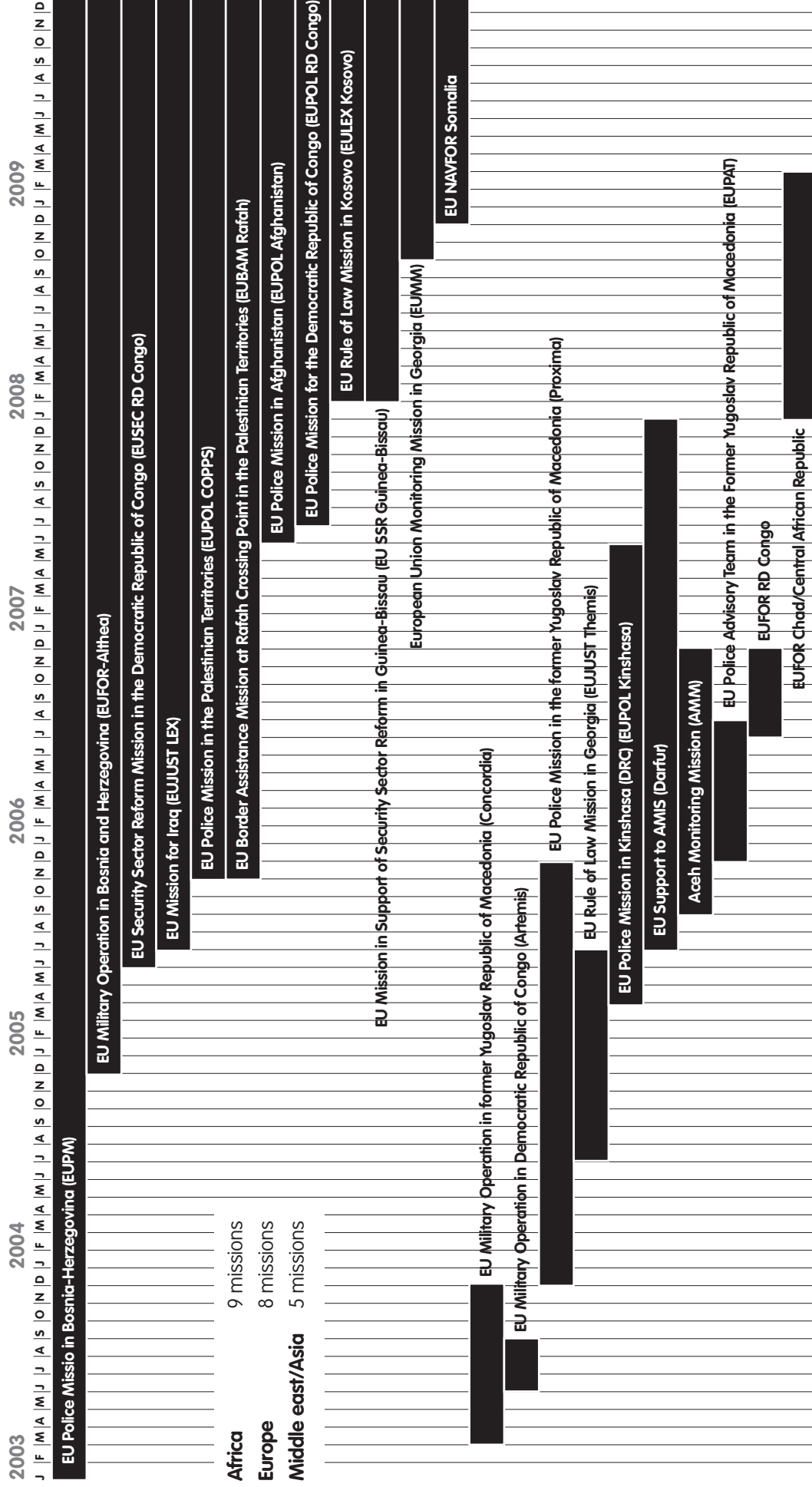


ESDP missions to date ²⁴



Africa
9 missions

Europe
8 missions

Middle east/Asia
5 missions

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

A guide to ESDP missions Current operations ²⁵

EU Police Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina (EUPM)

Launched January 2003

Budget: €122.3m overall

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

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

Launched December 2004

Budget: €71.7m overall

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

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

Launched June 2005

Budget: €8.45m for 2008-09

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

EU Mission for Iraq (EUJUST LEX)

Launched July 2005

Budget: €30m until June 2009

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

EU Police Mission in the Palestinian Territories (EUPOL COPPS)

Launched November 2005

Budget: €6.3m for 2009

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

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

Launched November 2005

Budget: €7m

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

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

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

EU Police Mission in Afghanistan (EUPOL Afghanistan)

Launched June 2007

Budget: €64m

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

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

Launched July 2007

Budget: €6m a year

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

EU Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX Kosovo)

Launched February 2008

Budget: €265m for February 2008-June 2010

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

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

Launched June 2008

Budget: €5.6m a year

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

European Union Monitoring Mission in Georgia (EUMM)

Launched October 2008

Budget: €35m

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

EU NAVFOR Somalia

Launched December 2008

Budget: €8.3m a year

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

A guide to ESDP missions Completed operations

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

March-December 2003

Budget: €6.2m a year

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

EU Military Operation in Democratic Republic of Congo (Artemis)

June-September 2003

Budget: Approximately €7m

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

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

December 2003-December 2005

Budget: €30m overall

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

EU Rule of Law Mission in Georgia (EUJUST Themis)

July 2004-July 2005

Budget: €2m

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

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

April 2005-June 2007

Budget: €4.3m overall

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

EU Support to AMIS (Darfur)

July 2005-December 2007

Budget: €300m overall

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

Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM)

September 2005-December 2006

Budget: €15m overall

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

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

December 2005-June 2006

Budget: €1.5m

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

EUFOR RD Congo

July-November 2006

Budget: €100m

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

EUFOR Chad/Central African Republic

January 2008-March 2009

Budget €119.6m overall

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

The challenge of crisis management

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

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

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

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

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

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