

The EU as a Global Player:
Strengths and Weaknesses of CFSP and ESDP as seen from a German-Italian Angle

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Conference Report
of the German-Italian Expert Seminar

ESDP under Review:
Achievements and Future Challenges

Berlin, January 31st - February 1st, 2008

Table of Contents

Introduction..... 3

Session I: ESDP-Operations: Experiences, Tendencies and Lessons Learned 6

Session II: Command, Control, Intelligence and Headquarters – Assessment and Future Requirements..... 9

Session III: The EU in Rapid Response – Conceptions and Capabilities..... 12

Session IV: Prospects for the ESDP: Future Challenges and Potential Responses 13



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Introduction

In the beginning of 2003, the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) became officially operational. After four years of institution building and strategic considerations as well as civil and military capability development, the European Union (EU) started its first field mission in the framework of ESDP in Bosnia-Herzegovina. As of today, 14 civilian missions, 5 military operations and one civilian-military assistance mission have been conducted within the framework of ESDP. The Institut für Europäische Politik (IEP, Berlin), with its partner, the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI, Rome), and the support of the Compagnia di San Paolo (Turin), has set up a network of experts from think tanks, the foreign ministries and the military. The aim of this co-operation is to establish a forum for regularly discussing recent international developments affecting the EU's foreign and security policy and for developing respective potential strategies or responses of the EU while explicitly focussing on German and Italian interests. The idea is to bring together a limited number of participants in order to ensure an open and in-depth discussion. The 2nd Expert Seminar in the framework of the project "The EU as a Global Player – Strengths and Weaknesses of the CFSP and ESDP as seen from an Italian-German Angle" dealt with the evaluation of the operational experiences gathered so far and examined achievements and future challenges.

H.E. Antonio Puri Purini Ambassador of the Italian Republic to Germany, Berlin

In his keynote speech, the Italian Ambassador to Germany, His Excellency Antonio Puri Purini, reminded the participants of the importance of German-Italian cooperation in the European integration process. For instance, he referred to the Genscher-Colombo Plan of 1981 which led to the Solemn Declaration in Stuttgart in June 1983. He underlined the deep commitment of both states in the process leading to the European constitution as well as to the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. Ambassador Puri Purini reaffirmed that great achievements had taken place within ESDP since its inception, yet the need to move on was difficult to meet. He stated that one had entered a very delicate phase because of the closer move into a core

area of national sovereignty. The Ambassador took a firm stance in favour of a better definition of priorities, including geographical ones, as well as a better definition of the civilian and military capabilities to be used in ESDP operations. Also, the time had come to think seriously on some initiatives which Italy and Germany could take together, for instance in peace-keeping operations or in the preparations for the civilian operation in Kosovo. Finally, the Ambassador expressed his hopes that the work of the seminar would contribute to the important question on how to develop a truly common European defence.

Prof. Dr. Mathias Jopp
Director, Institut für Europäische Politik (IEP),
Berlin

In his welcome speech, Prof. Jopp, director of the IEP in Berlin, thanked all the participants, also on behalf of the Compagnia di San Paolo, for their readiness to participate in the second conference of the programme “The EU as a Global Player – Strengths and Weaknesses of the CFSP and ESDP as seen from an Italian-German Angle”, which had been initiated in Rome a little more than one year ago. Prof. Jopp briefly explained the idea behind the programme, which was to analyse and discuss foreign, security and defence policy aspects and look at them from an Italian / German point of view. The purpose was to make concrete suggestions on how the EU could further develop ESDP and CFSP. During the first seminar in Rome, he said, the focus had been on the institutional and procedural aspects of the CFSP. The second seminar in Berlin would now focus on the experiences made within 5 years of ESDP operations and look into the future of civilian and military missions as discussed in the joint German-Italian seminar paper (background paper). Prof. Jopp continued with the statement that the EU had to some extent become, with its operations in the Near- and Middle East, Africa and Indonesia, a “security player at a global scale”. He reminded that Germany and Italy, founding members of the EU, shared a number of common interests and the will to develop the EC/EU further in several areas, including the area of security and defence policy. The two states also had a common ground of understanding in integration affairs, which would enable them to play a role in ESDP, hopefully soon under the conditions of the Lisbon Treaty. Finally, he raised a number of questions likely to be discussed during the seminar: “The Lisbon Treaty reaffirms the term of a 'common' European defence policy, but how common can it be in view of the experiences made in ESDP within the last 5 years? Do we need an Operational Headquarter in Brussels? What perspectives do we see for a revision of the European Security Strategy (ESS) under the coming French Presidency?” He expressed his wishes

for a fruitful exchange of views and interesting discussions.

Prof. Dr. Gianni Bonvicini, Director
Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI), Rome

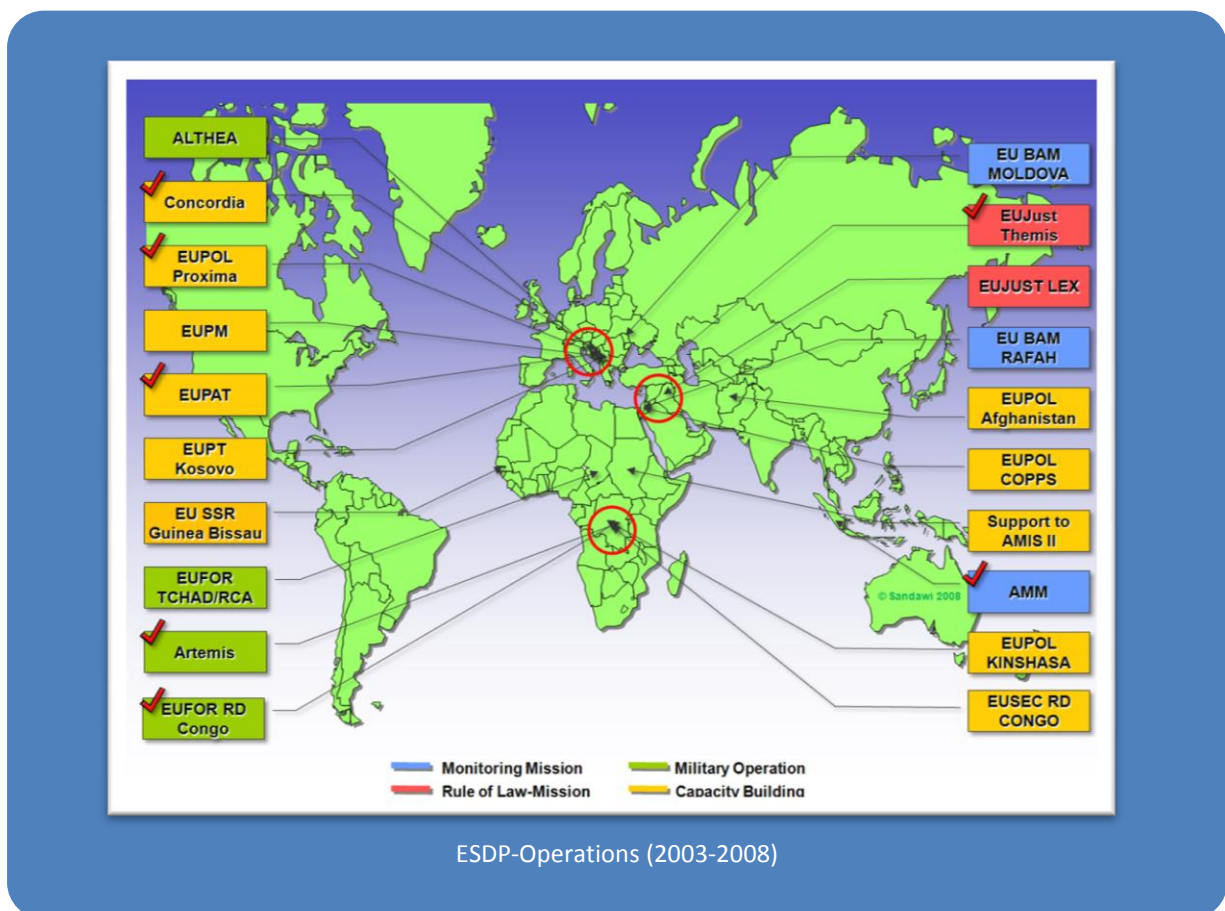
Prof. Bonvicini also welcomed the participants of the expert seminar. He started by highlighting the old connection existing between the IAI and the IEP: already in the 1970's, a core group of researchers from both institutes started focusing on the newly launched European Political Cooperation (EPC), known as the mother of ESDP/CFSP. He further pointed to the fact that the project work and the conference series within which the seminar was taking place have been funded by an Italian foundation, a proof of the strong interest in co-operation with Germany on the Italian side. In Prof. Bonvicini's view, the mix of crisis management and conflict prevention as well as of civilian and military operations had shaped a unique European identity in the area of defence. Like the previous speaker, he emphasized that both countries shared values in a field where the EU faces future challenges, and that their ideological attachment towards European integration could transform the national conception of defence and security in order to move towards a truly common – not communitarian – defence. In order to succeed with this, future initiatives of the Italian and German governments, as well as structural linkages between both countries' administrations would be important. Therefore, Prof. Bonvicini was particularly happy to see the commitment of both countries through the high level delegations present at the conference.

Michael Clauß
Deputy Director General for European
Affairs, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin

In his welcome speech, Michael Clauß emphasized the diversity of the security challenges facing the EU. Although some of these challenges lay in the horizon, many others were already present, making immediate action at the EU level necessary. Examples of such challenges were terrorism,

regional instability (Afghanistan, Kenya, Middle East) and WMD proliferation. These would be challenges which the European Member States could not tackle alone: on these issues, there was clearly a need for “more EU”. Despite the fact that the Treaty of Lisbon did not foresee any transfer of competences, it did provide a number of important institutional provisions, which Mr. Clauß went through in detail. One of these innovations was the merging of the posts of the High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy and the External Action Commissioner into the post of a High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. Mr. Clauß labeled this as an effort to increase the overall coherence between the first and second pillars. He then raised a number of questions concerning the relationship between the High Representative and the new elected President of the European Council, and stressed that the first nominations to these posts would be crucial. Another innovation mentioned by Mr. Clauß was the creation of the European

External Action Service (EEAS) to support the new High Representative. He assumed that due to the ongoing ratification process important decisions were likely to be taken only during the French Presidency. As many others, Mr. Clauß expressed the wish to see the ratification successfully completed by December 2008. Concerning the ESDP provisions in the new Treaty, Mr. Clauß reminded the audience of the lengthy discussions which had taken place during the convention. He underlined that some innovations foreseen in the new treaty had already been implemented, such as the European Defence Agency as well as the solidarity clause. Mr. Clauß, before wishing all participants a fruitful and successful seminar, concluded that three things would determine how ESDP would develop in the short term: the balance of power between Brussels and the Member States, the balance of power between the European Council, the Commission and the Parliament, and the balance of power between the European governments.





Gerhard Kemmler, Vincenzo Camporini, Giuseppe Valotto, Gianni Bonvicini, Heiko Borchert

Session I: ESDP-Operations: Experiences, Tendencies and Lessons Learned

The deputy director of IEP, Dr. Elfriede Regelsberger, opened the working part of the seminar on February 1st followed by the authors of the discussion paper, Nicoletta Pirozzi from IAI and Sammi Sandawi from IEP, who presented the main conclusions of their joint work. Their paper - entitled “Five Years of ESDP-Operations: Experiences, Tendencies and Lessons Learned” - provided a strategic overview of the operative side of ESDP. They underlined several main trends: the globalisation of the operation area, the expansion of the operation spectrum, the focus on the lower Petersberg tasks, the increasingly multinational character of ESDP operations, and the difficulty of translating the idea of combined civilian-military operations into practice. They summed up their findings by stating that no other security actor was able to cope with a mixture of civilian and military instruments as effectively as the European Union. However, they also underlined that the well-known gap between expectations and capabilities still existed. This introductory analysis laid the basis for the first session which was chaired by General Vincenzo Camporini, Chief of the Italian Defence Staff, and focused on “ESDP Operations: Experience, Tendencies and Lessons learned”.

Brigadier General Gerhard Kemmler Military Representative of Germany, Permanent Representation of Germany to the EU, Brussels

General Kemmler explained that the EU for political, financial, organisational as well as historical reasons saw the need to strongly differentiate between the civilian and the military missions. After presenting the three basic command options for the EU (Berlin Plus, military chain of command from nationally provided headquarters, and operations led from the EU Operations Centre in Brussels), General Kemmler focused his

presentation on the operations Althea in Bosnia (the still ongoing oldest ESDP-mission) and EUFOR RD CONGO in the Democratic Republic of Congo. In his opinion, they revealed the ability of the EU to learn from its operational experiences. For instance, the Althea operation showed that the Berlin Plus agreement worked well and that over time efficient use could be made of shared resources. Even more, it also revealed that the EUSR's had an important role to play in the effort to improve overall co-ordination and coherence. With regard to the EUFOR RD CONGO operation, General Kemmler stated that the EU-UN cooperation and intra-EU

cooperation in the area of operation had been satisfactory. He paid tribute to the capable and efficient work of the OHQ in charge, the German Einsatzführungskommando, and underlined that the strict end-date orientated approach towards the Congo-operation had prevented the usually high risk of mission creep. He also praised the high quality of the deployed combat forces – primarily troops from France and Germany. General Kemmler however noted that the force generation process in the forefront of EUFOR RD CONGO had been suboptimal and that the soldiers on the ground had lacked important tactical enablers like local transport (esp. helicopters), medical support units and sufficient reconnaissance capabilities. It would be particularly interesting, he said, to see whether this could be improved for the EUFOR CHAD RCA mission. General Kemmler concluded by stating that the success of ESDP depended not so much on capabilities as on political will. But even if the political will was there, experience showed that compromises begin to falter once the financial issues are laid on the table.

*“Lesson identified? Yes.
Lesson learned? Yes.
Will we repeat our mistakes
in the future? Uncertain.”*

General Kemmler

General Giuseppe Valotto
President, Centro Alti Studi per la Difesa,
Rome

His fifteen years of NATO experience and background as Force Commander in Bosnia and Kosovo have permitted General Valotto, newly appointed President of the Centro Alti Studi per la Difesa in Rome, to observe in practice the link between security and economic development, which was the main focus of his presentation. Due to the numerous interdependent aspects of a crisis, the approach used by ESDP in its operational areas should be comprehensive and multidisciplinary. Indeed, according to the General, such an approach was the best way to create a virtuous cycle of security and economic development. In order to assure the success of the “comprehensive crisis

management” which had become the European trademark, the EU, according to the General, needed available military forces which were multinational, capable of cooperating with non-military structures and capable of fast and decisive intervention, both in prevention and in real combat missions when a crisis turns into a conflict. Furthermore, General Valotto stressed the importance that the EU “thinks globally and acts locally” as described in the European Security Strategy. Only then one could create sustainable development in crisis areas. The liaison monitoring teams in Kosovo, which not only gathered open information, but also kept contact with the local authorities and population, provided a good example of such an approach.

Finally, General Valotto stated that in his opinion, in all peace-keeping operations, after the first military phase, the international community with different means and at various levels had to play the most important role. He then concluded that impartiality was the key to win the support and the cooperation of the local population, which was the main condition for reaching an essential improvement of the situation in a crisis region.

Prof. Dr. Gianni Bonvicini
Director, IAI, Rome

In his comment, Prof. Bonvicini made an overall positive assessment of what had been achieved within the very young history of ESDP. He reminded the participants that since the St. Malo Summit and the different Headline Goals, the civil and the military camp, in a process which had been rapid and unexpected, had assisted in common the establishment of procedures and rules for EU-led operations. An impressive bottom-up institutional process had led amongst others to the creation of the Civilian Response Teams, the Battle Groups as well as the European Defence Agency. Through these institutions, the EU was proposing an ad hoc

way to deal with security and defence. Prof. Bonvicini stressed however that this bottom-up institutional process had reached its ceiling. Many improvements were still necessary, what concerned both the inter-pillar and the intra-pillar coordination. According to him, there would be not so much a need of more political will than of new functions and positions. More precisely, one would need a political figure holding at the same time the power of initiative, the ability to assure coherence between civilian and military instruments and, last but not least, the ability to provide a real implementation of the policy the EU adopts for crisis management operations. The Lisbon Treaty, Prof. Bonvicini underlined, provided exactly such a figure with the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. On a more pessimistic note, he added that the resources allocated to external policies for the period 2007-2013 remained insufficient and that it was unclear how much could be actually spent on crisis management. At the end, Prof. Bonvicini came back to the beginning of his comment and underlined that, in the future, there would be a clear need for completing the up to now bottom-up approach with an institutional top-down approach for securing the success of ESDP.

Dr. Heiko Borchert
Director, Borchert & Co., Luzern

In the final comment of the first panel, Dr. Heiko Borchert reviewed the ESDP development by concentrating on the “missing link” between “Energy Infrastructure Security” (EIS) and ESDP. He explained that there could be no energy security without energy infrastructure, because irrespective of the kind of energy source (for instance solar energy from Africa), there would always be a need for infrastructure to transport energy to and within Europe. The EU had an ambitious approach towards energy policy, yet every Member State had its own interests in this field. Dr Borchert reminded that Italy played an important strategic role in energy security. This was underlined by the most recent cooperation agreements between ENI and Gazprom and the energy infrastructure that

linked Italy with North Africa. According to the European Commission, Italy would also harbour 16 out of the EU’s 63 Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) Terminals that already exist, are being constructed or proposed for construction. The important question was whether these terminals should be considered as critical national infrastructure or as critical European infrastructure. Dr. Borchert thus emphasized the lack of a bridging concept comprising energy, ESDP/CFSP. He also deplored that the European Defence Agency’s Long Term Vision (LTV) did not address the impact of Europe’s external energy relations on the required defence and security capabilities. This was indeed particularly worrying at a moment where a major power shift had occurred to the benefit of the producing countries. Dr. Borchert argued that anxiousness about the “militarisation of energy policy” was wrong-placed. Rather he saw a need to “energise” ESDP. One way to achieve this could be a revision of the European Security Strategy which would take into account the strategic relevance of various energy alliances and bring in line Europe’s external energy relations with the CFSP and ESDP; another could be the adaptation of Headline Goal (HG) scenarios. So far the EU-HG scenarios lacked specific reference to energy supply security tasks. The EU-HG scenario on “separation of parties by force”, however, referred to securing lines of communication and could thus be interpreted as a first starting point to include energy supply security in scenarios relevant for capability planning. In the long term, a much stronger EU-NATO cooperation in the field of EIS would be crucial, with intelligence-sharing being a major issue, also within the EU.

Discussion

In the ensuing discussion, many participants pointed to the need for a top-down institutional approach in order to better respond to the challenges facing ESDP, which would mean to strengthen the institutional mechanisms at the Brussels level. Other participants however insisted, with a view to the “bottom”, on the need to better involve the local authorities and local population by

the means of information activities and PR campaigns. The interaction with local and international organisations on the spot was also emphasized as very important in order to increase the confidence of the population. Another topic which was brought up for discussion was the interplay between ESDP and energy security, and one of the questions raised was whether there were other EU mechanisms which would be better suited to deal with this issue than ESDP. Cost-sharing

issues in connection with the Athena mechanism were also a point of controversial discussion. Finally, the nature of the transatlantic relationship was discussed. And, although all participants agreed on the need to strengthen EU-NATO relations, many also underlined the need for making Europe a more attractive partner for the US through building up a stronger and even more efficient ESDP.



Jürgen Ehle, Luciano Callini, Franz Borkenhagen, Giovanni Gasparini, Martin Valkysers

Session II: Command, Control, Intelligence and Headquarters – Assessment and Future Requirements

The second session was chaired by Franz H.U. Borkenhagen, former head of the Planning Staff in the Federal German Ministry of Defence, and was entitled “Command, Control, Intelligence and Headquarters - Assessment and Future Requirements”.

Kapitän zur See Jürgen Ehle **Head of ESDP Desk, Federal Ministry of Defence, Berlin**

In his presentation, Kapitän zur See Jürgen Ehle analysed the development of EU capabilities for the planning and the conduct

of crisis management operations against the backdrop of the Hampton Court and Wiesbaden Processes for improving the EU’s ability to act as a global player in international crisis management.

He first focused on the establishment of new structures of planning and conduct of civilian

ESDP missions in the Council Secretariat, among which the Civil Planning and Conduct Capability (CPCC) formed the centre piece. The CPCC, whose purpose was to give the EU the capacity for large scale civilian missions, would first be put to the test through the rather small EUSSR Guinea Bissau mission soon to be launched. Concerning the capability for the planning of military missions, Kapitän Ehle pointed to the fact that the decision-making process leading to Operation EUFOR RD CONGO had revealed deficiencies in the EU's early operational planning at the strategic level. He insisted that thorough information was a precondition for any Member State to decide on whether or not to engage itself in an operation, not to speak on the activation of an Operational Headquarter (OHQ). A way to bridge this gap, Kapitän Ehle explained, was presented at the November 2007 General Affairs and External Relations Council, following the impetus from the Defence Ministers' informal meeting at Wiesbaden. It consisted basically in a tentative reorganisation of the EUMS itself. This reorganisation sought to improve the EUMS' capability to conduct the required early operational planning at strategic level and to allow the EUMS to continue to fulfil its routine-work as the main working element of the EU Military Committee. A Core Planning Team consisting of an OPS Division and the Civ/Mil Cell had thus been created within the Military Staff, Member States having agreed not only to increase its personnel, but also to develop much-needed intelligence capabilities within the Staff. The EU agreed a tentative character of these measures and made sure that their efficiency would be assessed regularly and revised if necessary. In his conclusion, Kapitän Ehle advised caution what concerned the building up of an OHQ structure in Brussels, because such an OHQ could represent an unnecessary duplication of existing capabilities. In his opinion, any further development in the area of crisis management should mirror the specific added value of the European Union: its comprehensive approach and the broad spectrum of civilian and military capabilities and instruments at its disposal.

Admiral Luciano Callini
Director Centro Militare di Studi Strategici
(CeMiSS), Rome

In his presentation, Admiral Luciano Callini reaffirmed the remarkable achievements which had taken place within ESDP in a very short time. Yet, he reminded the participants that this had come about only because of the operational shortfalls which emerged during the Balkan wars in the 1990's. According to Admiral Callini, the continuous transformation of today's strategic landscape made it necessary to constantly adapt the ESDP structures and procedures. Just as the requirements of the original Rapid Reaction Force were an answer to the Balkan crisis, the Battle Group concept was created after the successful completion of the Artemis operation in the DRC. Admiral Callini started the second part of his presentation by reminding that at all times, with a view to operational combat and support units, EU Member States had to balance their efforts in order to satisfy at the same time NATO, the EU and national needs. The many ongoing operations and overseas commitments thus made it difficult to find further resources to be assigned to new ESDP operations, and also required the involvement of Member States' strategic headquarters in the management of national contingents deployed in crisis areas. Hence, Admiral Callini stated, the available resources in terms of Command, Control, Intelligence and OHQs were insufficient. To bridge this gap, Admiral Callini suggested to further expand the provisions of the Berlin Plus agreement so as to make better use of scarce resources. He then insisted that strategic political guidance and better definition of EU and NATO levels of ambitions would be a precondition for the success of the EU's "comprehensive civilian and military approach to crisis management". He also made a strong case for the inclusion of civilian personnel in the five OHQ's provided by EU Member States. Concerning the geographic reach of European intervention, Admiral Callini suggested developing regional commands and HQs of the EU or a "regional expertise" for each area of probable intervention. Indeed, the ambition to play a

growing role for the stability of the international system would require a better ability to deal with the specific problems arising from regional realities.

Giovanni Gasparini
Senior Research Fellow, IAI, Rome

The comments to the two presentations were given by Giovanni Gasparini from the IAI in Rome, and by Mr. Valkysers from the IABG in Ottobrunn. Mr. Gasparini focused his comment on command and control, intelligence-sharing (“the huge black box”) and on Operational Headquarters, the latter being particularly important because of the political symbolism attached to them.

Martin Valkysers
**Project Manager, Industrieranlagen-
Betriebsgesellschaft mbH, Ottobrunn**

Mr. Valkysers on the other hand insisted on the usefulness of Knowledge Development (KD) in order to achieve a higher efficiency for ESDP on the ground. He introduced KD as a method to support decision-making based on a comprehensive approach. He pointed out that today's complex crisis environments require a holistic and dynamic understanding of the situation in order to come to better decisions in planning, execution and assessment. Mr. Valkysers concluded that - after applying the Systemic Approach of KD within HQ KFOR for a three month period (2007) - the achieved positive results were a proof of the concept.

Discussion

This panel was followed by an intense discussion. Some participants considered that the EU needed more autonomy and were in favour of a fully fledged Operational Headquarter at the European level in Brussels, while others remained very sceptical towards this idea, referring to the need to avoid duplication of already existing national and NATO structures. Out of concern for the EU-NATO relations, some participants favoured to further develop the Berlin Plus agreement rather than considering the building up of a European Headquarter, stressing that Berlin Plus was extremely important for linking the EU with NATO. It was also suggested that one first implemented the Wiesbaden measures, and only then assessed what should be done next with regard to Command, Control and Headquarters. Concerning Admiral Callini's proposal to create regional headquarters for reasons of expertise, the point was made by some of the participants that they had difficulties in thinking about regional commands without the existence of an Operational Headquarter in Brussels. The question of which command structures such regional headquarters would have was also raised. Finally, the conclusion was that the question of a European Operational Headquarter was fundamentally political, and that the European Member States have very diverging points of view on this matter due to their different degrees of “atlanticism”.



Volker Heise, Guido Lenzi, Luca Giansanti, Christian Mölling

Session III: The EU in Rapid Response – Conceptions and Capabilities

The third session of the German-Italian expert seminar focused on rapid response capabilities of the EU, and was chaired by Guido Lenzi, Diplomatic Counsellor to the Minister of the Interior in Rome. He launched the discussion by stating that rapid response also needed to be preventive in order to respond rapidly before dreadful events become reality.

Christian Mölling
Senior Researcher, ETH Center for Security Studies, Zurich

In his presentation, Christian Mölling from the Center for Security Studies at ETH Zurich gave an overview on the EU conception and capabilities for rapid response. He began with mentioning that the concept comprises far more than the largely known EU Battle Groups. Having outlined the key areas (political decisions, planning, command and control, forces, deployment) Mr. Mölling demonstrated that the EU had made serious progress in all of them but deployment. He also emphasized that the EU Battle Groups are unique in that they constitute the only EU-wide effectively working capability generation mechanism. He insisted nonetheless that their political and military value had not been fully proven yet. The key question to be answered by the EU Member States was especially whether and how they want to proceed with the overall concept of rapid response. With special reference to the German-Italian dimension he suggested to explore to what

extent both countries could elaborate a combined amphibious approach and explore the possibility of utilizing Italian harbours for the sealift of German forces southward and eastward of Europe.

Min. Plen. Luca Giansanti
Directorate General for European Integration, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rome

Minister Luca Giansanti reminded the participants that rapid response was not the only task of ESDP and that the EU had a broader range of instruments at its disposal. To his mind, rapid response was important, yet one should not over-dramatise. Rapid response should not be the only parameter to measure the EU's capacity to react promptly to a given situation. So far the ESDP's ability to be flexible and adapt to unforeseen situations and requests had also been an asset. In a number of occasions, it would be better to spend more time on planning and arrive later at a trouble spot, but with a wider range of instruments, than to start an immediate operation without being prepared. This,

according to Minister Giansanti, was one of the reasons why the Battle Groups had never been used.

Kapitän zur See a. D. Volker Heise SWP, Berlin

In his comment, Kapitän zur See a. D. Volker Heise advocated stronger coherence between actions taking place “within the framework of ESDP” and in other security-relevant areas of EU policies. The figures provided for rapid response were impressive. However, the current deficiencies in military capabilities could only be solved if EU Member States were prepared for pooling tasks of sovereignty. While the Battle Groups were sufficiently equipped for rapid response, he ironically suggested that the only thing they would lack was a crisis that fits. He reminded the participants that each crisis was different and that the lessons learned in one crisis would not necessarily apply for the next; there would be no “Iraq II” and no “Second Kosovo”.

Discussion

In the subsequent discussion, the Battle Group concept was heavily debated. One conclusion was that events are unpredictable and that the EU should adapt its capabilities to a variety of crises and not wait for a crisis tailor-made for its Rapid Response Forces. Another conclusion pointed to the role of the Battle Groups as the “EU’s fire brigades”. Many agreed that even if the Battle Groups were expensive and had never been put to the test, they had already had many positive effects in terms of interoperability, participation of non-NATO members, while others raised the question of how long one can keep the Battle Groups on stand-by. A rather paradoxical situation where many Member States have established for Brussels what they are lacking at home was pointed to. Another discussed topic was the need for more airlift capabilities, fighter aircrafts and helicopters, which several speakers had underlined in their comments. Also the difficulty of deploying enough police forces to police missions was mentioned.



Bernhard Kampmann, Mathias Jopp, Andrea Meloni

Session IV: Prospects for the ESDP: Future Challenges and Potential Responses

In the fourth and final session of the second expert seminar - chaired by Prof. Dr. Jopp - Bernhard Kampmann, Head of the European Security and Defence Policy Section at the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin, discussed with Ambassador Andrea Meloni, Italian Representative to PSC, on the future challenges and potential responses of ESDP.

Bernhard Kampmann
Head of ESDP Section, Federal Foreign Office,
Berlin

Mr. Kampmann started his presentation by reaffirming that the Lisbon Treaty would allow many improvements concerning both

CFSP in general and ESDP in particular. Yet, he insisted on the necessity of balancing the civilian and military developments in ESDP. That crisis management would not work with military elements alone seemed not to have entered everybody's conscience yet, albeit this was a precondition for continued progress in ESDP. The ratification of the Treaty of Lisbon would be particularly important for ESDP, stated Mr. Kampmann. Not only the creation of a "Foreign Minister" for the EU who would be simultaneously member of the Commission ("double hatting"), but also the institutionalisation of the permanent structured cooperation were crucial improvements. Mr. Kampmann concluded with three remarks concerning the progress that ESDP should make after the ratification of the Treaty of Lisbon. First, one had to be aware of the fact that ESDP developed by executing missions and learning "on the job". Second, ESDP had to be done "seriously" because the EU would not afford to be unsuccessful in this field. Finally, this meant that the EU should be very careful when choosing its operations. In Mr. Kampmann's view, the EU should concentrate on the most important operations and get them right, rather than carrying out a large number of small and diverse missions.

Ambassador Andrea Meloni **Italian Representative to PSC, Brussels**

According to Ambassador Meloni, ESDP so far had worked "reasonably well". He used the example of the PSC to show that the EU had a real chance to reach compromises in ESDP affairs. The PSC had an important socializing function, and was a forum where issues could be thoroughly followed and discussed, and where the representatives would get to know each other as well as other Member States' interests. Hence, the opportunity to reach compromise was already there; what would be needed, according to Ambassador Meloni, was the willingness to do so. The necessity to reach compromise would undoubtedly be there. Three crucial challenges were currently facing the EU, and Ambassador Meloni insisted that

failure in Kosovo, Afghanistan or Chad would make a reconsideration of ESDP necessary. He then pointed to another important challenge for the EU: its relationship to NATO. Mr. Meloni reminded that the "Berlin plus" agreement offers no agreed framework for situations in which both organisations are present at the same place with different missions. The relationship was also strained by the difficulties concerning Turkey's involvement in ESDP, a problem which would call for "creative solutions".

Ambassador Meloni then raised the important question of when and where to use ESDP instruments. He suggested that the ESDP had to be able to adapt to new situations, and that it might even enable the EU to play a role in frozen conflicts. Finally, Ambassador Meloni addressed the external challenges to ESDP, and reminded the participants that the EU had also to take into consideration the attitude of third countries. In an immediate post-conflict phase it might be easy to come with an "intrusive" mission, yet the important question was how to adapt to new situations: how intrusive could you be once the conflict area had stabilised? Ambassador Meloni's conclusion dealt with how ESDP could deal with frozen conflicts and he referred to the crucial issue of local ownership of the "end state".

Discussion

In the ensuing debate, many agreed that "local ownership" of peace processes was important for the success of a political or military intervention. Other topics also debated were the future of permanent structured cooperation, which had been explained by Mr. Kampmann as an interesting part of the Lisbon Treaty, as well as the important role of the EU Special Representatives (EUSR) in civil-military coordination on the spot, for which the example of Moldova was cited as a particularly telling case.

Prof. Dr. Mathias Jopp **Director, IEP, Berlin**

In his final remarks, Prof. Dr. Jopp thanked all speakers and participants, also on behalf of the Compagnia di San Paolo and the IAI, for the last

two days of excellent contributions and fruitful discussions. Important questions concerning the future of ESDP had been raised during the seminar, and several concrete recommendations, proposals and initiatives been made such as a) combined amphibious approach including military harbours for rapid response operations, b) improvement of the 'Berlin Plus arrangements' for a better use of NATO's OHQ capabilities and structures, c) a sustainable and more comprehensive approach towards the Battle Groups, d) a substantial shift in the field of intelligence-sharing as a fundamental precondition for deeper European integration in the area of crisis management, and e) better big airlift and helicopter capabilities for long and short distances (from Europe to the crisis region and within the region).

Prof. Jopp underlined the fact of many converging German-Italian views and restated that both countries seemed to be sharing more common ground in ESDP than the other big Member States. He announced that the third expert seminar would take place in autumn this year and would go more into detail with civilian crisis management, the role of the EUSRs and classical CFSP issues like transatlantic relations or neighbourhood policy, before the concluding conference would be held in Turin in spring 2009.

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