



ESDP newsletter

EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY

Issue 1 | December 2005

Essay

**ESDP: Coherence
and globality** p. 8–9

Partnership in peace building

**EU assistance to
the African Union Mission
in Sudan** p. 30–33

ESDP in action

**Supporting Bosnia on
the way to the EU** p. 20–23



European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) at a glance

Within the context of the “Common Foreign and Security Policy” CFSP, the Union is developing a common security and defence policy, covering all questions relating to its security, including the progressive framing of a common defence policy. This policy could lead to a common defence, should the European Council so decide, subject to a decision adopted by the Member States in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements.

In addition to appointing Javier Solana as the first “High Representative for the CFSP”, the Cologne European Council meeting in June 1999 placed crisis management tasks at the core of the process of strengthening the CFSP. These crisis management tasks include humanitarian and rescue tasks, peacekeeping tasks and tasks of combat-force in crisis management, including peacemaking.

That same European Council decided that “the Union must have the capacity for autonomous action, backed up by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and a readiness to do so, in order to respond to international crises without prejudice to actions by NATO.”

It was on that basis that continued efforts led to the establishment of permanent political and military structures and to the development of civilian and military capabilities, including the formulation by the EU of a set of crisis management concepts and procedures. The Union has also concluded arrangements for the consultation and participation of third countries in crisis management. The Union has also defined with NATO the framework of relations between the two organisations. This includes arrangements allowing the Union to have recourse to NATO’s assets and capabilities.

Dear reader,

Historically speaking, security and defence are late arrivals on the European agenda. But like all young things, the European security and defence policy is growing fast. This has been particularly true in recent years.



We have put in place the necessary decision-making structures and launched a process to enhance European capabilities, which has been given fresh impetus with the creation of the European Defence Agency.

But the most striking manifestation – and *raison d'être* – of this policy is our capacity to back our diplomacy by action on the ground, i.e. our crisis management operations. As I write, the EU is conducting nine operations and missions, in the military, police and rule of law fields, in regions as diverse as the Balkans, Africa, the Middle East and South East Asia.

The demand for Europe's comprehensive approach to crisis management is enormous. And the more we do, the more we are asked to do.

Thus we are rapidly building a Europe that is actively engaged in the world and that is capable of using the full range of its instruments, including crisis management capabilities. This is what Europeans demand. This is also increasingly what the world insists upon.

Beyond the structures and the acronyms lie people, faces and stories. Above all, there is a European ambition. I hope this newsletter will give you an insight into them.

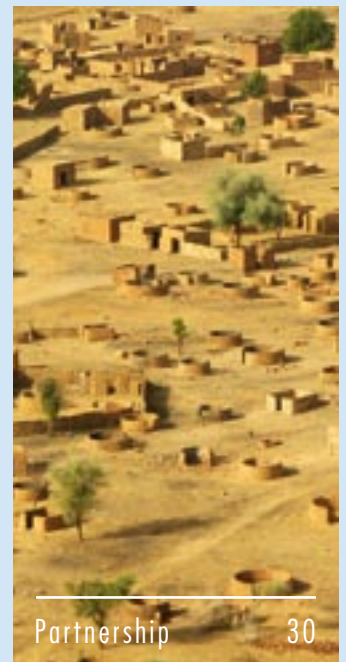
Javier Solana
EU High Representative for the common foreign and security policy
Secretary-General of the Council of the European Union



Essay 8



ESDP in action 20



Partnership 30

ESDP at a glance	2	Portrait of Annalisa Giannella	19
Foreword by Javier Solana	3	ESDP in action:	20–27
Content/Imprint	4	Supporting Bosnia on the way to the EU	20
Names and News	5	EUJUST-Themis in Georgia	24
Essay by Nicole Gnesotto	8	The EUJUST LEX mission for Iraq	26
Interview with Javier Solana	10	The European Defence Agency	28
The EU Institute for Security Studies	14	Partnership: EU assistance in Sudan	30
Perspectives: The Austrian EU Presidency	16	Clippings	34

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Names and news

EU launches Border Assistance Mission in Rafah

The EU Council established on 25 November 2005 an EU Border Assistance Mission for the Rafah Crossing Point. This new mission (EU BAM Rafah) will provide a Third Party presence at the Rafah crossing point (Gaza-Egypt Border) in order to contribute to its opening and to build confidence between the Government of Israel and the Palestinian Authority.

EU BAM Rafah will actively monitor, verify and evaluate the Palestinian Authority's performance with regard to the implementation of the Framework, Security and Customs agreements concluded between the parties on the operation of the Rafah terminal. It will contribute to building up the Palestinian capacity in all aspects of border management at Rafah, and contribute to the liaison between the Palestinian, Israeli and Egyptian authorities in all aspects regarding the management of the crossing point.

EU BAM Rafah will have the authority to ensure that the Palestinian Authority complies with all applicable rules and regulations concerning the Rafah crossing point and the terms of the Agreement between the parties. The Mission will not undertake substitution tasks: responsibility for border and customs management will remain fully with the Palestinian Authority. The 70-strong mission launched on 25 November is headed by Italian Carabinieri Major-General Pietro Pistolese and will have a duration of 12 months.

A ceremony at Rafah marked the opening of the border crossing point on 25 November, in the presence of Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas and EU Special Representative for the Middle East Peace Process Marc Otte. On this occasion, High Representative Solana noted that „the opening of Rafah is a great opportunity, it is a turning point. For the first time, Palestinians assume



Special Representative Marc Otte.

the responsibility to manage external borders. It is one important step towards eventual statehood. The EU, assisting in a spirit of partnership, will help make the agreements between Israelis and Palestinians work, through the mission led by Major-General Pistolese. The opening of Rafah is a welcome opportunity to improve living conditions for Palestinians.”

EU to step up support for Palestinian police

As of 1 January 2006, the EU is set to step up its support for the Palestinian police by launching the EU Police Mission for the Palestinian Territories or „EUPOL-COPPS“ – under the European Security and Defence Policy.

The mission EUPOL-COPPS will build on the work of EU COPPS (EU Coordinating Office for Palestinian Police Support), a scheme attached, since April 2005, to the office of the EU Special Representative for the Middle East Peace Process, Marc Otte.

Under the leadership of Head of Mission Chief Superintendent Jonathan McIvor (UK), the new mission will aim to contribute to the establishment of sustainable and effective policing arrangements under Palestinian ownership in accordance with best international standards. With the headquarters based in the Palestinian Ministry of the Interior in Ramallah and field presences elsewhere in the West Bank and in Gaza, the mission will work closely with the Palestinian Civil Police (PCP) in their implementation of the PCP Development Plan.

EUPOL COPPS is an expression of the EU's continued readiness to support the Palestinian Authority in complying with its obligations under the Roadmap, in particular with regard to security and institution-building.

Names and news



Head of Mission Pieter Feith shakes hands with Indonesian soldiers during withdrawal ceremony, Banda Aceh, September 21, 2005.

Aceh monitoring mission on track

The European Union, together with five contributing countries from ASEAN as well as Norway and Switzerland, has deployed a monitoring mission in Aceh – the Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM).

This mission in the framework of the European Security and Defence Policy is monitoring the implementation of various aspects of the peace agreement set out in the Memorandum of Understanding signed by the Government of Indonesia (GoI) and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) on 15 August 2005. This includes tasks such as monitoring the demobilisation of GAM and monitoring and assisting with the decommissioning and destruction of its weapons, ammunition and explosives and monitoring the re-location of non-organic military forces and non-organic police troops.

The AMM became operational on 15 September 2005, date on which the decommissioning of GAM armaments and the relocation of non-organic military and police forces began. Decommissioning and relocation are now well under way. As of 28 November, the third phase (out of four) had been completed.

The AMM is of a civilian nature and is EU-led. Its deployment follows an official invitation by the GoI. The GAM leadership has also stated its full support for such a mission.

The 225-strong mission, headquartered in Banda Aceh and led by EU official Pieter Feith, has 11 geographically distributed District Offices throughout Aceh and includes 4 mobile decommissioning teams.

Ten EU governments launch new EDA initiative to fill air-to-air refuelling gap

European Defence Ministers, meeting informally at RAF Lyneham (U.K.), were given a demonstration of air-tanking capability and launched a new effort to fill the gap in tanking capability which constrains Europe's Rapid Reaction aspirations.

Following their meeting in the European Defence Agency's (EDA) Steering Board, the Ministers of 10 Member States (Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Spain, Sweden, and Belgium and Portugal) issued the following joint announcement:

"Initiatives to build European air-to-air refuelling capabilities, whether in NATO or the EU, have not made the necessary progress in recent years, despite the efforts of some individual EU Member States. ESDP's new Headline Goal 2010, like the Helsinki Headline Goal before it, will fall short unless we can find a new approach to filling this key capability gap. At Javier Solana's initiative, therefore, we reviewed current air-to-air refuelling national capability plans. As a result of our discussion, we have decided to instruct our national staffs to work together, in an EDA-supported ad hoc group, to monitor current developments and consider possible new approaches to filling the capability gap."

New Force Commander in Bosnia and Herzegovina

On 6 December, Major-General Gian Marco Chiarini of the Italian Army replaces Major-General David Leakey (UK) as Commander of the EU Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina, EUFOR, under Operation Althea. Gen. Leakey had led the Force since the launch of EUFOR Althea, the EU's largest military operation to date with some 6,500 troops, in December 2004.

(see also article about the Eufor-Operation, pages 20–23)

Names and news

EU conducts first military exercise: “MILEX 05”

The European Security and Defence Policy has taken another step forward with the successful conduct of the EU’s first purely military exercise, “MILEX 05”, from 22 November to 1 December. The EU has been conducting crisis management exercises in the framework of ESDP since May 2002. MILEX 05 further validates the EU’s ability to respond to a crisis situation in a remote territory with significant forces.

Since the inception of ESDP in 1999, the EU has steadily been improving its capability to make a significant response to crises. In the recent past, it has shown that it can mount military missions in mainly two ways: either using a framework nation and acting autonomously (such as Operation ARTEMIS in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the summer of 2003, involving some 2150 troops, with France acting as framework nation) or having recourse to NATO assets, especially in terms of command and control (such as in Operation ALTHEA in Bosnia, which the EU took over from NATO, where the EU avails of NATO’s Operational Headquarters in SHAPE in Mons, Belgium, under the so-called „Berlin Plus“ arrangements). In the case of exercise MILEX 05, the EU was operating entirely autonomously with France contributing the Operational Headquarters in Mont Valérien, outside Paris, and Germany supplying a deployable Force Headquarters in Ulm. Almost all European member states contributed personnel (mainly planning officers and non-commissioned officers) to the exercise; in all, some 450 „players“ were involved, either in the two headquarters or in the Directing Staff in Brussels. These troops were not deployed in the field but are located within the headquarters staffs.

The exercise, while depending on the contributions of the member states, has been planned and conducted by the EU’s Military Staff (EUMS), which is part

of the Council General Secretariat based in Brussels. The Director-General of the EUMS, Lieutenant-General Jean-Paul Perruche, has been the Officer conducting the exercise. The scenario depicted a situation on a fictitious island (Atlantia), where friction between two ethnic groups over a contested area is leading to the growing danger of instability and spill-over into hostilities. The exercise scenario supported the need for an autonomous EU-led operation which will require the deployment of military forces.



Lieutenant-General Jean-Paul Perruche.

EUSC support to EUFOR operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina and EU Member State humanitarian aid operations in the Kashmir region

The European Union Satellite Centre (EUSC) previously a body of the Western European Union (WEU) was established through the Council Joint Action of 20 July 2001 with the mission to support the decision-making process of the EU in the context of the CFSP, in particular the ESDP, by providing information resulting from the analysis of satellite imagery. The EUSC focuses its activities in support of CFSP/ESDP priority issues defined within the European Security Strategy (Counter Terrorism, Non-proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction, Regional Conflicts, State Failure and Organised Crime). Within this context the EUSC is providing support to the EU Operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, EUFOR.

Thanks to EUSC’s analysis of high-resolution imagery, covering a vast area of Bosnia and Herzegovina, EUFOR is able to better plan and organise its operations and therefore enhance its ability to carry out its mission. Furthermore, support has been given to the humanitarian aid operations deployed in the Kashmir region by EU Member States after the disastrous earthquake of October. The EUSC’s assessment of the damage caused and the production of Digital Geographic Information Products have been provided to the EU Member States missions in the affected area. In this context, high-resolution imagery was used to identify landslides, analyse the state of lines of communication and report damage to urban areas.



La PESD : cohérence et globalité

Au titre de sa politique de sécurité et de défense commune, l'Union européenne conduit aujourd'hui 8 opérations, militaires et/ou civiles, sur trois théâtres de crise : les Balkans, l'Afrique, l'Asie du Sud-Est. Mais quelle sorte d'acteur stratégique est-elle en réalité ? Comment et selon quels principes intervient-elle dans la gestion de la sécurité internationale ?

Nicole Gnesotto

Dès sa création en 1999, lors du Conseil européen de Cologne, la PESD n'a pas été conçue comme un simple processus de militarisation de la construction européenne. Son objectif fut d'emblée la promotion de l'Union comme un acteur politique global, capable de mobiliser toutes les ressources disponibles — économiques, commerciales, humanitaires, diplomatiques et bien sûr militaires — pour agir de façon cohérente et surtout efficace sur l'ensemble de son environnement international.

Une triple démarche présida dès lors à cette aventure. Il fallait d'abord construire ce qui n'existait pas : un minimum d'instruments et de capacités, à la fois civiles et militaires, indispensables à toute crédibilité internationale. L'Union s'est donc dotée de structures politiques et militaires propres (COPS, Comité militaire, Etat-major, Centre de situation, Cellule de planification) ; elle s'est fixé des objectifs de capacités ambitieux, sur les plans à la fois militaire et civil (« battle groups », capacités de police) ; elle a également pris en compte les questions d'armement en créant une agence européenne de défense, opérationnelle depuis 2004. Il fallait ensuite tester sur le terrain les capacités opérationnelles de l'Union, en assumant concrètement la responsabilité de la gestion des crises, en et hors d'Europe : depuis le 1er janvier 2003, l'Union s'est engagée

dans 11 opérations qui couvrent trois théâtres de crise — les Balkans, l'Afrique, l'Asie du Sud-Est — et qui relèvent de trois catégories distinctes ou conjointes — des opérations de police (par exemple l'opération Proxima dans l'ancienne République yougoslave de Macédoine), des opérations militaires (telle l'opération Artemis en République démocratique du Congo en 2003), des opérations de construction de l'état de droit (comme l'opération EUJUST LEX en Géorgie). Il fallait enfin insérer ces outils dans un concept stratégique global, une stratégie européenne de sécurité, dont le Conseil européen de Thessalonique confiera la charge à Javier Solana et qui sera solennellement adoptée par les 25 chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement en décembre 2003.

La Stratégie européenne de sécurité explicite de la façon la plus claire possible les principes sur lesquels repose la politique européenne de gestion des crises. Elle insiste d'une part sur l'interaction et la complexité des menaces et des défis qui perturbent la sécurité internationale : entre la misère, le sous-développement, les conflits régionaux, le terrorisme, l'insécurité énergétique, il existe souvent un continuum de facteurs qui doivent être traités dans leur globalité. Elle affirme d'autre part que l'on ne peut traiter les crises à partir des seuls moyens militaires, ni, inversement, tabler seulement sur le commerce et l'aide

économique pour réduire les sources de conflits dans le monde. Elle insiste enfin sur la nécessité de cadres multilatéraux pour répondre à ces défis, aucune menace n'étant désormais à la mesure d'un seul Etat pris isolément. C'est donc par une approche globale, cohérente, intégrée dans toutes ses dimensions économiques, diplomatiques et militaires, que l'Union européenne entend assumer son rôle politique dans la gestion de la sécurité internationale.

La PESD n'est donc pas une politique séparée au sein de l'Union. Elle n'est ni un 4ème pilier autonome, ni une sorte de mini-OTAN construite à côté et indépendamment des politiques globales de l'Union. Elle est l'un des moyens, parmi d'autres, que l'Union peut mobiliser pour influencer les crises internationales en vertu de ses intérêts et de ses valeurs propres. Composante essentielle de la capacité d'influence de l'Union, elle n'est cependant ni le seul ni le premier des instruments disponibles : quand il s'agit de contrer les risques de prolifération nucléaire, à partir de l'Iran notamment, ce ne sont pas les moyens militaires que l'Union met en avant. S'il s'agit de faire respecter un accord de paix et que les parties en présence ou les Nations unies la sollicitent, l'Union peut en revanche mobiliser l'ensemble de ses ressources diplomatiques, civiles et militaires : ce fut le cas en RDC, en Bosnie-Herzégovine, à Aceh en Indonésie, comme c'est le cas aujourd'hui en Palestine. Ce qui fait la singularité de l'Union par rapport aux organisations militaires traditionnelles, ce qui définit sa véritable valeur ajoutée, c'est justement sa capacité à conjuguer, au service d'une politique commune, toutes les facettes possibles de l'action internationale.

C'est dire à quel point la cohérence de l'action extérieure est à la fois l'objectif et le défi le plus important que l'Union doit, devant chaque situation de crise comme sur la durée, s'attacher à relever. Durant la première phase de mise en œuvre de la PESD, la cohérence concernait surtout l'articulation entre les moyens civils et militaires de la PESD elle-même. La question yougoslave avait en effet montré l'urgence et la nécessité d'articuler de façon plus efficace ces différents aspects : des moyens de police s'avéraient aussi nécessaires que des déploiements militaires, la reconstruction impliquant également la capacité pour l'Union de former, entraîner, reconstruire les appareils judiciaires ou policiers locaux. Cette démarche s'illustre encore aujourd'hui aussi bien en Bosnie-Herzégovine qu'en Afrique. En Bosnie, outre le rôle politique majeur que joue le Représentant spécial de l'Union, l'opération militaire Althea voisine avec l'opération de police EUPM. De même, en RDC, après le succès de l'opération militaire Artemis en été 2003, l'Union a lancé successivement une mission de police à Kinshasa (avril 2005) et, à la demande de ce pays, une mission d'assistance et de conseil en matière de réforme du secteur de sécurité, le 8 juin 2005.

Aujourd'hui toutefois, la question essentielle n'est plus celle de la cohérence technique des moyens de gestion de crise, mais celle de la cohérence globale des moyens d'action de l'Union : entre sécurité intérieure et extérieure, entre gestion des crises et lutte contre les réseaux terroristes, entre les politiques d'aide au développement et l'objectif de sécurité, entre les objectifs et moyens de la Commission et ceux du Conseil. Cette complexification de la politique de sécurité de l'Union est sans doute l'un des traits les plus marquants de ces deux dernières années.

Pour le Conseil et la Commission, cela signifie renforcer la cohérence et la complémentarité de leurs actions, quels que soient les aléas du Traité constitutionnel. Pour la PESD, cela signifie qu'elle devra continuer à se développer dans ses deux dimensions essentielles : les opérations militaires de gestion des crises d'une part, qui restent sa mission première, et les activités civiles de reconstruction après la crise d'autre part, dans la mesure où elles en sont un prolongement nécessaire. Et l'un ne va pas sans l'autre : première puissance économique et commerciale du monde, forte de la légitimité de ses 450 millions de citoyens démocratiques, l'Union n'est pas un simple prestataire de service dépourvu de vision politique et de responsabilité propre dans la résolution des crises. Parce qu'elle est un acteur global disposant de toute la gamme des instruments nécessaires à une action extérieure, l'objectif de l'Union doit être en effet la cohérence et l'efficacité des moyens utilisés, non la spécialisation sur tel ou tel aspect.

Nicole GNESOTTO
 Directeur de l'Institut d'Etudes de Sécurité de
 l'Union européenne



Nicole Gnesotto dirige l'Institut d'Etudes de Sécurité de l'Union depuis sa création, le 1er janvier 2002. Spécialiste des questions stratégiques et des affaires européennes, elle fut auparavant chef adjoint du Centre d'analyse et de prévision du ministère français des Affaires étrangères, professeur détaché à Sciences Po, chargée de mission auprès du directeur de l'Institut français des relations internationales (IFRI) et directeur de l'Institut d'Etudes de Sécurité de l'UEO. Elle est agrégée de lettres, chevalier de la Légion d'honneur et auteur de nombreux articles et ouvrages sur les questions de sécurité. www.iss-eu.org

ESDP: Coherence and globality

ESDP is not a military policy that is separate or distinct from the Union's other instruments of intervention and international influence. Nor is the Union a mere provider of civil and military services. As the European Security Strategy (ESS) makes clear, the Union is a global power, capable of mobilising economic, commercial, diplomatic and military resources for the purposes of crisis management and in order to maintain international stability. The Union's primary objective, therefore, is coherence and effectiveness in terms of the instruments used in the pursuit of a common European policy, which makes any form of specialisation in the area of conflict resolution, whether civil or military, both irrelevant and impossible.

Interview with Javier Solana, Secretary General of the Council, High Representative for the CFSP

“The EU started as a peace project. And in many ways it still is,” says Javier Solana and points out the importance of a comprehensive approach to tackle threats to European security. “Newsletter” talked to the EU High Representative about the future of the European Security and Defence Policy.



Question: First, what is your overall assessment of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and in particular of the European Foreign and Defence Policy (ESDP) as part of the European project?

Solana: Since the mid-1990s, the European Union has made massive progress in framing and implementing an increasingly credible foreign policy. Since 1999, we have also made huge strides in developing a comprehensive capacity for crisis management. Foreign and defence policy is probably the area where the Union has advanced most in recent years. And such progress is all the more relevant as it takes place in a fast-moving environment which has altered the very nature of international security.

Our work on CFSP and ESDP has been driven by two fundamental factors. First, they complement the original purpose of EU, which was to put an end to war in Europe through integration. It was no surprise that after 1945 Europe was ready to try a radical new idea: building a zone of peace through institutional integration and the voluntary pooling of sovereignty. What was a surprise, even to the founding fathers, was how successful this project has turned out. The watchwords of this European journey have been simple: deepening, widening and reform. Each element depended on the other for success – and still does today. From coal and steel, via atomic energy to the single market, Schengen, the euro and defence. From six, to nine, twelve, fifteen, now twenty-five and soon twenty-seven. We have come a long way and achieved a great deal. It is worth saying so, especially in this period of uncertainty.

Originally, foreign and security policy was deliberately excluded from the remit of the European Community. These were tasks for nation-states individually. For those countries that were members, NATO enshrined the primacy of the transatlantic link. But through the years, and sometimes through the hard school of failure, we learned that Europe had to take on a more active role in the area of security. That was also the consistent message from our American friends.

The second reason for CFSP and ESDP is a more familiar one: if you act together you can have more influence. For what is each of us, acting alone, capable of achieving? Divisions among Europeans all too often translate into strategic irrelevance. We can already see the contours of an emerging international order where new powers such as China, India and others will play leading roles. Time is not neutral. Unless we Europeans club together, future historians may conclude that, at the beginning of the 21st century, Europe's moment came and went.

In the past five years, we have developed what we lacked and needed: a set of civilian and military capabilities; new structures and decision-making mechanisms; plus the experience of joint operations and exercises. As a result, the EU is now in a position to play a role that matches its responsibilities.

Question: What lessons can be learned from the first EU actions in crisis areas such as Bosnia, Sudan/Darfur, the Congo and from other similar international interventions ?

Solana: There are many. But one is the need to enhance our effectiveness through better co-ordination of civil and military crisis management instruments. This is what crisis management in the 21st century demands. And that is why civil-military co-ordination is at the heart of effective EU external action. The EU is uniquely equipped among international actors in its ability to tackle

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Javier Solana meets local population in the refugee camps in Bunia in July 2003.



Javier Solana during his visit to Sudan and Chad in October 2005.



The TOA ceremony: launch of the ALTHEA operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina in December 2004.

problems using a wide range of instruments. The trick is to use them in a coordinated way to achieve the greatest impact. This is not always easy, but where there is a will, there is usually a way.

Question: How would you describe the relation between military and civilian actions?

Solana: For the EU, the defence component has always been part of a broad approach to confronting insecurity and managing crises. This approach reflects our origins as an organisation. But it also fits the new strategic environment. In the Balkans and elsewhere, we have learned that there is no simple sequencing of military first and civilians later. The strictly military phase of crisis management is never as short as one thinks or hopes. And the stabilisation and reconstruction efforts are never as civilian as one wishes. Thus we need both civilian and military tools from day one. More than other actors, the EU can bridge the worlds of diplomats, soldiers and development experts. But we have to deliver on our potential, right across the entire conflict cycle of prevention, management and reconstruction. We must ensure coherence across policy areas and over time.

Question: How are the experiences so far?

Solana: We have considerable experience in the EU in civil-military coordination. I think we do quite well already. But it would be naive to claim that everything we do is perfect.

The EU has been engaged in a wide variety of crisis areas. Many of our operations have been civil-military in nature. Bosnia is perhaps the most obvious example. The EU runs both the military and police missions, and it is also the key donor in the rebuilding of its institutions and society. So our engagement is comprehensive in scope and ambition.

But Bosnia is just one of our operations. On many occasions we may be in operations where we must mesh carefully what we do with the efforts of others, as just one part of a broader international effort.

Question: You mentioned the new strategic environment. Can you elaborate on the context for this kind of operations?

Solana: As a broader context we have to take into account the changed nature of international security. This has consequences for what we are doing in the EU in the area of security policy. Everybody is now familiar with the new strategic environment. These days, the biggest threats often arise from frail or failing states and from non-state actors, such as terrorist networks, criminal gangs or Janjaweed-style militias. We have moved from a world of front-lines, with armies facing each other, to one where people are at risk everywhere, including in our own city centres.

Dealing with this dynamic security environment has required a paradigm shift. Because the new threats are diffuse and complex, they defy traditional ways of operating. They call for agile and multi-faceted responses. In principle, the EU has it all. A wide panoply of instruments: from trade, aid and diplomacy to civil and military crisis management tools. But also an acute awareness of the

need to act. And, importantly, the staying power to remain engaged for the long-term when required.

Question: What are the main future developments in ESDP?

Solana: No concept, however beautiful or sophisticated, can be a substitute for practical improvements. So let me mention, in a headline style, some of the action tracks we are developing, to improve the effectiveness of our overall crisis management capacity. We are working hard on defence reform and modernisation. There is a general move towards task sharing, pooling and specialisation. The European Defence Agency has a great potential so that we get more usable capability for our armed forces. We are also making steady progress with the formation of the battle groups. As you know, the plan is to have, by next year, 13 rapidly deployable, self-sufficient units geared for international interventions and tasks up to full combat situations. We have set up a Civil-Military Cell. Its task is precisely to work on the interplay between civilian and military crisis management tools – right through the conflict cycle. The aim is to be able to deploy quickly various missions, by knowing in advance how we could assemble the right mix of personnel, from the capabilities available among member states.

Most of all, we now have no fewer than eight operations: three in the Balkans, two in Africa, plus our support for what the African Union is doing in Darfur, one for the Middle East – Iraq – and one in Asia. There are more to come, notably in the Middle East where we will be making a significant security contribution to the peace process.

In all these operations, we work hard to practice the mantra of comprehensive crisis management. I have already mentioned that our military and police missions in Bosnia are only one aspect of a broader and deeper EU strategy to bring the country into the European mainstream. In Aceh in Indonesia, our monitoring of the peace accord there is flanked by support from the European Community for the re-integration of rebel fighters and the broader development of the province. It is the same in other theatres.

For me, ESDP is a means, not an end in itself. But it has a clear rationale. There is a growing number of crises on our doorstep. We live in a world where events in faraway places affect our security and interests. And the complexity of today's threats means that only collective and comprehensive efforts will work. No country can do this on its own. Nor will a strategy relying only, or even mainly, on military tools.

All these factors point to the same conclusion: Europeans need to work together and we need a comprehensive approach to tackle threats to our security. The EU started as a peace project. And in many ways it still is.



The EU Institute for Security Studies – A think tank at the service of CFSP



The Institute for Security Studies (EUISS) is unique among Europe's policy research centres. Established on 20 July 2001 by a joint Action as an autonomous agency of the EU Council, its mission is to conduct policy-oriented research in support of the Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).

Burkard Schmitt

Currently under the directorship of Nicole Gnesotto, the role of the EUISS is twofold: on the one hand, it provides EU decision-makers with forward-looking analysis, helping them to develop coherent and long-term oriented policies. On the other hand, the Institute plays a leading role in the public debate on European security, contributing to the development of a European strategic culture. In other words, the EUISS contributes both to shaping and promoting CFSP.

Two factors are crucial for the success of the Institute. First, its 'Europeanness'. The EUISS is funded by contributions from all EU member states and has a multi-national staff with researchers of different EU nationalities. It is therefore a truly European think tank, which does not represent or defend any national interest, but 'thinks European'.

The second factor is its independence: the Institute enjoys complete intellectual freedom. This is indispensable in order for it to be both credible and useful. As a think tank, the EUISS must deliver objective analysis if it is to be respected by the international research community and the wider public. As an advisory body, its added value is to provide relevant and truly independent assessment. Being able to preserve critical detachment while at the same time fully supporting the Union's objectives is thus fundamental to the Institute's philosophy.

The Institute and the Union

The EUISS has two supervisory bodies which constitute the institutional link to the EU: a Board, which lays down the Institute's budgetary and administrative rules, and the Political and Security Committee (PSC), which acts as a political interlocutor and ensures that the EUISS work programme corresponds to the needs and priorities of the CFSP agenda.

The Institute's main 'customers' are the EU Council, the High Representative for CFSP, Javier Solana, and the EU Presidency. The EUISS regularly issues policy notes and organises brainstorming sessions for them, either on its own initiative or in response to specific demands.

When Javier Solana and his team drafted the Union's Security Strategy, 'A Secure Europe in a Better World', for example, the Institute contributed through a series of workshops and conferences, providing its own intellectual input and involving national think tanks, the media, and NGOs in the process.

To provide expertise with regard to specific issues, the EUISS can also draw on its contacts with national research centres. In the run-up to the 2005 Review Conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, for example, the EUISS brought together Europe's leading researchers with representatives of the EU Council and the Luxembourg Presidency to discuss the content of the Joint Action which the EU was preparing for that conference.

The EUISS also maintains close relationships with the European Commission (EC) and the European Parliament (EP). Representatives of both institutions are regularly invited to its seminars, and its researchers frequently participate in briefings and hearings. But there are also more structured forms of cooperation: in 2004, for example, the EC invited a group of leading figures to work out the principles of a European Security Research Programme. The EUISS participated actively in this exercise, giving both intellectual input and presenting the group's rapporteur. Another example is the current debate on possible EC initiatives for opening up national defence markets, to which the EUISS has contributed through informal meetings, public statements, reports and workshops.

A platform for debate

Whether they are tailored towards specific demands of EU institutions or not, the Institute's conferences and seminars are always designed to widen and deepen the Union's analytical capacities. They cover a broad range of issues and regularly bring together – in various formats – academics, experts, officials and decision-makers.

The most important event in this respect is the Institute's annual conference, at which Javier Solana delivers his speech on the state of CFSP to the core of Europe's strategic community. Other major gatherings are two transatlantic conferences the EUISS holds every year to set out the respective viewpoints of both sides and enrich their approaches to security issues.

Certain seminars aim at fostering debate on security issues, others are more output-oriented. This is the case in particular of the Institute's task forces: made up of leading European specialists, they meet periodically to work out common approaches or concrete proposals for specific policies. The EUISS reports 'Proposal for a Defence White Paper' (2003) and 'Defence Procurement in the EU' (2005), for example, are based on the work of such task forces.

A centre for studies and publications

The EUISS produces different series of publications, written either by its own researchers or by external authors:

- The Chaillot Papers are the Institute's flagship publications. They cover all topics of relevance to EU security policy;
- Occasional Papers are more targeted policy studies;
- The quarterly Newsletter gives information about the Institute's activities as well as short analytical articles on current international events;
- Finally, the EUISS produces, on an ad hoc basis, reports and books on particularly important and topical issues.

Up until September 2005 the EUISS has published 83 Chaillot Papers, 59 Occasional Papers and 9 books and reports.

These publications have a considerable readership: printed versions are distributed to over 4,000 people worldwide who represent the core of the international strategic community: these comprise individual decision-makers and experts, as well as members of selected universities and think tanks. On top of that, all EUISS publications can be downloaded free of charge as PDF-files from the Institute's website (www.iss-eu.org). More than 1,250,000 downloads were recorded between September 2004 to September 2005 – a figure which illustrates the growing interest of the wider public in the CFSP in general, and the work of the EUISS in particular.

A centre of networks

Last but not least, the EUISS maintains a wide network of contacts with national research centres. Having a European vocation, it plays a unifying role in promoting common European strategic thinking, or at least a common approach to security. To reinforce this network, the EUISS runs several specific programmes:

- Senior visiting fellows, who normally contribute to the Chaillot Paper series, are invited to the Institute;
- Research awards to study at the EUISS for a period of two to three months are granted to young European undergraduates or graduates, and their work may be published as Occasional Papers;
- Associate fellows, who are members of other research centres, cover for a certain period of time a specific area of interest for the EUISS;
- Internships, which allow young students to come to the Institute for two months, gaining insight into its work and assisting EUISS researchers in their projects;
- Financial support is selectively given to research and debate at national institutes.

The network approach has several advantages: Rather than duplicating expertise which already exists in member states, the EUISS fosters synergies between national centres of excellence and provides them with a EU-wide forum. By doing so, it strengthens Europe's strategic community and fosters the emergence of a common European security culture.

At the same time, networks help to at least partly compensate the EUISS's limited resources. With only nine researchers and a budget of €3.5 million, the Institute covers an extremely broad spectrum of topics, ranging geographically from Africa to Russia and Iraq, and thematically from Homeland Security to armaments cooperation. Out-of-house expertise is therefore welcome to support the EUISS's activities and ensure comprehensive coverage of all relevant areas of interest.

Given the constantly changing international environment and the growing role of the EU in the world, the workload of the EUISS will certainly increase even more. The Institute's record so far has been impressive, but more efforts will be necessary to enable it to meet the challenges of the future. This may imply a review of its methods and organisation, but also additional funding. The forthcoming revision of the Joint Action establishing the EUISS will be an opportunity to focus on this.

Research Team:

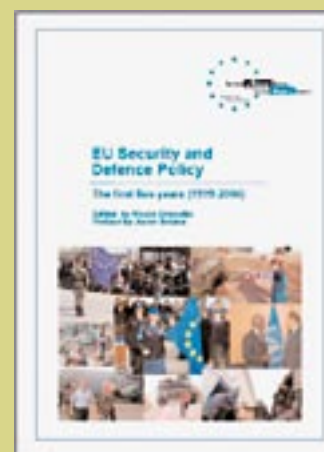
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- Burkard Schmitt, Assistant Director. Areas of expertise: armaments cooperation, defence industries and markets, non-proliferation
- Judith Batt. Areas of expertise: new EU member states and their contribution to CFSP/ESDP, Balkans
- Pierre-Antoine Braud. Areas of expertise: Africa and EU policy towards Africa
- Giovanni Grevi. Areas of expertise: CFSP/ESDP institutions and capabilities, civilian crisis management
- Gustav Lindström. Areas of expertise: Terrorism, homeland security, transatlantic relations
- Dov Lynch. Areas of expertise: EU-Russia relations, security issues in the former USSR
- Martin Ortega. Areas of expertise: the Mediterranean, the Middle East and the use of force in international relations
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Burkard Schmitt

Burkard Schmitt is a German national born in 1963. He holds masters' degrees from the Universities of Bordeaux (France) and Erlangen (Germany) and a PhD in Contemporary History from the Friedrich Alexander University Erlangen/Nürnberg (1996). From 1998 to 2001, he was a research fellow at the Institute for Security Studies of the WEU, and was subsequently appointed Assistant Director of the European Union Institute for Security Studies in 2002. In recent years, his research has focused on the development of the European Security and Defence Policy.

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Das erste Halbjahr 2006 – die österreichische EU-Präsidentschaft im Bereich ESVP

Am 1. Jänner 2006 übernimmt Österreich zum zweiten Mal den EU-Vorsitz. Der Weiterentwicklung und Implementierung der Europäischen Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik (ESVP) kommt dabei besondere Bedeutung zu: Laufende ESVP-Aktivitäten müssen betreut und über ihre weitere Ausrichtung entschieden, die Fähigkeiten der EU im zivilen und militärischen Bereich gestärkt und ein kohärenter Einsatz aller zur Verfügung stehenden Mittel garantiert werden. Österreich ist fest entschlossen, die Dynamik der vergangenen Jahre aufrechtzuerhalten und die Rolle der EU in der Welt zu stärken.

Michael Dóczy

Zurzeit bereitet sich Österreich intensiv auf seine zweite EU-Präsidentschaft vor: Am 1. Jänner 2006 gibt das Vereinigte Königreich den Vorsitz in den EU-Ratsgremien an Österreich weiter.

Eine besondere Herausforderung stellt dabei die Weiterentwicklung und Implementierung der Europäischen Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik (ESVP) dar. Die EU hat in den vergangenen sechs Jahren seit der Schaffung der ESVP bemerkenswerte Fortschritte gemacht: Elf militärische oder zivile Krisenmanagementoperationen bzw. Beratungs- und Unterstützungsmissionen haben unterstrichen, dass die EU nicht nur ein Global Payer ist, sondern auch selbst tatkräftig Verantwortung für Frieden und Sicherheit in der Welt übernimmt – am Balkan und in Osteuropa ebenso wie in Afrika, Asien und für den Nahen Osten. Die Europäische Sicherheitsstrategie, auf die sich die Staats- und Regierungschefs im Dezember 2003 geeinigt haben, ist nicht reine Theorie geblieben, sondern wurde in konkrete Maßnahmen umgesetzt.

Unter österreichischer Präsidentschaft wird die Dynamik der vergangenen Jahre fortgesetzt werden. Auch wenn wir noch nicht alle Aufgaben im kommenden Halbjahr kennen können – vieles hängt noch von den weiteren Arbeiten unter der aktuellen Präsidentschaft ab – so lassen sich doch die Kernbereiche in groben Zügen identifizieren:

Beziehungen zu internationalen Organisationen

Frieden und Sicherheit hängen von einem effektiven multilateralen System und der Einhaltung des internationalen Völkerrechts ab. Die Basis für die internationalen Beziehungen ist die Charta der Vereinten Nationen und der Sicherheitsrat trägt die vorrangige Verantwortung für die Bewahrung von

Frieden und Sicherheit. Für effizientes EU-Krisenmanagement ist daher die Kooperation mit den Vereinten Nationen und anderen internationalen Akteuren (Europarat, OSZE, NATO, Afrikanische Union u. a.) unerlässlich. Die österreichische Präsidentschaft wird daher auf eine effiziente Kooperation mit diesen Organisationen großen Wert legen. In diesem Zusammenhang misst Österreich der Achtung der Menschenrechte, insbesondere der Umsetzung bestehender VN-Sicherheitsratsresolutionen zum Schutz von Frauen und Kindern in bewaffneten Konflikten, große Bedeutung zu.

Das Engagement am Balkan

Operation ALTHEA in Bosnien-Herzegowina stellt mit ca. 6.500 Mann die größte Krisenmanagementoperation der EU dar. Der reibungslose Ablauf dieser militärischen Operation muss weiterhin gesichert werden. Unter österreichischer Präsidentschaft wird die dritte Review der Operation durchgeführt.

Die Polizeimission EUPM, die erste ESVP-Operation überhaupt, leistet seit Jänner 2003 wertvolle Unterstützung für die bosnischen Polizeibehörden bei der Bekämpfung der organisierten Kriminalität und der Erreichung europäischer Standards im Polizeiwesen und soll dies auch weiterhin tun.

Auch das Engagement der EU in der ehemaligen jugoslawischen Republik Mazedonien (FYROM) – derzeit in Form der Polizeimission PROXIMA – soll fortgesetzt werden.

Das Engagement im Nahen Osten

Die EU und ihre Mitgliedstaaten unterstützen den Friedensprozess im Nahen Osten nicht nur als Teil des so genannten Nahost-Quartetts und als stärkster finanzieller Geber der Palästinensischen Autonomiebehörde. Sie unterstützen auch vor Ort die Palästinenser im Polizei- und Sicherheitssektor: Durch Training, Ausrüstung und finanzielle Hilfe wird bereits jetzt den Polizeibehörden beim Aufbau ihrer Kapazitäten geholfen. Ein kleines Team befindet sich zu diesem Zweck in Ramallah und Gaza (European Union Co-ordinating Office for Palestinian Police Support/EU COPPS). Derzeit laufen die Planungen für die Umwandlung dieser Unterstützung in eine zivile ESVP-Mission, die dann unter österreichischer Präsidentschaft ihre Arbeit aufnehmen soll.

Um das Justiz- und Polizeiwesen des Iraks zu stärken, führt die EU eine Mission zur Stützung der Rechtsstaatlichkeit, EUJUST Lex, durch. Dabei werden seit Juli 2005 in einigen EU-Mitgliedstaaten hohe Beamte dieser Bereiche ausgebildet. Unter österreichischer Präsidentschaft wird über die Zukunft dieser Mission zu entscheiden sein.

Das Engagement in Afrika

Die EU hat sich bereits 2003 mit ihrer ersten autonomen Krisenmanagementoperation ARTEMIS für Frieden und Stabilität in der Demokratischen Republik Kongo (DRK) eingesetzt. 2005 wurden zwei weitere Missionen initiiert: EUPOL Kinshasa und die Mission zur Unterstützung des Sicherheitssektors EUSEC RD Congo unterstreichen in eindrucksvoller Weise die Entschlossenheit der EU, der DRK bei ihrem Weg zu Demokratie, Frieden und

Sicherheit beizustehen. Die geplante Abhaltung der Parlamentswahlen im März 2006 und die Überlegungen über die weitere Zukunft der beiden Missionen fallen in die Zeit der österreichischen Präsidentschaft.

Im Sudan ist die Afrikanische Union mit ihrer Mission AMIS bemüht, die Situation der Menschen in der Provinz Darfur zu verbessern. Seit dem Sommer wird AMIS durch eine zivil-militärische Unterstützungsaktion der EU verstärkt. Auch hier wird es an der österreichischen Präsidentschaft liegen, die Überlegungen über die Zukunft dieser Aktion voranzubringen.

Das Engagement in Asien

Die „jüngste“ ESVP-Operation ist die Mission in Indonesien, die Aceh-Beobachtungsmission (Aceh Monitoring Mission), die seit Mitte September gemeinsam mit fünf ASEAN-Ländern, der Schweiz und Norwegen die Einhaltung des Memorandum of Understanding zwischen der indonesischen Regierung und dem Free Aceh Movement überwacht. Auch in diesem Fall wird unter österreichischer Präsidentschaft über die weitere Vorgangsweise entschieden. ▶

Goals of the Austrian presidency

SUMMARY

On 1 January 2006 Austria will take over the Presidency of the EU for the second time. Particular emphasis will be put on the implementation and further development of ESDP. Although much still depends on the results achieved under the current UK Presidency, we can already identify the key tasks that lie ahead of us.

With its so far 11 civilian or military operations and support missions the EU has already proven its determination to implement the European Security Strategy adopted by Heads of State and Government in December 2003. In the Western Balkans, the Middle East, Africa and Asia the EU not only contributes with considerable financial means to peace and security but also takes on responsibility "on the ground". It is our determination to ensure the smooth running of operations and their right orientation for the future.

With its broad range of instruments for crisis management and conflict prevention the EU is particularly well equipped to pursue its strategic objectives. A coherent EU approach of all EU actors and instruments must be applied.

On the basis of the EU Treaty and the European Security Strategy the EU has set itself the so called Headline Goals 2008 (civilian) and 2010 (military) in order to improve its capabilities. Under the Austrian Presidency important steps on the way to reaching these goals will be taken.

Eine kohärente und auf Fähigkeiten basierende EU-Sicherheitspolitik

Wie der Überblick über die bestehenden Aktivitäten gezeigt hat, beinhaltet die ESVP ein breites Spektrum und reicht von rein militärischen oder Polizeieinsätzen bis hin zu Beratungsmissionen im Bereich der Rechtsstaatlichkeit und der Sicherheitssektorreform. Auch in Zukunft wird sich die EU ihres weiten Spektrums an Instrumenten für Krisenmanagement und Konfliktprävention – politischer, diplomatischer, militärischer und ziviler, handels- und entwicklungspolitischer Natur – bedienen. Dem reibungslosen Zusammenspiel all dieser Instrumente kommt dabei besondere Bedeutung zu. Die im Ratssekretariat/EU-Militärstab eingerichtete zivil-militärische Zelle hat bereits ihre Arbeit aufgenommen und wird auch unter österreichischer Präsidentschaft wertvolle Arbeit leisten. Ein Anliegen der österreichischen Präsidentschaft ist eine möglichst effiziente zivil-militärische Koordination, von der Planung bis zur Umsetzung in Operationen.

Sowohl im zivilen als auch im militärischen Bereich hat sich die EU quantitative und qualitative Ziele gesetzt, um das im EU-Vertrag und in der Europäischen Sicherheitsstrategie gesetzte Ambitionsniveau erfüllen zu können. Auf dem Weg zur Erreichung der Pläne für 2008 (zivil) und 2010 (militärisch) werden – aufbauend auf den Arbeiten der luxemburgischen und britischen Präsidentschaft – im ersten Halbjahr 2006 wichtige Schritte gesetzt werden:

Im zivilen Bereich wird die österreichische Präsidentschaft besonders bemüht sein, die qualitativen Aspekte – vor allem bessere Abstimmung zwischen Training und Rekrutierung zivilen Personals und stärkere Berücksichtigung der bisher gemachten Erfahrungen bei der Planung zukünftiger Operationen – zu verbessern. Im militärischen Bereich ist vorgesehen, unter britischer Präsidentschaft den so genannten Bedarfskatalog (Requirement Catalogue) zu erstellen. Unter österreichischer Präsidentschaft würden dann die Mitgliedstaaten ihre Beiträge zur Erreichung des Headline Goals einmelden. Die Europäische

Verteidigungsagentur spielt bei der Verbesserung der europäischen Fähigkeiten eine bedeutende Rolle. Ebenfalls wichtig für die Weiterentwicklung dieser Fähigkeiten ist die Battlegroups-Initiative: Bereits jetzt steht in jedem Halbjahr mindestens eine Battlegroup zur Verfügung, ab 2007 sollen es zwei sein. Unter österreichischer Präsidentschaft wird eine Koordinationskonferenz stattfinden.

Einen konkreten Schwerpunkt sieht die österreichische Präsidentschaft im Bereich Sicherheitssektorreform am Westbalkan. Ein Seminar soll eine verstärkte Befassung mit diesem vielschichtigen Thema unter den Aspekten der Bedarfsdeckung, Effizienz und Koordination einleiten.



Michael Dóczy

Michael Dóczy arbeitet seit Dezember 2003 an der Ständigen Vertretung Österreichs bei der EU (Delegation zum Politischen- und Sicherheitspolitischen Komitee) und ist Vertreter Österreichs in der Politisch-Militärischen Gruppe. Studium der Politikwissenschaften und der Geschichte; Praktikum bei der Europäischen Kommission in Brüssel; 1998 bis 2000: EU-Abteilung des Bundeskanzleramtes in Wien. Seit 2000 im Dienst des österreichischen Außenministeriums: Abteilung für Europäische Grundsatzfragen (2000–2001), Botschaft in Madrid (2002); Abteilung für Koordinationsfragen der GASP/Assistent des Europäischen Korrespondenten (2002–2003).



Seit 1. Dezember 2004 ist der internationale Einsatz in Bosnien-Herzegowina eine Mission der Europäischen Union.



Force Integration Training bei EUFOR/Althea: Einweisung am Black Hawk.



Annalisa Giannella, Personal Representative of the High Representative of the EU, Dr. Javier Solana, for Matters of Non-proliferation

Acting against proliferation

If Javier Solana is the face representing the EU's foreign policy, then his personal representative, Annalisa Giannella, is the coordinator regarding questions of non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and disarmament. "We urge the member states of the European Union to be even more determined in addressing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction," says the Italian political scientist. The threat of the proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons is obvious to anyone. When a country such as Iran is furthering the development of its nuclear programme, alarm bells go off everywhere.

However, the practical implementation of the fight against proliferation of WMD is not always easy. "You can negotiate with states but not with terrorists," she says. "Prevention is crucial," she emphasises. "We have to act much earlier, so that dangerous materials do not even come into circulation in an uncontrolled manner."

It was therefore a great success for Annalisa Giannella when on 12 December 2003 the EU member states adopted a European Strategy against the proliferation of WMD. She actively helped drafting the strategy and in October 2003 she was appointed by Javier Solana, the EU high representative for the common foreign and security policy, as his personal representative for non-proliferation of WMD.

Whenever the European Union takes action in this field, Annalisa Giannella is involved. One of her tasks is also to make sure that a non-proliferation clause is included in every agreement between the European Union and third countries. The Union's partners need to know that non-proliferation is a crucial building block in relations with the EU. "Almost all of them have been

sceptical in the beginning," she reports, "but we even managed to convince countries like Syria and Tajikistan to accept an agreement entailing such a clause."

Giannella, 56, from Southern Italy, knows very well the influence the European Union can exert through its worldwide network of contractual relations with third countries. She has been working at the Council of the European Union for 33 years, most recently as director for foreign and security policy. Her title of personal representative is important as it gives her the full political backing of Javier Solana and the European Union in her field of competence. This is not only of use in politically sensitive regions such as the Middle East, but it also helps her to advocate coherence and continuity of EU policies. Her vision of security makes her lean for engagement of suspicious states into a constructive dialogue rather than for their isolation.

This approach is based on an effort to understand the root causes for the pursuit by certain states of WMD programmes. It is the European Union's task to find the right answers even in such cases.



EUFOR Operation "Spring Lift", Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Supporting Bosnia on the way to the EU

Almost a year ago the European Union took over from NATO the responsibility for the stabilisation force in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Operation ALTHEA is the largest military operation under EU command. But it's more than that: It is part of a comprehensive endeavour to give Bosnia and Herzegovina a perspective for EU membership.

On December 2nd 2004, in the presence of EU High Representative Javier Solana and NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, the EU took over from NATO the responsibility for a stabilisation force in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH).

The ceremony at Butmir Camp in Sarajevo marked the end of a successful NATO mission and the beginning of one of the most ambitious operations within the framework of the European Security and Defence Policy.

With nine years in BiH NATO has brought a significant degree of stability to the country: When the alliance started to deploy its troops after the conclusion of the Dayton agreement in 1995, more than 60,000 soldiers were necessary to prevent the conflicting parties from taking up arms again. At the end of 2004 the stabilisation force in BiH had shrunk to 7,000 soldiers.

A robust mission

The role of international forces in preserving the stability of the country is, however, still vital. State structures in BiH are still fragile and reconciliation between the ethnic groups is far from complete. Therefore, the EU has demonstrated from the first day that it would not compromise on security. EUFOR has maintained equivalent force levels with the latest SFOR. And as before, the armed forces main task is to provide deterrence and to provide a stable environment for the population. "We are generally well received by the people in BiH," says Lieutenant Colonel Peter Henn, a German communication officer in Sarajevo.

Indeed, EUFOR invests a lot in outreach activities: Since last year 16 Liaison and Observation Teams have been deployed throughout the country. They consist of a handful of soldiers who live and work in the cities where they have been sent. "The teams serve as focal points for the public and the regional and local administration," says Peter Henn, "But they are also important sources of information for the mission's command."

In addition, EUFOR has assisted in a number of operations in the fight against organised crime — an issue, which is today probably posing the most dangerous threat for the country. And, wherever possible, EUFOR leaves the responsibility to the BiH authorities. Local police and the Ministry of Interior today organise even weapons collection, formerly a core activity of the stabilisation force. "We are there to monitor and to help whenever necessary," says Peter Henn about EUFOR's role in BiH.

Reaffirming EU's responsibility for the region

For the EU the Operation ALTHEA marks a major step in the consolidation of its common security and defence policy. The biggest long-term donor in the Balkan region, the EU takes over full responsibility for the stability in its immediate neighbourhood with military and police missions as well. And EUFOR demonstrates for the first time the ability of the EU to carry out large-scale crisis management operations. With 7,000 soldiers and contingents from 22 EU member states and eleven third countries, EUFOR is the most complex military operation conducted under EU leadership. In performing this demanding mission, the EU draws on NATO common assets and capabilities under the "Berlin-Plus" arrangements finalised in March 2003, providing for permanent relations and cooperation between the two organisations.

Such a mission requires a clear and efficient command, which remains under the political control of the Council of the European Union. Within this framework General John Reith (UK), NATO's Deputy Supreme Allied Commander for Europe (D-SACEUR), has been appointed Operation Commander for Operation ALTHEA. The British Major General A. David Leakey (see interview) was appointed EU Force Commander in Sarajevo. On 6 December, Major-General Gian Marco Chiarini of the Italian Army replaced Major-General David Leakey (UK) as Commander of EUFOR. General Leakey had led EUFOR since the launch of the Operation in December 2004. Under the responsibility of the Council, the Political and Security Committee (PSC), a body where the 25 EU member states are represented at ambassador level, exercises political control and strategic direction of Operation ALTHEA. The PSC receives regular reports

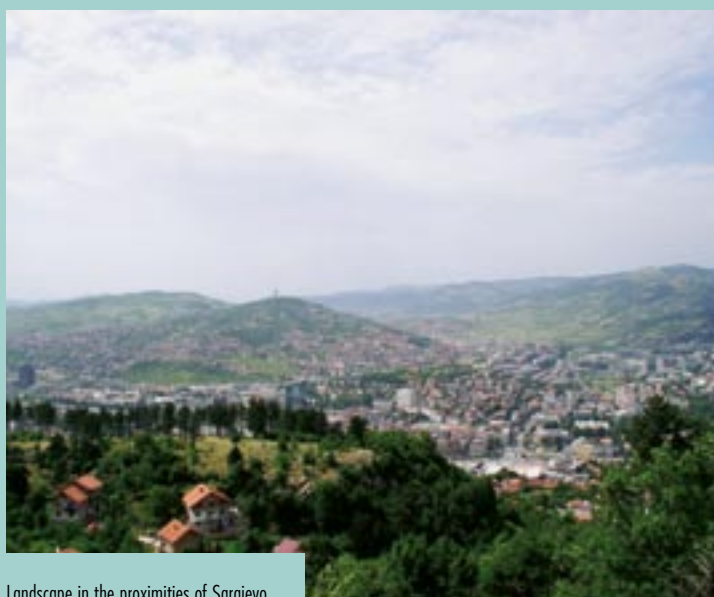




EUFOR Operation "Spring Lift", Bosnia and Herzegovina.



German EUFOR soldiers inform about the dangers of mines.



Landscape in the proximities of Sarajevo.

from the Chairman of the EU Military Committee regarding the conduct of the Operation. The EU Military Committee (EUMC) monitors the proper execution of the Operation.

EU and NATO also co-operate on the ground in BiH. Some 150 NATO officers are still working in Sarajevo. They assist BiH in its military reform and take part in the search for war criminals indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). The EU and NATO Headquarters are co-located.

A step towards European integration

Whereas EUFOR's main task is to provide a stable and secure environment, its objectives reach further: The mission aims to support a future transfer of political responsibility from the international community to the BiH political authorities. And EUFOR should help to bring BiH closer to the European Union, with the long-term objective to provide BiH with a perspective for EU membership.

To reflect the EU's growing involvement in BiH, the High Representative under the Dayton/Paris agreements, Paddy Ashdown, was also appointed European Union Special Representative (EUSR) in BiH to oversee and coordinate the civil and military assistance of the EU actors in BiH. The EU has developed a structured approach to bring BiH, as well as other Western Balkans countries, closer to the EU: the Stabilisation and Association Process. Since 2003 the EU Commission prepares a yearly study on the progress the country has made in preparing for a Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) with the EU. The negotiations for such an agreement, which is a further step on the way to future EU membership, were launched on 25 November 2005.

There has been encouraging progress in a number of key issues recently. In September the two political entities of the country, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska, agreed on a long debated military reform. In 2006 a new multi-ethnic professional army under a central general staff and one defence ministry at the federal level will be created. The new army will replace the military structures of the BiH entities. At the beginning of October, the High Representative managed to broker an agreement on police reform, which will reorganise the police and their administrative boundaries along nonethnic lines. This paved the way for the opening of SAA negotiations with the EU.

A number of economic reforms have also been completed. Although unemployment is still just under 50 percent, privatisation of most former state companies has brought back some dynamics into the economy. In addition a tax reform and the introduction of a VAT as of beginning of 2006 will result in a more reliable funding of the central governmental structures.

However, a lot remains to be done. Two top war criminals — Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic — are still to be caught and transferred to the international tribunal in The Hague. And there is the difficult question of comprehensive constitutional reform.

Bosnia might be on the way to become a stable partner in Europe but at this stage the country still relies on international assistance. With the launch of the ALTHEA Operation the EU gives a clear signal that it is ready to accept this responsibility.



Interview with Major General David Leakey, Commander of the stabilisation force (EUFOR)

Is Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) today a stable environment?

BiH has been stable for quite a few years. IFOR and SFOR did a very good job to bring back and then to maintain stability in BiH. EUFOR took over this core mission from SFOR to provide continued deterrence and reassurance. In other words, EUFOR guarantees the peace by deterring anyone who might try to upset it.

But, however stable BiH is, potential for instability still exists: the country is awash with weapons; the three constituent peoples do not all share a common vision of the future and that is evident in daily politics which are driven by nationalistic agendas; progress towards self-sustainability is significantly hindered by widespread organised crime and corruption which deeply intermingle with public life.

In accordance with its mandated tasks, EUFOR maintains a safe and secure environment in BiH including by playing an active role supporting the local authorities in fighting organised crime.

What has been the main achievement of EUFOR so far?

EUFOR successfully took over the international stabilisation mission from SFOR. EUFOR quickly established its credibility as a robust military force thanks to several high profile operations. In addition, a wide-ranging information campaign ensured EUFOR's visibility throughout BiH. Reliable opinion polls have consistently confirmed that EUFOR's credibility is high and no less than SFOR's. Lastly, political leaders, no matter their party affiliation or ethnicity, have been very supportive of EUFOR noting, in particular, that the transition between SFOR and EUFOR did not result in a 'security gap'.

In addition, the successful takeover from SFOR enabled EUFOR to provide continued deterrence and reassurance. EUFOR has secured an environment where both the local authorities and the civilian international organisations can perform their duties, furthering the reform process in BiH. A stable environment is crucial to help BiH progress towards the EU.

Moreover, EUFOR has actively supported the local authorities in their fight against organised crime, a key obstacle for BiH on the road towards Europe. EUFOR has stiffened the resolve of the local authorities to tackle organised crime, it has deterred organised crime activities and it has contributed to changing people's and politicians' perception that nothing can be done about organised crime.

What were the main shortcomings?

Rather than shortcomings, I would speak about 'inevitable difficulties' which we have had to tackle. I would mention two:

- Supporting the fight against organised crime was a new task for everyone in EUFOR. Therefore we have had to learn from experience. We have constantly adapted our approach to achieve the best effect. We have significantly developed our relations with the local authorities in order to enhance their confidence and to stiffen their resolve to fight organised crime. This new task has been demanding for everyone, from the soldiers on the ground to myself. Nevertheless, all EUFOR personnel have performed extremely well in this regard.
- Running a multinational headquarters as efficiently as possible is more complex than a national one. We need to overcome practical challenges such as language, different cultures and modus operandi. But I believe that EUFOR has, again, risen to the challenge successfully.

What has changed for the soldiers as they work today under an EU flag instead of a NATO flag?

In practical, military terms much remains familiar, after all, as military men and women we strive always to operate to the highest professional standards, whichever flag we work under. Of course, I and my senior officers, as well as the Member States providing troops, have had to introduce and become familiar with some new EU high-level procedures, but this has not been an onerous task. Further, being part of a wider EU family in BiH has brought a welcome and valuable dimension to our military task.

How is EUFOR integrated in the EU strategy to bring BiH closer to the EU?

EUFOR is a member of what we call the 'EU family' in BiH. The EU deploys a wide range of its instruments in BiH (from crisis management to technical assistance) including the military mission. We all share in the objective to help BiH to progress towards Europe (its not the only objective). The EU Special Representative in BiH is in charge of coordinating the activities of all the EU bodies in BiH and clearly we play a full part.

On the whole, I would say, based on my experience of COM EUFOR since December 2004, that EUFOR is fully integrated in the EU strategy for BiH.



EUJUST-THEMIS Press Conference on April 14, 2005.

EUJUST – Themis

When Sylvie Pantz travelled to Tbilisi for the first time in July 2004 she was delighted by the warm reception. “We were received with open arms from the first day,” the French judge recalls. She and her team were expected in the Georgian capital.

At the beginning of April 2004, the Georgian President Michail Saakashvili requested EU assistance for a planned reform of the country’s criminal justice system. Time seemed to be ripe for such an endeavour. Half a year before, the young and reform-eager President was voted into office. The problem in the Georgian juridical system was one of the issues he wanted to tackle first. “They hadn’t changed much since the end of the Soviet Union. Many things just worked along the old routines,” Ms Pantz says.

Indeed, the Georgian judicial system at that time was by no means up to European standards. Prisoners on remand were kept in custody for months although charged only with minor offences. With most prisons in poor conditions many of the detainees were infected with tuberculosis or other diseases, once they finally were put on trial. “We also found that judges in Georgia did not have the necessary independence,” Ms Pantz explains. Often they were not well trained and salaries for judges are very poor. “In Georgia judges are not proud of their profession,” she adds. “Many of them think they have to meet expectations from the Ministry of Justice instead of working according to the law.”

The EU decided to help the Georgian government to prepare a comprehensive strategy for the reform of the criminal justice system and launched for the first time a Rule of Law mission within the framework of the European Security and Defence Policy. At the end of June, the Council adopted a joint action and appointed Ms Sylvie Pantz to lead the mission.

A few days later, the Government of Georgia adopted a decree on co-operation between EUJUST THEMIS and all the major stakeholders in Georgia: Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as the State Minister of European Integration, the Prosecutor General, the Secretary of the National Security Council and the Chairman of the Supreme Court of Georgia.



Ms Pantz set up an office in Georgia together with seven experts seconded from member states who were located within the key institutions of the Georgian juridical system. With one or two Georgian assistants at their side they had their offices directly at the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Interior, the General Prosecutor's Office, the Supreme Court of Georgia, the High Council of Justice and the Public Defender's Office. Ms Pantz: "I was very pleased that the member states sent old chaps like me, people with a lot of experience in the job."

In October 2004, the President of Georgia established a high-level working group to develop the reform strategy for the Georgian criminal legislation. Ms Pantz and her team presented different options for the reform. "We were never patronising, just consulting where we could," she says. "At the beginning the Georgians were not sure whether they should introduce a jury system for criminal trials. We invited experts from member states to present the different options and at the end the Georgians made up their minds."

The result of these deliberations is a 27-page report, "the bible for the judicial reform in Georgia," says Ms Pantz. And she insists that the report is not the product of the EU mission. "It is a report by the Georgian government and this is why there is a good chance for its implementation. And the paper is a blue-print to address international donors for further funding," she adds.

When President Saakashvili received the report in June, he said that its implementation would be one of the top priorities of his government. Some of the recommendations have been implemented right away. Already in April 2005, when the Georgian Minister of Justice came to Brussels, he said that the average detention time for prisoners on remand had been reduced from nine to four months.

Following the conclusion in July 2005 of the mandate of EUJUST THEMIS, the EU continues to oversee the implementation of the strategy for the reform of the criminal justice system through a reinforcement of the team of the European Union Special Representative for the Southern Caucasus, Heikki Talvitie.

Sylvie PANTZ, (1951), born in Paris, Judge



Education: February 1975 – January 1977: Trainee Judge (Auditeur de Justice) in the Ecole Nationale de la Magistrature (E.N.M.), Bordeaux.
June 1973: Master's Degree in Law (Maîtrise de Droit Privé). Université de PARIS 2 Panthéon-Sorbonne.
June 1968: High School Diploma (Baccalauréat).

Professional Experience: Since June 2004: Head of Mission of EUJUST THEMIS, the EU Rule of Law mission in Georgia in the context of ESDP. September 2002 – 31 March 2004: International Member of the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Councils (H.J.P.C.) Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina).

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Rule of Law Mission

The EUJUST LEX mission for Iraq

Since the beginning of July, senior Iraqi police officers, judges and prison governors have been invited to attend training courses in the EU.

21 member states are involved in the project, which is the largest the EU has ever organized to strengthen the rule of law in a third country.

The objective is to make the Iraqi familiar with the standards of police work and law enforcement within the EU – and to create confidence among the different branches of the Iraqi law enforcement system.



Stephen White with Iraqi Foreign Minister Zebari.

Stephen White has been through the most difficult tasks a police officer could think of. He has served as a police officer in Northern Ireland for 26 years. There he faced terror and clashes between Catholics and Protestants nearly every day. Eventually appointed Assistant Chief Constable, he had to control the border between Northern Ireland and the Republic and prevent the IRA from smuggling weapons into the North. "I have learned what police service is like under conditions of terror," he says.

Leaving the UK Police Service in September 2004 he started an international career. He had previously led police reform programmes in Mongolia and provided consultancy to police in Indonesia, Serbia, Bulgaria and the USA. In 2004 he became the Chief Police Adviser Southern Iraq based in Basra for six months where he was nearly killed in a bomb attack. Now the 50-year old UK police officer leads the largest Rule-of-Law-Mission the EU has ever organized. 770 high-ranking police officers, judges, investigative magistrates and prison governors from Iraq should receive training in the EU.

The EU programme is offered at a time when the Iraqi law enforcement has to function under most difficult conditions. After 30 years under the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein and two years of war the whole system has to be built up nearly from scratch. However, the old routines are persisting. "Many police officers think that they are not accountable to the law and the people but only to their commanders and to the rules of martial law," Stephen White says.

At the same time the constant attacks from insurgents and terrorists, that have left 1,500 police officers dead over the past 12 months, put Iraqi police under enormous pressure. That the Iraqi police are today faced with allegation of torture and ill-treatment of detainees might also be a result of these conditions. "Some thought they should fight fire with fire. But from my experience in Northern Ireland I can tell that police have to be courageous but must never reduce their standards."

What the problem with the Iraqi law enforcement really was, Stephen White had to find out himself. When the EU launched an "Expert Team fact finding mission" in December 2004 he conducted about 150 interviews with police officials, judges and NGOs on shortcomings within the Iraqi law enforcement system. "We wanted to address the needs of the Iraqi and not just sell them our ideas," he says.

And he came back with a rather surprising conclusion. "Some of the problems in the Iraqi law enforcement result from an atmosphere of distrust between the police and the local communities – but others are caused by a lack of respect and collaboration between the police and the judiciary," he explains. Judges often do not trust the police as they consider them unprofessional, brutal, corrupt and not well educated. In return police officers think that judges are arrogant, ill informed about the dangers police face and reluctant to leave their offices to show up at a crime scene.

To overcome these problems the EU decided to offer the Iraqi government training courses where senior officials from the different criminal justice professionals would work together in order to facilitate an exchange of views and to create confidence among the different branches. "One of our main objectives is to promote mutual respect, understanding and cooperation," Stephen White says. Officials from the senior and middle ranking management were chosen since the Coalition forces work a lot with recruits and invest into

The Feira European Council (2000) identified „strengthening the rule of law“ as one of four priority areas in which the European Union decided to establish specific capabilities in civilian ESDP. These Member States capabilities could be used in EU-led autonomous missions or in operations conducted by lead agencies, such as the UN or the OSCE. Specific targets set at the Göteborg European Council in 2001 were exceeded at the Ministerial Capabilities Commitments Conference in November 2002, when Member States undertook to provide almost 300 personnel for strengthening the rule of law, including judges, prosecutors, penitentiary experts and other officials.

the training of police officers at a lower level. "Training of high ranking officials is an issue that hasn't been really addressed from a strategic perspective," Stephen White says.

In March 2005, EU Member States agreed formally on the EUJUST LEX mission and Stephen White was appointed to lead it. In May, the programme received formal approval by the Prime Minister of the Iraqi interim Government Ibrahim Jaafari. The Mission then set up a small coordination team in Brussels with a liaison office in Baghdad. In July, the first two courses took place in EU Member States and six more have already since taken place. Until June 2006, ten member states will offer a total of 21 training courses. There is a "senior management course" for representatives from all branches and a course on the management of criminal investigations. There students will learn about modern investigative methods, including the interviewing and surveillance of suspects within a human rights framework, the collection of evidence on a crime scene and the application of forensic science.

Stephen White is confident that the courses will have an impact on his students. So far the feedback he gets is rather promising. "We have lived 30 years in the dark; now the sunrise allows us to see a lot of new things," one student told him during a training course in the EU.





Nick Witney, Directeur Exécutif de l'Agence Européenne de Défense.

Pourquoi une Agence Européenne de Défense ?

La Politique de Sécurité et de Défense Européenne n'est plus une abstraction. En l'espace de six années, la PESD a en effet accompli des progrès considérables, tant sur les plans politique et institutionnel qu'opérationnel.

L'Union Européenne a pris toutes ses responsabilités en matière de gestion de crise, avec des opérations en Bosnie-Herzégovine, en Ancienne République Yougoslave de Macédoine et en République Démocratique du Congo.

Nick Witney

La PESD a acquis une dimension politique supplémentaire avec l'adoption par le Conseil Européen en décembre 2003 de la Stratégie Européenne de Sécurité. Celle-ci décrit les défis mondiaux et identifie les principales menaces : terrorisme, prolifération des armes de destruction massive, conflits régionaux, déliquescence des Etats et criminalité organisée. Ce document définit ensuite les objectifs stratégiques de l'Union : le développement des capacités militaires nécessaires à son action constitue l'un des principaux.

Mais l'Europe est-elle capable d'assumer militairement la PESD dans toute son ampleur ?

Quelles sont les déficiences européennes les plus criantes aujourd'hui ? Il ne s'agit pas de dépenser plus pour tenter de concurrencer les Etats-Unis (dont le budget de défense tourne autour de 300 milliards d'euros), mais plutôt de dépenser mieux les 180 milliards d'euros de l'Europe des vingt-cinq. Les armées européennes sont loin d'être adaptées au monde moderne, à

ses conflits, à ses nouvelles menaces. Dans l'ensemble, elles sont encore très marquées par l'époque de la guerre froide. Leurs moyens sont trop lourds, trop statiques. Ils sont difficiles à acheminer sur les terrains d'opération lointains et vastes où l'Union peut décider de s'engager. A cela viennent s'ajouter des problèmes de communication ainsi que des problèmes logistiques qui perturbent la conduite des opérations et l'interopérabilité.

Si une modernisation des forces européennes s'impose, il convient également de tenir compte de la fragmentation des efforts actuels. Actuellement, les besoins sont identifiés par des ministères nationaux et les projets de développement et d'acquisition d'armement se font aussi, le plus souvent, au niveau national. Ceci n'est pas efficace, et ne garantit pas non plus l'interopérabilité indispensable dans des opérations européennes, impliquant la participation de plusieurs pays.

Mais, avant tout, l'Europe doit investir dans la technologie de pointe, se doter de moyens de communication efficaces, d'outils de transmission et d'analyse d'information. La guerre en Irak montre à quel point l'on est passé de l'ère industrielle à celle de la haute technologie.

L'industrie européenne se trouve dans une situation de concurrence difficile

Aujourd'hui, les marchés de la défense sont essentiellement nationaux, avec d'importantes aides d'état dans plusieurs pays. Les entreprises européennes sont confrontées aux grands groupes américains, lesquels bénéficient de crédits budgétaires et d'un marché beaucoup plus importants. Il leur faudrait un marché de taille continentale pour être compétitives. Ce mouvement s'accompagnera inévitablement de concentrations. En dépit des spécificités qui caractérisent les marchés de défense, il s'avère néanmoins souhaitable d'y introduire une plus grande concurrence.

En bref, les ambitions politiques de l'Europe dépassent aujourd'hui ses capacités militaires. C'est l'une des raisons pour lesquelles « l'Agence Européenne de Défense » a été créée par décision du Conseil, le 12 juillet 2004 avec le but de « Soutenir les Etats Membres dans leur effort d'amélioration des capacités de la défense européenne en appui de la Politique Européenne de Sécurité et de Défense (PESD) ... actuelle ou comme elle évoluera dans le futur », selon les termes de l'action commune instituant l'Agence.

Les principales fonctions de l'Agence décrites dans la décision sont les suivantes:

- développer des capacités de défense ;
- promouvoir la coopération en matière d'armement ;
- renforcer la base technologique et industrielle de défense et soutenir la création d'un marché européen compétitif des équipements de défense ;
- promouvoir la coopération en matière de recherche.

L'Agence dispose d'un budget global de 20 millions d'euros pour 2005, lequel lui a permis de constituer son effectif de 80 personnes. Son programme de travail pour 2005 prévoit notamment de travailler sur quatre projets phares. Son budget opérationnel – 3 millions d'euros en 2005 – lui permet de lancer ses propres études.

Les projets phares

Les véhicules blindés : aucun pays européen ne prévoit dans les vingt prochaines années, de nouveaux investissements importants dans les chars de combat, historiquement les rois des champs de bataille. L'intérêt européen repose maintenant plutôt dans des véhicules pouvant offrir aux soldats une mobilité protégée, des moyens pour se déplacer dans des zones dangereuses rapidement et en sécurité. Les différentes nations ont des idées différentes sur la définition technique et les besoins précis. Le processus traditionnel s'est enclenché, dans lequel une vingtaine d'Etats membres décrivent chacun leurs besoins, entament leurs propres programmes d'acquisition, qui déboucheront probablement sur une série de contrats relativement limités accordés à une demi douzaine de sociétés réparties en Europe. Ici, l'Agence peut sûrement avoir un impact en faveur d'une rationalisation.

UAVs : un autre domaine d'une importance clé est celui des drones, qui peuvent fournir des renseignements essentiels pour la préparation et la conduite des opérations. Là également, il y a plusieurs initiatives en Europe dans ce domaine et plusieurs programmes débutent. L'Agence encouragera tous les Etats Membres à coopérer le plus étroitement possible, au moins sur la technologie et les sous-systèmes de ces programmes.

Commandement, Contrôle, Communication : les difficultés dans ce domaine, quand il s'agit d'opérations hors de l'Europe entreprises par des forces multinationales, sont bien identifiées. Il nous faut des liens efficaces entre Bruxelles et les capitales; entre le Quartier Général européen qui dirige l'opération et le commandement sur le terrain; entre celui-ci et ses subordonnés ; et entre des véhicules et des soldats, souvent de nationalités différentes, dont l'efficacité et la sécurité dépendent en partie d'une bonne communication. L'Agence a lancé une étude pour identifier les problèmes les plus urgents et des solutions potentielles.

Marché européen des équipements de défense : si la coopération entre les gouvernements conduit à une consolidation de la demande, il faut également travailler à une consolidation de l'offre. Mais les problèmes à résoudre pour créer un véritable marché européen de matériel de défense sont nombreux. La Commission européenne a déjà publié un livre vert sur ce sujet, et l'Agence a fait des propositions concrètes pour avancer vers la création d'un marché européen d'équipement de défense et le renforcement de la base industrielle et technologique européenne.

Le chantier est immense. Mais le chemin est tracé et les objectifs sont bien définis. Et comme le souligne Javier Solana, le Chef de l'Agence : « Le besoin de renforcer les capacités militaires de l'Europe pour atteindre le niveau de nos aspirations est plus urgent que jamais. Il est également urgent de mieux répondre aux défis auxquels nos industries de la défense doivent faire face. Cette Agence peut apporter une énorme contribution.»

European Defence Agency

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European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) is no longer an abstract concept. It has become an operational reality in just six years. The EU has assumed its responsibilities for crisis-management with operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

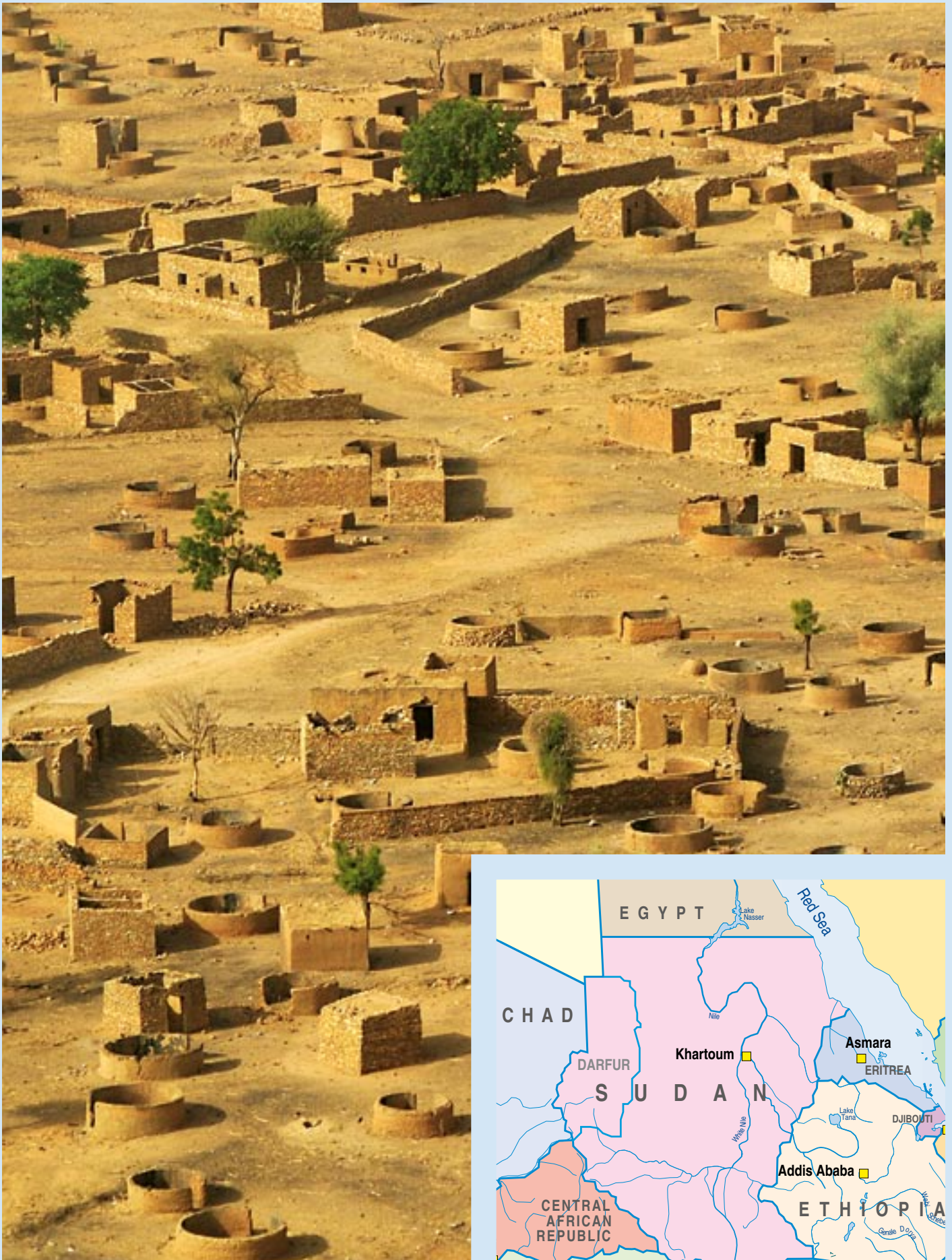
Terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, failing states and organised crime are the principal threats the EU faces today. The military capabilities needed to act must be developed. That is why the European Defence Agency was created under a Joint Action of the Council of Ministers on 12 July, 2004, its role "to support the Council and the Member States in their effort to improve European defence capabilities in the field of crisis management and to sustain the ESDP as it stands now and develops in the future."

The Agency has four main functions, relating to:

- (a) defence capabilities development;
- (b) armaments co-operation;
- (c) the European defence, technological and industrial base and defence equipment market;
- (d) research and technology.

The Agency has a budget of 20 million Euros for 2005 and is now fully operational with a staff of 80.

www.eda.eu.int



Near Zalingei, one of hundreds of villages burned in the conflict between government forces, militias, and rebel soldiers in the Darfur region of Sudan.



EU assistance to the African Union Mission in Sudan

A region roughly the size of France, but with only two main roads. The landscape almost a desert and inaccessible mountains. That is the geographical set for Darfur, the eastern province of Sudan. And it is the area where the EU has helped to deploy and to support 7,700 soldiers and civil police officers for the African Union peace mission AMIS (now AMIS II) since July 2004. It's a task that requires patience and a sense of co-operation.

At the end of August, Jacques Bodilis received bad news from El Fasher, the provincial capital of Darfur. The helicopters stationed at the AMIS forces headquarter were running out of fuel due to general kerosene shortage in Sudan. Without the air transport capacity the AMIS force was not able to deploy the incoming soldiers to their final destination. "Our transition camp was very soon overcrowded and we had to call off the airlift to Darfur for some time," the French colonel explains in his office at the African Union's headquarter in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

AMIS stands for the African Union Mission in Sudan. With up to 7,700 soldiers and civil police it is the first full-scale peace mission the African Union (AU) has ever organized. It was launched after the fighting between two rebel groups and the Government of Sudan armed forces in Darfur led to a major humanitarian crisis (see box). With a cease-fire agreement between the conflicting parties agreed upon in April 2004 the AU started a monitoring mission with 150 military observers. Following widespread violations of the cease-fire agreement and a resolution by the UN Security Council, the African Union decided to expand the mission to 2,300 soldiers and 800 civilian police in October 2004. In April 2005 the AU further extended the peace support force to 6,200 soldiers and 1,500 civil police. The EU has provided, among other donors, a massive support to the AU throughout this process.

The mission works with contributions from the international community. Strategic airlift to bring the AU troops to Darfur is provided by the EU and NATO. For the EU Italy, France, Germany and Greece have offered their transport capacities. In addition, the EU has offered equipment and planes for in-theatre transport. The US, Canada and the UK, i. a., provide additional transport capacities through NATO.

Experts from the EU, the US, Canada have been seconded to the AU in Addis Ababa, to the mission headquarters in Sudan's capital Khartoum and to the force headquarters in Darfur. Jacques Bodilis is one of 19 officers from the EU, operational and logistic planners, deployed at the different levels (Addis Ababa, Khartoum and El-Fashir in Darfur). He works in the Darfur Integrated Task Force (DITF) in Addis Ababa, an ad hoc general staff of the AU for the AMIS mission. The main task of his unit is to co-ordinate the troop deployment and the support. "The African Union does not have enough logistics experts. We are here to assist and to train them on the job," he says.

Bodilis is second in his unit and works under the command of an Ethiopian Commodore. "Co-operation is fine," he says. It should be as the job could hardly be more challenging. The troops sent by the AU member states arrive in Darfur with light equipment only. Virtually everything from tents to vehicles, provisions and water must be brought to the right place at the right time.

With the adverse conditions of the desert this is a task not easily achieved. When the fuel shortage added to extremely heavy rains at the end of August, the heaviest since 50 years, the deployment of the peace support force was delayed by several weeks. "We had about 5,500 soldiers and civil police in the atre; the remaining 2,000 were scheduled for the end of September," Bodilis explains.

Under these circumstances it is vital that the international assistance is well co-ordinated, especially with regards to the air lift, as its most sensitive part. For the EU it is the European Airlift Centre (EAC) in Eindhoven that is processing the AU's demand for transport capacities. For NATO the Air Movement Coordination Cell (AMCC) at SHAPE, the military headquarter in Mons, Belgium, is in charge. Both centres work closely together. "We are in constant contact with NATO, have several video conferences a week," says Lieutenant-Colonel Timo Hämäläinen from the military staff at the EU Council Secretariat in Brussels. The meetings are chaired by Colonel Simon Bate from the European Union Military Staff.



EU police officer with children in Darfur.



Nigerian troops – part of the African Union contingent in Darfur – on patrol in Labado.



Bags of grain from the U.N. World Food Program are unloaded in Nyala for transport on to nearby IDP camps.

The consolidated EU package in support of AMIS II also includes other forms of military assistance such as the provision of equipment and the deployment of military observers (11 EU monitors throughout Darfur and an EU Vice-Chairman of the Cease-Fire Commission), as well as support to the civilian police component. 16 EU police officers had been deployed as of mid-October throughout the AMIS II CIVPOL chain of command.

In addition to military and civilian assistance in support to AMIS II, the EU and its member states have been providing a wide range of support to the African Union efforts to help stabilise the situation in Darfur since January 2004. The

EU helped to broker the cease-fire agreement in April 2004, assisted in the subsequent AU observer mission with military observers and today still has a vice-president in the Cease-fire Commission for Darfur. The EU has mobilised a total of 570 million Euro in response to the Darfur crisis. About 445 million went into humanitarian assistance, three million into the support of the political process, and 122 million as a contribution to AMIS and the Cease-fire Commission. In July 2005, the EU nominated a Special Representative for Darfur. Pekka Haavisto, a former Finnish Minister, will oversee the EU activities in Darfur and co-ordinate the EU assistance to the AMIS mission. He also takes part in the Darfur peace talks in Abuja, Nigeria.

Darfur Conflict

In 2003, fighting broke out in Darfur as the local rebel groups Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) attacked the Government of Sudan armed forces, which then counter-attacked with air forces, regular forces on the ground and the Arabic speaking militia (the Jenjaweed). The conflict escalated progressively causing a major humanitarian crisis affecting 2.45 million people, including undetermined human losses; destruction of villages, crops and livestock; 1.85 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees who fled across the border to neighbouring Chad; heightened vulnerability, as testified by the large caseload of deaths by diseases that under normal circumstances are preventable.

Despite the support from the international community, it is the African Union that decides on the mission. "African ownership is the principle of our co-operation. The African Union is in the driving seat and we assist wherever we can," explains Colonel Reinhard Linz, the liaison officer of the EU to the African Union in Addis Ababa. The German officer is satisfied with the co-operation, given the extreme conditions under which AMIS has to operate. "The African Union was founded only three years ago. It is a very young organization with 53 member states. All that makes the mission extremely complex and you must keep in mind that the AU never conducted such a large multinational operation before," he says.

However, it is very likely that more such operations will follow. It is the aim of the EU that the African countries take over more responsibility for conflict resolution and management in Africa. In that context the African Union is regarded as the key actor. "For the AU the AMIS mission is a litmus test which, to a large extent, will determine the organisation's future role in peace and stability operations on the African continent," says Christian Manahl, Sudan expert at the Council Secretariat's civ-mil cell. African political leaders have expressed their will to meet these expectations.

Near Garsila, a displaced woman returns with firewood.



Cooking oil from the U.N. World Food Program is distributed to residents of an IDP camp outside Garsila.



Questions to Mr Pekka Haavisto, EU Special Representative for Sudan

You have been appointed EU Special Representative for Sudan. What is your main task?

As a EUSR for Sudan I have currently three main tasks: to support the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between North and South Sudan, to participate as an EU delegate in the Darfur peace talks and to mobilize European Union's support to the African Union, especially to their monitoring operation AMIS in Darfur. I will do these tasks with my team, which includes political, military and police advisors. The team is located in Brussels, in Addis Ababa and in Khartoum.

What can the AU Darfur mission realistically achieve?

The African Union has already achieved some key goals in Darfur. One has been to secure the IDP camps and stop the violence – including rapes and killings – against IDPs. An important task is to monitor the cease-fire agreement and violations against that. It is very important that this mechanism is used whenever there are attacks or counter-attacks in Darfur. Otherwise the parties will easily end in a vicious circle of revenge.

What is the specific contribution the EU can make to the mission?

The European Union is already the key financial supporter of AU's AMIS-operation. But to solve this conflict it is not only financial support that is needed. The peace negotiations need a lot of political support. We need to support the African Union and its negotiators on Darfur talks. We can also have our political pressure towards the parties to come to the peace agreement and stop the violence. An important issue is also to get the EU to play as an orchestra in these matters – our member states are also bilaterally active in the region, but

we should work towards the same goals. This is what the common foreign and security policy is all about.

The African Union is a fairly young organization and has never managed such a big peace operation with so many components. Why is such a fairly inexperienced organization entrusted with such a difficult operation?

Nobody could have done this work better. The African Union was rapid, it deployed a lot of soldiers in a very short time, and the soldiers are working in Darfur under very basic conditions. It is also important that we develop regional peacekeeping capacities – this is unfortunately not the only conflict on the African continent. Already now we can imagine the needs in countries like Somalia or Congo. The troops of the African Union are in many cases also more welcome by the local population and conflicting parties than troops that might include soldiers from earlier colonial powers.

There has been a lot of discussion about competition between Nato and EU regarding that mission. What is your experience?

I have been working over the last six years for the United Nations, which have many agencies, sometimes with overlapping mandates, and always in post-conflict regions where all other players – including World Bank – have been present. One lesson I have learned is that there is often competition and jealousy in headquarters, but on the ground you just have to co-operate. There is enough work to be done for everyone, and there is no time for competition. I feel the same when discussing about EU and Nato. I fully understand that in headquarters this is a discussion on mandates and the future role of the organizations. But the truth on the ground is that peace in Sudan needs all resources that can be immediately mobilized. We just have to be grateful to any organisation and any country that is ready to invest for peace in Sudan.

Clippings



19 September 2005

Becoming witness to peace in Aceh

This month is another historic moment for peace in Indonesia's province of Aceh. It has been identified by two opposing sides -- the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) -- as the starting point for the demilitarization process, as mandated by the peace pact signed by the two parties in Helsinki on Aug. 15. The three-month process of demilitarization, which, it is hoped, will end the decades-long bloodshed in Aceh, could well become the center of attention for the international community. The presence of no fewer than 150 representatives of the European Union peace mission is boosted by 100 members from ASEAN countries.

Dutch diplomat Pieter Feith, who served as a NATO mediator in the Balkans, has been chosen to lead the EU mission in Aceh [...]. It is clear that Feith has been chosen to lead the team in Aceh to address issues that are similar to those he faced in the Balkans: the decommissioning of arms by the Acehese resistance and the withdrawal of central government troops. But he will not stop there. He will closely monitor social and political developments in the province, which were badly devastated by the tsunami last year, in which around 131,000 residents were killed.

His responsibilities will mean he has to deal with assisting former GAM guerrillas to reintegrate into society, support a genuine democracy that enables Acehese to hold local legislative elections and monitor human rights issues. An estimated 15,000 people have been killed during the course of the conflict between the government and GAM, which started in 1976. "My team and I wish to ensure that the whole process will become self-sustaining before we recommend an end to our presence in Aceh," he said.

Some eyebrows have been raised, though, with some Jakarta-based politicians and military people questioning Feith's commitment to maintaining a united Republic of Indonesia. Feith just smiles in response to such comments. "I certainly cannot promote separation in Aceh or anywhere else. The European Union's foreign policy is clear: we are supposed to keep nations together, not support separatism. We need to deal with current global challenges, like fighting terrorism, rather than allowing nations to fall apart or break up. They need to stay together and remain strong, to avoid becoming failed states. We are here to work in support of the territorial integrity of Indonesia."



19 de septiembre de 2005

„No ha sido posible desarmar a algunos señores de la guerra“

Ha habido menos participación que en las presidenciales del año pasado, sobre todo entre las mujeres", declaró ayer Francesc Vendrell, tras valorar la ausencia de incidentes graves de seguridad durante la jornada electoral para elegir al nuevo Parlamento afgano. A falta de resultados finales, que no se conocerán hasta mediados de octubre, el representante especial de la UE para Afganistán lamentó que no haya „sido posible desarmar a algunos señores de la guerra ni impedir que se presenten al Parlamento“.

Pregunta. ¿Cuál es su evaluación de la jornada electoral?

Respuesta. No he visto incidentes serios de seguridad ni de intimidación o abusos. Claro que siempre una elección con un sistema de voto único no transferible es complicada y, sobre todo en Kabul, se notaba que muchos electores tenían dificultades en decidir a quién iban a votar o, más probablemente, en encontrar al candidato por el que querían votar.

P. Muchos candidatos y un sistema de voto único e intransferible. ¿Cómo va a afectar a los resultados?

R. Puede causar muchas sorpresas, pero si fuera cierto que el número de votantes ha disminuido, comparado con el año pasado, esto podría ayudar a los candidatos mejor organizados y más conocidos que en la mayor parte de los casos están asociados con comandantes o ex comandantes de la Alianza del Norte.

P. La eventual entrada en el Parlamento de señores de la guerra acusados de crímenes de guerra ¿no dificultará su funcionamiento democrático?

R. Hay que distinguir entre quienes puedan haber cometido crímenes como líderes de milicias y ahora estén desarmados, y candidatos que aún tienen milicias que les apoyan. En el primer caso es bueno que los afganos tengan la oportunidad de elegir entre un gran abanico de candidatos que va desde los ex comunistas más duros hasta los islamistas más fundamentalistas, porque dentro de lo que cabe no amenazan a la población. El problema es sobre todo el de los candidatos que aún tienen armas y están apoyados por milicias porque supone una contradicción total con el juego democrático a través de las urnas. Desgraciadamente, no ha sido posible ni desarmarlos ni impedir que se presentaran al Parlamento.

Clippings

Süddeutsche Zeitung

20. Oktober 2005

Wächter im Splitterstaat

Sie sind die Hilfsheriffs der bosnischen Polizei und kommen aus 34 Staaten. Seit drei Jahren arbeiten fast 500 Polizisten in dem wirtschaftlich und politisch immer noch rückständigen Balkanland. Die Männer mit den goldenen EU-Sternen auf den Uniformen haben den Auftrag, die einheimische Polizei zu beraten und ihr auf die Finger zu schauen. Ende des Jahres läuft ihr Mandat aus, und in Brüssel wird derzeit darüber diskutiert, wie die Mission fortgesetzt werden soll. „Es gibt keinen Zweifel, dass der Einsatz verlängert wird“, betont eine Sprecherin des EU-Außenbeauftragten Javier Solana. Für Bosnien ist die Verlängerung sinnvoll. Zehn Jahre nach dem Ende des Krieges herrscht im einheimischen Polizeiapparat ein heilloser Durcheinander. Gleich mehr als ein Dutzend verschiedener Polizeieinheiten operieren in Bosnien. Dies ist eine Folge des komplizierten Staatsaufbaus, denn das Land besteht aus zwei Mini-Staaten: der serbischen Republik und der kroatisch-muslimischen Föderation, die wiederum in zehn Kantone unterteilt ist. Darüber hinaus gibt es noch den autonomen Bezirk Brcko. Alle diese Landesteile haben eine eigene Polizei, eigene Polizeiminister und eigene Strafverfolgungsgesetze mit der Folge, dass sich Kriminelle in Bosnien den Sicherheitsbehörden geschickt entziehen können. Die Zentralisierung des Polizeiwesens zählt daher zu den unumstößlichen Forderungen der Europäischen Union an die Bosnier. Bisher scheiterte die Reform am Widerstand der Serben. Doch Anfang Oktober lenkte das Parlament in Banja Luka ein und beschloss, in den nächsten fünf Jahren mit Kroaten und bosnischen Muslimen einen Polizeidienst aufzubauen. Dabei werden ihnen die Sicherheitskräfte der Europäischen Union zur Seite stehen. Seit einiger Zeit schon macht sich EUPM für den Aufbau einer landesweit operierenden Polizei stark und hat erste Erfolge erzielt. Vor eineinhalb Jahren wurde Sipa, eine Art Bundespolizei, etabliert. Sipa („State Investigation and Protection Agency“) ist die erste Kriminalbehörde in Bosnien, die überregional Verbrecher jagt. Die derzeit 436 Beamten konzentrieren sich neben dem Personenschutz auf Menschenhandel, Geldwäsche, Terrorismus und die organisierte Kriminalität. 65 internationale Polizei-Offiziere beraten Sipa in diversen Projekten. Neben Sipa gibt es eine zweite gesamtbosnische Polizeieinheit, deren Arbeit weit über das Balkan-Land hinaus von Bedeutung ist. Das ist der Grenzschutz. Für Schmuggler und Menschenhändler waren Bosniens Grenzen nach dem Krieg spielend leicht zu überwinden. Seit 2002 arbeitet EUPM am Aufbau eines landesweiten Grenzschutzes und versucht, den Schmuggel in den Griff zu kriegen. 2000 Beamte bewachen die 1600 Kilometer lange Grenze, doch das reicht bei weitem nicht aus. Im EUPM-Hauptquartier in Sarajewo ist man mit den Leistungen der Mission dennoch zufrieden. „Wir haben einiges erreicht in der kurzen Zeit“, sagt EUPM-Vize Lucas über die vergangenen drei Jahre.

THE IRISH TIMES

2 December 2005

Senior police man sees light at end of a dark Bosnian tunnel

Visiting Sarajevo, even a decade after the Dayton agreement was signed, you can still all too easily become a camera-clicking war tourist. Walking along Zmajica Od Bosne, which leads into the road once known as Sniper's Alley, you have plenty of opportunities to inspect bullet-ridden and shell-damaged buildings up close.

Thankfully, as the 10th anniversary of Dayton approaches, Sarajevo is a remarkably safe city considering the number of military demobilised after the conflict ended. „This is a very safe environment, a very pleasant city,“ Kevin Carty says. He is an assistant commissioner of the Garda Síochána and currently head of the EU Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Its mission is to establish sustainable policing arrangements in Bosnia. „It's much safer than most other European cities. I've been here nearly two years now and I've yet to see any violence engaged in by young people here or any of the loutish behaviour that unfortunately I'm very familiar with from Ireland.“

His assessment seems accurate. Travelling outside the pleasant environment of Sarajevo, one gets a sense that while ethnic tension hangs like a cloud over Kosovo, Bosnia is settling into a sort of normality. „They are not interested in hostilities, there is no indication in our assessment, 10 years after the war, that any of the ethnic identities in this country have any desire to go back to hostilities,“ Carty says. „They are interested in moving forward and into Europe.“ But according to Carty, while an end to war has brought a peace dividend, elections and freedom of expression, it also brings organised crime and hard drugs.

But most people understandably would rather see the bottle as half-full rather than as half-empty. People expelled during the war are returning. Property and food are relatively cheap and, while nobody wants to encourage a dependency culture, EU funds appear to be having an impact.

Carty says it is time for locals to get some credit, not just the international organisations and the various NGOs who are still active here. „We are 10 years out of a war. That's not very long by any standards. Ten years ago, about one-sixteenth of the population of this country, 250,000 people, were killed, 10,000 here in Sarajevo alone; 2,500 kids were shot, killed, going to and from school. Horrible statistics. „But to think 10 years on we have come this far, I think it's amazing. It speaks volumes for the resolve of the people of this country.“



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