and lionise those, like General David Petraeus, who called for it – European officials can do so too.

The scalable assistance partnership

To ensure that speed, security and self-sufficiency are at the heart of future interventions, the EU needs to make one decisive break with the Bosnian template. It must scrap the idea that civilian missions are best designed by diplomats and European Council officials co-ordinating through the PSC. It needs to shift greater responsibility for planning and implementing missions to civilians on the ground, deploying them early to develop a new set of *scalable assistance partnerships* with those countries at greatest risk of instability.

The next generation of ESDP missions are likely to look a lot more like Gaza, Afghanistan and Somalia: fluid, violent, and with few clear-cut good and bad guys.

The EU already has a useful model for this – but one that it is under-exploiting – in the form of the special representative (EUSR). Scalable assistance partnerships should see the EU appoint EUSRs in each of the 20 countries it considers to be at greatest risk of instability⁵³ – each of them heading an office staffed by a range of experts, including a cadre of security and justice attachés.⁵⁴ These EUSRs must be senior European figures, such as former foreign ministers, able to command respect among local governments and in Brussels.

At the first danger signals – political violence, perhaps, or vote-rigging – the EU should embed conflict assessment and prevention teams in the already-present EU missions, at the request of the high representative, EUSR or host government. These teams – made up not only of mediators, rule of law specialists and security sector experts but also constitutional experts, minority

⁵³ The European Commission and the Council Secretariat operate “conflict indicators” – watch lists of countries in danger of slipping into violence.

⁵⁴ When conflicts affect whole regions – through refugee flows, weapons trading or illegally extracted natural resources – an EU Regional Representative (EUSR) could be appointed to oversee the work of several EUSRs. See Giovanni Grevi, “Pioneering Foreign Policy: the EU Special Representatives”, Chailot Paper n. 106, October 2007.

rights lawyers and so on – would diagnose sources of tension, launch dialogues between potential combatants and advise local EU officials and diplomats. If serious conflict erupts and a fully fledged ESDP mission is launched, the teams should be augmented by a deployable group of planners from the Council Secretariat, Commission and EU governments.

To ensure that the EU's internal processes support this approach, the "CONOPS" document currently used to design missions should be superseded by a "One Plan" approach. The new EUSR should authorise the drawing up of a single strategic framework document to which all EU institutions and member states sign on. This document should then be approved by the resident EU ambassadors, and, if possible, local authorities, with final approval given by the Council of Ministers. Drafting the plan in the field rather than in Brussels creates space for genuine co-operation between EU representatives and host governments, rather than the perfunctory process of consultation that is the rule now – and so, crucially, should provide EU missions with a greater sense of legitimacy among locals. (To follow Paddy Ashdown's dictum that peace and war planning be done in conjunction, each plan should have an annex laying out contingency plans for a military intervention.)

Delegation is key: the EUSRs will be in charge of all facets of any EU intervention, and will refer back to resident EU ambassadors rather than the PSC. Such an arrangement will have the advantage of privileging those EU governments with a stake in particular deployments over those with no staff on the ground and no investment in the mission. If a mission is forced to scale up, the EUSR will retain maximum political credibility if he or she remains in charge of co-ordinating all EU operatives. Where possible, this should include the armed forces: if the EUSR has to confront men with guns, it helps to have guns on call too.

This means breaking with current practice – be it in Bosnia or Chad – by which EUSRs are cut out of EU troops' line of command to Brussels. An EUSR should be at the top of the chain of command as opposed to merely having a weak mandate to guide troops and consult with their commanders, as is normally the case today. If that is not possible – and in many cases, EU governments will simply refuse to hand over military authority in this way – the PSC should at least approve robust protocols giving the EUSR the right to review military plans, request operations and formally query politically unwise manoeuvres. Only this degree of authority will win an EUSR respect from leaders ready to use violence at much shorter notice.

Finally, the EU should take a fresh look at twinning. Twinning is a Commission initiative launched in 1998, conceived as a way to help accession countries strengthen their capacity to implement legislation as future EU states. Cities, government departments and public organisations within member states were "twinning" with those inside accession countries, with officials exchanging information and EU bodies helping show their twinned counterparts how to operate according to modern practices. If undertaken strategically and overseen by the EUSR's office in the field, twinning could play a role in the EU's long-term engagement in fragile and failing states. The initiative must dovetail with the "One Plan" approach; to this end a cadre of twinning liaison officers could be included in the deploying conflict assessment and prevention teams.

Revitalising the Brussels institutions

The new mission concept can only be effective if it is complemented by developments in Brussels. Under the Lisbon treaty, the new high representative for foreign policy will combine the previous offices of the high representative for CFSP and the commissioner for external relations. This is meant to overcome the split between CFSP and Commission policies in EU external action. But this high-level integration will need to be reinforced at the working level.

First, the high representative ought to appoint a senior deputy with a specific remit to oversee the EU's policy towards fragile and failing states. Such a deputy could attend or chair relevant meetings of the PSC and foreign affairs commissioners, as well as liaise with the director of the EU Military Staff and the chief executive of the European Defence Agency.

Second, the new External Action Service (EAS) should be structured to support integration in the field. The Lisbon treaty states that all European Commission delegations will turn into EU embassies – single units representing all of the EU's different institutions. While these new embassies are unlikely to wield much clout in Moscow or Washington, where member states will want to continue to pursue their own bilateral relationships, they could prove more effective in the 20 countries on the EU's watch list if headed by EUSRs and integrated into the mission set-up proposed above.

But structural integration will be insufficient. To ensure that any problems with interventions are nipped in the bud, six-monthly internal reviews of all missions should be mandatory, with the work carried out by a mixed team

of staff from the Council, Commission and the EU-ISS (the EU's in-house security think tank). Each mission should have "best practice" officers, reporting directly to the EUSR, who would draft reports on how to avoid past mistakes. Additionally, a "lesson-learning" unit should be set up in the Council Secretariat to synthesise reports from the field. Finally, each intervention must work to a set of benchmarks, progress of which should be tracked regularly. Although the EU must eschew the kind of pseudo-scientific, colour-coded charts used by the military, a little more rigour could be helpful.⁵⁵

The old-style mid-sized ESDP mission, staffed by people who live apart from the local community and often stay for just six months, is no longer up to the job.

This report has focused on the EU's civilian capacities. But given the need in most interventions for a mix of civilian-military assets and the problems associated with deploying civilians into insecure environments, some thought should be given to the links between the EU's civilian and military operations. The EU should consider developing its "battle groups" – battalion-sized (1,500 troops) groups deployable at 15 days' notice – into civilian-military "force packages". These could contain not only military personnel with civilian skills, such as engineering, but also civilian experts "seconded" into key slots throughout the battle group structure. (Some thought will have to be devoted to training civilians and how to provide incentives for them when the units are on standby.) This proposal will take time to implement, and so in the short term the battle groups should be trained to protect civilian staff.

Finding the right staff

The current process for selecting EUSRs is politicised and as ad hoc as it gets, and not all the 11 EUSRs on the books⁵⁶ – or indeed the current Commission delegation heads – would be up to the job required of them by the new scalable partnerships. As a first step towards the ultimate goal of 20 EUSRs, the new

high representative could propose the pre-appointment of five, each of whom would have a thematic speciality, such as mediation, and perhaps also regional expertise. EUSR teams would include staff from both the EAS and external key staff, and should comprise a balance of personnel from the 27 member states. The EUSRs and their teams would train annually, visit existing missions and be briefed regularly on ESDP.⁵⁷

Beyond staff at the most senior level, one of the main problems facing recruitment for civilian missions is the absence of a full ESDP career track. Not only does this act as a disincentive to specialists, it accentuates the disconnect between Brussels and the field: nobody in the EU's top tier has ever served in a mission. The most logical answer to this would be to establish an EU-wide civilian reserve. Such a body, championed in the past by the European Parliament as well as ECFR, would see thousands of EU citizens signed on to standby contracts for deployments, either directly with the EU or through member states.⁵⁸ But few EU governments seem willing to agree to this in the short term.⁵⁹ So as a compromise, the EU should adopt a three-tier model:

- Tier 1: Subject-matter specialists from across the EU who are put on standby reserve contracts
- Tier 2: A smaller group of mid-level government officials offered up by member states and divided into niche areas of expertise
- Tier 3: A group of administrative staff contracted directly by the European Commission and functioning as a standing cadre or deployed into the EU's regional hubs

This model will allow the EU to recruit the staff it needs in both the professional and administrative categories, while allowing member states to retain control over missions through senior and mid-level posts. To ensure that EU states do not double up on expertise for Tier 2 personnel, they ought to specialise. This may become politically palatable if each government were granted two niche areas – one of their choosing and one they would be assigned.

⁵⁵ One good example is the "Mission Implementation Plan" developed by the HR/EUSR in Bosnia, which sets out the EU's remaining core tasks in the country and provides a means of evaluating progress.

⁵⁶ The 11 EUSRs cover: Afghanistan, the African Great Lakes region, the African Union, Bosnia and Herzegovina, central Asia, Kosovo, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the middle east, Moldova, the south Caucasus and Sudan. Some EUSRs are resident in their country or region, while others are based in Brussels.

⁵⁷ Until the arrangement described above comes into force, an interim solution will be required. This could involve the PSC appointing EUSRs from a list of the pre-selected candidates. Each EU engagement should also have a "reserve list" of candidates for all main staff functions

⁵⁸ See Nick Witney, "Energising ESDP" (European Council on Foreign Relations, July 2008); Daniel Korski, "Time for a Civilian Reserve", *IIPPR* (October 2008); and Catriona Gourlay, "Feasibility Study on the European Civil Peace Corps", *ISIS Europe*.

⁵⁹ The Lisbon treaty does, however, include a provision about setting up a civilian reserve.

Once personnel have been pre-picked and the EU has agreed to deploy a mission, it should have the right to call up staff directly. This may sound draconian, but it is no different than the rules already agreed to by EU states for Frontex, the EU's border agency, which can call upon border officers in case of an emergency in an EU state. Frontex refers to this way of working as "compulsory solidarity", a concept equally applicable for ESDP as a whole. There ought, after all, to be no difference between being able to call up a French border guard to deploy to the Romanian side of the country's border with Moldova and calling up the same person to deploy into Moldova as part of the EU's border assistance mission. (In fact, doing the latter may prevent doing the former later.)

It will take time to introduce this three-tiered model, so interim measures will be needed to improve the EU's performance. In the short term, an "ESDP fellowship" should be set up to create the nucleus of a conflict-focused cadre. Every two years a competition would be held to fill the slots on the fellowship, with places reserved for personnel from the Commission, the Council Secretariat and member states. Thirty fellows would be offered a five-year "mini-career", including an assignment in an ESDP mission, secondment to other EU institutions, a year at a military academy and then a job back in the Council Secretariat. This could be the beginning of a conflict career track for EU staff.

Strengthening training

To improve training and provide a central set of standards, the EU should set up a central European Institute for Peace, based on the European Security and Defence College, the EU's virtual education facility for defence and security training. Member states will want to continue running courses for their own personnel, so the aim should be to create a hub-and-spoke system, with the new institute becoming the EU's main provider of core training. To ensure common standards across the EU, a training inspectorate should be set up in the Council Secretariat to inspect training facilities and programmes across member states.

The best way to improve the decision-making of EU staff faced with volatile situations on the ground, however, is to ensure they have a clear operational doctrine. What else will the various institute train to and the inspectors inspect? To this end, the CIVCOM should establish a doctrine working group, charged with overseeing the drafting of a civilian doctrine, with the actual work undertaken by outside experts.

Supplying new missions

Adopting a new mission concept – and ensuring that the EU's post-Lisbon set-up is to implement it – will not automatically deal with the many "back office" problems the bloc faces on issues like procurement and financing. The Commission has informally put forward the idea of an Agency for Crisis Management,⁶⁰ and Jean-Marie Guéhenno, the former head of UN peacekeeping, argues that the EU should create an equivalent of the United Nations Office for Project Services (UNOPS). Both options see the office as separate from the EAS, but the experience of UNOPS – and indeed that of the US-led Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) in Iraq – shows the need to bring support services as close to the policy side as possible.⁶¹

A better option, then, would be for the EU to create a deployment support office as part of the EAS, ensuring the closest possible integration of operational and logistical issues. If, for example, an EUSR decides to establish a field office in a particular part of a country, logistics staff will have been part of the decision from the beginning and therefore will be able to supply the necessary support.

Greater thought also needs to be given to the integration of civilian and military logistics and procurement. As part of a review of the terms of reference of the European Defence Agency, the agency could be given a broader role on civilian equipment, perhaps through the creation of a deputy executive director to look after civilian issues and civilian use of military assets.

Gearing EU states to the task

Without a step change in the way EU governments plan for missions, there is little hope for EU interventions. The aim must be to bring every member state up to the standards of the Professionals grouping. To that end, the Council Secretariat should explicitly ask each member state to:

⁶⁰ Richard Wright and Juha Auvinen, "What ambitions for the civilian ESDP" in *What ambitions for European defence in 2020*, ed. Alvaro de Vasconcelos (EU-ISS: Paris, 2009).

⁶¹ In Iraq, logistical support for US operations was run according to its own logic and contracts with private companies were agreed not by the CPA but by the Pentagon, and therefore without reference to the CPA's needs or policies. Operations were often undermined as they did not have the necessary logistical support.

- *Update* rosters of civilians and police officers regularly
- *Establish* a cross-governmental unit that can undertake planning for all missions, including ESDP missions
- *Create* cross-governmental funding pools for civilian deployments, preferably ring-fenced
- *Train* a cadre of planners in the foreign affairs ministry, equivalent in numbers to at least 10% of total MFA staff
- *Ensure* that all deploying staff, civilian and police officers receive regular training
- *Develop* a systematic process for debriefing deployed staff and ensure lessons are learned
- *Send* police officers and civilians on military exercises, and create exercises run by civilians

As chapter 2 showed, releasing civilian staff for deployment can leave organisations in the red. So the EU should set up some form of compensatory central fund, with the compensation rate set at, say, one-and-a-half times the total costs associated with the deployed employee – a model that has proved effective in Canada.

The EU should also adopt a blend of encouraging and punitive measures to nudge member states in the right direction. Each country in the Professionals grouping should be asked to “adopt” two of the Agnostics, tutoring their officials, passing on best practice and so on. The European Parliament should consider withholding funds to the mission-related activities of those countries that fail to deliver on their National Action Plans – while providing extra backing for those that are making a serious attempt to deliver. Civilians from countries deploying less than, say, 25% of their CHG commitments should not be eligible for senior positions in ESDP missions.

To ensure member states stick to their pledges, each National Action Plan should be peer reviewed by a fellow member state once every four years – rather like the way the OECD monitors its members’ performance in the area of development co-operation. The EU-ISS could produce an annual scorecard summarising the results of the reviews and “naming and shaming” poor performers.

Increasing democratic legitimacy

Finally, the EU should institute a review of the general state of civilian-military capacities every five years, with the help of the European Parliament as well as national legislatures. An ESDP joint committee, made up of European and national legislators, could hold ad hoc country-specific hearings with EUSRs and on specific ESDP missions. To increase legislature oversight, after an ESDP action has been authorised the European Parliament should request a baseline briefing from the Council Secretariat providing: analysis of the situation on the ground and of local capacities; the rationale for the chosen course of ESDP action; and an explanation of how the proposal relates to other EU and international activities. After each mission, the Council should also be asked to provide an “after action” review, including a report on lessons learned and action points for improving practice.

Conclusion

It is time for a rethink of ESDP. The 27 EU member states need to make a serious effort to improve their civilian capabilities if their words of support for the “comprehensive approach” are to sound anything other than hollow. At the same time, the individuals and organisations whose job it is to ensure that the EU’s overseas interventions make a genuine difference must accept the need for far-reaching conceptual and institutional change. Missions must be quicker off the mark, better suited to withstand attack and able to survive and thrive without the help of the military or micromanagement from Brussels.

A decade after the creation of ESDP, it is time for European leaders and institutions to place genuine trust in the men and women who are dedicating their careers to helping – and in some cases risking their lives for – others hundreds or thousands of miles away. They must delegate authority to the next generation of EU special representative – civilian-military leaders operating on the ground who can build long-term relationships with local counterparts. The EU must find good people, trust them, support them – and then let them go. If it can find the will to do so, and if member states can be persuaded to make the civilian efforts ESDP demands of them, Europe will find itself far better equipped to respond to the global crises that lie in wait.

Annex 1

The mechanics of ESDP

ESDP institutions

Political and Security Committee (PSC)

The PSC is the EU's main ambassador-level committee, tasked with overseeing the EU's common foreign and security policy. Under the responsibility of the European Council, the PSC exercises political control over crisis management operations.

CIVCOM

CIVCOM, the committee for dealing with the civilian aspects of crisis management, is subordinate to the PSC, and is made up of EU states, the Council Secretariat and the Commission. Its main tasks include overseeing the management of civilian crisis operations and supporting the PSC.

The European Union Military Committee (EUMC)

The EUMC is the highest military body within the EU. It is composed of the chiefs of defence of the EU states, who are represented by their permanent military representatives. The EUMC provides the PSC with advice on all military matters.

The European Union Military Staff (EUMS)

The EUMS is a department of the Council Secretariat under the authority of EUMC, whose decisions it implements. The EUMS provides support for missions and is responsible for monitoring and assessing the forces and capabilities made available by member states.

The Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability (CPCC)

The CPCC is, in effect, the civilian equivalent of the EUMS. It plans and oversees civilian ESDP operations.

Civil-Military Cell (Civ-Mil cell)

The Civ-Mil cell is mandated to contribute to the planning of crisis management and to ensure greater civilian-military co-operation.

EU Operations Centre (EU OpsCen)

The EU OpsCen is located within the Civ-Mil cell, and often serves as an EU operation headquarters for planning and mission support, especially when a civilian-military mission is planned.

European Defence Agency (EDA)

The EDA is an agency of the EU tasked with supporting EU member states and the Council in their efforts to improve defence capabilities in the field of crisis management.

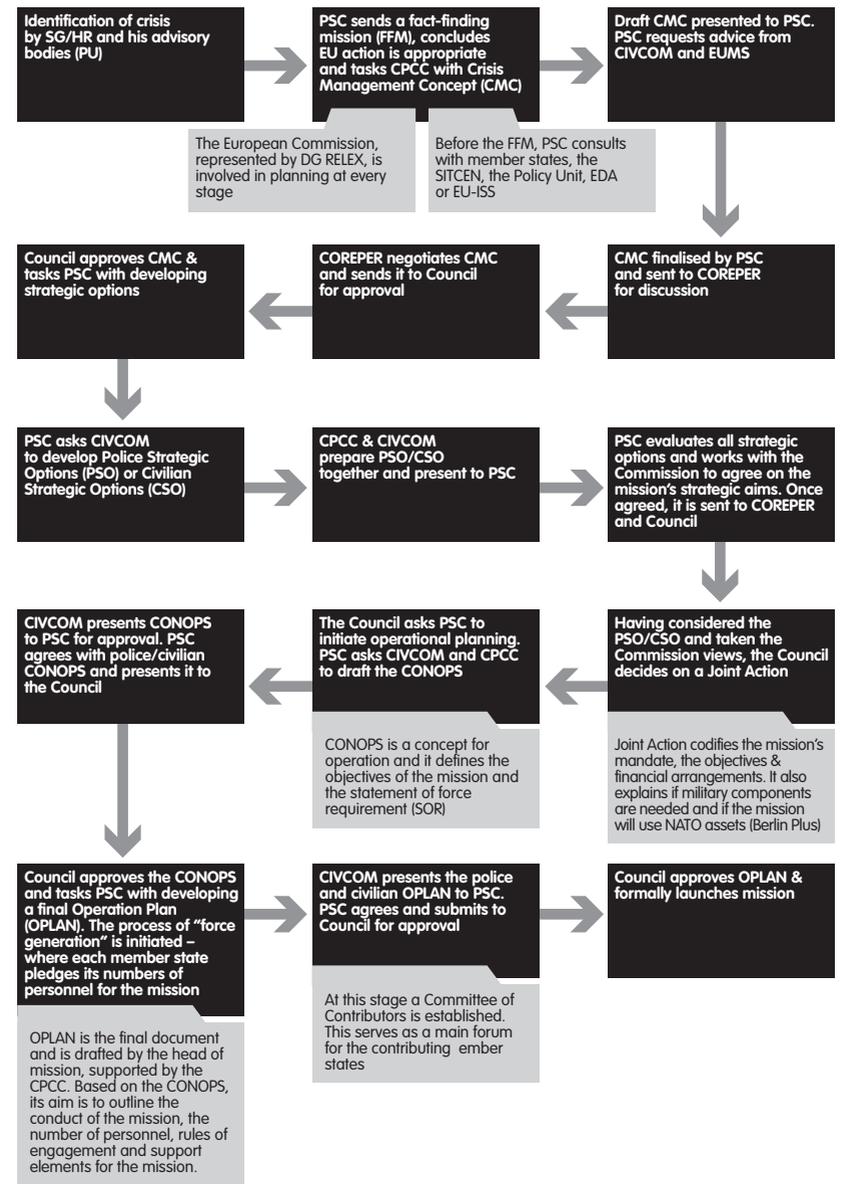
Directorate general for external relations and politico-military affairs (DG E)

DG E is the part of the Council Secretariat that is in charge of CFSP and ESDP-related matters. It is divided into sub-directorates general: the directorate on defence (DG E VIII) and the directorate on civilian crisis management (DG E IX).

Foreign Relations Counsellors Working Group (Relex)

This is a working group whose mandate is to assist the PSC. Its role is to examine institutional, legal and financial aspects of proposals made within the CFSP framework.

ESDP missions from conception to deployment



Annex 2

Audit of EU member states' civilian capabilities

Each country was awarded a score of between 0 and 10 in seven categories, with the average score across all categories determining overall ranking. Points were awarded on the basis of existing institutions and structures, although in some cases an extra point was awarded if capacity existed but was not being exploited. For example, Spain has created training capacity but fails to train its personnel regularly; Lithuania and Estonia have the structures in place to send civilians on military exercises, but are not making use of them. A guide to category-specific scoring follows.

Deployment:

Countries were assessed on a) absolute numbers of deployed personnel relative to national capacity and b) numbers deployed as a proportion of numbers pledged under the Civilian Headline Goal (CHG) process. No country scored higher than 7 in this category because no country has come close to meeting its CHG commitments.

Training:

- 0 - No training offered
- 1 - Limited or ad hoc training
- 5 - Training offered to police officers but voluntary for other civilians
- 10 - Extensive, varied and obligatory training for all deployable staff.

Planning:

- 0 - No planning process
- 1 - Limited planning process, little co-ordination
- 5 - Single department analysis and planning process
- 10 - Civilian ESDP planning unit in the ministry of foreign affairs (MFA) or a comprehensive, interdepartmental analysis and planning process underpinned by well-developed doctrine

Debriefs:

- 0 - No debrief process
- 1 - Informal debrief process
- 5 - Some form of formal debrief process (eg post-deployment written reports required, but not used to inform policy)
- 10 - Obligatory post-mission debriefing process with a link to lesson-learning processes

Rosters (police and civilian):

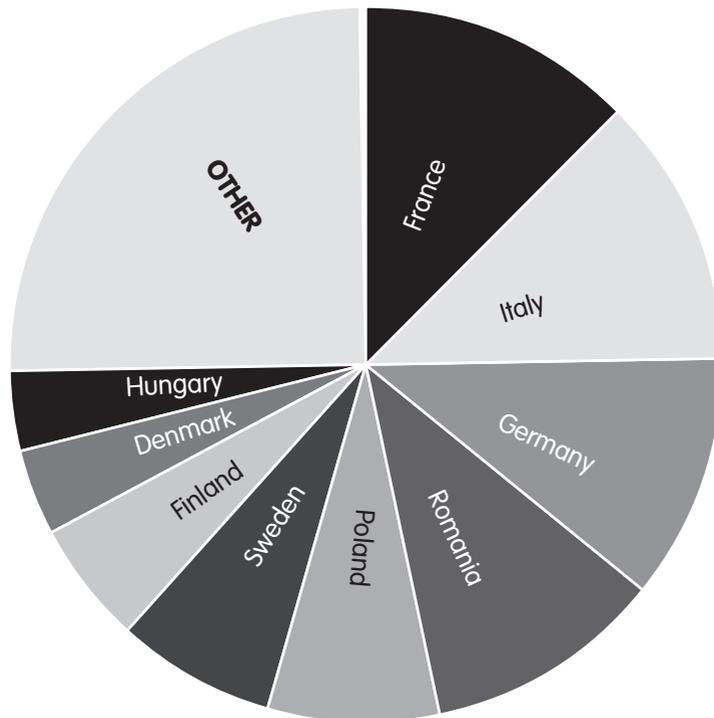
- 0 - No organised roster/ad hoc deployment
- 1 - Emerging rosters, often a database of registered untrained personnel, or simply an internal list of personnel
- 5 - Infrequently updated roster with a limited number of specialisms
- 10 - Fully developed, regularly updated rosters covering a wide range of specialisms and established in co-operation with private sector

Exercises:

- 0 - No exercises
- 1 - Military exercises with very limited civilian input
- 5 - Military-led exercises with some civilian participation
- 10 - Civilian-led exercises involving senior officials

Country	Deployment	Training	Planning	Debriefs	Civilian rosters	Police rosters	Civilian participation in military exercises	Average	
Finland	5	10	10	10	10	10	9	9.14	The Professionals
Sweden	5	10	9	9	10	10	9	8.86	
Denmark	5	10	9	9	10	10	9	8.86	
UK	3	9	10	9	10	10	9	8.57	
Netherlands	4	9	10	9	9	9	9	8.43	
Germany	5.5	10	8	9	10	5	7	7.79	
Austria	4	9	3	6	3	9	3	5.29	The Strivers
Romania	7	6	2	5	2	8	5	5	
Belgium	3.5	9	7	5	3	3	0	4.36	
Italy	6	5	7	2	0	6	2	4	
France	6	3	7	2	2	3	5	4	
Ireland	3	7	5	5	0	0	3	3.29	
Spain	2	3	3	1	5	2	4	2.86	The Agnostics
Hungary	5	7	3	2	1	1	0	2.71	
Slovakia	3	5	2	4	1	3	0	2.57	
Slovenia	3.5	3	2	4	0	3	2	2.50	
Portugal	2.5	5	1	2	0	5	2	2.50	
Czech R	4	6	2	1	2	2	0	2.43	
Poland	6	5	2	1	0	2	1	2.43	The Indifferents
Lithuania	2.5	2	3	1	3	3	1	2.21	
Greece	3.5	5	2	5	0	0	0	2.21	
Latvia	3	2	2	5	1	1	1	2.14	
Malta	3	5	1	3	0	0	0	1.71	
Cyprus	0	2	2	2	0	2	2	1.43	
Luxembourg	2	2	2	3	0	0	0	1.29	
Estonia	2.5	1	2	1	1	1	0	1.21	
Bulgaria	3.5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0.64	

Proportion of the EU's total civilian ESDP deployment, by member state



- France 12.7%
- Italy 12.4%
- Germany 11.0%
- Romania 10.9%
- Poland 8.0%
- Sweden 7.3%
- Finland 5.4%
- Denmark 4.1%
- Hungary 3.5%
- OTHER** 2.8%
- UK 2.8%
- Netherlands 2.8%
- Bulgaria 2.5%
- Belgium 2.5%
- Czech Republic 2.4%
- Greece 2.1%
- Spain 1.8%
- Austria 1.7%
- Portugal 1.5%
- Slovenia 1.1%
- Ireland 0.8%
- Slovakia 0.8%
- Lithuania 0.8%
- Latvia 0.7%
- Estonia 0.6%
- Malta 0.3%
- Cyprus 0.1%
- Luxembourg 0.1%

The Professionals

FINLAND

Current deployments	104 civilians in ESDP missions.
Available personnel reported to CHG 2008/2010⁶²	296, with 35.1% currently deployed.
Deployment and recruitment	Maintains a roster for civilians and police officers.
Training	Compulsory for all civilians.
Civilian participation in military exercises	Approximately five civilians a year participate in military exercises.
Funding of personnel	All deployments funded by the ministry for foreign affairs (MFA).
Cross-departmental planning	MFA tasked with co-ordinating participation in missions. Crisis Management Centre Finland, under the ministry of interior, tasked with the recruitment and training of civilian experts.

SWEDEN

Current deployments	139 civilians in ESDP missions.
Available personnel reported to CHG 2008	484, with 28.7% deployed.
Deployment and recruitment	Various government agencies, including the police, prison and probation services, have their own pools of personnel for overseas deployment. Sweden has civilian teams competent in search & rescue and mine clearance on standby.
Training	Compulsory for all civilian personnel. Sweden offers annual post-mission training, consisting of the International Police Development course (IDPC) and the United Nations Police Commanders course (UNPCC).

⁶² The numbers reported as available personnel for deployment were taken from the Civilian Headline Goal 2008. Finland, Latvia, Ireland, the Netherlands and Slovenia submitted the numbers they have committed to the revised Headline Goal for 2010.

Civilian participation in military exercises Swedish police officers and civilian experts attend courses in military schools offered by the Swedish Defence College in co-operation with the Swedish Emergency Management Agency (SEMA); the courses are specifically designed for civilian-military co-operation.

Funding of personnel The Swedish Development Agency (SIDA) and the MFA fund all deployments.

Cross-departmental planning Several units inside the MFA plan and co-ordinate ESDP, UN, OSCE and NATO missions. Relevant units in the justice and defence ministries also contribute to planning. No standing cross-departmental unit.

DENMARK

Current deployments 77 civilians in ESDP missions.

Available personnel reported to CHG 2008 241, with 32% deployed.

Deployment and recruitment Regularly updated rosters for police officers and civilian experts.

Training Compulsory for civilians and police officers. The MFA is largely responsible, although some training is outsourced.

Civilian participation in military exercises Civilians and police participate regularly in military exercises.

Funding of personnel Police officers are funded by the ministry of interior; other civilian personnel funded by the MFA.

Cross-departmental planning The MFA has a steering unit co-ordinating ESDP missions together with the responsible country department. A standing cross-departmental unit has recently been established

UK

Current deployments 54 civilians in ESDP missions.

Available personnel reported to CHG 2008 769, with 7% deployed.

Deployment and recruitment There are several rosters for civilians and police officers, but they are being integrated and will be run by the Stabilisation Unit, a cross-departmental organisation.

Training Compulsory for both police officers and civilians.

Civilian participation in military exercises Stabilisation Unit and department for international development personnel participate regularly in military exercises, foreign office personnel less regularly.

Funding of personnel Deployments funded from the peacekeeping budget or the cross-departmental funding pools for conflict – the Stabilisation Aid Fund and the Regional Conflict Prevention Pools.

Cross-departmental planning Planning is made by a number of bodies, including the Stabilisation Unit, the department for international development, the foreign office and the ministry of defence.

NETHERLANDS

Current deployments 54 civilians in ESDP missions.

Available personnel reported to CHG 2008/2010 240, with 22.5% deployed.

Deployment and recruitment A pool of non-government experts is managed by the MFA. Police officers are managed by the ministry of interior, a pool of Royal Marechaussee (military police) is managed by the ministry of defence, and judges and prosecutors are recruited by their own employers and deployed by the MFA.

Training Compulsory for both police officers and civilians.

Civilian participation in military exercises Civilians participate in annual military exercises co-ordinated by the MFA.

Funding of personnel The ministry of interior receives a special budget for funding police officers, and the ministry of defence funds the deployment of the Royal Marechaussee. Other civilians and rule of law personnel are funded from the stability fund, managed by the MFA.

Cross-departmental planning The MFA plans missions in close co-operation with the defence and interior ministries.

GERMANY

Current deployments 205 civilians in ESDP missions.

Available personnel reported to CHG 2008 1,228, with 17% deployed.

Deployment and recruitment The Centre for International Peacekeeping operations, ZIF, manages a roster of civilians for the MFA, but there are no rosters for police officers. ZIF once estimated that only 10% of those trained are ever deployed.

Training Compulsory for both police officers and civilians.

Civilian participation in military exercises Police officers and trainers regularly participate in military education, but other civilians co-operate with the military on an ad hoc basis.

Funding of personnel Civilian personnel are funded from an MFA budget while police are funded by the sending authorities.

Cross-departmental planning Mission planning is carried out by a unit at the directorate-general for political affairs within the federal foreign office. Police deployments are the responsibility of a unit at the federal ministry of interior. No standing cross-departmental unit.

The Strivers

AUSTRIA

Current deployments 32 civilians in ESDP missions.

Available personnel reported to CHG 2008 149, with 21.5% deployed.

Deployment and recruitment The ministry of interior manages a regularly updated roster for police officers. No database for other civilian experts.

Training Pre-deployment and mission-specific training, organised by the ministry of interior, is compulsory for police officers and other civilians.

Civilian participation in military exercises No compulsory participation. Police officers invited to courses on an ad hoc basis.

Funding of personnel Deployments funded by individual sending ministries.

Cross-departmental planning The ministry of interior has a dedicated unit for police missions that oversees selection, training, debriefing and deployments. Other ministries are responsible for managing and planning for their own personnel. No standing cross-departmental unit.

ROMANIA

Current deployments 209 civilians in ESDP missions.

Available personnel reported to CHG 2008 580, with 36% deployed.

Deployment and recruitment The ministry of interior operates a police roster (the "Reserve Group"); individual ministries hold databases of deployable personnel. Poor link between training and deployment.

Training Compulsory only for police officers, consisting of four weeks of basic training and 1-2 weeks of mission-specific instruction. Romania is introducing more varied training for other civilian categories, especially rule of law personnel.

Civilian participation in military exercises Only police officers attend military exercises as part of their training. Representatives of other ministries or agencies can be invited to take part in military exercises depending on the mission.

Funding of personnel Deployments are funded by individual sending ministries.

Cross-departmental planning The MFA and the ministry of interior are responsible for mission planning. No standing cross-departmental unit.

BELGIUM

Current deployments 47 civilians in ESDP missions.

Available personnel reported to CHG 2008 467, with 10% deployed.

Deployment and recruitment The MFA manages a country-wide mixed database of police officers and civilian personnel.

Training Belgium has developed a six-monthly generic course which is compulsory for all civilians before deployment on ESDP missions.

Civilian participation in military exercises None.

Funding of personnel Deployments funded by sending ministries and later billed to the MFA. Contracted civilians funded directly by the MFA budget.

Cross-departmental planning The European Security and NATO Unit within the MFA has a specific cell dealing with ESDP planning. No standing cross-departmental unit.

ITALY

Current deployments 237 civilians in ESDP missions.

Available personnel reported to CHG 2008 1,208, with 20% deployed.

Deployment and recruitment The ministry of interior manages a database of deployable police officers. The ministry of defence manages a database for carabinieri (military police), who are often deployed in a civilian capacity.

Training Only pre-deployment; organised by the MFA and, on an ad hoc basis, individual sending ministries.

Civilian participation in military exercises Ad hoc.

Funding of personnel Funded by individual sending ministries.

Cross-departmental planning Missions planned and managed by the ESDP desk of the directorate-general for European integration of the MFA. No standing cross-departmental unit.

FRANCE

Current deployments 244 civilians in ESDP missions.

Available personnel reported to CHG 2008 1,424, with 17% deployed.

Deployment and recruitment The MFA manages a database of external civilian experts often used as contractors; the ministry of interior manages a database of police officers.

Training Training is ad hoc. Pre-deployment courses are supposed to be organised by seconding ministries, but this does not always happen.

Civilian participation in military exercises Only MFA officials participate in military exercises.

Funding of personnel Deployments funded by sending ministries.

Cross-departmental planning The Unit for Strategic Affairs within the MFA co-ordinates and plans missions with mission-contributing ministries. No standing cross-departmental unit.

The Agnostics

IRELAND

Current deployments	16 civilians in ESDP missions.
Available personnel reported to CHG 2008/2010	95, with 17% deployed.
Deployment and recruitment	In the process of developing civilian rosters.
Training	Compulsory general and pre-deployment training for police officers and civilians is carried out at the Garda Training College.
Civilian participation in military exercises	Police officers regularly attend field security courses run by military authorities, and civilians are slated to join them in the future.
Funding of personnel	Deployments funded by individual sending ministries. Some seconded civilian experts have been funded by the Irish aid budget since September 2008. No special budget for deployments.
Cross-departmental planning	An inter-departmental committee meets as required to consider deployments. The International Security Policy Section of the MFA prosecutes day-to-day policy. The MFA takes a strong co-ordination role. No standing cross-departmental unit.

SPAIN

Current deployments	35 civilians in ESDP missions.
Available personnel reported to CHG 2008	1,238 with 2.8% deployed.
Deployment and recruitment	The MFA manages a database for civilian experts. The General Council of Judiciary manages a roster for rule of law experts.
Training	Courses exist, but few civilians attend them and training tends to be ad hoc.
Civilian participation in military exercises	Military courses attended by police officers and Guardia Civil, as well as selected MFA personnel.
Funding of personnel	The ministry of interior funds deployment of police officers and Guardia Civil; the civilians are funded by the sending ministries.
Cross-departmental planning	Permanent EU representation in Brussels and the Unit for Peacekeeping Operations within the MFA plan for ESDP operations. No standing cross-departmental unit.

HUNGARY

Current deployments	66 police officers in ESDP missions.
Available personnel reported to CHG 2008	188, with 35% deployed.
Deployment and recruitment	No formal roster of deployable civilians; civilians apply to missions on an informal basis. Ministries and other sending authorities keep track of civilian personnel who have received training and who have mission experience.
Training	Compulsory pre-deployment training for police officers and civilians.
Civilian participation in military exercises	None.
Funding of personnel	Deployments funded by individual sending ministries.
Cross-departmental planning	MFA co-ordinates planning with each sending ministry. No standing cross-departmental unit.

SLOVAKIA

Current deployments	16 civilians in ESDP missions.
Available personnel reported to CHG 2008	145, with 11% deployed.
Deployment and recruitment	Police database managed by the ministry of interior. Recent legislation will allow the MFA to manage a database for other civilian experts.
Training	Compulsory only for police and customs officers.
Civilian participation in military exercises	None.
Funding of personnel	Deployments funded by individual sending ministries.
Cross-departmental planning	Missions are co-ordinated by the MFA's Security Policy Department. No standing cross-departmental unit.

SLOVENIA

Current deployments	21 police officers in ESDP missions.
Available personnel reported to CHG 2008	180, with 12% deployed.
Deployment and recruitment	The ministry of defence manages a database of civilians, while a database of police officers is overseen by the Peacekeeping Missions Division within the ministry of interior.
Training	Compulsory for all civilians, provided by the ministry of defence.
Civilian participation in military exercises	Ad hoc.
Funding of personnel	Ministry of defence funds all civilian deployments.
Cross-departmental planning	The Civil Defence Sector within the ministry of defence and the Peacekeeping Missions Division within the ministry of interior plan missions. No standing cross-departmental unit.

PORTUGAL

Current deployments	29 civilians in ESDP missions.
Available personnel reported to CHG 2008	747, with 3.9% deployed.
Deployment and recruitment	Roster for police officers only.
Training	Offered only to police officers, provided by the Training Centre in Lisbon.
Civilian participation in military exercises	Ad hoc for both police officers and civilians.
Funding of personnel	Deployments funded by individual sending ministries.
Cross-departmental planning	Ad hoc crisis centre within the MFA, activated by foreign minister when management of civilian missions is needed. No standing cross-departmental unit.

The Indifferents

CZECH REPUBLIC

Current deployments	45 civilians in ESDP missions.
Available personnel reported to CHG 2008	101, with 45% deployed.
Deployment and recruitment	Databases exist for both police officers and civilians, but personnel are not trained before being selected.
Training	The MFA and sending ministries organise a standardised pre-deployment training for civilians.
Civilian participation in military exercises	None.
Funding of personnel	Deployments funded by special MFA budget.
Cross-departmental planning	Civilian missions are planned by each participating ministry and the MFA. No standing cross-departmental unit.

POLAND

Current deployments	151 police officers in ESDP missions.
Available personnel reported to CHG 2008	345, with 44% deployed.
Deployment and recruitment	Database for police officers, but not for civilian experts.
Training	Pre-deployment training is compulsory for police officers. Poland cannot deploy judges, prosecutors or civil servants under its current laws.
Civilian participation in military exercises	Ad hoc.
Funding of personnel	Deployments funded by individual sending ministries.
Cross-departmental planning	MFA co-ordinates civilian missions with EU permanent representation. No standing cross-departmental unit.

LITHUANIA

Current deployments	14 civilians in ESDP missions.
Available personnel reported to CHG 2008/2010	147, with 9.5% deployed.
Deployment and recruitment	Mixed database of deployable personnel managed by the MFA. The new "Law on Delegation" foresees the creation of a rapid-reaction roster containing at least 100 experts, deployable within 30 days.
Training	Only personnel deploying to Afghanistan have to undergo training, otherwise requirements are ad hoc.
Civilian participation in military exercises	None.
Funding of personnel	Deployments funded by special MFA budget.
Cross-departmental planning	Within the MFA the International Missions and Conflict Prevention Division is responsible for planning and co-ordinating civilian missions. No standing cross-departmental unit.

LATVIA

Current deployments	13 civilians in ESDP missions.
Available personnel reported to CHG 2008/2010	94, with 13.8% deployed.
Deployment and recruitment	A civilian expert database is being developed and will be managed by the MFA. Sending ministries possess individual databases of personnel.
Training	Offered only to civilians deploying to Afghanistan; other training is ad hoc.
Civilian participation in military exercises	Ad hoc for both police officers and civilians.
Funding of personnel	Deployments funded by individual sending ministries.
Cross-departmental planning	Units within the MFA – International Operations and Crisis Management Division – and the ministry of interior co-ordinate missions. No standing cross-departmental unit.

GREECE

Current deployments	40 civilians in ESDP missions.
Available personnel reported to CHG 2008/2010	324, with 12.3% deployed.
Deployment and recruitment	No rosters for police or civilian personnel.
Training	Pre-deployment training compulsory only for police officers.
Civilian participation in military exercises	None.
Funding of personnel	Deployments funded by individual sending ministries.
Cross-departmental planning	MFA co-ordinates missions with sending ministries. No standing cross-departmental unit.

MALTA

Current deployments	4 civilians in ESDP missions.
Available personnel reported to CHG 2008	41, with 12.2% deployed.
Deployment and recruitment	No rosters for police or other civilian personnel.
Training	Pre-deployment and annual training is compulsory for civilians.
Civilian participation in military exercises	None.
Funding of personnel	Deployments funded by individual sending ministries.
Cross-departmental planning	The MFA and the ministry of defence are responsible for mission planning. No standing cross-departmental unit.

CYPRUS

Current deployments	2 police officers in ESDP missions.
Available personnel reported to CHG 2008	2
Deployment and recruitment	The interior ministry has a database for police officers, comprising around 14 names.
Training	Ad hoc; no compulsory training. No national-level courses.
Civilian participation in military exercises	None.
Funding of personnel	Deployments funded by individual sending ministries.
Cross-departmental planning	Managing and planning is ad hoc, depending on seconding ministries. No standing cross-departmental unit.

LUXEMBOURG

Current deployments	2 civilians in ESDP missions.
Available personnel reported to CHG 2008	44, with 4.5% deployed.
Deployment and recruitment	No rosters for police or other civilian personnel.
Training	Ad hoc; no compulsory training.
Civilian participation in military exercises	None.
Funding of personnel	Deployments funded by individual sending ministries.
Cross-departmental planning	Missions co-ordinated by the foreign minister in close consultation with defence and justice ministers. No standing cross-departmental unit.

ESTONIA

Current deployments	11 civilians in ESDP missions.
Available personnel reported to CHG 2008	124, with 9% deployed.
Deployment and recruitment	An MFA-managed mixed roster for international deployments, which when operational will enable civilians to apply online, has recently been established. No pre-selection or training.
Training	Training for both police officers and civilians is ad hoc. Civilians are sent to general mission training and, when possible, on pre-deployment training. No national courses; lack of funding an obstacle.
Civilian participation in military exercises	None.
Funding of personnel	Deployments funded by a special MFA fund.
Cross-departmental planning	The political and HR departments within the MFA co-ordinate civilian missions.

BULGARIA

Current deployments	46 civilians in ESDP missions.
Available personnel reported to CHG 2008	302, with 15.2% deployed.
Deployment and recruitment	No rosters for police or other civilian personnel.
Training	No compulsory training for either civilians or police officers.
Civilian participation in military exercises	None.
Funding of personnel	Deployments funded by individual sending ministries.
Cross-departmental planning	Managing and planning duties shared by the ministries of defence, interior and foreign affairs. No standing cross-departmental unit.

About the Authors

Daniel Korski is a senior policy fellow at the European Council on Foreign Relations. He was previously deputy head of the UK's Post-Conflict Reconstruction Unit, an adviser to the Afghan Minister for Counter-narcotics, and head of the Provincial Reconstruction Team in Basra, Iraq. He has also worked as political adviser to Paddy Ashdown, former EU Special Representative in Bosnia-Herzegovina; on secondment to the US State Department; and as a policy adviser to the UK House of Commons defence select committee.

E daniel.korski@ecfr.eu

Richard Gowan is a policy fellow at the European Council on Foreign Relations and associate director for multilateral diplomacy at New York University's Center on International Cooperation. He also acts as the assistant director of Managing Global Insecurity, a joint project of the Center on International Cooperation and the Brookings Institution. He writes and broadcasts frequently on peacekeeping, European security and international institutions.

E richard.gowan@ecfr.eu

ECFR COUNCIL

Among members of the European Council on Foreign Relations are former prime ministers, presidents, European commissioners, current and former parliamentarians and ministers, public intellectuals, business leaders, activists and cultural figures from the EU member states and candidate countries.

Asger Aamund (Denmark)
President and CEO, A. J. Aamund A/S and Chairman of Bavarian Nordic A/S

Urban Ahlin (Sweden)
Deputy Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee and foreign policy spokesperson for the Social Democratic Party

Martti Ahtisaari (Finland)
Chairman of the Board, Crisis Management Initiative; former President

Giuliano Amato (Italy)
former Prime Minister and vice President of the European Convention

Hannes Androsch (Austria)
Founder, AIC Androsch International Management Consulting

Lluís Bassets (Spain)
Deputy Director, El Pais

Marek Belka (Poland)
Director, European Department, International Monetary Fund; former Prime Minister

Roland Berger (Germany)
Founder and Chairman, Roland Berger Strategy Consultants GmbH

Erik Berglöv (Sweden)
Chief Economist, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Jan Krzysztof Bielecki (Poland)
President, Bank Pekao SA; former Prime Minister

Carl Bildt (Sweden)
Foreign Minister

Svetoslav Bojilov (Bulgaria)
Founder, Communitas Foundation and President of Venture Equity Bulgaria Ltd.

Emma Bonino (Italy)
Vice President of the Senate; former EU Commissioner

John Bruton (Ireland)
European Commission's Ambassador to the USA; former Prime Minister (Taoiseach)

Ian Buruma (The Netherlands)
Writer and academic

Gunilla Carlsson (Sweden)
Minister for International Development Cooperation

Manuel Castells (Spain)
Professor, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya and University of Southern California

Charles Clarke (United Kingdom)
MP; former Home Secretary

Nicola Clase (Sweden)
Associate, Weatherhead Center, Harvard University; former State Secretary

Daniel Cohn-Bendit (Germany)
Member of European Parliament

Robert Cooper (United Kingdom)
Director General for External and Politico-Military Affairs, Council of the EU

Massimo D'Alema (Italy)
President, Italianeuropei Foundation; former Prime Minister and Foreign Minister

Marta Dassù (Italy)
Director General International Activities, Aspen Institute Italia

Etienne Davignon (Belgium)
President, Friends of Europe; former Vice President of the European Commission

Aleš Debeljak (Slovenia)
Poet and Cultural Critic

Jean-Luc Dehaene (Belgium)
Member of European Parliament; former Prime Minister

Gianfranco Dell'Alba (Italy)
Director, Confederation of Italian Industry (Confindustria) - Brussels office; former Member of European Parliament

Pavol Demeš (Slovakia)
Director, German Marshall Fund of the United States (Brislava)

Tibor Dessewffy (Hungary)
President, DEMOS Hungary

Andrew Duff (United Kingdom)
Member of European Parliament

Hans Eichel (Germany)
MP; former Finance Minister

Sarmite Elerte (Latvia)
Chairperson, Baltic to Black Sea Alliance (BBSA); former Editor-in-chief of daily newspaper Diena

Uffe Ellemann-Jensen (Denmark)
Chairman, Baltic Development Forum; former Foreign Minister

Brian Eno (United Kingdom)
Musician and Producer

Steven Everts (The Netherlands)
Personal Representative of the Secretary-General/High Representative for Energy and Foreign Policy

Gianfranco Fini (Italy)
President, Chamber of Deputies; former Foreign Minister

Joschka Fischer (Germany)
former Foreign Minister and vice-Chancellor

Jaime Gama (Portugal)
Speaker of the Parliament; former Foreign Minister

Timothy Garton Ash (United Kingdom)
Professor of European Studies, Oxford University

Anthony Giddens (United Kingdom)
Emeritus Professor, London School of Economics

Teresa Patrício Gouveia (Portugal)

Trustee to the Board of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation; former Foreign Minister

Heather Grabbe (United Kingdom)

Executive Director, Open Society Institute – Brussels

Jean-Marie Guéhenno (France)

Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution and Center on International Cooperation (New York University); former Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations at the UN

Fernando Andresen Guimarães (Portugal)

Adviser to European Commission President José Manuel Barroso

Karl-Theodor zu Guttenberg (Germany)

Minister of Economics and Technology

István Gyarmati (Hungary)

President and CEO, International Centre for Democratic Transition

Hans Hækkerup (Denmark)

Chairman, Defence Commission; former Defence Minister

Pierre Hassner (France)

Research Director emeritus, CERI (Sciences-PO)

Annette Heuser (Germany)

Executive Director, Bertelsmann Foundation Washington DC

Diego Hidalgo (Spain)

Co-founder of Spanish newspaper El País; President, FRIDE

Michiel van Hulten (The Netherlands)

Managing Director, Government Relations, Bursan-Marsteller Brussels; former Member of European Parliament

Anna Ibrisagic (Sweden)

Member of European Parliament

Jaakko Itoniemi (Finland)

CEO, UNIFIN; former Executive Director, Crisis Management Initiative

Wolfgang Ischinger (Germany)

Chairman, Munich Security Conference; Global Head of Government Affairs Allianz SE

Lionel Jospin (France)

former Prime Minister

Mary Kaldor (United Kingdom)

Professor, London School of Economics

Glenys Kinnock (United Kingdom)

Minister for Africa; former Member of European Parliament

Olli Kivinen (Finland)

Writer and columnist

Gerald Knaus (Austria)

Chairman, European Stability Initiative and Open Society Fellow

Caio Koch-Weser (Germany)

Vice Chairman, Deutsche Bank Group; former State Secretary

Rem Koolhaas (The Netherlands)

Architect and urbanist; Professor at the Graduate School of Design, Harvard University

Ivan Krastev (Bulgaria)

Chair of Board, Centre for Liberal Strategies

Mart Laar (Estonia)

MP; former Prime Minister

Miroslav Lajčák (Slovakia)

Foreign Minister; former High Representative and EU Special Representative in Bosnia Herzegovina

Pascal Lamy (France)

Honorary President, Notre Europe and Director-General of WTO; former EU Commissioner

Mark Leonard (United Kingdom)

Executive Director, European Council on Foreign Relations

Juan Fernando López Aguilar (Spain)

Member of European Parliament; former Minister of Justice

Helena Luczywo (Poland)

Deputy Editor-in-chief, Gazeta Wyborcza

Adam Lury (United Kingdom)

CEO, Menemsha Ltd

Alain Minc (France)

Head of AM Conseil; former chairman, Le Monde

Nickolay Mladenov (Bulgaria)

Defence Minister; former Member of European Parliament

Dominique Moisi (France)

Senior Adviser, IFRI

Pierre Moscovici (France)

MP; former Minister for European Affairs

Nils Muiznieks (Latvia)

Director, Advanced Social and Political Research Institute, University of Latvia

Hildegard Müller (Germany)

Chairwoman, BDEW Bundesverband der Energie- und Wasserwirtschaft

Wolfgang Münchau (Germany)

President, Eurointelligence ASBL

Kalypto Nicolaidis (Greece/France)

Professor of International Relations and Director of European Studies Centre, University of Oxford

Christine Ockrent (Belgium)

CEO, Audiovisuel Extérieur de la France

Andrzej Olechowski (Poland)

former Foreign Minister

Dick Oosting (The Netherlands)

Europe Director, International Centre for Transitional Justice

Mabel van Oranje (The Netherlands)

CEO, The Elders

Marcelino Oreja Aguirre (Spain)

Member of the Board, Fomento de Construcciones y Contratas; former EU Commissioner

Leoluca Orlando (Italy)

MP and President, Sicilian Renaissance Institute

Cem Özdemir (Germany)

Leader, Bündnis90/Die Grünen (Green Party)

Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa (Italy)

President, Notre Europe; former chairman of IMF and former Minister of Economy and Finance

Ana Palacio (Spain)

Senior Vice President for International Affairs and Marketing, AREVA; former Foreign Minister

Simon Panek (Czech Republic)

Chairman, People in Need Foundation

Chris Patten (United Kingdom)

Chancellor of Oxford University and co-chair of the International Crisis Group; former EU Commissioner

Diana Pinto (France)

Historian and author

Jean Pisani-Ferry (France)

Director, Bruegel and Professor at Université Paris-Dauphine

Ruprecht Polenz (Germany)

MP and Chairman of the Bundestag Foreign Affairs Committee

Lydie Polfer (Luxembourg)

MP; former Foreign Minister

Andrew Puddhephatt (United Kingdom)

Director, Global Partners & Associated Ltd.

Vesna Pusi (Croatia)

MP, President of the National Committee for Monitoring the EU Accession Negotiations and Professor of Sociology, University of Zagreb

Sigrid Rausing (United Kingdom)

Founder, Sigrid Rausing Trust

George Robertson (United Kingdom)

former Secretary General of NATO

Albert Rohan (Austria)

former Secretary General for Foreign Affairs

Dariusz Rosati (Poland)

former Foreign Minister

Adam D. Rotfeld (Poland)

Chairman of the UN Secretary General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters; former Foreign Minister

Daniel Sachs (Sweden)

CEO, Proventus

Pierre Schori (Sweden)

Director General, FRIDE; Chair of Olof Palme Memorial Fund; former SRSG to Cote d'Ivoire

Giuseppe Scognamiglio (Italy)

Head of Institutional and International Relations, UniCredit

Narcís Serra (Spain)

Chair of CIDOB Foundation; former Vice President

Elif Shafak (Turkey)

Writer

Wolfgang Schüssel (Austria)

MP; former Chancellor

Karel Schwarzenberg (Czech Republic)

MP; former Minister of Foreign Affairs

Aleksander Smolar (Poland)

Chairman of the Board, Stefan Batory Foundation

George Soros (Hungary/USA)

Chairman, Open Society Institute

Goran Stefanovski (Macedonia)

dramatist and scriptwriter

Dominique Strauss-Kahn (France)

Managing Director, International Monetary Fund; former Finance Minister

Alexander Stubb (Finland)

Foreign Minister

Michael Stürmer (Germany)

Chief Correspondent, Die Welt

Helle Thorning Schmidt (Denmark)

Leader of the Social Democratic Party

Loukas Tsoukalis (Greece)

Professor, University of Athens and President, ELIAMEP

Erkki Tuomioja (Finland)

MP; former Foreign Minister

Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga (Latvia)

former President

Antonio Vitorino (Portugal)

Lawyer; former EU Commissioner

Gijs de Vries (The Netherlands)

Member of the Board, Netherlands Court of Audit; former EU Counter-Terrorism Coordinator

Stephen Wall (United Kingdom)

Chair of the Federal Trust; Vice Chair of Business for New Europe; former EU adviser to Tony Blair

Andre Wilkens (Germany)

Director for International Relations, Stiftung Mercator

Shirley Williams (United Kingdom)

Professor Emeritus, Kennedy School of Government; former Leader of the Liberal Democrats in the House of Lords

Carlos Alonso Zaldivar (Spain)

Ambassador to Brazil

ECFR PUBLICATIONS

New World Order: The Balance of Soft Power and the Rise of Herbivorous Powers

Ivan Krastev and Mark Leonard
October 2007 (ECFR/01)

A Power Audit of EU-Russia Relations

Mark Leonard and Nicu Popescu, November 2007 (ECFR/02)

Poland's second return to Europe?

Paweł Swieboda, December 2007 (ECFR/03)

Afghanistan: Europe's forgotten war

Daniel Korski, January 2008 (ECFR/04)

Meeting Medvedev: The Politics of the Putin Succession

Andrew Wilson, February 2008 (ECFR/05)

Re-energising Europe's Security and Defence Policy

Nick Witney, July 2008 (ECFR/06)

Can the EU win the Peace in Georgia?

Nicu Popescu, Mark Leonard and Andrew Wilson, August 2008 (ECFR/07)

A Global Force for Human Rights? An Audit of European Power at the UN

Richard Gowan and Franziska Brantner, September 2008 (ECFR/08)

Beyond Dependence: How to deal with Russian Gas

Pierre Noel, November 2008 (ECFR/09)

Re-wiring the US-EU relationship

Daniel Korski, Ulrike Guerot and Mark Leonard, December 2008 (ECFR/10)

Shaping Europe's Afghan Surge

Daniel Korski, March 2009 (ECFR/11)

A Power Audit of EU-China Relations

John Fox and Francois Godement, April 2009 (ECFR/12)

Beyond the "War on Terror": Towards a New Transatlantic Framework for Counterterrorism

Anthony Dworkin, May 2009 (ECFR/13)

The Limits of Enlargement-lite: European and Russian Power in the Troubled Neighbourhood

Nicu Popescu and Andrew Wilson, June 2009 (ECFR/14)

The EU and human rights at the UN: 2009 annual review

Richard Gowan and Franziska Brantner, September 2009 (ECFR/15)

What does Russia think?

edited by Ivan Krastev, Mark Leonard and Andrew Wilson, September 2009 (ECFR/16)

Supporting Moldova's Democratic Transition

Nicu Popescu, October 2009 (ECFR/17)

