

JULKAISUSARJA 2 – SERIES 2
TUTKIMUSSELOSTEITA No 30 – RESEARCH REPORTS No 30

EU BATTLEGROUPS
Theory and Development in the Light of
Finnish-Swedish Co-operation

MIKA KERTTUNEN
TOMMI KOIVULA
TOMMY JEPPSSON

MAANPUOLUSTUSKORKEAKOULU – NATIONAL DEFENCE COLLEGE

Strategian laitos – Department of Strategic and Defence Studies

HELSINKI 2005

ISBN 951-25-1590-3
ISBN 951-25-1591-1 (pdf)
ISSN 1455-2108
Maanpuolustuskorkeakoulu
National Defence College

Edita Prima Oy
Helsinki 2005

PREFACE

The European Union member states declared in June 1999 that the EU shall play its full role on the international stage. To that end, they decided to create necessary means and capabilities to assume its responsibilities, including the capacity for autonomous action, backed up by credible military forces. Since then, in some five years, the ESDP has become, not only a success story, but also a real option for political leaders to use it when deemed appropriate. This option contains, among others, a 60.000-strong force, the institutional structure and procedures to facilitate political and military decision-making, as well as planning and command and control mechanisms. The European Defence Agency has been established for further development of necessary capabilities. Moreover, the EU has been involved in several military and police operations in the Balkans and Africa gaining valuable collective experience on the field, and several hundreds of military personnel are working on a daily basis in the EU structures for the fulfilment of the European Security Strategy.

Pertaining to the topic of this publication, the European Union Battlegroups, in 2003 several initiatives regarding more substantial cooperation was agreed upon in order to deepen military relations between the member states. Building on the success of operations Concordia, Proxima and, as a turning point, Operation Artemis together with needs stemming from the European Security Strategy, France, Germany and the United Kingdom introduced the so-called Battlegroup concept in order to create a capacity for rapid reaction. In this context, the availability of rapidly deployable military units entered to discussion. Of course, a capacity for rapid reaction had previously been recognized as an essential tool for a wide range of crisis management operations, but at this stage there was enough common will to go forward, too.

Since then we have been in the middle of a lively discussion related to the European Union Battlegroups. Consequently, the rationale for this publication, in addition to the traditional role of the Department to provide information and aspects, is a common need to promote analysis of the EU Battlegroup concept as an important tool for future crisis management. In order to reach these goals, some argumentation based on facts and figures as well as some ‘food for thought’ is offered for the reader. Due to the fact that a profound conversation facilitates and promotes deeper understanding, the publication of this study is coordinated with the conference on ‘Developing European Crisis-Management Capabilities’ co-organised by the Atlantic Council of Finland and the European Security Forum, on 28th April 2005 in Helsinki.

The content of the study dealing with two national projects is an excellent example of the fruitful cooperation with our Swedish counterparts. On behalf of the authors and the Department, I would like to express our gratitude to all the experts in Brussels, Stockholm and Helsinki who provided the authors with valuable information, good advice and critical comments.

Helsinki, 28th April 2005

Lieutenant Colonel, Lic.Pol.Sci. Juha Pyykönen
Director of the Department of Strategic and Defence Studies
National Defence College

CONTENTS

PREFACE

Abbreviations and Acronyms

INTRODUCTION

Mika Kerttunen, Tommi Koivula, Tommy Jeppsson **1**

EU BATTLEGROUP: THE BIG PICTURE

Tommi Koivula **5**

THE CONCEPT

Mika Kerttunen **23**

SWEDEN

Tommy Jeppsson **51**

FINLAND

Mika Kerttunen **73**

AUTHOR PRESENTATION **93**

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AMOS	Advanced Mortar System
An	Antonov
ARRC	Allied Rapid Reaction Corps
BG	Battlegroup
BGHQ	Battlegroup Headquarters
<i>BU</i>	<i>Budgetunderlag</i> , Budget Proposition
C	Cargo
ca	Circa
CAS	Close Air Support
CD-ROM	Compact Disk – Read Only Memory
C2	Command and Control
C4I	Command, Control, Communication, Computers and Intelligence
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIMIC	Civil-Military Cooperation
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CIVCOM	Committee for Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management
CJA	Council Joint Action
CMC	Crisis Management Concept
CONOPS	Concept of Operations
<i>COPS</i>	<i>Comité Politique et de Sécurité</i> , Political and Security Committee
COREPER	Committee of Permanent Representatives
CS	Combat Support
CSS	Combat Service Support
CV	Combat Vehicle
<i>DN</i>	<i>Dagens Nyheter</i>
<i>DNAK</i>	<i>Den Norske Atlanterhavskomiteé</i> , Norwegian Atlantic Council
DOS	Days of Supply
Dr	Doctor
ECAP	European Capability Action Plan
ed/eds	Editor/Editors
EDA	European Defence Agency
e g	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example
ES	Estonia
ESDI	European Security and Defence Identity

ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
ESS	European Security Strategy
EU	European Union
EUBG	European Union Battlegroup
EUMC	European Union Military Committee
EUMS	European Union Military Staff
FA	Fighter/Attack
FAC	Forward Air Controller
FCdr	Force Commander
FHQ	Force Headquarters
FI	Finland
<i>FN</i>	<i>Förenta Nationerna</i> , United Nations
FOC	Full Operational Capability
<i>FOI</i>	<i>Totalförsvarets forskningsinstitut</i> , Swedish Total Defence Research Institute
<i>FöU</i>	<i>Försvarsutskottet</i> , Parliamentary Committee on Defence
GAD	Global Approach Deployability
GAERC	General Affairs and External Relation Council
GE	Germany
HFC	Helsinki Force Catalogue
HG	Headline Goal
HHG	Helsinki Headline Goal
<i>HKV</i>	<i>Högkvarteret</i> , Swedish Armed Forces Headquarters
HPC	Headline Progress Catalogue
HQ	Headquarter(s)
<i>HS</i>	<i>Helsingin Sanomat</i>
HUMINT	Human Intelligence
i e	<i>id est</i> , that is
IEMF	Interim Emergency Multinational Force
IFOR	Implementation Force
IMD	Initiating Military Directive
IO	Interoperability Objective
IOC	Interim Operative Capability
ISTAR	Intelligence, Surveillance, Target Acquisition and Reconnaissance
ITOW	Improved Tube-launched Optically-tracked Wire-guided
KFOR	Kosovo Force
kg	kilogram

km	kilometre
LPD	Landing Platform Deck
m	metre
mm	millimetre
MFA	Ministry for Foreign Affairs
MOD	Ministry of Defence
MONUC	<i>Mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en République Démocratique du Congo</i> , United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
MSO	Military Strategic Option
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NBC	Nuclear, Biological and Chemical
NBF	<i>Nätverksbaserad försvar</i> , Network-Based Defence
NL	The Netherlands
NO	Norway
No	Number
NORDCAPS	Nordic Coordinated Arrangement for Military Peace Support
NRF	NATO Response Force
OHQ	Operation Headquarter
OpCdr	Operation Commander
OPLAN	Operation Plan
p./pp.	page/pages
PARP	Planning and Review Program
PfP	Partnership for Peace
PG	Partnership Goal
POL	Petroleum, Oil and Lubricants
PSC	Political and Security Committee
ROE	Rules of Engagement
Ro/Ro	Roll on Roll off
RRF	Rapid Response/Reaction Force
RUSI	Royal United Services Institute
SALIS	Strategic Air Lift Interim Solution
SCC	Sealift Coordination Centre
SEK	<i>Svenska Kroner</i> , Swedish Crowns
SG/HR	Secretary General/High Representative
SHAPE	Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe
SIPRI	Swedish International Peace Research Institute

SRA	Security and Risk Assessment
STRA UTVS INRI	<i>Strategiledningen utvecklingsstabens inriktningsavdelningen</i> , Swedish Armed Forces Headquarters, Strategic Plans and Policy
SW	Sweden
tn	metric tonne
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
US/U.S.	United States
<i>UTVA</i>	<i>Ulko- ja turvallisuuspoliittinen ministerivaliokunta</i> , Cabinet Committee on Foreign and Security Policy
WEU	Western European Union
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

INTRODUCTION

Mika Kerttunen, Tommi Koivula, Tommy Jeppsson

The great British political philosopher Sir Isaiah Berlin wrote in one of his most famous essays about foxes and hedgehogs. More precisely about us people who according to him can be divided to foxes and hedgehogs. A fox is someone who knows many things; a hedgehog knows one big thing. We, the writers do not see us as hedgehogs who know one big thing, the Battlegroup, properly, but as foxes who know many little things within the phenomenon. We talk about politics at international and domestic level, tackle strategic, operative and tactical problems, elaborate decision-making processes and mention essential issues like rules of engagement or financing. We focus on Sweden and we focus on Finland. We also let some relevant issues like logistics, command and control, force generation or manning go. We feel that we foxes have right to do so.

The purposes of the study are twofold: firstly, to provide the audience with some basic facts regarding the Battlegroup concept, and secondly, to contribute to the ongoing debate with our analysis, interpretations and even normative opinions. Risk is that neither one of the goals can be achieved and that we fall in-between. The same can be said about the Battlegroup concept.

The plan of the book is as follows. In chapter 1 Tommi Koivula provides the political and theoretical overview of the European Security and Defence Policy in general and the Battlegroups in particular. Chapter 2 sets out a more detailed analysis of the very context. Mika Kerttunen returns in his survey to the institutional roots of the whole enterprise and continues with an analysis of the capacities and capabilities of the Battlegroups. The chapter ends with an overview of the current EU planning and decision-making procedures, spiced with some normative remarks. Tommy Jeppsson explores in chapter 3 the concept from a Swedish perspective. He sets the role of a Framework nation Sweden has in context with the transformation process the Swedish Armed Forces are going through and with the existing Nordic peace support cooperation. Mika Kerttunen then examines why and how Finland for her part is participating international crisis management and in two Battlegroups.

Despite or rather because of the four different perspectives the book has, the chapters are partly overlapping. This, we think, makes it possible for the reader to get a picture broad enough from each individual chapter. We have not tried to combine these perspectives into single concluding remarks nor present any lessons learned. Our excuse is that the early phase of this EU rapid response arrangement limits one's capability to detect the real and

relevant lessons learned. The litmus test of the whole enterprise is the first operation. Then is the right moment to discuss about the questions of decision-making in times of crisis and analyse the execution of the actual operation. For the moment our rapid response type of analyses focuses on the background and the content of the enterprise.

Traditionally, the European Union has had a wide range of security political tools at its disposal but it has lacked a military dimension. The basic logic behind the development of the European Security and Defence Policy ESDP and the EU Battlegroup concept is that the EU, in addition to its other strengths, must have at its disposal a certain level of forces at a certain state of readiness and operational efficiency. This capability would widen its range of options when faced with a crisis and would facilitate decision-making at the highest political level. The EU Battlegroup concept is a practical step into that direction.

A Battlegroup is tactical unit. As such it possesses formidable military capacity, especially when it is backed by operational and strategic enablers. Its capability in crisis management can nevertheless be questioned. There might exist a performance gap between the desired political impacts and the delivered military execution. The European Union has to settle for or find crisis that are severe enough to be pacified and small enough to be handled by an autonomous Battlegroup, i.e. a reinforced battalion. The EU perhaps needs to return to and focus on the original goals of the Council of Helsinki 1999. We say that size matters and that the EU, too, should have a bigger toolbox for her potentially offensive expeditionary operations.

Swedish defence is undergoing great changes, a transformation from the invasion centred to a network based and internationally oriented defence. At the same time Sweden has taken the responsibility of the Framework Nation for a Nordic Battlegroup. She has committed to contribute with the 1100+ strong force consisting e.g. of the bulks of the Operational and Force Headquarters and of the mechanised infantry battalion. Yet the Nordic countries, including non-EU member Norway and the out-of-the-ESDP Denmark, have for long worked to establish a Nordic Brigade for international crisis management. How this arrangement could be used is also discussed, we even dare to question whether it would be a better solution.

Finland has chosen to contribute to two Battlegroup packages; to a German and to a Nordic one. The decision is analysed from the perspective of the overall Finnish security policy, crisis management policy included. Essential for Finland is the primacy of national defence and that even the Battlegroup contributions are seen and ought to enhance this goal. Participation requires that the current Peacekeeping Act will be adjusted to

allow also other than EU-mandated operations. Other open questions like financing, manning, training and exercises and material can be solved within the current frameworks. A national Battlegroup, or a Framework Nation responsibility, on the other hand would prove to be too heavy investment for Finland. Similarly one could ask for how long the Member States will hang up to the 13 Battlegroups gloriously promised in 2004 and when they, the EU, will decide to reduce the number.

Academically it could have been more rewarding to concentrate on few issues, to find, read and interpret every document, to interview the decision-makers, and to analyse causes and consequences within the EU Battlegroup concept. A hedgehog could have dug such a hole. However, as some things move at the speed of light, it is, we feel, better to be a fox.

Kruunuhaka, April 2005

EU BATTLEGROUP: THE BIG PICTURE

Tommi Koivula

Introduction

The pages of this chapter are devoted to the questions of why and how the European Union Battlegroup concept came into existence and what are its implications. The inquiry is thus focused on the EU level and the general political background of the Battlegroup concept – what were the factors outside and within the EU that affected the way the concept took shape. Included is a short commentary on the possibility of analysing the subject matter with the help of various theories of international politics.

With this general perspective in mind, this paper can be read as an introduction to the following articles by Mika Kerttunen and Tommy Jeppsson, which will discuss the EU Battlegroup concept itself in a more detailed fashion and offer the Finnish and Swedish perspectives, emphasising the respective military considerations in these countries.

Naturally, the emergence of the EU Battlegroup concept, not to mention the wider European Security and Defence Policy, the ESDP, to which it is closely related, is a consequence of a complicated and longstanding process of European integration. To tell their whole story would require at least a whole book. Due to the practical limitations, the discussion below is doomed to be superficial in many respects. For example, a number of ongoing debates regarding the Battlegroup concept have to be skipped altogether. Notwithstanding these limitations, it is hoped that this paper will serve as a starting point for readers in need of a basic knowledge of this topical issue.

Painful Lessons of the Post-Cold War World

The story of coordinated European defence was in practice a taboo during the Cold War. There was an effort to initiate an arrangement called the European Defence Community, which would have included the potentiality of a European army, but it failed to be ratified in August 1954. Although the Western European Union (WEU) was occasionally resorted to as a European forum for discussing security questions, its military significance and political role were marginal. Thus Western European security remained a NATO monopoly until the fall of the Berlin Wall.¹

¹ These considerations, of course, do not apply to the neutral European states or to those committed to the Warsaw Pact.

After the end of the Cold War, a latent division of labour emerged between the European Community, which was focused on economic integration, and the Atlantic Alliance, which found fresh impetus in laying the foundations for new political relations with liberated Central and Eastern European countries.²

Some efforts were made towards stronger coordination of European countries' foreign policies, but they met with no success. However, progress was more significant in the field of foreign policy.

The Maastricht Treaty in 1993 saw the birth of the second pillar of European integration, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), which, after bitter negotiations, included the phrase "which might in time lead to a common defence".³

It was soon realised, however, that the post-Cold War world, or post-Cold War Europe for that matter, did not prove to be the peaceful and ever more prosperous place that had been anticipated in the most optimistic accounts. A striking and tragic lesson in this was provided in Yugoslavia, where a series of bloody wars erupted after 1991. Europeans in general and the EU in particular were both anxious and frustrated to see that they were almost completely helpless during several years of brutal war, political instability and continuous violations of international justice by all parties. A further embarrassment for the Europeans was that a political solution to the Balkans crisis was only reached after NATO, in other words the United States, a non-European power, became resolute enough to use its political and military might to enforce peace in the area – after the various and often contradictory European voices had fallen on deaf ears.

Another painful reminder of Europe's inability to act took place in Rwanda during the spring of 1994, when a full-scale genocide was perpetrated by the extreme Hutus close to the Rwandan government within a matter of only a few weeks, causing the death of at least 800 000 people. All this time the international community looked on and wondered if something ought to be done.

These tragedies were not just examples of European powerlessness, however. Another failed organisation in this respect was the United Nations, for in a more general sense these cases illustrated the severe shortcomings of the multilateral approach to international crisis management.

² European Defence. A Proposal for a White Paper. Report of an independent Task Force. Institute for Security Studies, European Union, Paris, May 2004, p.37.

³ See article J.4 of the Maastricht Treaty.

This was particularly distressing from the European perspective, since the European Union was composed of a number of small and medium-sized states very closely connected to the world economy and with strong interests in maintaining peace and stability all over the world. Europe was already a prominent player in world politics, being a major donor of international aid and assistance and producing a large share of the world's GDP. Still, regarding the capacity to affect military crises elsewhere, the EU and its individual member states lacked the necessary resources. The Europeans were natural proponents of multilateral cooperation, but this unfortunately did not seem to work.

Militarily, the Europeans were almost totally dependent on the resources of their powerful ally, the United States. Basically, the United States wanted to encourage the development of better European crisis management capabilities, at least to the extent that these capabilities would not challenge U.S. Military might. The Americans wanted its allies to do more, either on a bilateral basis with the American military, or within a UN or NATO framework, or even within a purely European framework on occasions when the U.S. decided not to be involved.

Thus, step by step, a new kind of understanding of the very basic European security deficit became widespread: even though Europe's political and economic capabilities were considerable, and even though the use of force was neither regarded as the first nor the only way to deal with regional or international crises, such as those in Yugoslavia or Rwanda, it became ever more common to judge that the EU must have at its disposal a certain level of forces at a certain state of readiness and operational efficiency, if only to widen its range of options when faced with a crisis and to facilitate decision-making at the highest political level.⁴

As a consequence of these experiences, a reorganisation of Europe's military forces began in June 1992, brought about first and foremost by the WEU, which defined its operational roles in the Petersberg Declaration. These, later referred to as the "Petersberg Tasks" included 'humanitarian and rescue tasks, peacekeeping tasks and also tasks of combat forces in crisis management including peacemaking'.⁵

The Petersberg Tasks, although not yet defined by the European Union at that time, were the first expression of Europe's new strategic environment. It is significant that these tasks included a strong element of civilian crisis management, and that actual combat was just one element among others. All the same, from now on the aim of the Europeans was a reorganisation

⁴ European Defence, p.6.

⁵ For the text of the Petersberg Declaration, see www.weu.int.

of defence, the purpose of which was to allow force projection and the management of far-off crises.⁶ This reorganisation turned out to be a slow business, however.

The Amsterdam Treaty of 1996 marked the beginning of a conscious development of the European Union's crisis management capabilities. The main significance of the Treaty was that, thanks to an initiative by two new member states with a background of neutrality, Sweden and Finland, the Petersberg Tasks were incorporated into it and thus into the EU agenda.⁷

The Emergence of the European Security and Defence Policy

During this process of building the CFSP a spectrum of opinion on European defence had emerged within the EU. It ran from countries such as the UK, Denmark and the Netherlands, which had been consistently keen on maintaining NATO, and thus U.S., involvement in Europe, to France and Belgium, which had been most interested in building a separate EU capacity. Those members who had been traditionally neutral (Austria, Finland, Sweden and Ireland) had in turn been less ambitious about building anything resembling a "European army".⁸

Leaving this spectrum of opinions aside, European defence issues have traditionally been dominated by two member countries, France and Great Britain. Thus it was no surprise that the launching of an independent European security and defence policy was based on a declaration made by

⁶ European Defence, p.41.

⁷ The considerable role of Sweden and Finland in the Amsterdam Treaty, and thus also in the birth of the EU Battlegroups, is somewhat ironic, because the Battlegroups can be seen as an unintended consequence of their policy. Once the two countries were in the EU, their scepticism towards any European defence arrangement was directed at the Maastricht Treaty and its formulation of the notion of an eventual common defence. It therefore became important for them to use their influence to avoid any such development. Thus, in April 1996, the foreign ministers of Sweden, Lena Hjelm-Wallén, and Finland, Tarja Halonen, published an article in the morning papers *Dagens Nyheter* and *Helsingin Sanomat* in which they suggested that the EU should enhance its role and capabilities within the area of conflict management. This was the beginning of a Swedish-Finnish initiative that led to the incorporation of the Petersberg tasks into the Amsterdam Treaty. This 'demilitarisation' of the EU's security dimension was perceived both in Finland and in Sweden as a major diplomatic success, since it meant that development towards collective defence had been avoided and that participation in the European security dimension was compatible with a non-alignment policy. However, their joint initiative did actually promote a form of European defence in which they now more or less have to participate - the EU Battlegroup. *Dagens Nyheter* 21.4.1996, *Helsingin Sanomat* 21.4.1996.

⁸ A separate case is that of Denmark, which does not participate in elaborating or implementing EU policies with defence implications.

these two at St. Malo, in December 1998. Much more surprising for many was the fact they were able to find a common understanding over the future of European defence in their declaration. This St. Malo Declaration can in many senses be interpreted as a small revolution in the European security setting.⁹

The background to the declaration lay to a large extent in the minds of the British. By 1998, the Blair government had grown increasingly frustrated over Europe's operational powerlessness, despite its economic size, which was considerably greater than that of the US, and concluded that if the imbalance between the Europeans and Americans continued the foundations of the Atlantic partnership would in the long term be jeopardised. It was estimated by the British that the only way to solve this problem and to safeguard the future of Atlantic Alliance would be to develop European defence capabilities somehow.

On the other hand, France had traditionally been perhaps the strongest advocate of the EU as a security policy actor and had seen it as a way of being better able to safeguard French interests. The EU has traditionally been regarded by France as a necessary counterbalance to the perceived US global dominance, and in many senses this is still the case today.

Now, at St. Malo, however, the French were willing to make a compromise by confessing the legitimacy of the Atlantic partnership – which was a necessary prerequisite for any European defence arrangement as far as the British were concerned. The frustrating experiences in the Balkans also played a significant role in this case, as the recent experience of joint military operations in that area helped the two countries to create an atmosphere of deepening mutual cooperation.

Thus, a historic compromise was reached between two major European military actors, combining the European capacity for autonomous military action desired by the French with the conformity with the European countries' obligations to the Atlantic Alliance required by the British. As the St. Malo Declaration puts it:

“...The European 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.”

⁹Harjulehto, Mikko, “Puolustusyhteistyö ensisijaisesti kriisinhallintaa: Euroopan unionille nopean toiminnan valmiusjoukkoja”. *Sotilasaikakauslehti* 5/2004, p.19.

... *In strengthening the solidarity between the member states of the European Union, in order that Europe can make its voice heard in world affairs, while acting in conformity with our respective obligations in NATO, we are contributing to the vitality of a modernised Atlantic Alliance which is the foundation of the collective defence of its members.*"¹⁰

It was also stated in the declaration that "In order for the European Union to take decisions and approve military action where the Alliance as a whole is not engaged, the Union must be given appropriate structures and a capacity for analysis of situations, sources of intelligence, and a capability for relevant strategic planning, without unnecessary duplication, taking account of the existing assets of the WEU and the evolution of its relations with the EU".

The logic behind this *entente* was clear, and so was its importance. It was and remains a generally known fact that Britain and France were the two most influential EU countries in terms of security and defence issues. Consequently, when these two countries reached agreement on the need for an autonomous European security and defence policy and presented their common position to the other EU countries, a rapid Europeanisation of the St. Malo Agreement followed throughout 1999, very much helped by the renewed European experiences of concern and powerlessness during the Kosovo conflict.¹¹ In this way the bilateral initiative became a European reality and changed the European defence *identity* into a European defence *policy*, the ESDP.¹²

Along with the Kosovo experience, a number of institutional steps were taken at the June 1999 European Council in Cologne to make a European defence policy possible in practical terms. Among them was the creation of a new central body in the CFSP and ESDP, the Political and Security Committee (PSC). This consists of the ambassadors of the member states meeting twice a week, and often tends to be close to the political directors in these countries' foreign ministries.¹³ Its purpose is to deal with all

¹⁰ St. Malo Declaration, 4 December 1998. <http://www.iss-eu.org/chailot/chai47e.html#3>

¹¹ Rieker, Pernille, *From Territorial Defence to Comprehensive Security? European integration and the changing Norwegian and Swedish security identities*. Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Working Paper Nr. 626, (2002) p.23.

¹² European Defence p.47. The ESDP also involves elements which cannot be discussed in detail in this chapter, for example the European cooperation in the defence industry. The "European Agency in the field of defence capabilities development, research, acquisition and armaments" is aimed at enhancing cooperation among EU members in this respect.

¹³ International Crisis Group, *EU Crisis Response Capability Revisited*. Europe Report No 160 – 17 January 2005, Brussels. p.19.

aspects of CFSP and ESDP in order to manage developing crises, carry out planning work and advise the European Council. The role of the PSC would become particularly important in the event of any deployment of military forces from the Union, as it would then assume political control of the day-to-day direction of military operations.

Another new organ was the Union's most senior military body, the European Union Military Committee (EUMC), composed of the chiefs of defence staff of the member countries or their representatives, the task of which was to give advice and recommendations to the PSC. The European Union Military Staff (EUMS) in turn was established to provide expertise for the PSC, in particular in the conducting of a military crisis management operation. It was to be responsible for early warning facilities, situation evaluations and the strategic planning of Petersberg missions, and was regarded as constituting a source of technical expertise for the Union on all aspects of security and defence, and as acting as an interface between the political and military authorities within the Union.¹⁴

The Institutional Birth of the EU Battlegroup Concept

The Helsinki Headline Goal Process

From words to deeds ... or at least to more concrete words.

In December 1999, just one year after St. Malo, the EU Helsinki Summit set out the ESDP process Headline Goal objectives. The aim was to place forces at the Union's disposal that would be capable of carrying out all the Petersberg missions, including the most demanding ones, in operations up to the army corps level, i.e. 50 000 to 60 000 troops at 60 days' notice. Member states undertook, by 2003, to deploy forces

*“Militarily self-sustaining with the necessary command, control and intelligence capabilities, logistics, other combat support services and additionally air and naval elements, as appropriate. Member states should be able to deploy in full at this level within 60 days, and within this to provide smaller rapid response elements available and deployable at a very high level of readiness. They must be able to sustain such a deployment for at least one year”.*¹⁵

¹⁴ European Defence p.48.

¹⁵ European Council, Helsinki, 10-11 December 1999, Presidency Conclusions.

Efforts to build European forces in this quantity nevertheless soon ran into political, administrative and legal troubles in various member countries. Germany, for example, had severe legal constraints regarding the participation of its military in foreign operations. On the other hand, only a few EU countries had any capability for transferring troops to distant areas in any quantity.

The next stage was to make up the shortfalls. The gap between what was required to meet the Headline Goal and the forces actually committed by member states was identified in the Helsinki Process Catalogue (HPC) of June 2001, which served as a basis for discussions at the Union's Conference on EU Capability Improvement in November 2001, at which the European Capabilities Action Plan (ECAP) was launched. This Action Plan dealt mostly with procurement and structural or doctrinal initiatives, and therefore did not contribute directly to enhancing Europe's crisis management capability.

Another complicating factor was that many EU countries had earmarked the same troops for several pools and registers, i.e. besides being listed in the Helsinki Force Catalogue, the same units were also listed for use by NATO and the UN (in its High Readiness Brigade SHIRBRIG).¹⁶ One practical consequence of this situation was that no new capability really emerged with the Helsinki Headline Goal process, implying that the rapid, coordinated reaction required by the politicians would be an overwhelming task.¹⁷

The shortfall in the Helsinki Headline Goal process serves as a key milestone as far as the Battlegroups are concerned, for although the Helsinki process was initiated to deal with the wider picture of European crisis management, it did not create any credible rapid response capability. There was no guarantee that the troops and resources listed in the Helsinki catalogues would actually be operational and available for rapid action in the case of an urgent need – they were just abstract commitments by member states, no more than names and numbers on paper. In other words, the Helsinki Headline Goal was a list of troops, but without any order of battle and in many cases without any history of joint exercises. In practice, Europe still had no capacity to react in a case of emergency.

¹⁶ At the same time the Nordic countries established a register and built up their capabilities for assembling a multinational Nordic crisis management brigade within the framework of NORDCAPS.

¹⁷ Since then it turned out that the Helsinki Headline Goal was not achievable as planned by 2003. In October 2003, the EU foreign and defence ministers accepted that the Union could have the capacity to carry out the Petersberg tasks in all circumstances by 2010.

European Security Strategy

Thus, notwithstanding the heightened consciousness among European decision-makers and the political developments described above, the EU still lacked a comprehensive approach to the security issues surrounding it, and its security policy aims were more or less unclear.¹⁸ On the other hand, there was a need for a roadmap, which would give a signal that the EU wished to be a credible independent security policy actor. After all, there was an obvious need among the member states to enhance their common security policy understanding as well as a common culture for crisis management. The European Security Strategy was created for these purposes.

There was a clear sense of urgency behind the EU Security Strategy, caused by an increased awareness of the insecurity in the contemporary world, in particular the threat of international terrorism due to the 9/11 incident in the United States and to worries about the way the U.S. would respond to that threat and the Union's own expansion.

The reaction of the U.S. government after the September 11th terrorist attack brought to the surface a difference of opinion between American and European security thinking that had perhaps already existed behind the scenes for some time. In this view, as also reflected in the U.S. Security Strategy of 2002, the Americans were regarded as having a higher propensity for resorting to unilateral military action once they estimated that their security was threatened. This seemed to imply that the Americans had distanced themselves from the multilateral approach deemed so important in Europe.¹⁹

As time passed and the EU expanded during the late 1990s, and in anticipation of its major enlargement in 2004, the broader European security context also changed. The borders of the union were gradually moving closer to "security hotspots", so that a secure environment on the other side of the Mediterranean, in North Africa, almost automatically became a matter of paramount importance, as also was the termination of the ongoing conflicts in the Balkans. Apart from these two, there were other obvious potential mission areas for the EU to be seen in the Southern Caucasus and the Middle East.

¹⁸ Although this was understandable considering the speed with which the ESDP had developed.

¹⁹ On the U.S. Security Strategy, see www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/ncc.html.

Although this is not officially stated anywhere, Africa is regarded as the main operational area for the European Security Strategy, and thus for the Battlegroups, too. This emphasis is of course natural in the sense that Africa is situated close to Europe and various emergencies there can easily have an impact on Europe as well. The African emphasis in EU crisis management efforts also fits into the division of labour between the security organisations, since NATO and the United States tend to be more interested in the Middle East and the CIS area.

On the other hand, it could also be argued that Britain and France have a particular interest in Africa. Both of them happen to be former major colonial powers in Africa with considerable African populations in their area, and are thereby the most easily affected by emergencies in Africa. Britain and France also have substantial military resources and experience, especially regarding African countries. As a matter of fact, the other EU countries have a very limited amount of military power or know-how to add to these two countries' capabilities regarding Africa. But politically, the other EU countries can make a big difference. International attention becomes essentially more positive if military operations are executed by the European Union rather than by these former colonial powers themselves, as they are still suspected by many as having dubious intentions with regard to various African countries. The fact that most of the manpower and expertise comes from the former great powers becomes less visible when it can be announced that the EU, as a whole or in part, is involved.

The Security Strategy, which was first proposed by the High Representative for the CFSP, Javier Solana, at the Thessaloniki Summit in June 2003 and endorsed in Brussels in December of the same year, stated very clearly that the EU needed to be a more active international player, more unified and more able to take action.

The document identified a number of risks and threats that needed to be taken care of. The key threats were terrorism, WMD proliferation, regional conflicts, state collapse and organised crime:

“Taking these different elements together - terrorism committed to maximum violence, the availability of weapons of mass destruction, organised crime, the weakening of the state system and the privatisation of force - we could be confronted with a very radical threat indeed.”²⁰

²⁰ Javier Solana, "A Secure Europe in a Better World. European Security Strategy". Document adopted at the European Council, Brussels, 12 December 2003.

The strategy was based on three pillars: first, response to the global threats of terrorism, WMD proliferation and organised crime by recognising that the first line of defence now lies abroad; second, building security on the borders of Europe by consolidating stabilisation in the Balkans and extending economic and political cooperation to neighbours in the south and east and remaining engaged in and committed to the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which is a strategic priority; and third, upholding and developing international law, strengthening the United Nations Charter and building an international order based on effective multilateralism – a clear response to the American unilateralism as endorsed in their security strategy.²¹

The doctrine also communicated the necessity for developing capabilities more systematically through cooperation between the member states, as well as a need for more flexible and mobile forces able to handle the new threats. The document gives a clear signal that EU capabilities and those of the member states need better coordination.

With its insistence on more flexible and mobile forces to handle new security threats, the European Security Strategy serves as another direct prerequisite for the Battlegroup concept.

Operation Artemis – the Battlegroup Concept Introduced

The beginning of the war in Iraq caused a visible division among the EU countries over whether to support the U.S. policy there or not. Notwithstanding these divisions, which were perhaps given too much attention in the public eye, serious considerations about what the EU could do were going on in many member countries.

Despite severe disagreement over the crisis in Iraq, efforts to improve the ESDP institutional settings and operational developments continued among EU member states. The most important development was that, after difficult negotiations, EU-NATO relations, which had to some extent been open to speculation, were firmly established with the “Berlin Plus” agreement in December 2002, in which it was agreed that the EU could use NATO planning support or NATO capabilities and assets for the execution of any operations. The agreement was a major practical step towards autonomous EU operations, since the EU did not have any such capabilities.²²

²¹ European Defence, p.11.

²² On the other hand, it also caused a political problem in the sense that NATO did not extend this agreement to countries which were not NATO members or involved in the

Simultaneously, political pressures towards some sort of rapid progress in the ESDP increased, and there was no objection to this being something concrete and high-profile. It was at this point that the predecessor of the EU Battlegroup concept came into the picture.

The concrete development that was to produce the EU Battlegroup concept had its origins in the European military operation *Artemis* that sought to tackle the rapidly deteriorating security situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo during the summer of 2003. Launched in June of that year, it was the first autonomous European crisis management operation. Although agreement on the availability of NATO resources for EU operations had been reached just a few months earlier, *Artemis* was managed outside the “Berlin Plus” agreement and beyond the continent of Europe. The decision to proceed with the operation was originally made by the French, and it was meant to be a French operation, but by the summer of 2003, it had become an EU operation.

Basically, the story of *Artemis* was simple. The operation took place at the request of the United Nations and consisted of the deployment of an Interim Emergency Multinational Force in Bunia in the Ituri region. The aim of the mission was to contribute to the stabilisation of security conditions in Bunia and to the improvement of the humanitarian situation, and to ensure the protection of the airport, displaced persons and the civilian population. EU forces numbering around 1800 troops from several EU nations, but mostly from France, which acted as a framework nation, stayed in the area until 1st September, to be replaced by troops under the auspices of the UN. *Artemis* was thus a very limited operation in terms of time, space and resources.²³

The completion of *Artemis* was greeted with satisfaction in the EU. The security situation in the area was restored, a large number of refugees were able to return and local militias were disarmed. The operation had also demonstrated that the EU decision-making and military planning organs were able to execute and finish a purely EU operation in a case of urgent need. It was also possible to interpret *Artemis* as a showcase of successful multilateral crisis management versus the simultaneous unilateral U.S. involvement in Iraq.

Building on the success of Operation *Artemis*, the dynamic security duo of France and the United Kingdom, this time along with Germany, presented the “battle group” concept with a view to improving the EU’s capacity for

PfP Process, with a security agreement with NATO. Consequently Cyprus and Malta are currently left out of the Berlin Plus arrangement.

²³ European Defence, p.63-64.

rapid reaction in February 2004. Two months later EU defence ministers approved the trilateral proposal, transforming it into a European initiative. According to this concept, battle groups, or “tactical groups”, of approximately 1500 troops, including the appropriate support elements, were to be formed ready for deployment within 15 days. They should be capable of high-intensity operations, either as stand-alone forces or as initial-entry forces for operations on a larger scale. Another feature of these groups was that they were designed to be either national or multinational, composed of troops from one or more member countries. In line with the European Security Strategy, these forces were designed specifically, but not exclusively, for use in response to requests from the UN.²⁴

Possible scenarios for these Battlegroups included support missions for the delivery of humanitarian aid, evacuation operations, conflict prevention, stabilisation operations and the separation of hostile parties.

As the concept is based on small force packages, it significantly increases the flexibility and deployability of the Union’s armed forces, and as such constitutes an important step towards Headline Goal 2010.

Even so, it was and remains just a step towards the final goal. Under closer scrutiny it is the political rather than military logic of the Battlegroup that becomes evident. It represents as such quite a modest military force, and in the final analysis it may not be an ideal tool for crisis management. The concept is clearly based on experiences from Operation *Artemis* and its future practicability remains questionable: nobody knows whether future crises will require similar force packages for a similar duration as in the Bunia area during the summer of 2003.²⁵

The EU Battlegroups: a Tool for Effective Multinationalism

Much has been achieved in a remarkably short period of time. Institutionally, there are now three ways in which the Europeans can act in terms of crisis management: as part of a NATO operation, under the “Berlin Plus” agreement or in an autonomous operation with either a lead-nation framework involving a national headquarters or a European headquarters. All these options are now on offer and have been agreed on.²⁶

²⁴ European Defence, p.59.

²⁵ Questions regarding the Battlegroups’ practical usefulness will be discussed in more detail in the articles by Mika Kerttunen and Tommy Jeppsson.

²⁶ European Defence, p.59.

As of 1st January, 2005, the Battlegroups are at their Initial Operational Capability (IOC), which means that from now on one Battlegroup will be continuously available for operations. Full Operational Capability (FOC), with two groups available, will be reached by 2007.

Neither the Battlegroup nor the ESDP can serve as a nucleus for a European army, but it can be predicted that such a nucleus for a future European capability has already been created in the form of various ESDP politico-military institutions. It is also significant that there is no turning back with these new institutions. Essentially, these developments are taking place regardless of whether the future European Union Constitution will be accepted or not.²⁷

From a European Union perspective, the Battlegroup concept seems to be a step, although not yet a very big one, towards a more credible role in global security. As the above discussion has shown, its emergence is based on the idea that building up security on the borders of Europe requires a comprehensive approach that employs a wide range of tools.

The European Union has already been a major player in world politics for a long time. It has had a wide variety of tools at its disposal, ranging from assistant programmes to police missions. Two member states are Permanent Members of the UN Security Council, and there are usually two others with membership on a rotating basis. The EU provides about 40 per cent of the UN's budget, and it is the largest contributor of aid and economic assistance in the world.²⁸ In other words, the EU is already a major provider of "soft security".

Militarily, however, the Union has traditionally been weak, or rather, non-existent. The underlying logic behind the ESDP and the EU Battlegroup today is that the union simply needs better military capabilities in addition to its toolbox of other strengths. There are several reasons for this.

First, in today's insecure world, the European Union is composed of a number of states that are closely connected with the world's economy and have strong interests in maintaining peace and stability all over the world. By themselves, however, the individual EU countries lack the necessary resources for this. A natural solution in this situation is to join forces in this effort. This need has become ever more urgent now that the union has expanded close to areas where poverty, instability and conflicts in all their forms are common.

²⁷ See, for example, International Crisis Group, p.8.

²⁸ European Defence, p.20.

In this general aim for peace and stability the EU has common interests with the global superpower, the United States. In this sense the Americans are happy to see the Europeans taking more responsibility for global security issues, and this also applies to global and regional security organisations such as the United Nations. European armed forces that are stronger, flexible and more interoperable would also make the EU a much better partner for a number of other actors, including the U.S., the UN and various regional organisations.²⁹

In fact, “effective multilateralism” is a matter not so much of choice but of necessity for the Europeans.³⁰ The failure to become involved early and effectively to protect others in the Balkans and Rwanda hung over the EU in the 1990s, and this interdependence between Europe and the rest of the world has only intensified during the last decade. It is a known fact that the EU states by themselves are not able to handle threats of the kind that are constantly emerging. If the EU fails today to become more effective in conflict prevention and management, it will ultimately be failing to protect itself.³¹

On the other hand, the relationship with the United States is more complex than that, as the EU member states seem to be more committed to multilateralism than the U.S. In the final analysis the situation for the U.S. may well be the same, but at least the predominant thinking there has favoured the idea that, either by itself or with its allies, that country is in a better position and not so dependent on multilateral cooperation. In this sense, the EU Battlegroups were formed as a tool not just for crisis management but specifically for multinational crisis management, thereby constituting an indirect alternative to the unilateralist approach of the U.S. At all events, the uncertainty regarding future U.S. policies constitutes another reason for developing the ESDP and the Battlegroup concept.

The EU Battlegroups can be seen as a message both for the external world and for the Europeans themselves. In the former case, the message is that Europe is determined to increase its capabilities and its role in crisis management. In other words, it is more willing and capable to tackle crises outside its own area, first and foremost in Africa, but in other areas as well, while an equally important message for the domestic European audience is perhaps that the ESDP is actually making progress and that concrete steps

²⁹ International Crisis Group, summary.

³⁰ “Multilateralism” refers to multiple countries working in concert as parties for some purpose. However, “multinationalism” is a more appropriate term to describe the functioning of organizations such as NATO and the EU, whose member states are committed to common aims in a more general sense.

³¹ International Crisis Group, p.3.

are being taken towards a credible European crisis management capability. That constitutes another reason for the above process.

From the viewpoint of small EU member states such as Sweden or Finland, the big picture of ESDP and Battlegroup development contains mixed elements. On the one hand, the whole process is in their interests in many respects. By themselves they would not be able to tackle the numerous issues and problems that in any case affect their living conditions, and joining forces is practically the only way to pursue the “effective multilateralism” which they are so dependent upon. On the other hand, the process is a telling example of the relative position of small states in international affairs, including those of the EU, in that the concept was negotiated and agreed upon between just a few influential states, which are not particularly well informed about or interested in the individual aspirations of small nations, whose role then easily becomes one of adapting to requirements and concepts decided upon elsewhere. The rapid development of the Battlegroup concept can be seen in the light of the relationship between large and small EU member states as a way for the large states to induce the military in small states to accelerate their modernisation programmes and take a more active role in international crisis management. At the same time, the Battlegroup concept represents a general shift in emphasis in the dominant line of European defence thinking from territorial defence to international crisis management.

To conclude, the EU has been very successful in the economic sphere and in enhancing stability and security in Europe. It is only on the threshold of becoming a “hard security” or military actor, however³². For time being, the Battlegroups represent quite a modest military force, which is not able to compete with the capabilities of the major powers, not even with that of most EU nations. It is also questionable whether the concept is an appropriate tool for crisis management in the first place. In addition, many questions remain to be solved, among them the proper mandate with respect to when to act, how to agree on the rules of engagement for each country’s representatives, how to transport the troops and equipment to the operation areas, questions of finance etc.

It is probable that these obstacles will be overcome in due course, since a real political will now seems to exist among EU members to provide the organisational framework, with governments adopting a pragmatic approach and pressing for real military capabilities to be put in place. With

³² Hopkinson, William, Sizing and Shaping European Armed Forces. Lessons and Considerations from the Nordic Countries. SIPRI Policy Paper No. 7, March 2004, p.10.

this political will, the new tool of EU Battlegroups is about to proceed from the planning stages to a prototype level and to the first practical experiments.

Four Theoretical Explanations

Like any issue in international politics, the emergence and development of the ESDP and the Battlegroup concept can be approached and analysed from various theoretical perspectives. In fact, we cannot interpret the processes described in the above pages without recourse to theoretical models, however rudimentary or simple they may be. At least in international politics, we always tend to “see” the surrounding phenomena through theoretical lenses of some kind, whether we want to or not.

In this way theories serve as a starting point for any research – they give us the tools with which to approach the world around us, provide ways of formulating questions about it and help to connect individual study to the body of existing research. Consequently, a researcher ought to be aware of the lenses, which he or she is using. Otherwise, the theories can easily lead only to confusion.

The following is a sketchy interpretation of the ESDP process and the Battlegroup concept from four theoretical perspectives: liberalist, integration theory, political realism and geopolitical. These cases could be analysed from several other theoretical perspectives too, but this short excursion is meant to provide only an illustration of the connection between theory and practice in international politics.³³

A liberalist theory emphasises cooperation between states and non-state actors. The idea of democratic peace, for example, which is closely related to the liberalist theory of international politics, is based on the idea that democracies do not wage war against each other. Therefore democracy and prosperity, which it serves to advance, are regarded as tools for international peace.

From this perspective, the above discussion is seen as a story of the European Union’s attempts to spread peace and democracy outside its own borders. It can be seen in this sense as a benevolent actor in world politics, seeking to bring peace, democracy and prosperity to its surrounding areas. It has done so during its history with the help of several enlargements and

³³ For a concise guide to theories of international politics, see Lintonen, Raimo, *Johdatus kansainvälisen politiikan tutkimukseen*. Maanpuolustuskorkeakoulu, Strategian laitos, Strategian tutkimuksia N:o 9, 1996.

the various economic tools at its disposal. The ESDP and the Battlegroup concept can in this light be viewed simply as more robust tools for this very same purpose.

Integration theory concentrates more on the internal EU dimension. It is based on the assumption that the logic of European integration is the driving force behind the development of the ESDP and Battlegroups, which are seen as natural consequences of the many preceding steps in the path of European integration, a process which is thought of as more or less unstoppable. Integration simply has a tendency to spread to one subject area after another. The EU started in the 1950s as an economic community with very restricted tasks, but since then integration has spread to new areas, and finally to defence issues.

The realist perspective would, in a nutshell, emphasise the role of national interests. In this sense, a realist reader would ask what were the interests of the participating nations in their decisions to join these processes. In this regard, one way of interpreting the above developments would be to argue that European countries have found it beneficial to join forces. By themselves, they would easily be marginalised in world politics and be open to various security threats, but together, and with a credible military dimension, they can achieve a more secure and more substantial role in world politics.

Somewhat related to the realist perspective is the geopolitical way of thinking, which emphasises control over resources or physical areas. In this sense it could be asked what are the geopolitical features of the most important European countries, or perhaps of the EU as a whole. It would be possible to argue, for example, that the present form of the ESDP is a compromise between the Atlantic orientation of Britain and the continental orientation of France. Since Africa has a prominent place in the ESDP, it could be argued geopolitically that Europe has thereby defined the continent as its “sphere of interest”.

In this way the “reality” of the above case study can be interpreted meaningfully from various theoretical perspectives. Each provides a point of view, which does not explain everything but is not totally misguided, either. A single theoretical framework does not provide the whole picture of the ESDP or the Battlegroup concept, but rather one aspect of them. In this sense, theories serve as a basis from which to observe and explain the recent developments in European defence.

THE CONCEPT

Mika Kerttunen

Building the Concept

The need for putting impetus to the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) and strengthening European crisis management capabilities was discussed in the Franco-British summit at Le Touquet in February 2003. The initial ideas discussed and the plans drafted received a more concrete form in another meeting in London in November 2003. In order to enhance the EU rapid reaction capability the countries proposed establishing a number of joint tactical groups – each consisting of approximately 1500 soldiers. This proposal was endorsed by Germany in February 2004, and was as a trilateral proposal submitted to the EU Political and Security Committee the same month. The European Union Military Committee was asked to give its advice on technical aspects of the concept. A political go-ahead was given by the informal defence minister meeting in Brussels on April 5th and 6th 2003.³⁴

The concept has its institutional roots in three arrangements within the ESDP: the Helsinki Headline Goal process starting in 1999, the European Security Strategy from December 2003, and Operation Artemis in the Democratic Republic of Congo in summer 2003³⁵. The concept's military rationality also stems from these arrangements. In the Helsinki Headline Goal process, the EU member states were committed to develop an EU rapid reaction force of 60 000 troops available at 60 days notice. The forces were to carry out the full range of Petersberg tasks³⁶, including the most demanding operations up to corps level. The forces “should be self-sustaining with the necessary command and control and intelligence capabilities, logistics, and other combat support sources and additionally, as appropriate naval and air elements”³⁷. The Helsinki Headline process has helped to set goals for the troops and nations (the Headline Goal Catalogue), to establish an EU list of available forces (the Headline Force Catalogue), and to identify the shortfalls between the two (the Headline

³⁴ 2590th Council Meeting General Affairs and External Relations, Brussels 14 June 2004 (10189/04); Klaus Olshausen, “Das ”Battle Group“-Konzept der Europäischen Union“, *Soldat und Technik*, Mai 2004; Gerrard Quille, “’Battle Groups’ to strengthen EU military crisis management?“, *European Security Review*, Number 22, April 2003.

³⁵ Naturally the Treaty on European Union sets, though implicitly, the ultimate political goals and ambitions for the Battlegroup concept.

³⁶ Originally defined by the Council of Ministers of the WEU in June 1992 to include “[h]umanitarian and rescue tasks, peacekeeping tasks and tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking”.

³⁷ Presidency Conclusion, Helsinki European Council, 10 and 11 December 1999.

Progress Catalogue). At the end of 2001 the European Capability Action Plan (ECAP) was launched to remedy identified shortcomings in the Helsinki Headline Goal and find solutions to the most important deficiencies³⁸. This was to be achieved by rationalizing member states' defence efforts and increasing synergy between national and multinational projects. The first phase of the ECAP was concluded in May 2003. The ECAP focused mostly on procurement or structural and doctrinal initiatives and programs and thus not directly on enhanced crisis management capacity. At least the progress within the Headline process has been slow enough to make some nations accelerate the crisis management development with a new arrangement.

The existing shortfall of the Helsinki Headline Goal process is though the quantitative goals were formally met in 2003 it actually did not create any credible rapid response capability. There was no guarantee that the troops and resources listed in the catalogues could have been operational and available in time for imminent implementation. As the International Crisis Group bluntly states on the failure of achieving the Headline Goal by the end of 2003 "The EU is a long way from having such a force, much less being able to project it approximately 4,000 km from Brussels that is its aim"³⁹.

In the European Security Strategy the European Union identified a number of risks and threats that need to be addressed. The document states that large-scale aggression against any member state is improbable. New threats that Europe faces are "more diverse, less visible and less predictable". Terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, state failures, and organized crime constitute the new threats Europe has to address. Cooperation with the United States and the EU's own policies have contributed to the fight against terrorism and proliferation. Regional conflicts and the problems failed states are facing have been tackled with Union interventions. The new threats nevertheless require other than traditional approaches that have been based on self-defence. The first line of defence is often abroad, thus the EU "should be ready to act before a crisis occur". The strategy links together the potential the EU has, 450 million people, a quarter of world's gross domestic product, with the contribution that has to be more active, more coherent and more capable.

³⁸ Among those identified were e.g. attack helicopters, intelligence, surveillance, target acquisition and reconnaissance, in-flight refuelling, suppression of the enemy air defence, anti-missile defence, and strategic transport assets (Marc-André Rytter, *Managing Contemporary Crises: A Challenge for the European Union*, Department of Strategic and Defence Studies, Series 2 No 18, National Defence College, Helsinki 2001, p. 16.).

³⁹ *EU Crisis Response Capability Revisited*, International Crisis Group, Europe Report No 160, 17 January 2005.

All these three factors set demands for the general development of the European defence policies and armed forces as well as Battlegroup concept. The Union has to have capacity to act before severe crisis occurs. Engagement must be preventive. Several operations should be able to be sustained simultaneously. Forces need to be flexible and mobile. The scope is global, although special concern is given to the security of Europe's neighbourhood.⁴⁰

Operation Artemis, or the Interim Emergency Multinational Force (IEMF), was only nominally an EU venture. The formal request by the United Nations Secretary General was made to France who then agreed to deploy one battalion to Bunia, North-eastern Congo⁴¹. France later expanded the request to the EU. The force was mandated in the United Nations Resolution 1484 “[t]o contribute to the stabilization of the security conditions and the improvement of the humanitarian situation in Bunia, to ensure the protection of the airport, the internally displaced persons in the camps in Bunia and, if the situation requires it, to contribute to the safety of the civilian population, United Nations personnel and the humanitarian presence in the town”⁴². France was the framework nation, and sixteen other EU or non-EU nations participated in the force⁴³. The first elements were deployed to Bunia on 6 June and full deployment was reached a month later. It should be noted that a UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC) had been present in the region since November 1999. This facilitated the deployment and some operations of the IEMF. The composition of the force provided the following strengths:

- An airport of Entebbe's quality enabled operational support
- Special forces gave capability to engage and neutralize armed threats
- The majority of the forces (French) were able to communicate with the local population
- Intelligence capability was excellent
- The use of air assets (lift, reconnaissance, strike) was effective
- Field level unit hospital with surgical capacity⁴⁴.

⁴⁰ *A Secure Europe in a Better World, European Security Strategy*, Brussels 12 December 2003. The Secretary General/High Representative (SG/HR) Javier Solana prepared the document.

⁴¹ French Ministry of Defence, *Operation Artemis. Lessons learned*, CD-ROM, Department of Strategic and Defence Studies Library.

⁴² The United Nations Security Council Resolution S/RES/1484 (2003), 30 May 2003.

⁴³ The total force numbered 2130 personnel in the end of June and 1471 in the beginning of September, the force headquarters was located in Entebbe, Uganda and the operation headquarters in Paris.

⁴⁴ *Operation Artemis: The Lessons of the Interim Emergency Multinational Force*, United Nations Peacekeeping Best Practises Unit, Military Division, October 2004.

Operation Artemis was an opportunity for the EU to show its capability to take action and operate autonomously. It enabled Member States to show their commitments to EU crisis management and Africa. The goals set for the operation were, however, modest, and one can question the long perspective benefit of the enterprise no matter how positive the experiences. Minimally without MONUC the results would have been short-lived. The United Nations report criticizes IEMF on the strict insistence of the three-month deployment signalling the transitory nature of the force. It also shortened the period on the ground as it took time to first build up and to soon draw down; the force became fully operational 6 July and the first elements began to withdraw on August 16⁴⁵. The report also states that the limited area of operations, the town of Bunia, pushed the problem elsewhere. The overall assessment is nevertheless positive. The IEMF restored security to Bunia and put an end to an immediate crisis. Most importantly it enabled the reinforced MONUC to deploy a robust brigade to take over and extend beyond Bunia.⁴⁶

The question remains to what extent the previous crisis are models for the developers of European crisis management capabilities. The Helsinki Headline Goals together with the crisis scenarios seem to repeat the experiences of the Kosovo campaign. The Battlegroup concept resembles the Operation Artemis in Democratic Republic of Congo⁴⁷. Minimally, troop composition, modest tasks, limited area of operation, short timeframe, command and control arrangements and hand-over to a larger peacekeeping force sound familiar. Copying or modelling the previous operations is not necessarily wrong, but the problem lies with the fact that hardly any crisis mirrors its predecessors. It is essential therefore, that the EU crisis management arrangements remain flexible in order to meet the unexpected. Given the ambition to act on wide spectrum of crisis it is doubtful that a number of similar sized and of similar quality Battlegroups could tackle all situations. Yet, if there were groups of different size and quality, that is e.g. one infantry heavy, the second one amphibious, the third air-borne, this would provide too differentiated a capacity for the political masters. Needed in the future is for the first real capacity, not just a list of at least a brigade-size unit and for the second rapid and flexible capacity for minor incidents as well. The goals of the Council of Helsinki should be materialized.

⁴⁵ French Ministry of Defence, *Operation Artemis. Lessons learned*.

⁴⁶ *Operation Artemis: The Lessons of the Interim Emergency Multinational Force*, United Nations Peacekeeping Best Practises Unit, Military Division, October 2004.

⁴⁷ One should keep in mind that the idea of the Battlegroups was presented three months before the Operation Artemis began. This does not reduce the explanatory relationship and resemblance between the concept and the operation, but questions which one is the explaining factor.

In April 2004 Secretary General / High Representative Javier Solana proposed a methodology for developing the capabilities required, as well as a calendar foreseeing the setting up of Initial Operational Capability (IOC) by 2005 and Full Operational Capability (FOC) by 2007. The Council approved the proposal in May 2004 and then integrated it into the Headline Goal 2010. This document outlines the aims and objectives in developing the overall EU military capabilities but also specifically provides political guidance for developing the Battlegroup concept. It continues the work started with the Helsinki Headline process but combines that with the objectives set in the European Security Strategy. The main focus is on interoperability, deployability and sustainability. In its May 17 2004 conclusions, the Council recognized the need for rapid decision-making and planning. The EU ambition is to be able to make the decision to launch an operation within 5 days of the approval of the Crisis Management Concept by the Council. On the deployment of forces, the aim is to start implementing the mission on the ground no later than 10 days after the EU decision to launch the operation.⁴⁸ They should be sustainable for 30-day initial operations, extendable to 120 days, if re-supplied appropriately⁴⁹.

A military Battlegroup concept was approved by the EU Military Committee in June 2004. The following aspects were emphasized and need to be further worked out (under the responsibility of the Military Committee):

- a. Within the scope of the Headline Goal 2010, the required number of Battlegroups will have to be defined;
- b. A Battlegroup Generation process needs to be developed as a matter of urgency;
- c. In order to be able to meet the IOC requirements by 2005, an interim solution for the Battlegroup provision might have to be utilized;
- d. The possible role of the Military Committee in the context of Battlegroup training and exercises could be developed;
- e. The issue of strategic mobility needs to be addressed;
- f. A detailed Roadmap with regard to the implementation of the Battlegroup Concept should be developed.⁵⁰

Priority was given to the development of the detailed military standards and criteria for the Battlegroups and to the establishment of the Battlegroup generation process, as most of the listed work depends on and is derived from these activities. In July the EU Military Committee tasked the EU

⁴⁸ 2582th Council Meeting General Affairs and External Relations, Brussels 17 May 2004 (9210/04). The EU decision-making process in crisis management operations is described in more detail later in this chapter.

⁴⁹ Military Capabilities Commitment Conference, Brussels, 22 November 2004 (http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/misc/82761.pdf).

⁵⁰ *EU Battlegroup Concept* (10501/04).

Military Staff to develop a roadmap describing all the areas discussed in the Battlegroup Concept including the timelines set for the concept. The Military Committee agreed upon the roadmap in January 2005 and submitted it to the Political and Security Committee. It covers in detail the process and procedures to achieve the Initial Operational Capability in 2005, and outlines the general development to reach the Full Operational Capability in 2007. Within the already started Headline Goal 2010 work, the capability development process has led to a production of a new Requirements Catalogue containing also Rapid Response Elements. In order to avoid duplication of efforts with NATO, emphasis is given to the analogous standards, practical methods and procedures with the NATO Response Force. This requires cooperation and exchange of information between the organizations. One key issue here is the release of NRF-related documents to the EU by NATO. During the first half of 2005 issues such as the number of Battlegroups to be kept on standby, command and control characteristics at different levels of operations, standards and criteria, training and certification, and supporting logistic concept will be solved. In the first Battlegroup Generation Conference in May the Member States are expected to provide their initial offers for the next three and half years and their commitments for timeframe from one and half to three and half years. Detailed commitments are required for the timeframe from six months to one and a half years. Ongoing processes include coordination with NATO (NRF) in issues of complementarity, with the United Nations in civil-military coordination, and with Council General Secretariat on deployment of civilian EU instruments in case of a Battlegroup operation.

The entire process from a vague political proposal to defined political and military ambitions took the EU machinery about one year. An additional year was required before the interim capacity was achieved. The “speed of light” development can be based on the institutional and political will to have something more concrete than a list of potential capabilities. The interim capacity for 2005 and 2006 relies on the existing forces and units of the bigger Member States. Reaching the FOC requires additional work on the EU and national level.

Battlegroup: structures, material and performance

Within the EU, Battlegroup is defined as a “[s]pecific form of rapid response. It is the minimum military effective, credible, rapidly deployable, coherent force package capable of stand-alone operations; it can also be employed for the initial phase of larger operations. The Battlegroup is based on combined arms and battalion sized force, and reinforced with Combat Support and Combat Service Support elements. A Battlegroup could be formed by a Framework Nation or by multinational coalition of

Member States. In all cases, interoperability and military effectiveness will be key criteria. A Battlegroup must be associated with a Force Headquarters and pre-identified operational and strategic enablers, such as strategic lift and logistics”⁵¹. The European Union should have the capacity to undertake two concurrent single battlegroup size rapid response operations, including the ability to launch both such operations almost simultaneously.

To make the concept more understandable certain military terminology should be explained. The term *battlegroup* itself raises some eyebrows, especially among those who are not familiar with the military terminology and those who want to oppose the idea of EU rapid response capability. Usually battle group refers to a standing naval group consisting of an aircraft carrier, surface combatants (i.e. vessels), and submarines operating under one commander. Land forces have traditionally been organized to permanent organizations of e.g. companies, battalions, regiments, brigades, or corps. A *battalion* is a unit consisting of usually 3-4 similar companies, a headquarter element and additional smaller supporting platoons and groups. As companies normally are about 80 to 150 troops strong, a battalion could be a couple hundred to several hundreds strong. A task force or a battle group in this respect, has meant a temporary or semi-permanent grouping of units, usually companies, under one commander for the purpose of carrying out a specific operation or sequence of a larger campaign. A classic example is the Finnish concept of task force / battle group consisting of an infantry battalion and an artillery battalion. With this temporary grouping of two separate arms, one was able to combine the speed of the infantry with the firepower of the artillery without engaging the more rigid and robust organization of brigade to the battle. The EU Battlegroup is similarly combined of different *branches*. This means that the group consists of a mechanised (infantry) battalion (3-4 companies), together with supporting units of different arms, e.g. engineers, air-defence, or fire-support companies or platoons. *Combat support* refers specifically to those units whose primary mission is to furnish operational assistance for the combat elements and which have their role fulfilling the combat tasks of a Battlegroup. *Combat service support* elements provide other than primarily operational assistance or functions. Their tasks include e.g. administration, maintenance, construction, medical services, and transportation. A fictional EU Battlegroup together with the Force Headquarter and the operational and strategic enablers could consist of the following units, elements and functions:

⁵¹ Military Capabilities Commitment Conference, Brussels, 22 November 2004 (http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/misc/82761.pdf).

1. **Force Headquarter** including dedicated Staff- and Communication and Information Support and Augmented Staff

2. **Battle Group**

- **Mechanized Infantry Battalion**

- Headquarters
- Headquarters Company
- 2 x Mechanized Infantry Companies
- 1 x Light Infantry Company
- Logistic Company

- **Combat Support**

- Fire Support Company/Battery
- Engineer Platoon
- Air Defence Platoon
- Reconnaissance Platoon
- Intelligence Platoon/Teams
- Helicopter Support Unit

- **Combat Service Support**

- Logistic Company
- Medical Platoon
- Military Police Platoon

3. **Operational and strategic enablers**

- **Air**

- Strategic Airlift
- Tactical Airlift
- Close Air Support
- Air Port of Departure units

- **Sea**

- Strategic Sealift
- Carrier Based Air
- Sea Port of Departure units

- **Logistics**

- Combat Service Support
- Equipment Support
- Medical Combat Support

- **Other**

- Special Forces

Given the high political profile Battlegroups possess, and the potential political and strategic implications of their activities together with the set stand-alone ambition, it is understandable that they are provided or supported with a vast number of highly sophisticated military units and functions. Essential for its success are: force commander's or force headquarters' command and control capabilities; accurate and integrated

intelligence; fire-power and force projection capacity; and force protection and medical service. Integrated intelligence and decision-making processes are a necessity for timely and accurate use of forces, tasking and targeting. Substantial firepower and force projection capacity not only help to achieve the tactical goals of a Battlegroup, but function as a deterring factors among lesser opponents. Given the political sensibility and potential vulnerability of a Battlegroup mission, a Force Commander is going to weigh the need of avoiding fatal casualties and the necessity to fulfil the tasks.

With respect to the equipment and weapon systems the Battlegroups possess, the most effective are the infantry fighting vehicles / armoured personnel carriers with their mounted weapons. They can range e g from Hägglunds CV 90 series equipped with guns from 30 up to 120 mm calibre, to Mowag Piranha with a 30 mm gun to Sisu XA-180/200 series with a 12,7 mm or .50 calibre heavy machine gun, a tactical air defence system or armoured piercing missiles like ITOW. Fire support units can be equipped with light field guns (howitzers) or 120 mm mortars. Even these relatively light weapon systems weigh well over 10 metric tons each. Each mechanised infantry company could have approximately 10-12 fighting vehicles and a fire support company/battery 6-9 field guns or mortar systems.

The afore mentioned sustainability ambition of 30 days for initial operations requires that the EU has the ability to lift simultaneously both the troops and their materiel to the mission area. Battlegroups must have logistic capacity to handle the amount of materiel and supplies needed for the duration of the operation. By using sustainment requirements one can calculate the amount of materiel needed. The following table is based on the parameters used by the United States Army for their transportation planning⁵² and is intended to facilitate understanding on the logistical and transportation demands. The list of materiel is more illuminating than exhaustive.

⁵² US Field Manual 55-15 as in Jon von Weissenberg, *Strategic Sea Lift Capacity in the Common European Security and Defence Policy*, Department of Strategic and Defence Studies, Series 1 No 20, National Defence College, Helsinki 2002.

	Item	Kg/man/ day	Metric tonnes/ BG/30 days	
Class I	Subsistence/Food/ Water	3.2 50	144 2250	Arid areas
Class II	Clothing, individual	1.4	63	
Class III	Petroleum, oil and lubricants	0.23	10,3	
Class IV	Construction	3.8	171	
Class V	Ammunition	-	100 ⁵³	
Class VI	Personal demand	1.5	67,5	
Class VII	Major items -Vehicles/weapon systems	-	650 162 114	25 * CV 90 (26 tn) 12 * XA-185 (13,5 tn) 6 * AMOS (19 tn)
Class VIII	Medical supplies	0.3	13,5	
Class IX	Repair parts	-	30	
Total			1525 3631	Without water With water

Table 1. Sustainment requirements for a Battlegroup.

Deployment by air is naturally the fastest way of getting there. The set 10 day ambition does not necessarily demand that the entire Battlegroup needs to be operational within the timeframe but that the execution of the operation begins by then. Technically airlifting a Battlegroup is possible. Americans for example deployed by air a light brigade of approximately 2000 men with their materiel and equipment from the United States for the IFOR operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It took four days and 288 C-17 sorties⁵⁴. In Operation Artemis 50 Antonov An-24, 20 Airbus 300 and 72 C-130 Hercules sorties were needed to lift the ca 1500 troops strong force from Europe to Entebbe, Uganda, and from there on to Bunia, Congo an additional 276 C-130 sorties; the amount of materiel weighted 2410 tons⁵⁵. Sealift can be used to deploy parts of a Battlegroup, to re-supply one or even to rotate the Battlegroups in some cases during the extended 120 days period. Yet, some of the conflicts do occur in landlocked states - far from potential seaports. Though not an intention or a wish to deploy two

⁵³ The amount is deducted from the ammunition consumption of a brigade in a war-fighting scenario (of 300 tonnes/brigade/day). A Battlegroup is about 1/3 of a brigade and its tasks are assessed to require 1/3 of the ammunition of the more demanding missions. For 30 days the amount is therefore $(1/3 * 1/3 * 300 * 30)$ 100 tonnes. Class IX is similarly calculated $(1/3 * 1/3 * 9 * 30)$.

⁵⁴ *European strategic lift capabilities – reply to the annual report of the Council*, WEU Assembly Defence Committee, 5 December 2001.

⁵⁵ French Ministry of Defence, *Operation Artemis. Lessons learned*.

Battlegroups simultaneously, the EU ambition to conduct two operations nearly simultaneously nevertheless impacts strategic air and sealift capabilities. The need to have or reserve some capacity for the NATO Response Force does not ease the situation. Personnel could be airlifted in passenger aircrafts, but the airstrips must be held to higher standards. A specific Global Approach Deployability (GAD) process is therefore introduced within the European Capability Action Plan. It envisages the coordination of all strategic lift assets, mechanisms and initiatives in particular support of Battlegroup operations⁵⁶.

The main alternatives for strategic airlift capabilities are pooling, chartering or acquisition of capacity. By pooling the EU would try to use the existing means more effectively. This would rely mostly on the Member States' about 150 C-160 Transall (16 tonnes payload, 1800 km range) and some 140 C-130 Hercules planes (19 tonnes, 3200-5000 km). The problem with this is their modest capacity. Another possibility is to charter Ukrainian or Russian An-124 Condor (120 to 150 tonnes, 5000 km) aircrafts. American aeroplanes like C-5 Galaxy (120 tonnes, 5200 km) or C-17 Globemaster (78 tonnes, 5000 km) could be available under the Berlin Plus arrangement. This alternative would diminish the claims of an autonomous EU capacity even further. The acquisition of larger Airbus A400 M aircrafts (payload 29 tonnes) has been agreed upon, but first deliveries are not due until 2008 with the last of the planned 80 to 200 planes in 2020. Despite the constant emphasis on strategic lift (particularly airlift capacities) it seems probable that the EU has to settle for *ad hoc* solutions, rely on American, Russian or Ukrainian assets or limit its crisis management ambitions before it obtains an autonomous capability in this field⁵⁷.

Sealift is by no means a simple solution, either. It requires specific carriers, access to a harbour or a suitable beach, and in case of land-locked crisis the units and materiel need to be deployed and transferred from the seaport to the area of operation. It is time-consuming but has an overwhelming transportation capacity. Technically sealift shipping falls into three broad categories: dry cargo ships (Ro/Ro) for the transportation of equipment and supplies, tankers for petroleum, oil and lubricants, and passenger ships for personnel and medical needs. To move an entire Battlegroup can be calculated to require some 17 000 m² of deck space and 150 sea containers.

⁵⁶ Military Capabilities Commitment Conference, Brussels, 22 November 2004.

⁵⁷ *EU Crisis Response Capability Revisited*, International Crisis Group, Europe Report No 160, January 17 2005. For details on strategic lift, see Jon von Weissenberg, *Strategic Sea Lift Capacity in the Common European Security and Defence Policy*, Department of Strategic and Defence Studies, Series 1 No 20, National Defence College, Helsinki 2002. The Headline Goal 2010 stresses the importance of deployability at the core of the Member States efforts to improve their military capabilities.

One Ro/Ro ship is needed for the core battalion with the combat support elements and another one for the combat service support units and additional material and supplies. In case of amphibious landing, a half dozen amphibious ships⁵⁸ are needed. Providing these vessels is not a problem for the Member States and their navies. The crux is the readiness of the ships and their crews, i.e. the time it takes to prepare and load the ships, steam to the area and unload the troops and material. Ro/Ro vessels can be expected to travel at an average of 20 knots and tankers at 12 knots speed.⁵⁹ For such a task force a sealift of 4000 kilometres (2100 nautical miles) would then take seven to eight days. If the preparatory work does not take too long a time sealift theoretically speaking fulfils the requirements the EU has for the deployment. A combination of air and sealift would naturally provide a suitable and feasible solution for the EU.

By the end of year 2004 Member States and Norway as a third State have committed to form the following thirteen Battlegroups:

- France
- Italy
- Spain
- United Kingdom
- France, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg and potentially Spain
- France and Belgium
- Germany, the Netherlands and Finland
- Germany, Austria and Czech Republic
- Italy, Hungary and Slovenia
- Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal
- Poland, Germany, Slovakia, Latvia and Lithuania
- Sweden, Finland and including Norway as a third State
- United Kingdom and the Netherlands⁶⁰.

During the Initial Operational Capability period of 2005-2006, the EU has ambition to have at least one coherent Battlegroup package to undertake one such operation. This capacity is provided by the United Kingdom and France during the first half and by Italy in the second half of 2005. In 2006 Germany and France will commit joint Battlegroups and Spain, Italy, Portugal and Greece a multinational one. For 2007 and onwards the Battlegroups will be generated through EU Battlegroup coordination conferences. Even in Full Operational Capability the EU does not have the capacity of all 13 Battlegroups at its disposal but of two that are in operational tour of duty. In addition to the abovementioned commitments

⁵⁸ Landing Platform Dock (LPD), e.g. Rotterdam class.

⁵⁹ Weissenberg (2002), p. 53-58, 64-69; *European strategic lift capabilities – reply to the annual report of the Council*, WEU Assembly Defence Committee, 5 December 2001.

⁶⁰ Military Capabilities Commitment Conference, Brussels, 22 November 2004.

several Member States have offered niche capabilities in support of the Battlegroups. Estonia has decided to participate and is to continue consultations with possible partners; Ireland is prepared to enter into such consultations.

The participation of non-EU European countries and other country candidates for accession to the EU is in line with the Nice European Council Conclusions. For Sweden and Finland, Norwegian contribution to the joint Battlegroup was both politically and militarily most welcome. Achieving consensus in this issue among the Member States demanded thorough consultations. The problem was not Norway, but Turkey. Her potential participation and thus access to EU planning and decision-making was politically sensitive to Greece. Athens was ready to accept the principle, but wanted modalities for participation to have been “worked out” separately. At the end of day this reservation fell off, and other potential partners might be included to participate as well. The inclusion of a third State is to be done without prejudice to the rights of any Member State.

By using different levels of military operations as levels of analysis one can examine the prospects and problems of the Battlegroup concept. Strategic level is commonly understood to focus on and set the political goals and ambitions of a nation, alliance or group of nations. Its goals are often long-lasting and of wider scale. Operational level or operations fulfil the strategic goals by conducting operations or series of operations, campaigns. It uses the military power given and deployed by its highest political and military masters. Tactical level is about using or executing battles and engagements in order to fulfil the concrete military tasks set by the operational level.⁶¹ Problematic with the EU Battlegroups in this respect is that they are to serve the political and strategic level ambitions of the Union, but are of a size and capability of a tactical unit. Translating the political ambitions implicated in the European Security Strategy into concrete military objectives is vital for the whole ESDP. A major part of this work is conducted in the Headline Goal 2010 process, yet its focus is on wider-scale and long-lasting issues and thus not explicitly address the level-*problematique* facing the Battlegroup concept.

⁶¹ Clausewitz in his *On War* defined strategy as the use of engagements for the objects of war and tactical level as the use of armed forces in the engagement. The concept of operational level has been adopted in western military literature and doctrines during the post World War II years. Nations and organisations have different definitions of these concepts that also develop as policies and doctrines are reassessed and rewritten. Note also that the Franco-British initiative talked about joint tactical groups emphasizing both their advanced capabilities and limited size.

This theoretical contradiction can cause practical problems. The EU cannot limit her goals according to the tactical tasks of e.g. attack, defeat, capture, secure, protect or clear that a Battlegroup by definition is able to conduct. A Battlegroup cannot, on the other hand, overextend its capabilities to meet the general EU goals of building security, preventive engagement or crisis management even described in more concrete terms of e.g. hindering a genocide, or establishing conditions for peace.⁶² Some politicians are eager to speak about how the Battlegroups would hinder or stop genocides or ethnic cleansing. Rwanda and Darfur have been mentioned. Yet opponents capable of such large-scale violence could prove to be far too strong for an autonomous Battlegroup. A militia harassing, raping and killing civilians, hardly operates without governmental approval or support.

Theoretically speaking the EU Battlegroups could participate in the following mission profiles:

- 1) **Expeditionary force.** Either an autonomous or a joint operation (with NATO) to solve a limited size crisis.
- 2) **Entry force.** An initial mission by paving the way to a larger operational size peace-enforcement or peacekeeping follow-on force.
- 3) **Emergency force.** Supporting an existing (peacekeeping) mission by offering a robust capability to solve a local and limited size crisis.

Of the scenarios elaborated within the Helsinki Headline Goal process, separation of belligerent parties by force is far too demanding. Peacekeeping requires a larger contingent and humanitarian aid is an unsuitable task for a battle group. Evacuation of (EU) nationals is within the scope but as such the task does not require the establishment of 13 reinforced battalion sized units, neither do hostage situations. The remark on the Military Capabilities Commitment Conference's *Declaration on European Military Capabilities* that "Battlegroups will be employable across the full range of tasks listed in the TEU Art. 17.2 and those identified in the European Security Strategy, in particular in tasks of combat forces in crisis management, bearing in mind their size⁶³" is most relevant in this respect. Although Battlegroups are what the EU wants at the moment, is it what it really needs?

⁶² Of the interplay between political ambitions, required forces and examples of required capabilities see Rob de Wijk, "Restructuring the Armed Forces", in Martti Setälä (ed), *Small States and NATO*, Atlantic Council Of Finland, Occasional Papers No 6, 2005.

⁶³ Military Capabilities Commitment Conference, Brussels, 22 November 2004 (http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/misc/82761.pdf).

The abovementioned tactical performance limits the EU's possibilities to use the Battlegroups in expeditionary type missions. Crises need to be severe enough to be pacified but not too demanding for a tactical size unit. The EU capability for autonomous action is limited by the modest military capacities it is getting in the coming years. This increases the need to have wider international support and participation for interventions. Thus the initial entry force and emergency force missions are most likely to be executed. Two primary partners in this respect are the United Nations and NATO. A regional or sub-regional organization, such as the African Union⁶⁴ could theoretically deploy a follow-on force to continue a crisis management operation, too. Therefore the most severe concerns on the unilateral, offensive, "colonial or imperialistic" nature of the concept seems to be undermined by the very military modesty of the concept. The EU needs political partners and military support. Similarly, the scale of the Battlegroups concept, thirteen - 1500 troops units strong mean that they as such are no core of any European Army. Such ambitions or development could be identified if so wanted from the general ESDP development, and not from the Battlegroup concept. The Battlegroups have war-fighting capabilities but no capacity to fight wars!

To highlight the differences between more robust and modest military effectiveness a comparison with the NATO Response Force is illuminating. Similarly to the Battlegroup Concept the NRF is a technologically advanced force including land, sea and air elements (joint), at high readiness, and multinational (combined). Its missions and size nevertheless differ remarkably from the EUBG. The NRF should be employable for the full range of Alliance missions from deployment as a show of force and solidarity to deter aggression, to deployment as a stand-alone force for Article 5 or non-Article 5 crisis response operations, to deployment as an initial entry force for a larger force. Its land component will contain a brigade size force comprising five battalions with requisite combat support. Emphasis is given to mobility as one of the battalion will be airborne and two will be air manoeuvre. The air component should be able to conduct up to 200 sorties (combat missions) a day. With a theoretical average of three sorties per plane per day this force should add up to 66 planes strong⁶⁵. The maritime component will comprise up to a NATO Task Force size including a carrier group, amphibious forces, mine countermeasure and support vessels. It should be noted that the amount of the manoeuvre units is fivefold in the NRF - the air component of considerable size, and that even this size of a force is considered to be an initial entry force for a larger force. Naturally the effectiveness requirements set by the NATO Council

⁶⁴ Though not directly linked to the Battlegroup concept the EU *Action Plan for ESDP support to Peace and Security in Africa* implicitly contributes to such cooperation.

⁶⁵ I.e. the size of the entire Finnish Hornet fleet (plus some additional support aircrafts).

stem from the larger and deeper commitments to the collective defence of NATO nations.

The question of interoperability and duplication of efforts or complementarity with the EUBG concept is a question that can be readily solved as most nations already follow NATO based standards and procedures. A more severe and principled question to be solved is the organizations' differing views on double earmarking or dual-hatting of forces to the NRF and EUBG. NATO does not want to take a risk that member states would withdraw their troops from the NRF due to other arrangements. The EU on the other hand does not want to freeze troops to any particular organization. NATO's viewpoint is based mostly on military effectiveness and predictability. It however leads to certain duplication in those states that are members of both the EU and NATO. To avoid this requires nations to have two sets of rapid reaction forces - their tours of duties in both of the arrangements must be timed and synchronized. Similar synchronizing would enable the organizations to accept the EU viewpoint. A given national battalion could form the core of a Battlegroup at the time it is not earmarked to the NRF; given the need for rest, re-supply and retraining this does not look feasible. The EU wants Member States and NATO nations to retain flexibility and allocate their forces according to requirements. The EU fears the result of the inflexibility to be delays in the availability of forces, that one of the organizations renounces its rapid reaction capabilities or that forces are duplicated.

Decision-making: structures and outputs

The European Council of Helsinki in December 1999 decided to establish permanent political and military planning and decision-making bodies within the Council. After an interim period the Political and Security Committee (PSC, or the French acronym *COPS*), the European Union Military Committee (EUMC), and the European Union Military Staff (EUMS) were set up and established on Council decision on 22 January 2001. Though established before the Battlegroup concept entered the EU agenda, these bodies and the chosen planning and decision-making procedures will be used in case of a Battlegroup operation.

The Political and Security Committee has a key role in political control and strategic direction of crisis management operations. This is exercised under the responsibility of the Council. The PSC evaluates the essential elements like strategic military options including the chain of command, operation concept and the operation plan. The PSC will deal with all tasks defined in Article 25 of the Treaty on European Union. It consists of the ambassadors of the Member States, and particularly focuses on the following (to):

- Keep track of the international situation
- Help define policies by drawing up 'opinions' for the Council
- Monitor implementation of agreed policies
- Provide guidelines for other Committees on issues within the CFSP
- Send guidelines to the Military Committee.⁶⁶

In event of crisis the PSC is to deal with crisis situations and examine all the options that might be considered. This includes triggering the development of a draft Crisis Management Concept, proposing to the Council the political objectives to be pursued and the course of action to be taken. The PSC has powers to amend the Operation Plan, the Chain of Command and the Rules of Engagement. The decisions on the objectives and termination of an operation remain vested in the Council.⁶⁷ To achieve the political goals the cohesive set of options the PSC recommend to the Council plays an essential role. The PSC's actual efficiency to take urgent decisions is questioned, as it might become too reliant on the military and strategic experts⁶⁸. One can also expect that the General Affairs and External Relations Council (GAERC) consisting of the foreign and defence ministers would like to execute close political control in times of crisis or ongoing operations. Turf wars might also be waged with Committee of the Permanent Representatives (COREPER), the Commission and the Committee for Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management (CIVCOM). To avoid this the Council decision outlines the principles for intra-agency coordination, participation, liaison and information. The linchpin role the PSC has in planning and development of the Battlegroup concept or crisis management capabilities in general can not be underestimated.

The highest military body is the European Union Military Committee. It is composed by Member State Chiefs of Defence, and represented by their military representatives. The committee is to give military advice to the PSC on all military matters within the EU and make recommendations based on military aspects. Its advice and recommendations include:

- The development of the overall concept of crisis management in its military aspects
- The military aspects relating to the political control and strategic direction of crisis management operations and situations

⁶⁶ Council Decision of 22 January 2001 setting up the Political and Security Committee of the European Union (2001/78/CFSP), *Official Journal of the European Communities* 30 January 2001.

⁶⁷ As in both Operation Artemis and Operation Althea (Council Joint Action 2003/423/CFSP and Council Joint Action 2004/570/CFSP).

⁶⁸ Marc-André Ryter, *EU Capabilities for Autonomous Military Crisis Management: Possibilities and Limits*, Department of Strategic and Defence Studies, Series 2 Nr 11, National Defence College, Helsinki 2001, p. 17.

- The risk assessment for potential crises
- The military dimension of a crisis situation
- The elaboration, the assessment and the review of capability objectives
- The military relationships with non-EU European NATO members, other EU candidates and other organisations, including NATO
- The financial estimation for operations and exercises.⁶⁹

In crisis management situations the EUMC issues a Military Strategic Option Directive – an initiating authorization and guidance – to the Director General of the EUMS to draw up and present strategic military options. These options are then evaluated by the committee and forwarded to the PSC with its evaluation and military advice. After the Council’s decision on the military option, an Initiating Military Directive for the Operation Commander (OpCdr) is issued. As the Operation Commander has developed his or her Concept of Operations and Operation Plan, the EUMC provides advice and recommendation to the PSC. During the operation the committee monitors its “proper execution”.⁷⁰

The EU Military Committee provides military direction to the EUMS. The EU Military Staff performs three main operational functions: early warning, situation assessment, and strategic planning. These cover the full range of crisis management tasks⁷¹ and all cases of EU-led operations. This includes identification of European national and multinational forces and implementation of policies and decisions as directed by the EUMC. In concrete terms, the EU Military Staff plans, assesses and makes recommendations on the concept of crisis management and the general military strategy. In developing the EU crisis management capabilities, e.g. within the Headline Goal process, the EUMS elaborates, assesses and reviews the capability goals and further on monitors the training, exercises and interoperability of the forces made available to the EU by the Member States.⁷²

⁶⁹ Council Decision of 22 January 2001 setting up the Military Committee of the European Union (2001/79/CFSP), *Official Journal of the European Communities* 30 January 2001.

⁷⁰ Council Decision of 22 January 2001 setting up the Military Committee of the European Union (2001/79/CFSP), *Official Journal of the European Communities* 30 January 2001.

⁷¹ The Petersberg tasks, which ought to be called TEU 17.2 tasks according to the Article 17.2 in the Treaty on European Union, together with the tasks of joint disarmament operations and support for third countries in combating terrorism and security sector reform as decided by the GAERC on 17 May 2004.

⁷² Council Decision of 22 January 2001 on the establishment of the Military Staff of the European Union (2001/80/CFSP), *Official Journal of the European Communities* 30 January 2001.

In developing Battlegroups the EUMS has had a central task of producing the key documents, e.g. the Battlegroup Concept, preparing the meetings of various working groups, and cooperating with other bodies within the EU and other organizations, most notably NATO. With NATO the EUMS has established permanent relations of information exchange, harmonization and consultation. Regarding the planning and execution of crisis management operations, its main products are the security and risk assessments, concept of operations, military strategic options, and initiating military directive. It should be repeated here that the Operation Commander has the responsibility for the detailed planning of the operation, i.e. developing Concept of Operation and Operation Plan. The EUMS on the other hand also contributes to the non-military aspects of the military options.⁷³

The EU strategic planning procedure thus can be said to consist of four phases and it produces the following central documents for the mission:

1. Crisis Management Concept (CMC)

In the CMC the EU defines and decides the general execution of a crisis management operation. The document is prepared by the General Secretariat of the Council, the EUMS representing the military expertise, and is approved by the Council. It contains an overview of the situation based on a Security and Risk Assessment (SRA), and outlines of the operation. The use of all resources, military and civilian, is essential here⁷⁴.

2. Military Strategic Options (MSO) together with a possible Council Joint Action

The Military Committee assigns the EUMS to develop Military Strategic Options according to the decided CMC. MSOs translate the PSC request into military terms. They include an assessment of risks and feasibility, a command and control structure, force capability requirements together with an indication of possible available forces and recommendations regarding an Operation Commander, an Operation Headquarter, a Force Commander and a Force Headquarter.

The Military Committee gives its military advice to the Political Security Committee, which evaluates the options and submits a draft decision to the Council. The Council finally chooses the option to be followed and appoints the OpCdr and designates the OHQ and FCdr.

⁷³ Council Decision of 22 January 2001 on the establishment of the Military Staff of the European Union (2001/80/CFSP), *Official Journal of the European Communities* 30 January 2001.

⁷⁴ Simultaneously to the military planning the use of civilian and police resources is planned by the Council Secretariat, evaluated by the CIVCOM and decided by the Council.

3. Initiating Military Directive (IMD)

After the Council decision on MSO the PSC sends guidance to the EUMC to direct the EUMS to develop an Initiating Military Directive - a planning directive for the Operation Commander. The IMD is approved by the PSC before its release.

4. Concept of Operations (CONOPS) and Operation Plan (OPLAN) together with the decision to launch the operation

The Operation Commander prepares CONOPS and OPLAN, which are evaluated by the EUMC and the PSC. The Concept of Operations and the Operation Plan describe in detail the execution of the mission. The use of force together with timing and sequencing are critical elements to be taken into account. The Council approves the documents.

In table 2, a simplified flowchart of the EU military crisis management planning and decision-making process is presented. It focuses on the outputs the different political and military bodies produce.

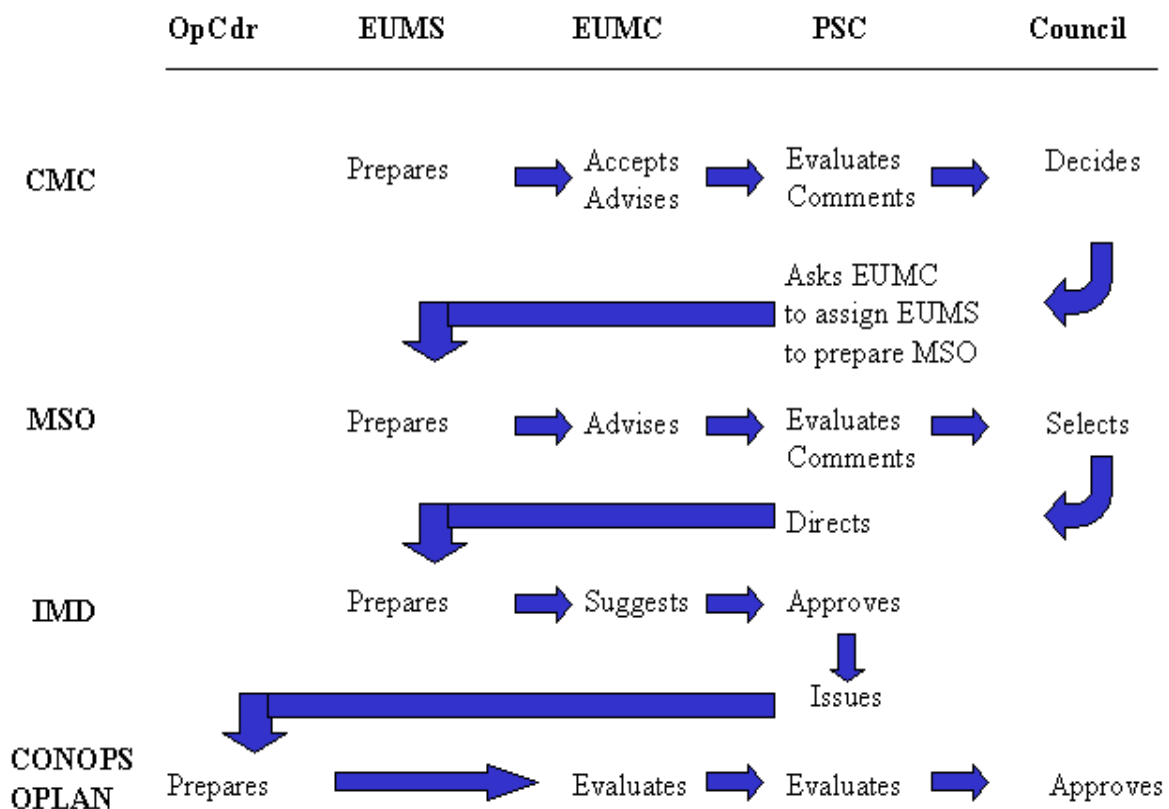


Table 2. Military crisis management planning and decision-making within the EU bodies⁷⁵.

⁷⁵ Adapted from the Council decisions 2001/78/CFSP, 2001/79/CFSP and 2001/80/CFSP, *Suggestions for procedures for coherent, comprehensive EU crisis management*, Politico-Military Group (6601/03) 20 February 2003 and Lars Wedin, "Tre år i EU:s militära stab", *Kungliga Krigsvetenskapsakademiens Handlingar och Tidskrift*, 1/2004, pp. 119-153.

The described planning and decision-making process contains several critical vulnerabilities. The procedure can be time consuming. Though initial information and directives are given, the formal steps take time. The ambition of the EU is to be able to make a decision to launch an operation within five days of the approval of the Crisis Management Concept by the Council⁷⁶. Without proper empirical evidence it is too early to say which phase or output is the most crucial one.

For the Operation Artemis in 2003 the planning within the EU began on May 19 when the GAERC requested the SG/HR to study feasibility of a European Union military operation. The Council adopted the decision to take action (Council Joint Action) on 5 June.⁷⁷ The EU OPLAN was issued by the Operation Commander and sent to the EUMS on 8 June; it was revised by the EUMC the next day. Force generation conference was held on 9 June. The operation plan including rules of engagement was approved on 11 June. The decision to launch the operation was taken on 12 June.⁷⁸ What is significant to Artemis is that some of the forces began their tasks before the operation was formally launched⁷⁹. In the Operation Althea the General Concept for an ESDP Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina, including a Military Component was approved on April 22, the Military Strategic Option on May 28 and the IMD release approved on June 28, 2004. Council Joint Action was taken on 12 July⁸⁰ and the operation was launched on December 2, 2004. Althea naturally does not resemble potential Battlegroup operations, but it illustrates well, how much time planning, decision-making and implementation can take.

One could suggest that the earlier phases, which launch the process and decide on political preferences and goals would be more time consuming than the later ones, concentrating more on the military implementation of the operation. This does not, however, mean that the political decision-making as such would be slow but that potentially conflicting interests appear more on the political level than on the military one⁸¹. The decision-within-five-days-after-the-CMC-approval ambition seems feasible if the time is reserved to develop and select the Military Strategic Option

⁷⁶ 2582th Council Meeting General Affairs and External Relations, Brussels 17 May 2004 (9210/04).

⁷⁷ Council Joint Action 2003/423/CFSP 5 June 2003.

⁷⁸ French Ministry of Defence, *Operation Artemis. Lessons Learned*.

⁷⁹ French reconnaissance elements were deployed already in May, forward elements arrived to Bunia on June 6, and the first combat troops entered the town on June 10, 2003.

⁸⁰ Council Joint Action 2004/570/CFSP 12 July 2004.

⁸¹ Also here one should keep in mind what Isaiah Berlin once observed on political debates, that fundamental disagreements about political and moral ends have been displaced by technical disagreements about means (Michael Ignatieff, *Isaiah Berlin, A Life*, Vintage, Reading 2000, p. 198.).

(together with the Police Strategic Option and the Civilian Strategic Option) and take Council Joint Action. If the Initiating Military Directive and the Concept of Operations together with the Operation Plan need also to be developed and approved within the timeframe the goal is ambitious. Shortcuts are needed to ensure parallel planning. Processes like *Headline Goal 2010* and the Battlegroup coordination conferences, which seek to ensure states' commitments to crisis management help to remove some issues from the political agenda of the day. Member States do not need to debate e.g. which Battlegroup would be sent or who would participate as these issues are to be decided beforehand; that is in 2005. Harmonization, technical standards and standardized operational procedures help to decrease the number of open military issues. Institutional measures to streamline decision-making are to be considered in near future. The SG/HR Javier Solana has come up with a report on "accelerated decision making and planning process for EU Rapid Response Operations" as requested by the GAERC on 17 May 2004. In his mid March 2005 evaluation Solana underlines the need to simplify the procedures. The proposals focus on two steps: the advance planning prior to approval of the CMC, and operational planning prior to the Council decision to launch an operation. Advance planning should follow the procedures and lessons learned from Operation Artemis, i.e. to form a crisis response coordination team and utilize a task force format in planning. The basic documents needed like the draft Joint Action or the draft Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) should be prepared simultaneously with drafting the CMC. Also the draft CMC and the draft OPLAN would be prepared simultaneously and the OPLAN finalized, considered and approved within the following 5 days. This would shorten the procedures by skipping Military Strategic Options and the Concepts of Operations altogether. Steps could be abandoned also by joint or concurrent sessions of the PSC and the EUMC.

One major question is left open in the decision-making structure and it gets the SG/HR's attention. The EU does not have a permanent Operation Headquarters. The question of a standing headquarters was debated in spring 2003, but such a capability independent of NATO was not acceptable to Britain. Instead crisis management operations will be led from one of the designated operational headquarters provided by Germany, France, Italy and Britain. The EU has, however established a permanent cell at the SHAPE⁸² for operational planning of EU-led operations using NATO assets under the Berlin Plus arrangement⁸³. By January 2006 an operations centre to plan and conduct ESDP operations on the scale of Operation Artemis will be established. The centre will not replace the need

⁸² Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe, NATO headquarters located in Mons, Belgium.

⁸³ Operation Althea in Bosnia-Herzegovina is led from there.

of an OHQ but will rather ensure planning capability before an OHQ is designated.⁸⁴ At the moment no detailed mission planning can begin before the Council has decided which headquarter will be the Operation Headquarter⁸⁵. The lack of a standing OHQ leads to the loss of institutional memory as the dedicated headquarters inevitably will rotate in tour of duty. The lessons learned at the military strategic – operational level might be hard to transfer from one place to another. It is probable that the EU will establish a standing operative headquarter in a few years time. This would ensure faster and parallel planning. The problem is partly solved within the Battlegroup concept as the rotation cycle will facilitate the identification of the future OHQ.

In addition to the functional planning and decision-making process, clear and defined command and control relations between the participants are important. Several potentially conflicting interfaces exist within the EU. The strategic planning and decision-making system within the second pillar, Common Foreign and Security Policy, headed by the Council and run by the established bodies seems to work. The actors are finding their roles and the procedures are developed⁸⁶.

The Council however is not the only player in crisis management. The European Commission also has its say – and resources. The Commission may refer to the Council any question relating to CFSP as well as submit proposals. It can make suggestions to the Policy Unit for work to be undertaken. Its influence is mostly based on managing the CFSP budget, focusing on long-term structural issues and immediate humanitarian needs that can contribute conflict prevention and management and on the numerous instruments it has at its disposal.⁸⁷ By using rapid reaction mechanism the Commission is able to mobilize civilian resources within hours. The mechanism allows grants to governmental agencies, international organizations, non-governmental organizations and public and private operators. It covers situations of crisis, emerging crisis, threat to law and order, security and safety of individual, and situations threatening to escalate into armed conflict or to destabilize a country.⁸⁸ The Commission is active in all phases of the crisis management planning. In the crisis build-up phase the Commission participates in on-going situation

⁸⁴ European Council Conclusions, 17 and 18 June 2004.

⁸⁵ Wedin (2004), p. 138-139.

⁸⁶ The SG/HR presented his report on EU Crisis Management Procedures and decision-making in March 2005.

⁸⁷ *Common Foreign and Security Policy*, www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/cfsp/intro/index.htm; *EU Crisis Response Capability Revisited*, International Crisis Group, Europe Report No 160, 17 January 2005.

⁸⁸ Council regulation (EC) No 381/2001 of 26 February 2001 creating a rapid-reaction mechanism, *Official Journal of the European Communities* 27 February 2001.

and risk assessments. During the afore mentioned crisis management planning and implementation, the Council invites the Commission to submit proposals, adopt its measures, direct, re-examine or redirect its action towards the objectives and priorities set by the Council decisions. The Commission for its part presents and keeps the PSC informed about the measures under preparation, taken or envisaged.⁸⁹ COREPER for its part controls the political agenda of the intergovernmental affairs. It is an ambassador level forum for dialogue, negotiation and the assistance of the Council. It approves the CMC, Joint Action, OPLAN and Rules of Engagement before they are dealt and approved by the Council. The PSC chairman's participation in COREPER's work when necessary helps the more institutional PSC-Secretariat axis to understand what is politically feasible. It should be noted that COREPER is to maintain its role even if the SR/HG proposals are adopted. The terms of ends, ways and means are used in strategic studies to analyze actors' political and strategic choices. One can similarly question whether the different bodies within the EU have the same ends, understand the need for comprehensive and complementary ways to achieve them, and can actually coordinate the political, civilian, financial, police and military means that are at their disposal.

One essential body of documents are the Rules of Engagement (ROE). Rules of engagement provide guidance and instructions to decision-makers, commanders and troops at all levels on the degree and manner in which force may, or may not, be applied. ROE operate within the framework of existing political directives, legal considerations and the requirements of the mission. Their functions are to provide political guidance, to ensure political and juridical control, to define the limits of operative action and to define personal responsibilities of all the involved personnel. Though often considered just a limit to freedom of action, ROE can be seen to grant authority to an act by legitimizing beforehand certain behaviour and procedures. It should be noted that the right of self-defence is inherent and not compromised by ROE. The problem lies in defining and interpreting the conditions for self-defence. ROE cover reactions to perceived hostile intent as well as hostile acts. The latter is easily identified, but the former needs sound interpretation. Soldiers in the field face situations where their decisions have fatal consequences.

The commanders of the current peace support or crisis management operations have often faced situations where some contingents, due to limiting national legislations, cannot be used for all tasks. Some cannot participate in peace enforcing operations and some cannot be used in riot controlling. This cannot be the case for the Battlegroups. The Member

⁸⁹ *Suggestions for procedures for coherent, comprehensive EU crisis management*, Politico-Military Group (6601/03) 20 February 2003.

States need to harmonize their national legislation and ROE in order to guarantee preplanning, training and the actual conduct of the tasks defined by the EU.

The EU has defined in its Use of Force Compendium that the response must be commensurate with the threat posed, and the damage it may cause; it also must be limited to the degree, intensity and duration necessary to eliminate the threat. For Operation Althea, the EU Council authorized ROE that permit:

- The right to stop, search and seize
- The right to detain
- The right to establish and restrict access to secure areas
- The right to use force to:
 - 1) Defend friendly forces, persons with designated special status, and property with designated special status
 - 2) Conduct mandated military operations
 - 3) Prevent serious crimes
- The right to intercept and divert or engage aircraft when authorized⁹⁰.

Similarly the use of force up to and including deadly force may be authorised. ROE regarding any given Battlegroup operation would be considerably more robust and complex, but even the simplified list offers an illustrative overview of the areas to be tackled.

The more complex the operation, the more complex ROE are needed. Different levels of operation and different services must have partly specified ROE. A commander needs rules that guide his or her planning and decision-making, e g which objects are allowed targets and which means can be used against them. A lance corporal needs guidance for his or her behaviour on the ground, e g when and how to use force against a suspected target. Air and maritime forces use weapon systems that can cause formidable damage - what might be legally possible might be politically impossible. Airspace and international waters are also regulated by international law, which must be taken into account in the ROE. Troops that operate in or from a third world country need their own rules.

Rules of Engagement will be defined separately for each and every operation. Effective ROE result from a development process that is integrated throughout all phases of planning. The process of ROE development with the EU crisis management planning process is as follows:

⁹⁰ *Use of force principles and rules of engagement*. Appendix 3 to Annex E, Dated 11 October 2004. Declassified and authorised to release page.

- In developing the Concept of Operations the OpCdr/OHQ describes the appropriate use of force in broad statements
- After the Council has approved the CONOPS more detailed operational planning begins at the OHQ and the FHQ; the use of force annex to the OPLAN contains statements on self-defence and mission-specific direction and guidance to the Force Commander for implementation, interpretation and application of authorized ROE
- After the Council has approved the OPLAN, the OpCdr sends a formal ROE Request to the Military Committee
- Council after the advice and recommendations of the EUMC issues an Execution Directive, and the MC sends an ROE Authorization to the OpCdr
- OpCdr issues a ROE Implementation Message to the Force Commander and he or she further on the troops.

To summarize, the Operation and Force Commanders draft the ROE according to the political and juridical guidance given by the Council/PSC. The political decision-makers bind and commit themselves to the implementation of the operation and the ROE by officially approving them.

Conclusion

Need for crisis management is obvious. It is as clear that the EU wants to develop its capability to contribute to peace and stability in its neighbourhood and globally. Unclear, however is whether the Battlegroup concept is the right answer for the existing and expressed desires. Battlegroup as such is a state of the art tactical level battle formation but there exists a performance gap between the desired political impacts and the military execution. Suitable tasks that are politically important and militarily feasible might be hard to detect. What does it tell about the political ambitions and the military reach of this economic giant of ours if we are deploying expeditionary forces here and there for minor duties and for a relatively short period of time? Actual effects might be limited, and to deploy the troops requires external support or resources. An autonomous capacity awaits itself. Therefore wider international political support and military contribution is needed for most ambitious Battlegroup missions. Initial entry force missions and limited contributions to on-going operations are the most likely and the most suitable mission types for the moment.

A question therefore arises: should the EU concentrate on developing a more robust capacity to meet the demands of the day? What the EU really needs is a “Helsinki Headline Goal – director’s cut”, the original version of robust crisis management capability not previously distributed and which everyone has heard of but no one has seen. All credit to the civil servants

and military personnel who work hard to fulfil goals set for the Battlegroups and for whom some may sacrifice their lives in Battlegroup operations, but does the Emperor have new clothes at all?

SWEDEN - A Framework Nation in Transition

Tommy Jeppsson

As this chapter has focus on Sweden as framework nation of the Nordic EU Battlegroup (BG), the author is fully aware of the risk not to deal enough with other contributing countries. Reason is simply that the Swedish contribution represents the main body and therefore is the natural base for a presentation of the more overarching security and defence policy background, as well as giving facts and figures connected with the concept. In the next chapter Finland is discussed with a consequence that especially Norway is not covered sufficiently and Estonia is not covered at all. On the other hand, the final part of the chapter is, from a more general point of view, reflecting over and discussing the probabilities for future change in the BG concept generally, as well as the Nordic one. It has to be observed that the word “Nordic” is used despite the fact that Denmark and Island not are participating in the project.

Denmark has made a reservation in the Amsterdam treaty not to participate in any activities involving EU military capabilities. Consequences are that if UN tasks EU to launch an operation or if EU takes the decision to go for an operation by itself, or if NATO goes for an operation where USA is not participating and the European countries uses the EU defence dimension, Denmark might find herself in a situation where the country is unable to participate⁹¹. Especially for the discussion taking part in the final part of this chapter it is estimated that Denmark will change this point of view in the future.

A rapid political process

In the work for preparing the Swedish defence decision, taken in December 2004, the government stresses the importance of participating in the development of EU crises management capabilities, including the ability for rapid reaction. In order to improve the defence forces for more demanding international operations, priority is given to the development of a European rapid reaction capability⁹². The establishment of a Nordic BG together with Estonia, Finland and Norway, with an option from 2010 –

⁹¹ *Nordisk Sikkerhet - Militaerbalansen 2003-2004*. Den Norske Atlanterhavskomiteé, Oslo 2004, pp. 66-27.

⁹² Proposition 2004/05:43, Försvarsmaktens grundorganisation. Regeringskansliet, Stockholm 2004, p. 16.

2012 to organize a national Swedish BG⁹³, is regarded as the “main-focus-project” within the Swedish armed forces in the coming years.

The process of developing a Nordic multinational EU BG, in order to participate in the enhancement of the EU crises management capabilities, represents a landmark in the rapid shift of Swedish security and defence policy. In reality, military non-alignment, does not exclude Sweden to cooperate military with other nations in all types of Crises management operations, while at the same time the formal membership of a military alliance is politically a non-subject. As an example, support related to Command and Control for the Nordic BG, is expected to be provided by United Kingdom through its Operation Headquarters (OHQ). From the Swedish perspective such an arrangement would have been highly doubtful only a decade ago. Also the timeframe of establishing the Nordic BG gives interesting signals. The BG will be operational from the first of January 2008, which clearly indicates a political willingness of showing practical results in shortest possible time. This is the practical output of the fact that the ability to participate in international missions in the short and midterm timeframe is the most important single factor that influences day to day work in the armed forces⁹⁴.

In the first chapter in this publication, the very fast process regarding the growth of EU as a security policy actor and the development of EU military capabilities is discussed. In this section, focus is the narrower national perspective. It gives a short overview of the development of the Swedish security and defence policy in 1999–2004. This period has seen a more dramatic change regarding security and defence policy than maybe ever in the modern history of Sweden, and these are closely knitted to the development of ESDP. When the Nordic EU BG is discussed, it is essential to have this national perspective, bearing in mind the Swedish role as framework nation.

Main characteristics of Swedish security in 1945–1990 are covered in the words neutrality and non-alignment. A credible defence policy, a reasonable strong total defence organisation, conscription and a national defence industry were cornerstones for the ability to handle a threat that was entirely military. We now face a situation where almost all militaries in Europe, in less than two decades since the end of the cold war, have seen deep-going transformations in order to meet new and broader challenges. This has resulted in substantial reductions in numbers but at the same time

⁹³ ”Utkast till ramvillkor för en svenskledd snabbinsatsstyrka”. Försvarsmakten, Högkvarteret, Stockholm, 2005, p. 2.

⁹⁴ Proposition 2004/05:43, p. 16.

troops deployed in missions abroad between 1990-2004 has been doubled.⁹⁵

The fundamental change in the security policy environment influencing Sweden, which is as a result of events taking place from the mid 1980's and in the beginning of the 1990's, has resulted in giving up neutrality, and non-alignment has turned into military non-alignment, while Sweden at the same time gained membership in EU in 1995. As a result of participation in the Partnership for Peace program, Swedish cooperation with NATO has intensified, which has been a booster for the transformation process of the armed forces.

Starting slowly in the early 1990ies, accelerating in the late 1990ies and reaching top speed after 2000, the Swedish armed forces has undergone a dramatic reorientation from a threat focused territorial anti-invasion force towards a crises management instrument to be used internationally as well as domestically. One main driving force has been the ESDP process, in which Sweden has participated very actively. One reason to that obvious positive attitude towards ESDP is that Sweden has shown a genuine interest to increase the crises management capabilities of the union. On the other hand, another, more covered, reason might be the Swedish resistance against a common European defence⁹⁶, which might explain the effective Swedish EU presidency in 2001, also when security issues were on the table. One example of effectiveness mentioned, is the organisation of the military capabilities work. The most important procedural result of the Headline Goal process, the Headline Progress Catalogue (HPC) was a Swedish idea, in which document it is clearly stated which capabilities the EU requires, which ones are operational and what operational consequences identified shortfalls will have⁹⁷.

This work is estimated to have had high influence on the restructuring of the Swedish armed forces. First, Sweden committed units from all services, which were reported to HPC, with high costs associated to the work needed to make them interoperable as well as meeting required status of readiness. Second, and of significant importance was the show of political willingness as well as ability to participate in EU operations. Operation Artemis in the

⁹⁵ Arita Eriksson, "The Building of a defence Capacity in the European Union – What Internal and External Implications", (draft) to be published in Jan Hallenberg & Håkan Karlson (eds.), *The New Strategic Triangle: The US, the EU and Russia in an Evolving Security Environment* (forthcoming), p. 14.

⁹⁶ Lars Wedin, "Sweden In European security" in Bo Huldt, Tomas Ries, Jan Mörtberg & Elisabeth Davidson (eds.): *Strategic Yearbook 2004. The New Northern Security Agenda*. National Defence College, Stockholm 2004, p. 329.

⁹⁷ Wedin, p. 329.

Democratic Republic of Congo, where a Swedish Special Forces unit was operating in close and effective cooperation with French units, has had positive spill-over-effects regarding how the Swedish military is viewed internationally. Third, decision taken by the Swedish government to participate in Operation Artemis has shown an ability to take sensitive, security policy related, decisions in short notice, as well as an increased willingness to use the military instrument as a security policy tool, which also represents something fundamentally new compared with the cold war period.

The political process as well as work done in the Swedish armed forces HQ before and after the parliamentary decision, regarding the defence white paper 2004, seems to confirm an ongoing tendency during the last years towards more focus on the unions military dimension, also in countries that traditionally has shown reluctance in the use of the military instrument. EU requirements seem to be the most important single factor when it comes to the implementation phase of the restructuring, which in fact is the same as having focus on the establishment of a Nordic EU BG, operational in less than three years⁹⁸. ESDP seems to be the “way forward” for the restructuring process and half a year before the Swedish defence decision in December 2004, the EU BG concept was implemented and Head Line Goal 2010 was developed⁹⁹. The result is that EU is affecting both Swedish security policy as well as further development of the armed forces and it has to be underlined that progress inside the union concerning development of substantial crises management capabilities, serves as a motor for change also on the national level.

The influence of EU upon its Member States, including Sweden, could be estimated to increase as a consequence of positive results in the ESDP process, which has been reached in a remarkable short time. For Sweden as a small state, the development of security policy hardware, like the Nordic EU BG, is a way of showing political willingness to support the ESDP process and at the same time a way of gaining influence over its further development which. Part of that political influence might be used to continue to oppose a closer European defence identity. However, the creation of a Nordic EU BG will most probably, from practical military aspects, deepen the interaction with participating countries in a wider area of defence related issues. Interesting is that this cooperation will include United Kingdom. Bearing in mind the specific role this country has as responsible for the OHQ, a most probable consequence for Sweden will be

⁹⁸ ”Beslut om reformens mål och strategi”, Försvarsmakten, Högkvarteret, STRA UTVS, HKV beteckning 23 100:78621, Stockholm, 2004.

⁹⁹ Eriksson, p. 16.

deepened cooperation, not only with Norway, Finland and United Kingdom, but also with other EU and NATO countries as well.

Because of the establishment of a Nordic EU BG, cooperation has also reached a more practical and detailed levels. For example, command and control at the national political–military strategic level has to be coordinated with the overarching Union one, operational planning and execution needs to be coordinated between Estonia, Finland, Norway and Sweden as well as with the EU Military Staff (EUMS) and procedures regarding these levels has to be developed parallel with the development of the EU BG itself. These ongoing processes will enhance cooperation between countries as well as having consequences inside the EU both politically and militarily with estimated big integrative effects.

The European security strategy – an engine that supports change

One reason to publish the European security strategy in December 2003 was a need for defining and making the security policy aims of the union clear, which might be understandable bearing in mind how fast EU itself and ESDP has developed. One other reason is the need for a roadmap ahead, which gives the signal that EU wishes to be an independent security political actor, not only verbally. There is an obvious need among the EU member-states to enhance a common security policy understanding, as well as a common culture for Crises Management¹⁰⁰. It might be a sign of the effect the doctrine has had in the different capitals of the union, that the present common view among policy-makers, seems to be that something substantial has to be done, not at least when it comes to the question of strengthening the military capacities of the union.

The doctrine very clearly states that EU needs to be a more actively international player, more unified and more able to take action. The High Representative Javier Solana underlines the importance of developing a strategic culture that fosters early, quick and if necessary robust interventions. Solana also underlines the importance of operations that combines military and civilian capacities, as a consequence of a broad capability list at disposal for EU¹⁰¹.

Also the doctrine communicates the necessity of developing capabilities in cooperation between the member-states more systematically as well as a need for more flexible and mobile forces able to handle the new threats.

¹⁰⁰ Sunniva Tofte, "European Security political Strategy. A secure Europe in a better world". DNAK 3-2004.

¹⁰¹ Tofte, DNAK 3-2004.

The doctrine gives a clear signal that EU capabilities and those from member-states needs better coordination¹⁰². This message has to be viewed in a broader security context. One result of European integration is that the borders of the union are getting closer to "security hotspots", where almost automatically a secure environment on the other side of the Mediterranean, in the North Africa, is of paramount importance, as is the termination of ongoing conflicts in the Balkans. This, automatically identifies two mission-areas, one as probably upcoming respectively one to be continued. To be added as potential mission-areas are also South Caucasus and Middle East¹⁰³.

It is interesting to note that Norway has developed a strategic concept, "Strength and relevance" (*Styrke og relevans*), in which, because of Norway's status as a non-member of EU, the possibility for allied, non-union, members to participate in EU led operations is viewed to be of significant importance. It is the opinion of the government in Oslo that participation with substantial capabilities is the way to gain influence even for a non EU-member. At the same time the Norwegian strategic concept emphasises the limitations Norway, as a non-union member, will have on the overall political guidance regarding EU operations¹⁰⁴. There are worries inside the Norwegian establishment that being sidelined in European Union defence issues, could end up with a marginalization also within NATO. The Norwegian tendency, as a NATO but non-EU member, to consider participation in the ESDP process as a link for closer integration with EU in broader terms, was clearly demonstrated on 21 September 2004 when the country expressed its interest in contributing to the EU rapid reaction force¹⁰⁵.

Arguments for EU to become a more active actor reflects indirectly a need for better coordination of already existing resources as well as better cooperation when new capabilities are acquired. Increased defence budgets may be an aim but is a highly doubtful wish as long as there is no perception of a major security threat to the member-states of the union. Synergy effects as a result of good cooperation is probably a faster way of getting results, where the tri-lateral cooperation between Finland, Norway and Sweden to establish an EU Battlegroup, very much reflects possibilities that lays in long-time fruitful cooperation concerning Crises management.

¹⁰² Tofte, DNAK 3-2004.

¹⁰³ Tofte, DNAK 3-2004.

¹⁰⁴ *Styrke og relevans: strategisk konsept for forsvaret*. Forsvarsdepartementet, Oslo 2004, p. 36.

¹⁰⁵ Irina Isakova, "ESDP after the EU Constitution", *RUSI Journal*, February 2005, p. 33.

From the Swedish perspective, development of the EU Battlegroup is a most significant show of willingness to reach higher ambitions with the ability to participate in international crises management operations. In addition, this bigger ability is developed in order to meet requirements both from EU and UN¹⁰⁶. The Swedish transformation, is from an overall point of view, in line with the European security strategy, which emphasise the need to transform the armed forces inside the union towards more flexibility and give them tools with which they can meet identified new threats¹⁰⁷.

To sum up the transformation process that is taking place in Sweden, following table compares main characteristics between a defence system against invasion versus an active security policy tool. When this is said main part of the table describes the situation in many European countries including the Nordic countries Denmark and Norway as well.

Defence against invasion	Actively used security policy tool
Preventive approach	Oriented towards involvement
Defence against massive military invasion	Continuously ongoing crises management operations
National perspective	Multinational perspective
Stored material/ mobilisation system	Frequently used military capabilities
Opponent well defined	Blurred picture of opponent (-s)
Quantity based organisation	Quality based organisation
Focus: Plans, admin., conscript trg.	Focus: Ongoing crises management operations
Fixed structures	Modular structures
Operational environment defined	Variation of operational environment

When listed factors are compared, two entirely different military systems occur. One immediate conclusion that can be drawn by studying factors presented is that the Swedish transformation process will take a certain amount of time. One reason is that the whole mindset created in the old system has to be changed dramatically. Another, perhaps more predictable reason is that the implementation of new doctrine, training and material also will need a certain amount of time to be implemented.

¹⁰⁶ ”Sveriges försvarspolitik 2005-2007”, Report 2004/05: FöU4, s. 48.

¹⁰⁷ *Ett säkert Europa i en bättre värld. En europeisk säkerhetsstrategi*. Europeiska Unionens institut för säkerhetsstudier, Paris 2003, p. 20.

Concept development – facts and reflections

The Report of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on defence stresses the general importance of Swedish units having high and same quality as units from countries with which Sweden cooperates. The importance of flexibility and mobility in rapid reaction forces means that they are expected to be able to shift between levels of conflict, tasks and geographical environment as well as being interoperable with a broad spectrum of partner-countries and civilian actors. Part of this quality-reform is a continued development of a network-based defence¹⁰⁸.

The transformation of the Swedish defence forces shows an ambition that operational requirements are in focus, also in the near future. Priority is given to international commitments and the ability of rapid reaction, which will increase from both a qualitative and quantitative aspect¹⁰⁹. Seen from the perspective that the Nordic EU BG is expected to be operational from January 2008, this ambition fits in rather well. The Report of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Defence is also emphasising the need for high personal as well as material quality¹¹⁰.

The ability to reach high quality related to the material aspects is estimated to be met. It might be more difficult to meet the demands regarding the personal quality and more specifically the quality-profile of officers. Reason is that the ongoing process with reductions in the numbers of officers will, due to labour-market regulations, force the defence authorities to resign a substantial number of younger officers, in age-groups fit to fill positions in the Nordic EU BG. Out from a total of about 1500 personnel all ranks, the contribution from Sweden will number some 1100, from Finland 200, from Norway 150 and from Estonia to be decided during spring 2005. Combat Support (CS) and Combat Service Support (CSS) are included in these figures. Five to ten days after decision taken, units of the Battlegroup shall be operational in a minor Crises management operation (up to 120 days) or have the role as advanced party in a more complex one.

On the operational level one or several BG (-s) are commanded by Force Headquarters (FHQ), which together constitutes the ready-reaction-capability. One EU OHQ (combined and joint) shall, if needed, be able to command the military part of an EU led Crises management operation where this specific HQ gets political Guidance from EU. A FHQ is an instrument for Command and Control on the operational level and is the highest military level of the Union in a Crises Management Operation.

¹⁰⁸ Report 2004/05:FöU4, s. 48.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

FHQ for the Nordic BG will have the capacity to lead one or more BG(-s) as well as supporting elements and will consist of HQ-units and a staff of approximate 70 staff officers from participating nations, where the main body are Swedes¹¹¹. The command and control link on the military strategic level for the Nordic BG is the OHQ in Northwood in United Kingdom, one of four certified OHQs to be at the disposal for the Union, which seems to be a natural choice when there is no such headquarters available neither in Sweden nor in Finland and the Norwegian OHQ in Stavanger is not an alternative as long as Norway is not a member of EU. Also from the intelligence perspective Northwood may be a valuable choice because it represents one of the terminating points of both EU as well as NATOS intelligence databases¹¹².

Missions for the Nordic BG are covered by the General Affairs and External Relations Council (GAERC) 17 May 2004 and includes following

- Joint disarmament operations
- Humanitarian and rescue tasks
- Peace-keeping tasks and tasks of combat forces in crises management, including peacemaking
- Support for third countries in combating terrorism and security sector reform.¹¹³

Fighting terrorism is a task of specific interest. Different views between the Nordic capitals as well as inside the union regarding the use of military force against terrorist groups has to be sorted out in order to create the same set of rules inside the union as well as for forces from the union operating outside its borders.

Identified tasks, probable future missions and mission areas, makes it highly probable that the Nordic BG will face actors operating out from asymmetrical concepts. The aim of these actors will be to do the unexpected. Non-traditional concepts of attacking, which are totally different from the rules, tools or methods used by the part being attacked, can be expected. Innovative use of tactics and technology in combination with the ambition to hit as many critical vulnerabilities as possible, with the aim to break the will of the opponent, can also be expected. These methods are tactical in essence but combined with for instance psychological tools, which aim is to manipulate the citizens in the opposing nation, results will be reached on the strategic level, because the will of the entire nation to continue an ongoing operation can be hampered. There is a general

¹¹¹ Interview with Colonel Berndt Grundevik, 27 February 2005.

¹¹² Interview with Commander Tor Egil Walther, Norwegian Ministry of Defence, 1 March 2005.

¹¹³ Council of The European Union. Press release 2582nd Council Meeting. General Affairs and External Relations. Brussels, 17 May 2004.

tendency that asymmetrical threats that might influence an EU operation are reasonable well defined when it comes to actors as well as their tools and methods. One observation is that conclusions drawn and the input these have on consequences for how the military is composed and trained can be improved substantially.

Core unit and manoeuvre element in the Nordic BG is a mechanized battalion with two mechanized companies, one air-mobile squadron, one logistics company and a HQ-/ Mortar company. This manoeuvre element is, despite of five Finnish staff officers, entirely Swedish. Composition of supporting elements may include mortar-, engineer-, air defence-, information, surveillance, target acquisition and reconnaissance (ISTAR), helicopter-, nuclear, biological, chemical (NBC) capabilities as well as units used for protection of important/ sensitive infrastructure and forward air controllers (FAC). In addition, operational and strategic enablers are pre-identified. These are consisting of air- and naval forces together with logistics- and other special functions as strategic as well as tactical air transport, close air support (CAS), air port of departure units, strategic sealift, and traffic control units¹¹⁴.

A first draft of preliminary costs until 2008 is shown in table below. It should be underlined that there are many question marks that indicate higher costs than estimated here¹¹⁵.

2005	2006	2007	2008
101 million ¹¹⁶	302 million	842 million	1.050 billion

In Sweden there has been an ongoing discussion, questioning registered units in HFC, mainly those from the navy and air force. Doubts have concentrated on why having units from the navy and air force in HPC. It has been argued that these units are expensive and not asked for in missions. Its worth observing that so far, the EU operations has been very limited in numbers, with the consequence that it might be too early to conclude which resources are needed and which are not. In addition it might not at least be of political interest that Sweden shows the ambition to participate with capabilities from each end every service¹¹⁷. From the authors perspective in-fight between the three services in a situation with

¹¹⁴ Interview with Colonel Berndt Grundevik, 27 February 2005.

¹¹⁵ "Utveckling av bidrag till EU:s snabbinsatsförmåga (Nordic Battlegroup) – beskrivning av verksamhet samt därtill knutna kostnader". Försvarsmakten, Högkvarteret, HKV 23 383: 63848, Stockholm 2005.

¹¹⁶ Swedish crowns.

¹¹⁷ Lars Wedin, "Tre år i EU:s militära stab", *Kungliga Krigsvetenskapsakademiens handlingar och Tidskrift* 1:2004, p. 144.

scarce economical resources, as a result of ongoing discussions before the Defence decision in December 2004, might be a reason, which is interesting from the present perspective, where the EU BG concept, including the Nordic one, foresee reinforcements from all branches of the armed forces.

Taken into account identified tasks, environmental factors in most probable mission areas and opposing actors who may favour asymmetrical concepts, there might be a risk with the force composition mentioned. The risk is that the main body of the Nordic EU BG concept is too heavy for quick response with enough force at disposal. EU military capacity shortages are well-identified and common knowledge. Lack of qualified Command and Control, ISTAR, strategic air- and sealift capacities as well as some types of qualified weapons are identified as specifically critical. When the Nordic BG is operational early 2008, it can be estimated that critical resources that will help the concept to get maximum affect might not be available. The political will to succeed is there even if it could be wise to put a question mark when it comes to money. Time to solve these limitations is however very short. The consequence might be that we will have a Nordic EU BG not able to exploit its full operational effect, neither with resources from the three Nordic countries, nor from the wider union perspective.

Consequently, if the concept of the Nordic BG is to be fully implemented, strategic transport capabilities, both in the air and at sea, are most critical, which is a problem for all EU member except United Kingdom. Existing railway nets and road systems used in combination makes it possible to reach probable conflict areas on the European continent. In the western parts the fully use of this combination is possible and here it is essential to stress the importance of heavy road transport units as a most critical resource. Operations in the eastern parts of Europe however, will be heavily dependent on the railroads¹¹⁸. The possibility to reach land-locked areas will dependent on an airlift capacity if rapid deployment of units and logistical sustainment is going to be realised. If airport and port facilities are available in an area of tension or conflict, the combination of air- and sea-lift makes a quick reaction possible while at the same time heavier units and the main bulk of supply can use Sea Lines of Communication, which generally is the most economical alternative.

The Swedish Armed Forces HQ is working with alternatives that have an ambition to solve the most critical shortfalls. A basic fact is that no economical resources are earmarked for the acquisition of strategic air- or

¹¹⁸ Interview with Dr Alpo Juntunen, National Defence College of Finland, 3 March 2005.

sealift capabilities between 2005-2016¹¹⁹. Adequate strategic air and sealift capabilities is a Swedish responsibility as framework nation. An airlift capability can be achieved within EU if nations are “pooling” resources, which means that they have to allocate own resources to the pool in order to be able to use it. The problem is mainly associated with strategic airlift resources, where it is estimated that from the national perspective, Sweden could have three C 17 aircraft operational 2020¹²⁰, twelve years after the Nordic BG is expected to be operational! If pooled, it is also estimated that this arrangement should give Sweden the possibility to use four additional A 400 M¹²¹. One, maybe blurred, option might be the ability to use some A 400 M that will enter service in a number of European countries from 2010 and onwards¹²². The Strategic Air Lift Interim Solution (SALIS) will be operational until 2011-2012 after which A 400 will enter service in a number of European countries and the function of SALIS will be taken over by Strategic Air Lift Coordination Centre¹²³. If these thoughts are realized, an acceptable level of strategic airlift capacity might be at hand. Sealift, concerning transportation of the Nordic BG, is expected to be provided by Swedish-Norwegian cooperation by using contracted ships and for logistic purposes by membership in the Sealift Co-ordination Centre (SCC) located in Eindhoven¹²⁴. Strategic airlift is however the most critical tool because of EU requirements that Rapid Reaction Forces shall be operational in a conflict zone days after decisions has been made and bearing in mind that a number of most probable conflict areas are land locked.

In Sweden proposals has been heard favouring the acquisition of an amphibious transport ship with a multi-role capacity. Main task would be transportation of units and supply. Additional roles could be as a command and Control facility, as a hospital-ship as well as a base for rescue operations. Using existing know-how, such a ship could be operational in three to five years after decision has been taken, with a cost of approximate 200 million euros¹²⁵. Bearing in mind that the Nordic EU Battlegroup is expected to be operational the first of January 2008, such an acquisition, if priorities are changed and decision is taken in the next White Paper on defence in 2008, this essential capability gap could be filled in 2011-2013. Such a ship would ensure sustainability for a BG on operations while at the

¹¹⁹ ”Särskild redovisning av strategiska transporter i BU 06”. Försvarsmakten, Högkvarteret, STRA UTVS INRI, Stockholm 2005, p.5.

¹²⁰ ”Särskild redovisning av strategiska transporter i BU 06”, p.17.

¹²¹ ”Särskild redovisning av strategiska transporter i BU 06”, p.17.

¹²² ”Särskild redovisning av strategiska transporter i BU 06”, p.2.

¹²³ ”Särskild redovisning av strategiska transporter i BU 06”, p.2, 3.

¹²⁴ ”Särskild redovisning av strategiska transporter i BU 06”, p. 8, 12, 19 and 21.

¹²⁵ Niklas Granholm, ”Omvärldsbild och självbild – förändrade förutsättningar för marinens strukturella utveckling”. *Tidskrift i Sjöväsendet* (2:2003), pp. 155-157.

same time Sweden could offer a most wanted resource to other nations, which increases the role of Sweden as EU member and cooperation-partner¹²⁶.

High logistical demands have to be met. A most probable conflict-picture characterised by simultaneously ongoing, high-intensive/ low-intensive operations on both the operational and tactical levels, means that very different demands has to be met at the same time. High-intensive operations will need a robust military logistic organisation, which easily can adapt to Combat-Arms units that frequently are task-organized. At the same time low-intensity operations might be sustained by using civilian contractors, coordinated by a military logistic staff element. Dependent on the intensity in different areas of an actual conflict, this staff element can have detached military logistic components, being ready to give them away to a new “hotspot”, and ready to be replaced by civilian contractors.

The need to strengthen the quality of training has been observed by the Ministry of Defence (MOD) where joint exercises in bigger formations are defined to be of urgent need¹²⁷. Also it is the opinion of the government that exercises have to reflect more the specific demands Swedish units will face in international operations and that these types of exercises have to get priority¹²⁸. Also, in order to enhance European crises management capabilities and European interoperability there is a need to create a system where quality and operational ability are tested from a set of common criteria's, out of which their usefulness for international crises management operations can be evaluated¹²⁹.

Closely connected with ambitions regarding training standards and readiness, parts of the BG must be able to enter war-fighting without mobilisation or complementary training. From a Swedish perspective, that view represents a big change, because in practice this personnel has to be on contract. In addition the mental impact on the organisation, as a whole might be quite substantial. In practice this means that a new armed forces culture, with a code and ethos focusing on the militaries role as the Swedish number one repressive instrument, will develop more professionalism because the organization as a whole will have mission experience. The tendency from the 1970's up to the 1990's where military personnel were looked upon as just another group of public servants, have no future in an organization which is used as an active security policy tool.

¹²⁶ Granholm, p. 156.

¹²⁷ Proposition 2004/05:43, p.17.

¹²⁸ Report 2004/05: FöU4, p. 44.

¹²⁹ Report 2004/05: FöU4, p. 48.

Also important for establishing a Nordic EU BG is that the structure of the Swedish officers corps will have to undergo big changes. Ambitions is to reduce the number of officers serving in staff- and administrative positions and increase the numbers able to serve in the units. The consequence will be that the main body of the officer corps are expected to serve until 35–40 years of age and a group of those will serve in NCO related assignments, if not a NCO group, or a group equivalent with those, could be established.

In order to meet new and more demanding quality-demands, a new conscript system has been launched. Main aim of such a system is to recruit for longer-term service in international missions. The individual decision to participate in international crises management operations is taken after basic training, which is lengthened to eleven months. After that the individual is allowed, to sign the contract mentioned, dependent on his or her willingness to serve in international missions. That contract includes an additional period of six months training and validation. After seventeen months the individual has one and half more year to serve on the contract, in missions as well as on additional training. When the contract period is over the individual gets a bonus and goes for employment in the civilian society¹³⁰.

As a consequence, soldiers serving in the most qualified units will be on contract. Ongoing tendency is that conscription will be more or less voluntary for those prepared to sign up for one or more missions abroad. But for the foreseeable future there is no sign that professionals will replace conscription. Reason is that conscription allows for testing a good portion of the population, which helps in the search for quality. More probably soldiers on contract will be a complementary recourse to conscription. There is however a more serious aspect related to the question of manning, with implications even on modest ambitions like the establishment of a Nordic EU BG. For a period of two years from 2005, no new Swedish officers will be recruited¹³¹. The result will be an increased unbalanced age-structure in the officer corps with negative consequences for manning units for international missions with adequate quality.

Implications for the future transformation – some reflections

One motivated question might be if and how the development and future use of a single Nordic BG will effect further transformation of the armed forces. First, one has to bear in mind that the future of the Swedish armed forces reflects a small organization, where ongoing work to establish the

¹³⁰ Interview with Colonel Berndt Grundevik, 27 February 2005.

¹³¹ *Svenska Dagbladet* 2 March 2005.

Nordic EU BG will have consequences for almost the entire organization. Second, and as a result of a relatively limited volume as well as the fact that units are frequently used in missions creates, an environment where transformation is an ongoing process driven by mission-related experience, where it might not be too unrealistic to predict substantial changes in the now adopted concept. Third, the formalized studies and development system, developed from the late 1960's, is expected to lose most of its previous influence in favor of a much more dynamic process, where recently gained experience and lessons learned is implemented rapidly.

In the second chapter of this book Mika Kerttunen argues about shortfalls associated with the BG concept that, already in the conceptual phase, could be foreseen. In sum they are associated mainly with more demanding and sustained missions reflecting EU's generally lack of suitable military capabilities. More powerful resources in numbers and quality is what might be needed in order to serve the goal presented in "A secure Europe in a better world".

There seems to exist views that EU BG's will be able to execute autonomous operations. These views have to be connected with some of the main characteristics of future autonomous operations initiated and executed by EU:

- A quick initial response to the actual crises that will generally serve the purpose of demonstrating political will as well as military ability and at the same time, from a military point of view, secure the arrival of follow on forces.
- Next, creation of a secure environment might involve military operations on low intensity up to high intensity – simultaneously.
- Lastly, sustaining a secure environment, which is a prerequisite for post-conflict peace-building. This process has generally a long duration and requires a lot of work in order to create confidence among the population, and confidence-building is personal intensive.

Autonomous operations, anyway when we talk about those who might involve a substantial amount of violence, will demand higher echelons, where the EU BG concept probably not will be sufficient. In this aspect, comparisons with countries outside as well as inside EU, can be made. In order to meet operational demands that are closely connected with rapid reaction ability, high tactical, operational as well strategic mobility has to be met. Rapid reaction units on brigade- and division level are designed for a quick reaction to an upcoming crises which in practice is the same as being operational in the respective "hotspot" in days, have the capacity to calm down the situation by own resources, or if that is not possible, serve as an advanced party, securing incoming reinforcements. 82nd Airborne Division from USA, UK Air assault Brigade and 11th Mobile Brigade from

the Netherlands meets criteria's mentioned above. If these types of units face heavy resistance they will take the role as an advanced party for incoming heavier forces.

The concept behind the creation of a European Rapid Deployment Force, presented in Helsinki Headline Goal in December 1999, might still serve as the military framework for the fulfilling of ambitions presented in "A secure Europe in a better world". The role of Nordic cooperation in such a bigger picture has of course to be viewed together with the other EU nations, but one assumption that could be made easily is that if the Netherlands are able to field a mobile brigade, Finland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark might together be able to establish a brigade sized unit as well.

Development of Nordic crises management concepts and tools takes place inside the Nordic Coordinated Arrangement for Military Peace Support (NORDCAPS). The Nordic Brigade, earlier established in the framework of this organization, might be a useful tool concerning the development of more substantial crises management tools. Characteristics made earlier in this section of a future crises management operation indicates the necessity to have following capacities: One type suited for quick response, which demonstrates political will and military ability and at the same time securing the arrival of follow on forces. Another type, which creates a safe environment by being involved in operations covering the spectrum from low intensity to high intensity – simultaneously. A third type, sustaining a secure environment, which is a prerequisite for peace building, a process that generally is extended over a long time. In other words what might be needed are forces fast, strong and sustainable enough for establishing military presence, create a safe enough environment and secure as well as support the nation-building process.

NORDCAPS covers levels from the political¹³², the military strategic¹³³ to the tactical ones, with an aim to expand and strengthening Nordic cooperation in the field of military peace support.¹³⁴ The concept itself could easily be developed towards a broader spectrum of missions covering military and civilian interagency crises management operations. The logical military output from defined tasks discussed earlier in this chapter is a brigade with following main components:

¹³² The political level is represented by a Steering group.

¹³³ The Military Coordination group is established in order to coordinate the military level after directives given by NORDCAPS Steering Group.

¹³⁴ Nordic Brigade, http://tietokannat.mil.fi/np03/part_nordbde.php?printable=1& , 4 March 2005.

- An airmobile battalion with high tactical, operational as well as strategic mobility as the main tool for rapid response. Trained to fulfil combat tasks, but has less protection and firepower than the mechanized battalion as well as suggested infantry battalion. Relatively modest to support logistically. C-130 system in service in Denmark, Norway and Sweden could be used for airlift. With a light equipment alternative, including three days of supply (DOS), one squadron can be lifted by three C-130's. Sweden is organizing such a unit with one Squadron assigned to the Nordic EU BG. The unit will be comprised of contracted soldiers and will be operational from 2007. To get the same status to the rest of the battalion will need the recruitment of additional soldiers on contract with an estimated timeframe of two years after next defence decision in 2008.
- One mechanized battalion with a tank Squadron as the main follow-up-force and provider of fighting power needed in order to create a safe environment. A broad variety of combat tasks could be solved with limitations mainly connected with operational and strategic mobility. Sealift/railway/land transportation is at present main possibilities¹³⁵. The C 130- system cannot be used and a heavy air transport capability, anyway for part of such a battalion, will be needed in the future. Provider of this Mechanized battalion could be Denmark, where the Danish International Brigade includes such a unit. The Danish International Brigade, which in addition has two mechanized infantry battalions, an artillery battalion together with other CS and CSS elements forms a suitable structure from which augmented capacities for the mechanized battalion can be drawn. The brigade is reported to be a part of the Allied Rapid Reaction Corps (ARRC) and consists of approximate 4500 all ranks, where 20% are regulars and 80% conscripts with a contract that makes it possible to call them up for service during a period of three years.¹³⁶
- One infantry battalion needed both for more demanding operations in order to secure a safe environment as well as providing "boots on the ground" which will be an essential part for securing the peace-building process. The Norwegian Telemark battalion might fit into this role, however the pure infantry component is limited and may need reinforcements especially when entering a peace-building phase. The combat capability of Telemark battalion lies somewhere in between a mechanized and an airmobile battalion. Numbering 450

¹³⁵ To give an impression of the logistical demands: When Sweden provided a reinforced CV 90 company to the United Nations Liberia-mission, it required 200 containers to get the company to the mission area.

¹³⁶ *Nordisk Sikkerhet*, p. 63

professionals and 80 on contract the battalion is built around one mechanized infantry company with CV 90/ M 113, one tank squadron with Leopard 2A3 and one combat engineer company as well as an Headquarters-/logistics company. Augmented are antitank, medical, mortar, forward air control/fire control units and a national support element¹³⁷.

- One military police battalion which will have a limited role in high intensive operations but on the other hand is a most useful tool against non conventional opponents as well as in the peace-building phase. This force will need a substantial number of Military police units that can do normal police functions, train the local police as well as take part in counter-insurgency operations. Organizing such a battalion could eventually be made on a trilateral base between Finland, Norway and Denmark.
- CS and CSS units as well as strategic enablers discussed earlier in this chapter.

Being capable of dealing with an opponent using asymmetric concepts generates a need to adopt intelligence-driven operations. In such an environment the need for technical intelligence-components are reduced in favour of human intelligence (HUMINT) combined with deep cultural knowledge. This has to be reflected in an intelligence structure at all levels that is capable of using both military and non-military sources and is able of smooth coordination with local and regional authorities, agencies as well as commercial organizations of the country where mission takes place.

Manning this structure will be most demanding, especially when ongoing operations for longer periods seems to be norm for the future. For such operations it has to be considered that in order to field one battalion there is a need being able to man three battalions for each one on operations. Besides the one on operations, one is on training ready to go into an operation, and one is on leave.

From the Swedish point of view this demand may be hard to solve bearing in mind that total number of conscriptions each year will number some 8300 in total¹³⁸. Planned structure with a Nordic BG needs 900 soldiers on contract and trained by first of January 2008. At least three conclusions can be drawn out from these figures. First, in reality this means that the basic task of training conscripts is to recruit soldiers ready to serve in international missions. Second, it could be argued that the system Sweden

¹³⁷ *Nordisk Sikkerhet*, p. 18.

¹³⁸ *Svenska Dagbladet*, 2 March 2005.

is establishing with soldiers on contract are just another name on professional soldiers, because it seems logic to characterize a soldier with eleven months basic training and an additional training-period of half a year as professional. Third and most important, there is an obvious need to limit the number of ongoing operations in which Sweden is involved in order to be able to participate in more demanding operations, which might have spill-over-effects into the union. Having the ability to do this has the obvious consequence of focusing on missions where more substantial commitments are needed and where a positive outcome is critical for EU and Sweden.

One important area, when future structures are discussed, is the development of network-based capabilities. Of paramount importance is interoperability with forces from EU and NATO countries where Swedish forces – anyway from a more practical aspect – is more interoperable than most new and in some cases old NATO countries. The creation of network-based capabilities could be looked upon as most critical in order to enhance efficiency. This subject could be viewed as a most practical subject. Following example is given to highlight the question. A battalion commander on the ground must have the ability to call for fire support, either from artillery, close air support or naval gunfire. What tool or which tools he or she decides to use depend on the tactical situation. But the communications has to be knitted together between the army, naval and air force units and the intelligence picture has to be the same.

Other aspects with implications for the NBF concept are more and more internationalized conflicts, which has resulted in expeditionary thinking and structuring. The challenge will be to create operational flexibility and organisational stability. These are factors that simply cannot be united in an environment characterised by multi-dimensionality and task-organized forces. Key to success is well-trained personnel able to tackle a wide spectrum of missions with a broad variety of military capacities. Perhaps flatter structures can help to solve the problem, taken into consideration that anyway land forces structure with a pyramid organisation from section to Army Corps represents an organisational culture dating back to Napoleon I. Task organisation in reality is a first step to develop modular network-structures that are replacing pyramid ones created during the industrial era.

Final remarks

In sum the previous discussion argues that the EU BG concept is an instrument not for “small wars”, but for short wars, because the main focus for the military power-instrument of our time are missions in conflicts that can best be characterized as ”small wars” of long duration with varied and limited use of force. A consequence of that is a need to re-evaluate traditional criteria for success, because success in ”small-wars” are less dependent on for instance mobility and fire-power. Because “small wars” tend to be long wars, confidence building towards the civilian population and the additional force protection that might be embedded as a result, are more important. Destabilizing actors like warlords, terrorist organisations and guerrilla could, as a result of successful confidence building, be denied from political support among the population with severe implications on recruitment and intelligence. Use of force in those “small wars” generally creates sensitive political situations. As a result, violence cannot be used without a keen analyze of probable consequences.

Consequently, some of the criteria for success in ”small wars” are different from those used in intra-state wars. In “small wars”, the use of force should be avoided as long as possible and when this is unavoidable, the counterpart should ideally be aware of what behaviour will end up with repressive actions. This is a way of signalling to people in the mission area and influencing domestic opinion as well as the international community.

To give three examples: In a situation where two regular forces are combating each other, surprise is a central factor in order to achieve success. In crises management operations the importance of surprise might be subordinated to other factors like legitimacy and predictability. These factors communicate political signals that will strengthen the peace – building process and therefore have an increasing importance. Likewise, the importance of tempo is reduced. Of course tempo is needed in critical situations, when for instance use of force is necessary to prevent a massacre. But more farsighted factors, patience and confidence are the platforms from which peace can be built. Unity of command is another success-factor that ought to be viewed together with the factor coordination, which reflects the normal behaviour between coalition partners and covers the whole chain of command. In a coalition, continuous inputs in the chain of command from the different capitals are a reality with implications in civil-military relations at every level. For instance, the use of available forces is politically guided and today often limited. This guidance can be foreseen to continue even tomorrow.

Finally, it is estimated to be of utmost importance to take advantage of the unique competence of the EU in order to meet crises with a broad variety of tools. Interagency operations are a way of having the ability at lowest possible level to choose the adequate tool(-s). This means that military staffs on all levels has to be prepared to include liaisons from civilian agencies, commercial organisations, intergovernmental organizations as well as non-governmental organizations to ensure effective coordination. But it also means that the force needs special civil affairs units and be suited, when needed, to operate not only as a joint force but as an interagency force prepared for civil-military cooperation down to lowest possibly level in hostile environments representing different cultures.

FINLAND – National Defence and International Crisis Management

Mika Kerttunen

Decisions to participate

The President of the Republic of Finland¹³⁹ and the Cabinet Committee on Foreign and Security Policy (*UTVA*)¹⁴⁰ decided on April 14, 2004 that Finland would examine her resources that could be available for the EU Battlegroup arrangement. As it had been clear from the very beginning, Finland did not have resources to be a framework nation¹⁴¹, and could not set up a national battle group without partners. Sweden was the first option to look to for obvious reasons. A larger NATO country would have been a suitable partner for Finland too, but the United Kingdom wanted to establish a national battle group with The Netherlands. She also endorsed the idea of incorporating Norway into a Nordic battle group. Germany, in the beginning, was reluctant to include Finland, but changed her mind later. Sweden for her part had two main options to consider: set up a national battle group or be a framework nation in a bi- or trilateral battle group. Quite soon it became obvious that at that moment, a national unit was out of bounds, and cooperation with Finland was examined¹⁴². Prime Ministers Göran Persson and Matti Vanhanen finalized the agreement on setting up a Nordic Battle Group at their talks in October and expressed hopes that

¹³⁹ According to the Constitution of Finland the President of the Republic in cooperation with the Government directs the foreign policy of Finland. (The Constitution of Finland, 11 June 1999 (731/1999), Chapter 8, Section 93).

¹⁴⁰ The Cabinet Committee on Foreign and Security Policy (known in Finland by its acronym *UTVA* (*Ulko- ja turvallisuuksipoliittinen ministerivaliokunta*)) is chaired by the Prime Minister and also includes the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Defence, the other ministers designated to handle matters falling within the competence of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and three other ministers designated by the Prime Minister. The committee handles the preliminary preparation of matters relating to foreign and security policy, Finland's relations to other countries and important issues of national defence. In matters where the President is responsible for directing foreign policy, the President chairs proceedings. Though EU matters fall within the Government's purview the matters relating to the EU CFSP are dealt with at such meetings with the President. (http://www.defmin.fi/index.phtml/page_id/278/topmenu_id/4/menu_id/278/this_topmenu/111/lang/3/fs/12)

¹⁴¹ The EU defines Framework Nation as a Member State or a group of Member States that has volunteered to, and that the Council has agreed to be a Framework Nation and that have specific responsibilities in an operation over which EU exercises political control. In practise a Framework Nation has the responsibility to administer the preparations, plan and lead joint exercises and contribute with all the troops and functions the participating nations cannot fill in.

¹⁴² Foreign Minister Laila Freivalds, *Vad vill Sverige med EU och FN?* 14 April 2004 (Seminar on EU's role in the world and the relations between the EU and the UN).

Norway would join the force¹⁴³. In 3 November *UTVA* decided that Finland would not only set up a Battlegroup with Sweden (and Norway and Estonia) but that Finland also would join the Battlegroup set up by Germany and The Netherlands. The contributions were announced in the Military Capabilities Commitment Conference, in Brussels, 22 November 2004.

The aforementioned governmental decisions stem from a larger security policy context and tradition, where crisis management has been a tool to advance Finnish interests. Participation in international crisis management is an essential part of the Finnish foreign and security policy. It aims to improve both international security and security of Finland. The European Union is one of the most important frameworks not only for the Finnish foreign policy but also for the defence policy. As stated in the Government report *Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004* “Finland is working to strengthen the European Union as a security community and an international actor”. The effectiveness together with the coherence of the EU is vital for Finland. Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) cannot exist without actual content and efficiency. It should not split the Union into two: those who participate in the structural cooperation and those who remain outside of it.¹⁴⁴ The fact that all Member States are contributing to the Battlegroup concept has been welcomed with satisfaction in Finland¹⁴⁵. Finland for her part, wants to participate fully in the development and implementation of the common security and defence policy.

The Foreign Ministers Lena Hjelm-Wallén, Sweden, and Tarja Halonen, Finland, proposed for the EU Inter-Governmental Conference in 1996 that crisis management in general and the so-called Petersberg tasks in specific should be made a Union competence. The Union must “[b]e in a position to apply the whole gamut of instruments, from conflict prevention measures of various kinds to armed peacekeeping actions”.¹⁴⁶ In the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997 humanitarian and rescue tasks, peacekeeping tasks and tasks of combat forces in crisis management including peacemaking, were listed as crisis management tasks for the EU. This initiative can also have other purposes than to increase competence in crisis management, a

¹⁴³ *Helsingin Sanomat*, 4 October 2004.

¹⁴⁴ *Finnish Security and Defence Policy 2004*; Government Report to Parliament 24 September 2004. Prime Minister’s Office Publications No 18/2004. Helsinki, 2004, pp. 79-80.

¹⁴⁵ Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen, 16 November 2004 (Seminar on security policy, arranged by Kaleva in Oulu (www.valtioneuvosto.fi/vn/liston/text.lsp?r=90046&k=fi) (28 February 2005)).

¹⁴⁶ “Swedish-Finnish initiative to strengthen the EU’s conflict management capability”, *Helsingin Sanomat (HS)* and *Dagens Nyheter (DN)*, 21 April 1996.

development it started and which has led to expanding tasks and structured defence related cooperation within the Union framework. It was however a proposition to hinder the merger of the EU with the WEU, an option that both countries resisted¹⁴⁷. Both countries wanted to emphasise the primacy of NATO and the United States in European defence. This should not be jeopardized by lukewarm European enterprises.

Another delaying battle between more deepened defence cooperation and the desire to remain militarily non-aligned was fought during the Intergovernmental Conference tackling the question on the EU Constitutional Treaty. With respect to provisions on security and defence policy the supplemented Petersberg tasks were not a problem to Finland, nor was the Article I-43, the solidarity clause requiring the provision of assistance in case of a terrorist attack. Article I-41 Specific provisions relating to the common security and defence policy was however more problematic. Before the December 2003 negotiations the Finnish Government had objected to the permanent structured cooperation allowing willing and able Member States to proceed in developing their capabilities for more demanding missions. This mindset was feared to rupture the coherence of the EU, a cornerstone in the Finnish EU policy – at least in the field of security and foreign policy. The real fight was fought to formulate Article I-41.7 concerning provision of assistance. Though Finland agreed with the obligation of aid and assistance in case of armed aggression on a Member State territory¹⁴⁸, she wanted to maintain her military non-alignment – verbally at least – with a sentence referring to “[t]he specific character of the security and defence policy of certain Member States”. The critics of the current Finnish government say that Finland spent too much of her political firepower to hinder the development when it did not need to be hindered. It seems inevitable that the security and defence policy will deepen and enlarge in the near future – not only crisis management but mutual assistance, too. The realization of a common defence depends on the experiences gained in implementing the Constitutional Treaty, integration of the EU in general, and the development of the security situation and transatlantic relations¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴⁷ It would not have been “[c]onsistent with Finland’s and Sweden’s policy of non-participation in military alliances”. The ministers also emphasised that a distinction must be maintained between territorial defence and cooperation in crisis management. (*HS* and *DN*, 21 April 1996) That the two nations and their defence forces now are facing the consequences of the initiative has been already raised in the first chapter of this book. On the affects of emphasising NATO e.g. Mika Kerttunen, “Jaakobin ääni ja Eesaun kädet – Naton moniulotteinen laajeneminen”, *Tiede ja Ase*, No 55, 1997, pp. 55-78.

¹⁴⁸ Government Report 2004, p. 56.

¹⁴⁹ Government Report 2004, p. 56.

Participating in two Battlegroups is politically important for Finland for various reasons. Cooperation with Sweden has specific symbolic value as the countries have worked together on many issues within the EU. The Swedish-Finnish-Norwegian unit underline Nordic cooperation, which traditionally has been of value in itself. Experiences from Nordic cooperation in various peacekeeping and peace support operations have normally been good, so one could expect that such a trilateral battle group would succeed. Norway contributes to a EU crisis management arrangement demonstrating that this development does not compete with NATO but completes it. The participation in the German-Dutch battle group offers Finland a good opportunity to cooperate with two strong and experienced EU and NATO countries. These two compositions “naturally have clear political significance to Finland”.¹⁵⁰ Significant is that both Battlegroups are set up by countries that emphasise the importance of the United States and NATO in European security – countries that are not willing to compromise the transatlantic link by entirely European solutions. This might be the very signal and significance of the Finnish contribution.¹⁵¹

Finnish security policy could be described as dualistic or ambivalent. Both the United States and the European Union are important, both national territorial defence and participation in international crisis management are essential, both soft security issues – liberal strategy for peace – and hard security questions – realistic strategy for peace – are emphasised. This dual approach has been criticised by domestic and international politicians and scholars¹⁵². A clearer commitment to Western institutions has been desired. Crisis management, which has helped both Sweden and Finland to remain outside of difficult political commitments, is now beginning to force them to take a clear stand and participate in activities that were out of question in the past. The Finnish Chief of Defence Admiral Juhani Kaskeala has emphasised that the development of the EU rapid response capabilities, the Battlegroups in particular, is not changing the very tasks the EU has set for

¹⁵⁰ Vanhanen, 16 November 2004. Military, linguistic, geographical and cultural reasons and traditions have their say in such assessments and decisions, too.

¹⁵¹ On the importance of the United States for the European security, see e.g. Matti Vanhanen, 20 December 2004 (Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen’s speech in the debate on the Security and Defence Policy report in Finnish Parliament) (<http://www.valtioneuvosto.fi/vn/liston/base.lsp?r=90868&k=en&old=1300>).

¹⁵² *Helsingin Sanomat*, 6 March 2005. The main opposition party the conservative National Coalition Party (*Kansallinen kokoomus*) has been most active to renew the Finnish security policy. It is worth mentioning that some members of the ruling social democratic party (*Sosiaalidemokraattinen puolue*) share the views of deeper involvement. See also William Hopkinson, *Sizing and Shaping European Armed Forces. Lessons and Considerations from the Nordic Countries*, SIPRI Policy Paper No 7, Sipri, Stockholm, 2004.

itself¹⁵³. It is however changing what both Sweden and Finland have been doing, perhaps even replacing it.

Developing military crisis management

Four main factors direct the development of the Finnish international crisis management capabilities and capacities. The EU troop and performance requirements together with the NATO Partnership for Peace Planning and Review Process (PARP) are the two most powerful external inputs. The third is Nordic crisis management cooperation. National defence capability is the internal factor. International participation is widely understood to support the development of the overall interoperability and credibility of national defence¹⁵⁴. Particularly battalion size and the more demanding operations give valuable experiences to Finnish personnel and a reliable platform to test suitability of e.g. various command and control, surveillance or logistic systems. Interoperability increases Finland's capability to receive foreign assistance in times of crisis. National defence, interoperability and crisis management are the cornerstones of the Finnish defence, one enhancing another. The two official emphasis in developing the defence system, the strengthening of the preparedness to prevent and repel a strategic strike and raising the level of defence preparedness, are said to "also improve Finland's ability to participate in international crisis management, the importance of which is continuing to grow"¹⁵⁵. National defence naturally benefits from having experienced commanders, well-trained rank and file and tightly knitted units, but the mantra is also needed to sell the entire concept of international crisis management for the people that value the freedom of its own country above all.

Finland has participated in the Partnership for Peace (PfP) program since 1994. The purpose has been (from the very beginning) to enhance Finland's ability to participate in crisis management, to be more specific in peacekeeping, search and rescue, and humanitarian operations.¹⁵⁶ Technical interoperability programs began in 1995 when Finland joined the Planning

¹⁵³ Admiral Juhani Kaskeala, *Taisteluosastojen perustaminen ei tuo muutoksia EU:n kriisinhallintatehtäviin*, 23 February 2005.

(<http://www.mil.fi/puolustusvoimainkomentaja/1035.dsp>).

¹⁵⁴ Government Report 2004, p. 95.

¹⁵⁵ Ministry of Defence, *Operational and financial plan for the Ministry of Defence's segment of administration in 2004-2007*

(http://www.defmin.fi/chapter_images/1134_ttsenglish.pdf).

¹⁵⁶ Kaisa Heikkilä, *Suomi ja NATO:n rauhankumppanuusohjelma*, Pääesikunnan kansainvälisen osaston julkaisu 2/2000, Helsinki 2000, pp. 17-20; Pertti Torstila, *Finland and the Evolving European Security Order*, 19 November 1996 (<http://www.usemb.se/BalticSec/TORSTILA.htm>);

and Review Process. The first initial phase was comprised of 13 Interoperability Objectives (IO). They focussed on rather general issues of command, control, communications and computing, logistics and transport, infrastructure, language requirements, and flight support. At this moment, 55 Partnership Goals (PG) have been addressed to Finland. The scope of the PGs have widened as NATO has developed its Partnership Working Program and as crisis management is becoming more demanding. Civilian emergency planning is one of the new areas included in the program. Capabilities to respond to risks arising from the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and for defence against terrorism are similarly incorporated. In addition to fulfil the aforementioned goals of international crisis management the IO/PG has helped to fill the gaps needed for joint operations of Finnish key forces¹⁵⁷ and Finland's ability to receive foreign military aid. The third function of the PfP and PARP processes is that they have been used to respond to commitments to the EU Headline Goal as well¹⁵⁸. This is most natural because the EU follows most of the NATO standards and procedures in crisis management. National force contributions for PfP activities should meet the general criteria of preparedness, readiness, deployment, multinationality, logistics and technical standards, which do not differ from other possible frameworks.

At present Finnish international rapid deployment forces comprise a mechanized infantry battalion, a headquarters and signal company, an engineer battalion, several units specialized in civil-military cooperation, a medium truck company, a minelayer, and a number of staff officers and military observers¹⁵⁹. Differing from the Swedish ambition of training all troops for international duties, designated units give training and a limited number of troops, which are trained for international tasks by Finland. The same applies to the PARP; only the most general objectives cover all troops or technical systems; interoperability is developed in the designated units. The main task of the Defence Forces and also the rapid deployment forces is to defend Finland and its people; participation in international crisis management is included in the tasks but is not the main focus.

Nevertheless, Finnish capability to contribute is to be enhanced and increased. Within the Army, focus is on developing command and control systems – particularly to establish a brigade-level lead nation capability. Special forces and NBC defence troops together with intelligence, logistics, UAV reconnaissance and helicopter transport units are planned and to be trained for international tasks. The Navy will create a boarding team, a

¹⁵⁷ Tomas Ries, *Finland and NATO*

(http://www.mil.fi/perustietoa/julkaisut/finland_and_nato/foreword.dsp).

¹⁵⁸ Juha Harjula, speech at the meeting of the EAPC Defence Ministers, 8 June 2001

(<http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2001/s010608h.htm>).

¹⁵⁹ Government Report 2004, p. 125.

coastal jaeger unit, a mine counter measures unit, and a special operations unit. The Air Force will train the surveillance of air space, e g no-fly zones as part of the protection (Combat Air Patrolling) for international military crisis management operation. From 2008 onwards the Air Force will have the capability to participate as part of a multinational flying unit. The latter requires a separate executive order.¹⁶⁰

Participation

Finland, like many other nations, has earmarked some troops and units for several troop pools and registers: to the EU Helsinki Force Catalogue, to the NATO Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council arrangement and to the UN Stand-By High Readiness Brigade (SHIRBRIG). At the same time Nordic countries have established a register and capabilities to assemble a multinational Nordic crisis management brigade within the Nordic Coordinated Arrangement for Military Peace Support (NORDCAPS), again with the already triple hatted troops.¹⁶¹ One could therefore question the real effect and impact of these arrangements; they have not produced real capabilities. If no permanent command structures or order of battle exist and troops are drawn from the pools of forces on case-by-case basis, one cannot expect that all the troops have trained and exercised together. The level of interoperability is lower in the beginning, thus more time is needed before they can be deployed. Progress in crisis management capabilities has so far been made more on national level than internationally. The qualitative step the EU is now taking calls for faster deployment, requires additional material, and demands enhanced joint and combined training. New and better capabilities and capacities are needed.

The potential and needed troops and elements identified for the Battlegroups include:

- Mechanised infantry; a company (ca160 troops), including a team of combat engineers
- NBC defence detachment (30)
- Special operations forces (45)
- Electronic warfare section (20)
- Coastal jaegers: a platoon (35)
- Command and control (e g Communication and Information Service, Signals and HQ Company personnel) (100).

¹⁶⁰ Government Report 2004, pp. 125-126.

¹⁶¹ Ministry of Defence, *Operational and financial plan for the Ministry of Defence's segment of administration in 2004-2007* (http://www.defmin.fi/chapter_images/1134_ttsenglish.pdf).

The mechanized company and the NBC defence unit were the only already listed, and thus in full operational capability. The existing national troop production system based on conscription, rehearsal training and exercises, will develop and train the international rapid deployment forces. Of the identified troops and plans the services have for international capabilities a brigade-level C2 capability, mechanised infantry and engineer battalions, a transport company and a special operations unit will be fully operational in 2006. A CIMIC company, a coastal jaeger platoon, a boarding team and an EW unit will reach full operational capability by 2008.¹⁶²

The Finnish troops and elements for the two Battlegroups¹⁶³ are thought to be as follows (tentative lists):

a) Nordic Battle Group

Force Headquarters: 7-10 officers

Infantry Battalion: Battalion Headquarters 5 officers

Combat Support:

- Fire Support Unit: a heavy mortar platoon (53 troops)
- Intelligence, Surveillance, Target Acquisition and Reconnaissance (ISTAR): a unit (55)
- Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear defence: a detachment (25-30)

Combat Service Support:

- Logistic Support: a platoon/several groups (34)
- Geographical Support: a group (6)
- Military Police: a group (10)

Total Finnish contribution: 180-220¹⁶⁴.

In addition to this Finland may contribute to the Operational and Strategic Enablers with personnel in Combat Service Support and Equipment Support functions and with Special Forces.

Norway has the role of the Logistic Role Specialist Nation in medical service and in strategic air- and maritime lift, including airport and harbour deploying. She is going to contribute a medical platoon and a surgical unit.

¹⁶² Ministry of Defence, *Puolustusministeriön hallinnonalan toiminta- ja taloussuunnitelma vuosille 2006-2009* (Operational and financial plan for the Ministry of Defence's segment of administration in 2006-2009) (http://www.defmin.fi/chapter_images/2348_PLM_TTS_2006-2009_julkisuuteen47.pdf).

¹⁶³ For the more detailed organisation, see the previous chapters on the EU Battlegroup context as well as on the Swedish contribution to the Battlegroups.

¹⁶⁴ "Suomen osallistuminen Euroopan unionin taisteluosastoihin", *Ministry of Defence memorandum*, 8 December 2004 (http://www.defmin.fi/chapter_images/2307_Taisteluosastot.pdf); Försvarsmakten, *Budgetunderlag 06, Bilaga 1*, Stockholm, 28 February 2005.

Other units or groups consist of movement control group and port and terminal operation squadron.¹⁶⁵ Estonia is continuing consultations with Sweden; her troops and troops levels are not yet decided.

It should be noted that the kernel of the Battlegroup, the mechanized infantry battalion ca 750 troops, 2 mechanized infantry companies, 1 light (air portable) infantry company, are entirely Swedish. This is reasonable from an operative perspective. The hard core of the Battlegroup master the same language¹⁶⁶, has undergone similar training, know each other well and surely follow the same rules of engagement. It would take time for a multinational unit to reach that kind of interoperability, which is required in the most demanding tasks and situations. Combat support and combat service support units face this problem. How the Nordic Battlegroup actually is going to look and what the Finnish, Norwegian and Estonian contributions are, will be agreed as the countries evaluate their resources. What type of Battlegroup would be sent to an operation depends on the risk assessment and the task of the unit; variations and flexibility in organisation are possible, even desirable.

b) German-Dutch-Finnish Battlegroup

Force Headquarters: officers

Mechanised Infantry Battalion:

- Battalion headquarters: officers
- Mechanised infantry company

Combat Support:

- Intelligence, Surveillance, Target Acquisition Reconnaissance (ISTAR): a group
- Military Police: a group

Combat Service Support:

- Medical Service personnel
- Maintenance Service personnel
- Transport Service personnel

Total Finnish contribution: 120-160¹⁶⁷.

As in the case of the Nordic Battle Group, Finland may contribute to the Operational and Strategic Enablers with personnel in Combat Service Support and Equipment Support functions and with Special Forces. In both

¹⁶⁵ Försvarsmakten, *Budgetunderlag 06, Bilaga 1*, 28 February 2005, Stockholm. Norwegian contribution is at maximum 150 troops.

¹⁶⁶ This is an often-heard Swedish argument questioning the joint Swedish-Finnish unit in crisis management operations. It has been expressed in setting up battalions in Kosovo both in 1999 and again in 2005 as Sweden is rearranging her presence in the Balkans.

¹⁶⁷ ”Suomen osallistuminen European unionin taisteluosastoihin”, *Ministry of Defence memorandum*, 8 December 2004.

Battle Group scenarios Finland should get some staff officer posts at the Operative Headquarters, i.e. in the British Permanent Joint Headquarters at Northwood or at least establish a liaison team – preferably both. Finnish military-strategic views could then be taken into account in planning and executing the operations, and the Finnish Defence Forces Headquarters, Operation Headquarter, could be directly connected to the OHQ. Technical command, control, communication, computer and intelligence (C4I) solutions are essential but cannot overcome human presence.

The roles of the Finnish mechanised infantry company are planned to be (BG HQ) force protection, reconnaissance and convoy protection. It will be equipped with SISU XA-180/200 series wheeled vehicles, a fact that guarantees an excellent mobility on highways and hard surfaces. This fits well with the task of convoy protection. Reconnaissance, on the other hand, could be limited due to the weaker mobility with respect to e.g. CV-90 series tracked vehicles on softer, wet, surfaces of African monsoon season. The firepower is modest as the SISU XAs are equipped with 12.7 millimetre machine guns, not 30 or 40 mm automatic cannons.

The personnel for the Battlegroups will consist of regulars, i.e. officers and non-commissioned officers, enlisted personnel, and contract soldiers. Conscripts fulfilling their national service have and will not be used in international crisis management operations. Some 40 % of the personnel are assessed to be regulars, with the rest contract soldiers. Those eligible to be recruited should have already been trained for international duties during their national service. Exceptions are however possible. Regardless, all need to volunteer. The contract is thought to last for e.g. 1 + 1 year; the first year for training, exercises and the tour of duty, and the second for an optional service in some crisis management operation. If the person has participated in a Battlegroup operation during the tour of duty, then this optional international service would fall off. Contract soldiers would also be used as instructors if the Battlegroup duties allowed that.

The rationality of participating in two Battlegroups from the point of force production is to enable a quite even flow of trainees every year. In every second 12-month period from July to June some 200 troops will be in service, both being trained and in preparedness or in operation, and in every 12-month period in-between a troop of ca 160 persons will do the same. The approximately same volumes make it easier to optimise the running of the education and training system.

Initial and individual training will be given in Finland. After a certain level of personal competence is gained small scale functional exercises may take place. These are to be conducted in the country responsible for that function. Joint Battlegroup level exercises are the third phase. The focus is

then in seamless planning and execution of joint and combined tactical tasks. These take place either in the framework nation or, in later stages, in more demanding environments in another Member State or troop contributing nation. The latter is naturally more giving but requires more time, money and material. It would set press on – and train – also the logistic functions, including air and sealift. One can estimate that 8 to 12 months training and exercise period is needed to meet the criteria set. The first two to three months could be used to individual to group level training. Several months should be reserved for Battlegroup level exercises – not that the troops are continuously in exercises but conduct a progressive and expanding exercise program. Concluding weeks before the stand-by period begin, are needed for rest, recreation and maintenance. During the stand-by periods training and exercises are continued to conduct, at a little lower level, naturally, keeping in mind the in-operation-in-10-days ambition.¹⁶⁸ Important to note is the Battlegroups in general and the Finnish contributions in particular consists of much more than just special operating forces – masked men abseiling from helicopters or training to free hostages, which we have seen on television. A truck driver and a cook are as much a part of the Battlegroup as a sniper or demolition expert. All have to be trained and equipped to meet the full range of crisis management tasks the Groups have.

Certification is an important tool in securing the quality of the Battlegroups. It has been heavily discussed within the EU and the work continues. The definition of benchmarks and criteria for evaluation and certification is taken forward by the European Defence Agency. The general principle is that the Member States' standards and criteria form the basis for this work and that the contributing Member States certify their troops. The overarching EU criteria concern availability, employability and deployability, readiness, flexibility, connectivity, sustainability, medical force protection and interoperability.¹⁶⁹ The EU Military Committee is to monitor the certification process.

Sweden in the case of the Nordic Battlegroup and the Swedish Force Commander and the Battalion Commander are for certain setting their own criteria with their troops, including the Finnish ones. The Swedish Armed Forces Headquarters has used the so-called basic functions to evaluate their own international troops. These areas are impact, mobility, protection, intelligence, sustainability and command and control. For tactical units perhaps a modification of the criteria originally set by the Swedish Total

¹⁶⁸ General outlines for training and exercises period from Försvarsmakten, *Budgetunderlag 06, Bilaga 1*, Stockholm, 28 February 2005.

¹⁶⁹ Military Capabilities Commitment Conference, Brussels, 22 November 2004 (http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/misc/82761.pdf).

Defence Research Institute (FOI) might be more suitable.¹⁷⁰ General criteria for a Battlegroup certification could consist of:

- Preparedness
- Sustainability
- Capacity for independent operations and action
- Usability
- Interoperability and jointness.

With these or similar criteria one then can evaluate the qualitative level of the troops in areas like personal skills, command and control, combat tasks, and support functions. What must be the focus in Battlegroup certification is the ability for joint action. Individual to platoon level skills can be evaluated and obtained in the initial periods of training.

Implications

A number of political, juridical and military questions need to be answered before Finnish troops can participate in Battlegroup operations. These issues include:

- National decision-making in relation to the EU planning and decision-making processes
- National legislation, both the question of mandate and the legal status and rights of the individual participants
- Rules of engagement
- Funding
- Recruiting and training personnel
- Legally binding contracts
- Terms of service
- Equipment and critical material acquisition
- Strategic enablers/assets.¹⁷¹

The Finnish Government assesses that taking part in battle groups puts pressure on national decision-making procedures. The decision to participate in crisis management operations will be done by the President of

¹⁷⁰ Urban Schöön, *Insats eller föresats: Varför säkerhetspolitiska ambitioner inte alltid kan omsättas i militär effect eller förmåga*, Försvarshögskolan C-uppsats, 19 100: 2038, Stockholm 2004, pp. 20-21

(http://bibliotek.fhs.mil.se/publikationer/uppsatser/2004/chp0204/schoeoen_2038.pdf).

National level criteria like costs and level of risk are left out here.

¹⁷¹ Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen, 20 December 2004 (Speech in the debate on the Security and Defence Policy report in Finnish Parliament); Commander Mikko Santavuori, *A-talk*, Finnish Broadcasting Company Channel 1, 8 December, 2004; *Ministry of Defence memorandum*, 8 December 2004; *Puolustusministeriön hallinnonalan toiminta- ja taloussuunnitelma vuosille 2006-2009*.

the Republic at the plenary session of the Government. Before the Government can make such a proposition it has to hear the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Parliament as defined in the Section 2 of the Peacekeeping Act¹⁷². Thus the final formal decision also on Battlegroup operations remains on national level and includes several national political authorities. Nevertheless, the *de facto* moment of decision is in the Council of the European Union, when the General Affairs and External Relations Council makes a unanimous decision to launch an operation. To ensure that the national decision-makers are properly involved and have time to be involved before any critical decision is discussed and made in the Council is a challenge. Given the Union's ambition of launching an operation within 5 days of the approval of the Crisis Management Concept (CMC), the current Parliamentary hearings and Governmental reporting procedures might be difficult to follow. Even if it succeeds, the Finnish Government would have committed itself in accepting the CMC, making it hard and politically impossible to reverse that decision. As stated by Prime Minister Vanhanen "[o]ur partners have to be able to rely on the fact that our troops who are doing a tour of duty are also given permission to go into action by the national leadership"¹⁷³. Yet, the actual role of national preparation and decision-making and the powers of Parliament are diluted, at least questioned if no room for open political discussion exists.

Pressure is also put on the existing Peacekeeping Act. It is being reassessed whether it is up to date to meet the demands of the Battlegroup concept. One of the key questions is whether there is need for a United Nations or Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe mandate. The current law recognises only such mandates (Section 1). Without going into details of the political debate on the issue, which is analysed in the first chapter of this book, some general remarks ought to be made. Although the EU has stated to act under a UN mandate or according to general UN principles, it has reserved the right to act on its own. This concept has divided opinions in Finland. The Prime Minister has clearly demanded that Finland and the EU should have the opportunity to act without a UN mandate. He has emphasised that a EU mandate would not undermine the UN as such as the EU would not make a decision that "could violate the principles of the UN"¹⁷⁴. Practically, it would set Finland and her partners in an awkward situation if Finland's freedom of movement were closed beforehand. The President, on the other hand, strongly supported the current practise. This is consistent with the traditional Finnish line supporting the role of multinational institutions where all the important actors influencing Finnish

¹⁷² Rauhanturvaamislaki 29.6.1984/514 (Peacekeeping Act, 29 June 1984/514).

Peacekeeping is the overall concept that is generally used in Finland for military crisis management and peacekeeping activities, even military observer missions.

¹⁷³ Vanhanen, 20 December 2004.

¹⁷⁴ Vanhanen, 16 November 2004.

security are included and similarly bound by its values, principles and decisions. Finland for both altruistic and egoistic reasons has not wanted to grant individual (great) powers possibility to define their own code of conduct and rules of international engagement. This could jeopardize the positions of lesser nations in general and Finland in particular. The President, however, changed her mind in March 2005. She considered the UN mandate essential but recognized that it might not always be possible to achieve. Four such scenarios might occur according to the President: the first is that both parties involved directly ask the EU to intervene; the second is that some permanent member of the UN Security Council is against a decision that otherwise would be in line with the UN Charter; thirdly, the issue in question is so complicated [that no agreement or solution can be found]; finally the UN could be against such a mission.¹⁷⁵

Section 2 of the Peacekeeping Act also defines the procedures regarding rules of engagement. Technically speaking the Act does not forbid peace-enforcement activities. It requires however, that the Government, if the rules of engagements would be “wider than in traditional peacekeeping” submit a detailed report to Parliament¹⁷⁶. To ensure faster national decision-making this case-by-case assessment, reporting and hearing procedure could be replaced by e.g. explicitly allowing participating in UN Charter Article 42 missions and requiring the Government to furnish Parliament’s Foreign Affairs Committee with such information (as it does in ESDP matters and regarding participation in peacekeeping). This would better respect the confidentiality of EU crisis management matters than the reporting procedure. Another option is that the renewed Act would require a proposal to be approved by Parliament.

Finnish crisis management contingencies can consist of military formations, separate units, military observers or individual persons. Sending personnel or troops to Operation Headquarters, Force Headquarters or in the core battalion of a Battlegroup is thus within the existing legislation. Similarly the troop level limitation of 2000 persons need not be reconsidered, especially as personnel participating in training are excluded from the figure.¹⁷⁷ Legislation regarding the status and rights of the participating personnel must be rewritten most urgently¹⁷⁸. Current legislation does not recognize the need and right to use even deadly force, with the exception of self-defence. If a Finnish peacekeeper used deadly force today, the case could be taken to the Finnish court of law. Any soldier participating in the most robust of crisis management tasks has the right to

¹⁷⁵ *Uutispäivä Demari*, 2 March 2004.

¹⁷⁶ Peacekeeping Act, June 29 1984/514, Section 2.

¹⁷⁷ Peacekeeping Act, June 29 1984/514, Sections 3 and 4.

¹⁷⁸ Kaskeala, 23 February 2005.

be aware of his or her right when signing in and not afterwards. Not until the Peacekeeping Act section 8 and the Penal Law chapters 4 and/or 45 regarding the right and terms to use force are modified to meet the mission demands, can personnel be recruited from reserve and contracted. The same goes with the terms of service, especially for the contract soldiers who form an entirely new group of military profession in Finland. Renewed legislation ought to be written and passed quite soon as the soldiers for the German led Battlegroup need to enter service no later than early 2006 to be able to participate in joint exercises later that year¹⁷⁹. This Battlegroup must be operational on January 1 2007.

Finnish contribution to peacekeeping and crisis management operations and military observer missions has long been approximately 1000 troops per year. On average the Finnish contribution to the Battlegroups will remain in ca 18 % level¹⁸⁰ of this figure. If the German led Battlegroup went to a three to four month long operation the last day of its tour of duty on 30 June 2007, and the personnel dedicated to the Nordic one started their joint exercises the next day, the theoretical percentage of the Finnish Battlegroup troops would remain in some 36% of the total figure. The number is so low that continued participation in other missions is not going to be jeopardized. Similarly other commitments do not hinder the setting up of the Battlegroups. Certain key personnel might be needed in various operations, but this can be foreseen – and the Battlegroups prioritized.

Peacekeeping and crisis management operations are co-funded by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (MFA) and the Ministry of Defence (MOD). Ministry for Foreign Affairs in general has stood for the salaries and daily allowances of the personnel. It has also financed the training and some exercises of the troops. For 2005 the MFA has budgeted a sum of 46,6 million euros for crisis management operations.¹⁸¹ As the MOD's budget in 2005 for the international crisis management is 50,5 million euros, the MFA covers 48 % of the total sum of 97,1 million euros. The principle of dual financing is applied for the Battlegroups as well. The detailed sums are presented in the following table; in general, the MFA covers training and preparedness and the MOD acquisition of materiel, salaries, transportation and maintenance. Training and preparedness take roughly one third, salaries almost a half, and material acquisitions one fifth of the total sum reserved for the development of the Battlegroup capabilities.

¹⁷⁹ Kaskeala, 23 February 2005.

¹⁸⁰ $(200+160)/2 / 1000) * 100\% = 18\%$.

¹⁸¹ Ministry of Finance, The Government's budget proposal for 2005 (http://budjetti.vm.fi/indox/tae/2005/aky_2005.html)

	MFA	MOD	Total	
2005	-	0,6 materiel	0,6	
2006	2,6 training and exercises, preparedness	2,6 materiel 0,3 vaccination and clothing 2,1 salaries	7,6	
2007	4,3 training and exercises, preparedness	1,2 materiel 0,4 vaccination and clothing 5,6 salaries	11,5	GE/NL/FI Battlegroup stand-by period January-June
2008	0,9 training and exercises, preparedness	3,5 salaries	4,4	SW/FI/NO/ES Battlegroup stand-by period January-June
2009		0,4 materiel	0,4	
Total in 2005-2009	7,8 (training, exercises and preparedness)	16,7 (materiel 4,8 vaccination and clothing 0,7 salaries 11,2)	24,5 of which 19 for personnel related costs, 5,5 for material	

Table 3. The development costs of the Battlegroups troops in 2005-2009 (millions of euros). (Source: Ministry of Defence, *Puolustusministeriön hallinnonalan toiminta- ja taloussuunnitelma vuosille 2006-2009* (Operational and financial plan for the Ministry of Defence's segment of administration in 2006-2009).

In addition to this a possible four month operation within the German-led Battlegroup in 2007 would require 3,1 million euros for the salaries and 2,3 million euros for transportation and maintenance. A similar operation within the Swedish led Battlegroup in 2008 would cause the additional costs of 4,6 million euros for the salaries and 2,5 million euros for transportation and maintenance.¹⁸² When the regular salaries are reduced the total additional cost of developing Finnish Battlegroup troops is 13,3 million euros in 2005-2009. The sum is on average ca 2,7 % of the MFA's and MOD's combined annual crisis management budget of ca 95-100 million euros. Even when the both Battlegroups would participate in a four month long operation, the additional costs of 25,8 million euros remained

¹⁸² Ministry of Defence, *Puolustusministeriön hallinnonalan toiminta- ja taloussuunnitelma vuosille 2006-2009* (Operational and financial plan for the Ministry of Defence's segment of administration in 2006-2009).

in 5,2 % level of the total crisis management costs during the same five year period. The figure is explained by the relatively small amount of personnel participating and the short, less-than-a-year commitment, even with a possible operation¹⁸³. The need to purchase or produce new materiel for the troops is minimal; most of the material is acquired or would have been acquired any way for the purposes of national defence, within the NATO PfP/PARP framework or within the Headline Goal 2003/2010 processes. Thus neither money spent nor material used for the Battlegroup jeopardise Finnish participation in other current or future operations.

If Finland wanted to set up a national Battlegroup or to be a Framework Nation, of which the latter could be assessed to be a reasonable medium to long-term political and military ambition, several problems would arise. Money, material, personnel and other commitments would then be the key questions to be answered. Comparing different nations can give distorted view as budgeting and booking are done according to national rules, regulations and practises. Nations also have their specific investment needs. Some general remarks can nevertheless be made from the current Swedish estimates regarding their Framework Nation responsibility. As already stated and elaborated in the previous chapter, Sweden will set up the core battalion consisting among others of two mechanised infantry and one air-portable companies totalling some 1100 troops. The Swedish Armed Forces Headquarters in its preliminary and tentative estimates mention a total sum of ca SEK 2,2 billion – approximately 240 million euros – for the years 2005-2008. This is rather evenly divided between the operations and material.¹⁸⁴ The sum reserved for operations, i.e. payroll, training, exercises and preparedness¹⁸⁵ is SEK 1 130 million, ca 124 million euros. This figure can with certain reservations be compared to the similar Finnish costs. The contingencies that are on average approximately 6,1 times¹⁸⁶ smaller have an ‘operations’ budget of 19 million euros. A Finnish contribution of 1100 should with this logic costs 6,1 times 19 million euros, 116 million during the equal length of time. Thus both Swedish and Finnish calculations point to same direction regarding costs for personnel, training, exercises and preparedness. As a previous study comparing Finnish and Swedish KFOR battalion shows personnel costs seem to be higher in Swedish contingencies;¹⁸⁷ one has to be careful with these preliminary budgets and

¹⁸³ Finnish participation in her three main missions, KFOR in Kosovo, Althea in Bosnia-Herzegovina and ISAF in Afghanistan cost ca 38, 21 and 12 million euros, respectively, in 2005 only. (Ministry of Finance, The Government’s budget proposal for 2005 (http://budjetti.vm.fi/indox/tae/2005/aky_2005.html)).

¹⁸⁴ Försvarsmakten, *Budgetunderlag 06, Bilaga 1*, 28 February 2005, Stockholm.

¹⁸⁵ *Anslag 6:1:1, Förbandsverksamhet, beredskap*.

¹⁸⁶ The Swedish contingency of 1100 divided by the average of 180 troops of the Finnish contingencies (160 in the German led and 200 in the Nordic one).

¹⁸⁷ Schön 2004, pp. 45-58.

calculations. Nevertheless as the Finnish budget for international crisis management in the foreseeable future is as mentioned roughly 90-100 million euros per year, the sum of 110 to 120 million euros only in personnel expenditure in four years time would set a financial burden. This would cause Finland either to limit her participation in other operations, to reallocate existing funds or to increase the overall defence budget. None of these options are likely to materialize.

Budgeting and booking material costs and investments differ greatly in the countries. The major differences are that in Sweden all the costs are budgeted, i.e. including ammunition and already purchased so-called war material, while in Finland one does not count them in. This makes it virtually impossible to use the Swedish tentative budget to estimate the costs of a hypothetical heavy Finnish Battlegroup contingency. As the nations also have different needs to invest for materiel, a comparison with a budgetary point of departure would prove to be fruitless; taking the Swedish commitments and the Swedish material budget of SEK 1 105 million as a model for the Finnish estimates would not do. Yet it is clear that the need for material would be much bigger in case of Finland the Framework Nation. The three companies would require e.g. 24-30 CV-9030 infantry fighting vehicles and 10-12 SISU XA-180/200 series armoured personnel carriers. Additional material, like trucks and high-tech systems for e.g. command, control, communications and computer systems would also be needed. If Finland has in developing national defence been able and willing to compromise and balance between material requirements and her scarce financial resources, all the troops and units for Battlegroup operations must be equipped with all necessary and high quality material and systems. Logistic demands and transportation costs, i.e. strategic lift, would increase considerably.

The current demands to save 50 million euros per year, closing down altogether four garrisons and several depots by 2009, reducing personnel by 1200 in the coming seven years, and the simultaneous desire to allocate one third of the budget for material expenditure do not make heavy investment in the Framework Nation responsibility a lucrative option. Even if the EU developed a more robust brigade level expeditionary capability and thus required additional troops Finland would probably maintain its commitment at the current or modestly increased level¹⁸⁸. If Sweden keeps up with her plans of establishing a national Battlegroup in or immediately after 2010, it would force Finland to either find another Framework nation to cooperate with or allocate her resources to the German-led Battlegroup.

¹⁸⁸ Combining the future 13 Battlegroups with the capabilities listed in the Helsinki Force Catalogue could be one solution for setting up such brigades. A Nordic brigade would be established within the NORDCAPS framework.

More suitable for the next few years is to steadily increase and widen the Finnish contribution than to set far too ambitious and exhaustive goals. One should first learn from the experiences participating nations and Framework Nations (Sweden in particular) are getting. Some solutions might at the end of the day turn to be politically unnecessary military burdens. Nevertheless Finland has a broad scale of existing and developing capabilities to offer for both platforms – the German and the Nordic. One can begin with the resources identified for the Battlegroups, i.e. coastal jaegers, combat engineers and demolition troops and command and control functions of which Finland has gained positive experiences from the Balkans. Another possibility is to dedicate capabilities that are developed within the PARP, e.g. FA-18 Hornets. Though more natural for Sweden, Finland, too could take advantage of the joint training, exercises and operations in order to test and even promote her arms, vehicle, technical and command, control and communication systems and solutions.

Militarily speaking the participation in the Battlegroup packages is feasible. Practical problems can be solved, and, again, the participation is seen to support and strengthen the national defence. Capability for crisis management operations also increases qualitatively. New functions and troops are being introduced, new tasks are partly tackled with new partners. Changing the focus Finland has had for the crisis management, and the ability to produce second echelon troops that can be sustained in long-term operations¹⁸⁹. How the Finnish defence and mentality can cope with the tasks that require well-trained professional soldiers instead of well-trained reservists, that are of high-intensity instead of low, and that, by nature and duration are more expeditionary than the ones Finland is used to see and contribute to is the key question. Yet, for the credibility of both the Finnish defence and European crisis management no room for failure exists.

¹⁸⁹ Kaskeala, 24 November 2004.

AUTHOR PRESENTATION

Mika Kerttunen

Lieutenant Colonel Mika Kerttunen is the head lecturer in strategy at the Department of Strategic and Defence Studies, Finnish National Defence College. He graduated from the Military Academy in 1986, and completed the Finnish general staff officer course in 1995 and the Norwegian senior staff officer course in 1999. At the Swedish National Defence College Lieutenant Colonel Kerttunen served as a strategy lecturer in 2003-2004. He is a post-graduate student in international politics at the University of Helsinki.

Tommi Koivula

Dr. Tommi Koivula is a senior researcher at the Department of Strategic and Defence Studies, Finnish National Defence College. He graduated from the University of Tampere in 2004. Currently, he specialises in the European Union security policy, in particular from the French perspective. Previously, he has been a lecturer at the University of Tampere and a visiting researcher at University of Kent at Canterbury in 2001 (UK).

Tommy Jeppsson

Lieutenant Colonel Tommy Jeppsson is the Swedish visiting lecturer to the Finnish National Defence College serving at the Department of Strategic and Defence Studies. He graduated from the Military Academy in Stockholm in 1974, and completed the Swedish senior staff officer course in 1984 and the Norwegian senior staff officer course in 1995. Lieutenant Colonel Jeppsson was teaching strategy at the Norwegian Armed Forces Staff College in 1997-99, and at the Swedish National Defence College in 2000-04. From autumn 2004 he took up his present posting in Finland. He is a member of The Royal Academy of War Sciences, the International Institute for Strategic Studies, The Royal United Service Institution for defence Studies and Oslo Military Association.

Previously published in this series:

Series 2: Research Reports

No 1, 1997

Military Cooperation and its Prospects in the Baltic Sea Region

No 2, 1997

Ahti Kannisto - Tapio Palmunen - Pasi Välimäki: Muuttuuko turvallisuuspolitiikan linja? Valtioneuvoston eduskunnalle vuosina 1995 ja 1997 antamien turvallisuus- ja puolustuspoliittisten selonteiden vertailu

No 3, 1998

Aaro Toivonen (ed.): Russia's Security Political Prospects

No 4, 1998

Aaro Toivonen (ed.): The Present and Near Future of the Nordic Defence

No 5, 1999

Lea Ahoniemi: Suomea koskevat uudet ei-sotilaalliset turvallisuusuhkatekijät

No 6, 2000

Krista Huhtala (ed.): Russia's Security Policy at the Turn of the Millennium

No 7, 2000

Tomas Ries (ed.): NATO Tomorrow

No 8, 2000

Pekka Sivonen (ed.): Security-Political Prospects in Northern Europe at the Beginning of the Millennium

No 9, 2000

Mika Kerttunen (ed.): Security in the North – Change and Continuity –

No 10, 2001

Suomen turvallisuusympäristö 2000-luvun alussa

No 11, 2001

Marc-André Ryter: EU Capabilities for Autonomous Military Crisis Management: Possibilities and Limits

No 12, 2001

Ossi Kervinen: Euroopan Unionin kriisinhallintatoimen päätöksenteko: Rakenteet ja toimintamahdollisuudet

No 13, 2001

Tomas Ries, Axel Hagelstam (eds.): Sweden and Finland. Security Perceptions and Defence Policy

No 14, 2001

Pentti Forsström (ed.): Russia's Potential in the 21st Century

No 15, 2002

Pentti Forsström: Venäjä vuonna 2020: arvioita sotilaspolitiikasta ja sen perusteista

No 16, 2002

Joonas Sipilä (ed.): Strategian 30-vuotisjuhlaseminaari 1.3.2002

No 17, 2002

Tomas Ries, Joonas Sipilä (eds.): Drifting apart? European views of the Atlantic Relationship.

No 18, 2002

Marc-André Ryter: Managing Contemporary Crises: A Challenge for the European Union

No 19, 2003

Fred Blomberg, Jyri Saanio: Viro, Latvia ja Liettua turvallisuuspoliittisten muutosten kynnyksellä. Baltian maiden integraatoratkaisujen vaikutukset Suomen turvallisuuspoliittiseen asemaan

No 20, 2003

Osmo Tuomi: Seuraako Euroopan unioni aikaisempien suurvaltojen kehitystä

No 21, 2003

Kaarle Lagerstam, Juha-Antero Puistola, Torsti Sirén: Yhdysvaltalainen sotilasstrategia tänään

No 22, 2003

Kalevi Ruhala, Pekka Sivonen, Teija Tiilikainen, Pauli Järvenpää: Suomen turvallisuuspolitiikan vaihtoehdot

No 23, 2003

Marc-André Ryter: Motives for Humanitarian Intervention and the International Community

No 24, 2003

Kaarle Lagerstam: Yhdysvaltojen turvallisuuspolitiikka kylmän sodan jälkeen

No 25, 2004

Joonas Sipilä, Erko Mikkola (eds.): Terrorism and Counter-terrorism – Impact on Defence and other Security Systems

No 26, 2004

Torsti Sirén, Juha-Antero Puistola, Jyri Raitasalo, Kari Takamaa, Arvi Tavaila: Turvallisuuspoliittisten vaihtoehtojen Suomen puolustusjärjestelmälle aiheuttamia vaikutuksia

No 27, 2004

Pentti Forsström, Erko Mikkola (eds.): Russian Military Policy and Strategy

No 28, 2004

Arvi Tavaila, Pentti Forsström, Pertti Inkinen, Juha-Antero Puistola, Torsti Sirén: Venäjän asevoimat ja sotilasstrategia

No 29, 2005

Erko Mikkola (ed.): The Future of Multilateral Security Co-operation in the New Security Environment

Strategian laitos
Maanpuolustuskorkeakoulu
PL 266
00171 HELSINKI

Department of Strategic and Defence Studies
National Defence College
POB 266
FIN - 00171 HELSINKI
FINLAND

Tel: +358 9 181 26320

Fax: +358 9 181 26324

E-mail: strategian.laitos@mil.fi

Internet: <http://www.mpkk.fi/>