HEALTHY BOUNDARIES

Remedies for Europe's
cross-border disorder

by
Roderick Parkes

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The EU may not be in imminent danger of invasion, but chaos is nibbling at its borders, from the enclave of Kaliningrad to the exclaves of North Africa. Schengen, its passport-free travel area, has been punctured by smugglers bringing drugs, counterfeit goods and illicit cash into Europe, alongside flows of irregular migrants, sometimes infiltrated by terrorists. The EU has always cultivated ambiguity about its outer border, about where its territory ends and the outside world begins. As the introductory section to this *Chaillot Paper* will show, these unclear boundaries are now blamed for allowing chaos and disorder to seep in from Russia, the Middle East and Africa.

This paper is thus about the ways the EU can operationalise its security capabilities and tackle the blurring of internal and external security. There are four conceivable operational formats which should allow the EU to link its two security arms – its home affairs agencies and its international security missions – in order to manage its borders and curb illicit flows. Each of these joint deployments starts from a simple organising principle that may be summarised as follows: a geographic division of labour; sequential handover; 'modular integration'; and full integration (Chapter 1). The question is, how can these four joint formats be made effective?

There is a risk of handcuffing the EU'S security arms to each other. So far, agencies like Frontex on the one side and operations like EUNAVFOR Med on the other have been making a decent job of juggling tasks between them. The last thing the EU needs is a suite of joint formats which look good on paper but are ineffective or seldom used. Discussions in Brussels aimed at making new formats more realistic focus on three obvious factors: the current extent of the EU's operational capabilities (Chapter 2); the EU's appetite to make use of them (Chapter 3);

and demand for the EU in the world beyond its borders (Chapter 4).

A CASE-STUDY OF BUREAUCRATIC POWER

These discussions cover ground which would be familiar to national planners. A national strategic review would likewise match capability development to domestic political interests and to the international security situation. But the EU is no state, and a big bureaucracy like Brussels struggles to line up discussions in a strategic way. Talks take place in different committees, making it difficult to sequence them according to a classic means-ends assessment. Moreover, EU planners have to adapt to the constraints and advantages of Europe's bureaucratic mode of power: the nature of the EU's capabilities, its political interests and its understanding of international problems is unique.

This takes us to the heart of the current political debate in Europe. The 2015 migration crisis fuelled expectations that Brussels should be able to act in a more classic, purposive way when it comes to security. When European leaders met at Sibiu for the summit that took place there on 9 May 2019, it was to discuss the idea of establishing a 'protective Europe', with classic border control and military capabilities. This might see the EU harden its outer border and project military power abroad. But leaders also released a political declaration acknowledging the need for joint solutions and responsible global leadership – a reflection of the EU's particular attributes as a bureaucratic body.

The EU provides security through what it calls 'normative power'. That is essentially a fancy way of describing how a big multinational bureaucracy seeks comfort in such common standards and harmony in harmonisation. Its *modus operandi* might be summarised as follows: prise open states through market integration; press them to seek common norms; ensure that these are sustainable. But this approach has left European societies feeling more exposed than they would like, and it has hampered the EU's sense of purpose in the world. The concluding section asks: can the EU move in a more operational direction without abandoning the attributes which have made it so successful?

INTRODUCTION: A SHORT HISTORY OF EU SECURITY POLICY

This introductory chapter...

...describes the dilemma facing the EU in the wake of the migration crisis. The EU is under pressure to act in a more strategic manner, developing operational security capabilities and deploying them purposively. But its usual *modus operandi* is to avoid operational action. The EU is a norm-setting body which provides security by breaking down physical borders and by breaking up international problems into bite-sized technocratic issues. This chapter gives the history of the EU's internal and external security policies, and the (limited) operational capabilities they have sprouted. It explains why relations between its operational arms have been characterised more by competition than by coordination. And it argues that internal inconsistencies and external pressures have now pushed this approach to its limits, requiring a strategic overhaul.

The EU would not withstand another upheaval like the migration crisis that engulfed it in 2015. Hundreds of thousands of irregular migrants landed on the shores of Italy and Greece, seeking to make their way across Europe; the Mediterranean became a highway for smuggling weapons, drugs and stolen antiquities, as well as people; and Europeans who had travelled to fight in Syria returned and committed mass murder on the streets of Paris. Four years on, the EU's 'lawmen', its law-enforcement agencies and its rule-of-law experts, may be said to be in the 'last chance saloon'.[1] They helped carve out and cultivate the Schengen Area, the EU's four million km² passport-free travel area. Now they must protect it.

ONCE UPON A TIME IN THE WEST: THE GENESIS OF SCHENGEN

A crisis like the one in 2015, say commentators, should serve to reacquaint the EU with the reality of global politics.[2] It is a reminder that we live in a Wild West world: crime, migration

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[1]　At the outset of the migration crisis, the President of the Commission used this terminology. Peter Foster and Matthew Holehouse, "State of the Union: Europe in the Last Chance Saloon, Warns EU President Jean-Claude Juncker," *Telegraph* (online), September 8, 2015, https://tinyurl.com/yxzovqpl; "Last Chance Saloon?" in *What Comes after the Last Chance Commission?,* ed. Steven Blockmans, CEPS Paperback, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels, 2019, pp. 1-6.

[2]　Simon Duke, "The EU Strategic Unconsciousness and Normative Arrogance," in *Europe as a Stronger Global Actor: Challenges and Strategic Responses* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 15-38.

and terrorism reveal the dark side of globalisation.[3] That is the verdict of many commentators, and they find the EU's response puzzling. Smuggling rings, terrorist networks and migration flows connect the European Union directly to conflict spots abroad. The EU itself recognises the problem as an 'internal-external security nexus'. To address it, the EU has created a posse of ten home affairs agencies plus the capability to deploy security operations outside its borders. Europe evidently needs to sever the illicit flows of migrants and criminals by hardening its outer border and projecting military power abroad.[4] Yet for years the EU has stubbornly refused to deploy its capabilities in this muscular way.

Back in 2003, the EU refused to follow the US into its 'war' against criminals , terrorists and 'failed states', preferring instead to tread its own course. In his book *Of Paradise and Power*, Robert Kagan delivered a damning verdict.[5] He painted a picture of Europeans carving out for themselves a 'post-historical paradise of peace and relative prosperity'; and he predicted that they would soon be reacquainted with the realities of power politics. It seems his prophecy has now come true. The EU has pushed its borders deep into Eastern Europe where, commentators argue, corrupt and authoritarian neighbours show it little respect; and the Union has enlarged almost to the shores of Africa, where Sahelian warlords resist its attempts to 'civilianise' them. If Europeans cannot address problems there, in their near abroad, they will really struggle with places like Afghanistan or Iraq.

And yet, if the EU did now defend its patch by classic means, it would undermine the method upon which it was based. This is the nub of the EU's dilemma. It is not just that the EU lacks

the capabilities to engage in classic Kaganite power politics. It is also that the EU embodies an alternative approach to security, one which is cooperative, technocratic and encourages interdependence between states. Europeans have learned the bitter historical lesson that power politics provide neither security nor stability. But in seeking an alternative, the EU has made itself vulnerable. Its 'normative power' has blurreds the frontier between inside and outside, and thus between internal and external security.[6] Therein lies the reason why the EU has not tried to sever the 'nexus' of internal and external security: this nexus is in the EU's very nature.

The EU's dictum has always been to 'domesticate geopolitics'. Since the 1950s, the Union has tried to draw international problems, which might otherwise be settled by war, into the ambit of domestic-style regulation.[7] The EU integrates its members' economies, softens their borders, spreads regulatory standards, and enlarges its territory. Territorial rivalries, population disparities, corrupt government – such problems melt away. Thus the EU's ten security agencies are not classic law-enforcement bodies:[8] the agencies are regulatory bodies which cultivate certain standards and help governments uphold them. And the EU's approach to security does not bear comparison with that of states like the US. At its heart is the Schengen Area, an attempt to get workers and other travellers across borders quicker. Schengen is the embodiment of the cooperative European approach to security.

Back in 1985, five European governments began plotting out the Schengen Area. Leaders knew that, by lifting passport controls, they would make their countries vulnerable to marauding

3   Roberto Roccu and Leila Talani, "Introduction: The Globalisation Debate — From De-Globalisation to the Dark Side of Globalisation," in *The Dark Side of Globalisation,* eds. Leila Talani and Roberto Roccu (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp. 1-17.

4   Luis Simón, "CSDP, Strategy and Crisis Management: Out of Area or Out of Business?", *International Spectator*, vol. 47, no. 3 (2012), pp.100-115.

5   Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003).

6   Alessandro Politi, "European Security: the New Transnational Risks," *Chaillot Paper* no.29, EUISS, Paris, October 1997, p.13.

7   François Duchêne, "The European Community and the Uncertainties of Interdependence," in *A Nation Writ Large? Foreign-Policy Problems before the European Community*, ed. Max Kohnstamm and Wolfgang Hager (London: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 19-20.

8   "Is Europol a European FBI?" Europol, https://tinyurl.com/y4sen39x

football hooligans or Red Brigades, but they pursued the scheme anyway, in the belief that exposing themselves to each other's vulnerabilities constituted a cooperative approach to security.[9] They could not foresee how vulnerable they were making themselves.

Schengen was eventually launched in 1995 when borders everywhere were thawing and globalisation was rampant. It now comprised seven states, and was poised to enlarge to a dozen more. Leaders who had initially envisioned a decentralised arrangement, with each member guarding its own entrance, now began work on a far more wide-ranging European home affairs regime. This became the 'Area of Freedom, Security and Justice' (AFSJ). Despite the dangers, Schengen thrived – and it helped the EU address problems like those in Iraq and Afghanistan. The EU quickly perceived that its experiment with border cooperation provided it with the expertise – and the legitimacy - to help other countries handle the pressures of globalisation. In 2003, it dispatched the first of its missions to stabilise conflicts and aid reform.[10] The Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) was the vehicle for this external security policy, and it comprises a permanent staff in Brussels which support civilian and military missions abroad.[11] These missions extend the EU's norm-setting power to troublespots outside its borders. Since 2003, there have been a total of 35 missions. Iraq has hosted a rule-of-law mission, and Afghanistan a mission to build a civilian police force. The question for the EU is how to revamp its model of 'normative' (or bureaucratic) power.

Cultivating Eden: the bureaucratic politics behind EU security coordination

If Europeans planners really have been trying to cultivate a leafy security 'paradise', as Kagan sniped, they probably pictured it like this: the AFSJ is an oak, its branches providing a protective canopy over the EU and its close neighbours; the rest of the world is covered by the CSDP, a tall pine that sends its seeds spinning off into poorly-tended spots hoping for germination. The trouble is that pests have burrowed into the EU from these poorly tended spots, in the form of terrorists and smugglers. The EU's gamekeepers – its security planners – talk about pooling their expertise and creating common new defences. But in reality they have preferred the poacher's option – they purloin each other's resources. CSDP planners pilfer from the deep bed of human resources in the AFSJ; and AFSJ agencies cherry-pick surveillance technologies and advanced warning information from CSDP.

This reveals one major downside of the EU's style of bureaucratic politics.[12] And its trademark magpie tendency is found even in strategic plans. Back in 2003, the EU adopted a *European Security Strategy* (ESS), an upbeat guide to the international landscape. The ESS argued that Europe had never had it so good, but expressed concern about weak states like Afghanistan. CSDP planners wanted to borrow AFSJ expertise to strengthen governance in fragile states. When interior ministers produced their *Internal Security Strategy* (ISS), they looked at the very same challenges as the ESS, fearing that spots like Afghanistan would pollute the AFSJ with flows of criminals and terrorists. But they came

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9   Robert Cooper, *The Post-Modern State and the World Order* (London: Demos, 1996), p.21.

10 Properly speaking, CSDP deployments can be separated into 'missions' and 'operations'. For the sake of brevity, this paper uses 'missions' as a catch-all term for both. In 2003, a dozen states clubbed together to deploy the first mission of 1,800 military personnel to the DRC, and then thirteen states dispatched 400 military staff to North Macedonia.

11 Back in 2000, European leaders formulated their goal to stabilise certain kinds of international crises and aid reforms using new CSDP capabilities. European Council, "Conclusions of the Presidency," Annex I, Santa Maria da Feira, June 19-20, 2000, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/fei2_en.htm

12 Graham Allison and Morton Halperin, "Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications," *World Politics*, vol. 24, supplement (1972), pp. 40–79.

up with a different solution: AFSJ agencies would borrow CSDP assets as a means to protect the EU and pressure third countries to erect border controls and readmit illegal migrants.

Hawkish interior ministers have always criticised the CSDP for sapping vital police and judges from the AFSJ for the sake of abstract international projects. Dovish foreign ministers believe that AFSJ agencies are too defensive in their approach to transnational security, too Euro-centric. As a result, both sides feel emboldened to pilfer from the other, decorating their particular tree.[13] Every five years, just before Christmas, interior ministers produce a wish-list of ways to embellish the AFSJ. They list the diplomatic CSDP resources needed to make the AFSJ grow stronger.[14] Foreign ministers have done much the same thing in their regular CSDP reviews. A decade ago, they decided to expand the range of areas covered by CSDP, taking on topics like international terrorism and border management that had traditionally been the preserve of AFSJ agencies.

This has not prevented some fruitful cross-fertilisation between the AFSJ and CSDP. CSDP planners in the European External Action Service (EEAS) have put out feelers to the ten AFSJ agencies, and the two sides now cooperate on training, information-sharing and situational awareness.[15] AFSJ agencies have thus learnt to tell the difference between a common or garden CSDP 'mission' and an 'operation' (the latter has executive powers), a 'EUFOR' military force and a capacity-building 'EUCAP' mission, a 'EUBAM' border management mission and a 'EULEX' rule-of-law mission. CSDP planners have learnt to distinguish between the different AFSJ agencies: Frontex for borders; Europol for police cooperation; Eurojust for judicial cooperation in criminal matters; Cepol, the police training college; EASO, the asylum support office; and EMCDDA, the drugs monitoring agency.[16]

In consequence, AFSJ agencies and CSDP missions are now capable of working together - but only if they both happen to be in the right place at the right time. A CSDP mission tackling piracy off the coast of Somalia will remember to give Europol or Eurojust a heads-up on regional security trends, and Frontex will make use of CSDP satellite imagery when it needs to boost its situational awareness in the Mediterranean. But there is still no higher power in the EU capable of deploying the two formats – AFSJ operations and CSDP missions – in unison, let alone coordinating them across time and space. And agencies and missions still find it hard to cooperate after deployment. Frontex liaison officers are now active worldwide and they may well have good ideas about how to work with a local CSDP mission, but they will struggle to realise them.

Take the Western Balkans, where the EU has a Frontex liaison officer and a military CSDP deployment (Operation Althea in Bosnia and Herzegovina - BiH). There are obvious ways for them to work together. The EU has been experiencing migration pressures at its south-eastern border, and EU member states are worried about the inflow of migrants and returning foreign fighters. They suspect that Sarajevo is not doing enough to tackle the problem. Frontex's aerial assets fly only within EU airspace, meaning they can only peep across the border into BiH, but the CSDP mission flies aerial assets in the airspace of BiH. BiH has apparently signalled that it would not mind these airplanes occasionally taking photographs across its territory if that helps clear up suspicions in the EU that it is allowing people smugglers free rein. Yet Frontex does not seem to have made use of these aerial assets.

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13 This has been called the Christmas tree style of policymaking: Anna Horgby and Mark Rhinard, "The EU's Internal Security Strategy: A Historical Perspective," *Security Journal*, vol. 28, no.3 (2015), pp. 309–21.

14 Council of the European Union "The Stockholm Programme – An Open and Secure Europe Serving and Protecting the Citizens," 16484/1/09, Stockholm, 2009, p.75.

15 For a catalogue of measures, see: Michel Savary, "Box 2: Strengthening the Ties between CSDP and FSJ," in "Recasting EU Civilian Crisis Management," ed. Thierry Tardy, *EUISS Report* no. 31, EUISS, Paris, January 2017, pp. 58-60.

16 There is also EIGE, the office for gender equality; eu-LISA, the large IT systems agency which manages the AFSJ's databases; FRA, which produces reports on fundamental rights issues; and ENISA, the agency for network and information security.

From Eden to Wild West: the danger of muddling through

Since 2015, many Europeans have become impatient with the EU's 'cultivation of paradise', with its experimental approach to their security and its slow developmental approach to international affairs. They would like to see it behave in a more muscular way. And yet, just as many people trace the flows of migrants from the Middle East and North Africa, and the rise in violent extremism and crime, precisely to aggressive US policies. They believe EU-style cooperation is just what is needed. Stanley McChrystal, for instance, recently published lessons from his time leading the International Forces in Afghanistan. His *Team of Teams* called for a kind of international leadership involving the gentle cultivation of reform. His advice was to behave like a gardener.[17] In short, there is both demand for the EU's traditional approach to security, and a need to overhaul it.

While the EU makes up its mind about how best to reform the AFSJ and the CSDP, its legal creations have blurred into a single wilderness. The demarcation between the activities of the AFSJ agencies and CSDP planners has become become increasingly tenuous. Agencies and missions have begun to encroach on each other's turf, meaning there is now overlap between their actions, resources and mandates. Frontex and Cepol have pushed right out into crisis hotspots like the Sahel. And CSDP missions have begun moving back towards the EU in a more or less defensive formation. In 2015, the EU deployed a naval CSDP mission, EUNAVFOR Med, to the Central Mediterranean to protect Schengen's southern border, and it stretched its CSDP missions in the Sahel right up to Niger's northern border with Libya.

Frontex in particular now has the authority to deploy operations abroad, and in executive roles. For the past two years it has been permitted to deploy operations to countries which share a land border with the EU.[18] But even that restriction is being loosened, meaning that Frontex could now go global. This is a source of worry. Frontex's expertise is rather Eurocentric when compared to CSDP missions, which tailor their work specifically to host states' needs. If Frontex deploys an operation to Mali or the coast of West Africa, what good is its expertise, apart perhaps from turning those countries into extended Schengen border defences? Is Frontex perhaps the basis for an EU expeditionary force, with its large standing force of armed guards?[19]

The EU's recent forays into military research and development also cause concern. Member state defence ministries are clubbing together under the CSDP framework of Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) to deal with port surveillance, disaster relief and training for humanitarian assistance—military projects with possible application to the AFSJ. And the EU has invested in military industrial projects of relevance to policing and border control. The first of these, inaugurated in 2017, were SPIDER, a system to provide situational awareness in urban settings; TRAWA, to help drones maintain a birds-eye view of the earth without colliding into each other; and euroSWARM, a platform allowing heterogeneous drones to 'swarm' in unison. It does not take a great leap of the imagination to see invasive new species of capabilities finding their way into the AFSJ.

> **The demarcation between the activities of the AFSJ agencies and CSDP planners has become increasingly tenuous.**

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17   Stanley McChrystal et al., *Team of Teams: New Rules of Engagement for a Complex World* (London: Penguin, 2015).

18   Under Article 14(2c) of its 2016 Regulation Frontex can establish 'joint operations with neighbouring third countries', and Article 54(4) permits these operations to perform executive tasks if the EU has a dedicated status agreement with that country. Almost every country in the world shares an air border with one of the Schengen member states, thus the decision to restrict the Regulation, and the interpretation of 'neighbouring countries' to those which share a land border with the EU, was a political one. The restriction is being lifted in the current round of reforms to Frontex.

19   Daniel Woker, "Not (Yet) a European Army," *The Inquirer*, October 10, 2018, https: //tinyurl.com/y2zme3v7https.

The EU risks accidentally returning to retrograde forms of power. In past centuries, European states mixed military components into their law-enforcement systems almost by accident. They imported semi-military police practices from the countryside to the city and from their colonies to the metropole.[20] Military CSDP missions such as Althea have long been involved in a policing role abroad. But now missions like EUNAVFOR Med are moving right up to the border of the EU, and CSDP could be a conduit for a remilitarisation of European home affairs. Citizens fret about whether EUROGENDFOR, the armed policing units at the disposal of CSDP, could potentially be used to quash civil unrest within the EU.[21] They also fear Europol's access to military intelligence in the wake of the Snowden scandal; and they worry about Frontex's emergence as a large 'paramilitary' European border force.[22]

But it is outside the EU, in spots like the Western Balkans, where the consequences of the fluid CSDP-AFSJ relationship fall most heavily. CSDP deployments have been active in the Balkan region for a decade, in the form of EUFOR Althea and EULEX Kosovo which deal with the after-effects of the Yugoslav wars and help support the rule of law. The AFSJ agencies maintain their own presence in the Western Balkans, where they help governments meet the technical requirements for joining the EU. The two roles are not always congruent. When the EU negotiated status agreements for Frontex, it added requirements about everything from the immunity of Frontex staff to an obligation for Balkan states to accept the return of their citizens expelled from the EU. Such obligations are quite sensible if Western Balkan states are treated as future member states; but they have raised fears about the rule of law and the use of fragile post-conflict states as a buffer zone by the EU.

Resisting the law of the jungle: why strategic reflection is necessary

The case for creating a new strategy to regulate relations between AFSJ and CSDP operations seems persuasive. But since 2015, the EU has written numerous security strategies,[23] and some governments are now suffering from 'strategic review fatigue'. They ask: why not just let AFSJ agencies and CSDP missions muddle through? Sure, the optics of creating new AFSJ-CSDP formats might be good; but would these formats actually improve European security? The EU's current, more *ad hoc* approach to its two operational arms does have some merits: it allows the EU to mix and match security capabilities when the unexpected happens. AFSJ agencies and CSDP missions have proven able, between them, to cover a considerable geographic and thematic range. The EU already has a reputation for introducing paper tigers into the wild – and that pertains particularly to the realm of security.[24] Why, now, risk preparing joint formats for a set of crisis scenarios which may never actually come about?

'Survival of the fittest' is indeed the doctrine preferred by many officials interviewed for this *Chaillot Paper* when it comes to the relationship between AFSJ agencies and CSDP missions. They say it would be more efficient for agencies

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20 Derek Lutterbeck, *The Paradox of Gendarmeries: Between Expansion, Demilitarization and Dissolution* (Geneva: Ubiquity Press, 2013).

21 During the financial crisis, there were rumours in Greece that the EU had deployed EUROGENDFOR to quell civil unrest. This led to questions in the European Parliament. "EUROGENDFOR V," Written Question for the Commission, European Parliament, March 6, 2013, https://tinyurl.com/y3teolv7.

22 "A New EU Border Agency, or an EU Army?" *Full Fact*, December 16, 2015, https://tinyurl.com/yydoyxse.

23 The AFSJ-CSDP debate is currently the subject of multiple overlapping strategies. EU leaders have recently adopted a strategy on civilian CSDP missions ('the Compact'). It formally gives CSDP missions a role in border management. It defines a particular approach. The Commission's Directorate General HOME published its own borders strategy. This defines its own methods for CSDP border missions. And Frontex, the EU's borders agency, produced an 80-page capability-development strategy containing a far more detailed list of goals than had either DG HOME or the foreign ministers, and which would also have implications for how CSDP missions operate. But CSDP missions have in fact been performing border tasks since 2005 according to their own methodology, so none of this is likely to affect their work. Sure enough, CSDP planners are currently producing their own plans.

24 Oldrich Bures, *EU Counterterrorism Policy: A Paper Tiger?* (London: Routledge, 2011).

and missions to just fight it out between themselves, with those best suited taking on tasks. Thus the EU should actively encourage AFSJ agencies and CSDP planners to cherry-pick from each other. Agencies would freely take expertise from CSDP about command and control, duty of care, diplomatic immunity and asset generation. Eurojust would gain access to CSDP battlefield information; and Europol would be able to access new kinds of military intelligence. By the same token, CSDP missions would raid the AFSJ's store of information about migration trends, cross-border crime, and institutional memory. Naval operations would gain systematic access to Frontex's maritime surveillance. And whichever side came out on top would be given new tasks.

The trouble is that even paper tigers can draw blood; and in a straight-up competition between the two sides, AFSJ agencies might mortally wound CSDP. AFSJ agencies and civilian CSDP missions can perform similar tasks, but AFSJ agencies are usually better stocked than CSDP missions. This is because the agencies are more integrated into the EU structures and common budget. The European Parliament and Commission are, moreover, supportive of their takeover of the EU's international activities. But this could turn into the survival of the fattest. Critics say the Parliament and Commission scent an opportunity to extend their own influence over a traditionally intergovernmental sphere rather than achieve a boost in the EU's effectiveness. And the demise of civilian CSDP missions would entail the loss of a valuable crisis methodology which thrives precisely because of its links to member states.

The uninhibited growth of the agencies could prove damaging for other reasons. Europol has already swelled to 1,200 staff, and Frontex,

with 680 staff and growing fast, is set to overtake it by 2020. Indeed, by 2027 Frontex is due to take ownership of a European border force of 10,000 – equivalent to 10% of all Europe's national border guards. The creation of big central security agencies looks efficient. After all, the financial crisis strengthened the case for member states to pool and share assets at European level. But the financial crisis also made personnel harder to come by. Almost all member states are facing recruitment problems for their police services and border guards. And Frontex does not (yet) have the capacity to train and create border police.[25] CSDP missions rely on staff seconded from national services. And the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice itself requires a strong foundation at member state level.

The EU already has a reputation for introducing paper tigers into the wild – and that pertains particularly to the realm of security.

As we shall see throughout the paper, the sense of competition between agencies and missions risks pushing planners on both sides to cut corners in the name of short-term efficiency gains. Take the use of soldiers in law-enforcement and border-protection tasks. The EU has spent decades promoting a civilian approach to these tasks, but the European Commission now seems to be lining up for a U-turn. Perhaps it reasons that, if soldiers are permitted to moonlight as border guards, then member states will be more inclined to loan their trained border personnel to Frontex. Some governments, in the name of efficiency, also want the military deployed in border control functions: their soldiers are otherwise standing idle. There are good arguments to get the military involved in border control of course, but this cannot be allowed to happen by accident.

The EU works best when it defines the future rather than trying to second-guess it – when it starts using its weight to define realities beyond its borders rather than waiting to see what hits

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25 Frontex does have a network of European national academies which support it. But these do not produce border guards, they merely ensure that existing border guards adhere to a common European curriculum. As for CSDP missions, they remain acutely dependent on seconded national contingents. Few member states have created dedicated training facilities like the Zentrum fuer Internationale Friedseinsaetze in Berlin which trains a broad range of people for international missions. This means that civilian CSDP missions are largely staffed by national police, border guards and judges who are usually needed at home.

it.[26] Schengen's borders are simply too long, and its law-enforcement services too stretched, to sustain a state of high alert as Europe waits for the next crisis. Trying to adapt to the future is a strenuous business of course, and it brings its own risks: the EU may create formats for eventualities which never arise. But if the EU ducks the task, it will allow events to define it. EU civilian missions will wither from under-investment, reducing CSDP to a rump military contribution; overseas security deployments will be expected to justify themselves by reference to the EU's internal security interests; and the EU will be tempted to drum up domestic support for security deployments by pointing to common 'enemies' – migrants, criminals and unfriendly neighbours. That is not power, and it is not paradise.

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26 For instance, during the 2015 migrant crisis the EU stopped trying to guess from whence the next flow of criminals or migrants might come from, and started instead pushing for reforms in source countries like Turkey or Serbia or Morocco. This marked the beginning of the end of the crisis.

CHAPTER 1

THE PROPOSALS

Four formats for joint EU security deployments

The previous chapter...

...explained how international exigencies and internal inconsistencies are pushing the EU to make more strategic use of its operational security arms. This chapter sketches out four families of ideas currently under discussion to this end, and further develops them. Each of these four formats still exists largely in abstract form, and needs further refinement. This will be the subject of the subsequent chapters, first to see whether the formats reflect the EU's capabilities, then political will, then real-world security problems. But, in a complex debate, they are perhaps the most straightforward starting point, and are indeed the starting point for strategic discussion in Brussels.

Over the past four years planners have been working hard on new formats for AFSJ-CSDP cooperation. They have produced 'pilot projects' and 'mini-concepts', taking different conceptual starting points.[1] The variety is huge. But, taken together, planners offer the same menu of choices. Discussions tend to cohere around four basic organisational principles for jointly deploying CSDP missions and AFSJ agencies, each notable for its relative simplicity.[2]

An international crisis which spills into the Schengen Area will likely affect a whole string of third countries. This first AFSJ-CSDP format would be ready to cover them all – the countries along a refugee route from Nigeria or the countries crossed by a flow of weapons and plundered antiquities from Syria. AFSJ agencies and CSDP missions would divide up their work according to geography: a CSDP mission would deploy as close as possible to the source of the problem abroad; AFSJ agencies would address vulnerabilities inside the EU; and, in the transit countries in between, the EU's two security arms would work together on capacity-building, situational awareness and evidence collection. AFSJ and CSDP would thus address the transit flow from two different ends, and meet in the middle.

This kind of geographical gradation seems logical. The AFSJ agencies are for home affairs; CSDP missions are for international crises; and, in transit states, the two would combine their efforts and blur the boundaries between them.

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1   Some start with a particular region of the world and how the agencies and missions might interact; others start with the needs of individual AFSJ agencies and how the CSDP missions might help; others, with the demands of a particular type of security problem (for example border tensions or violent extremism). Some of the modes of cooperation would be quite limited; but they would pave the way to a more ambitious approach over the medium term.

2   This typology is based on discussions with planners in the agencies, European Commission and European External Action Service. It inevitably represents a simplification of a diverse field of activity, but hopefully not a distortion of the ideas being proposed.

FORMULA 1. DEPLOYMENTS WHICH ARE GEOGRAPHICALLY DEMARCATED

geographic
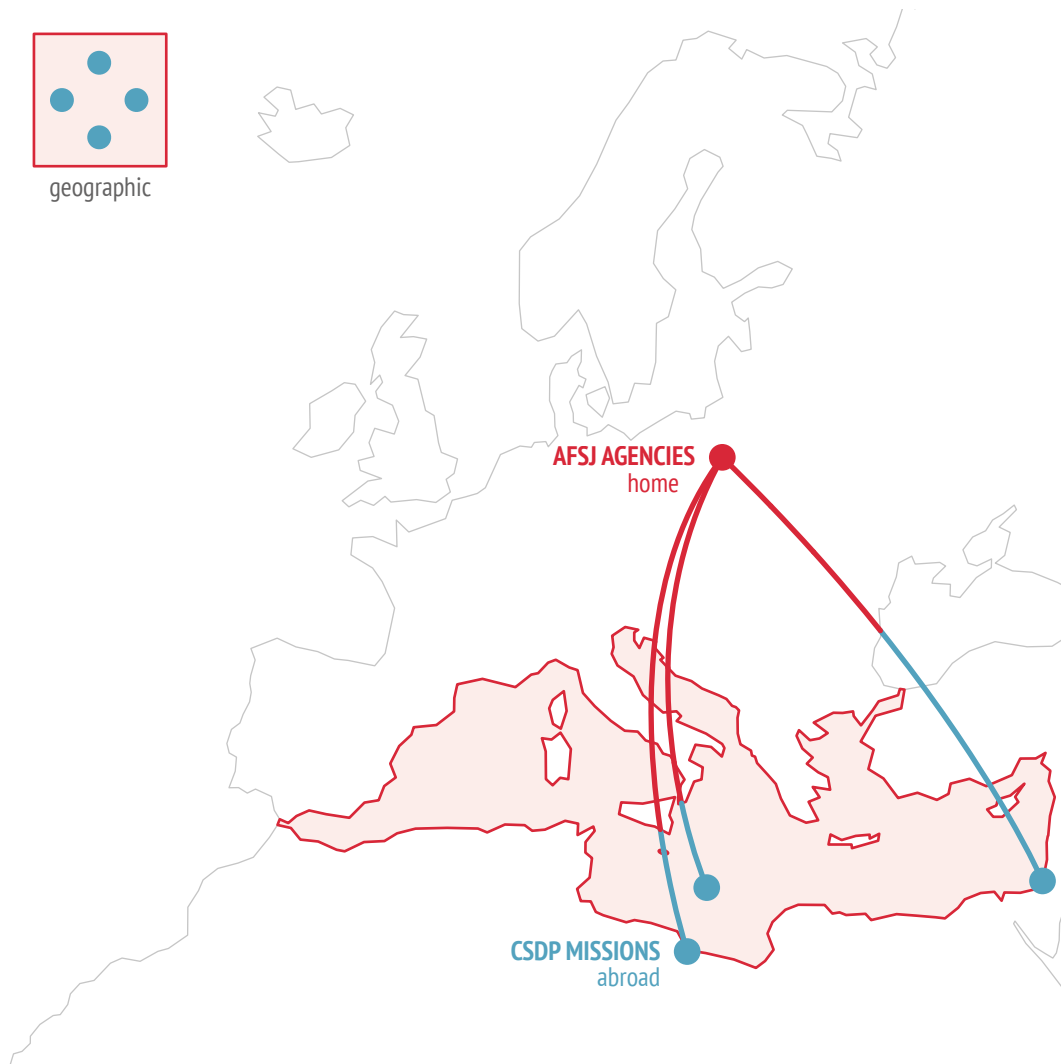
In a nutshell

› When the EU is hit by disorderly flows (of refugees, weapons, drugs) CSDP planners focus, as usual, on the source of the crisis abroad, deploying a civilian or military mission to the third country which is producing migrants and criminals.

› AFSJ agencies focus, as usual, on the causes of the crisis inside the EU – building up border standards, helping member states prosecute criminals, supporting policies to absorb refugees.

› The novelty lies in AFSJ agencies and CSDP staff finding new ways to cooperate along the transit routes in-between. This first format is thus based on a geographic division of labour between the EU's two operational arms.

Yet CSDP planners have in fact been encouraged to focus on getting to the roots of the problem in conflict-hit countries.[3] And AFSJ agencies have been given new powers to assess regulatory weakness in the member states and thus to address a major 'pull factor' for migrants and criminals. Leaders wish for them to eliminate problems at source before they ever give rise to transit flows. This reflects a concern in some member states that, if the two arms focus instead on transit zones (like North Macedonia or Tunisia) then AFSJ agencies would let member states off the hook and CSDP missions would find themselves consigned to a mere buffer role.[4]

Planners promote this format with the counter-argument that transit flows deserve treatment in their own right. Crises would seldom come to a head without cross-border networks. The world is threaded through by transnational criminal groups, by people smugglers hooking up to diaspora networks abroad, terrorist groups controlling border crossings, and corrupt authorities who facilitate the smuggling of people and goods. We ignore cross-border connections because we still map violence and crisis nationally. Terrorist attacks tend to be clustered in borderlands, carried out on each side of the borderline, but we record them on a national basis. And, sure enough, the EU only engages when these trans-boundary problems become national problems – when a Balkan state is tipped into war by Albanian criminal networks, or a West African state is taken over by Latin American narco-traffickers.

The focus of EU efforts should thus be on building relations with transit countries *qua* transit countries. AFSJ agencies do engage with nearby transit countries like Serbia or North Macedonia of course; but their relations are based on the fact that these countries are due to join the Schengen Area, and not the fact that they are transit states. CSDP missions also deal with transit countries but, again, it is because

these countries have national crises of their own, not because they are transit countries as such. No state wishes to be re-classified as a 'transit country': they are squeezed between problem zones, and take the burden for other countries' problems. States like Niger or Sudan extract a high price for cooperating with the EU on transit flows – and raise the price further for sharing sensitive information about their own shortfalls or about the collusion of their nationals.

If this first format is attractive to planners, therefore, it is because it would be part of the EU's new policy offering to transit countries. Already Frontex is deploying liaison officers in the Western Balkans and Turkey to deal with transit flows, and Europol is redefining the scope of its cross-border joint operations to include larger groups of non-EU states. CSDP planners are deepening their work with international organisations which include transit states, including the African Union (AU), OSCE and NATO; and they are revitalising the participation of interested third countries in CSDP deployments (a score of countries have already signed a relevant framework agreement with the EU, including Serbia, Moldova and Ukraine, which allows them to contribute personnel to missions). Both sides are regionalising their work, allowing them to work on both national and transboundary crises.

3 High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, "Implementation Plan on Security and Defence," 1439/16, November 14, 2016, p.10.

4 EUBAM Libya was forced to evacuate to Tunisia just one year into its mission and for a time was unable to properly exert any impact on the causes of chaos.

FORMULA 2: DEPLOYMENTS WHICH ARE SEQUENTIAL

sequential

CSDP MISSION
crisis

HANDOVER

AFSJ AGENCIES
long-term
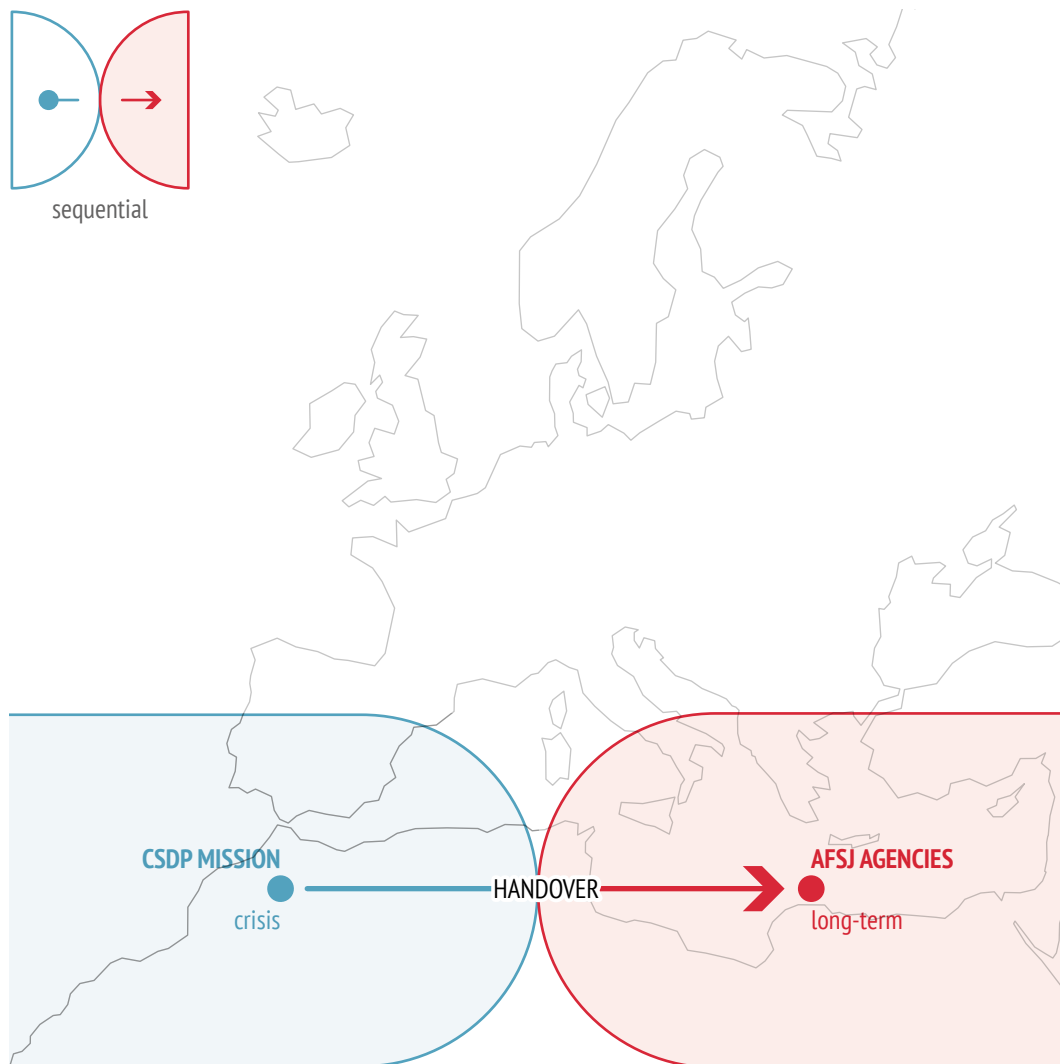
In a nutshell

› In the case of a crisis confined to a specific region, and which has not yet produced cross-border flows, a CSDP mission deploys quickly and with sufficient mass to the hotspot, and stabilises it. AFSJ agencies use their existing regional presence to ensure the crisis does not leak out across borders.

› Once this (most likely military) CSDP mission has completed its stabilisation work, AFSJ agencies would take over the long-term EU-led governance reforms in the host country, building up the security and justice sectors, and acting as implementers of EU development funding.

› During the handover period, the CSDP mission coordinates closely with AFSJ agencies, for example by aligning its work with the curricula that Frontex or Cepol will use when training law-enforcement personnel there.

Not all international crises spill out across national borders; some burn bright but remain quite 'discreet'. The war in Yemen, for example, has not really touched the EU; there has been no wave of weapons or refugees flooding into Europe, despite the massive flow of arms into Yemen and the internal displacement of two million people.[5] These days, conflict-parties purposefully contain crises, so that other countries do not interfere. The EU's CSDP missions and AFSJ agencies could nevertheless play a positive role in such situations, perhaps by bolstering the country's borders against the flow of weapons and illicit finance. This second AFSJ-CSDP format would thus be tailored for deployment to a single stricken country. It would be structured around a sequential division of labour: CSDP missions would act as the 'first responders', helping stabilise the crisis, before handing over to AFSJ agencies.

Again, this format seems logical, but nevertheless gives rise to certain doctrinal concerns. Would a 'discreet' crisis like the one in Yemen actually fall within the spectrum of the EU's 'internal-external security nexus'? No doubt Frontex, Europol and Cepol could make themselves useful there; but that is not a necessary condition for deployment. And that threshold matters. The 'internal-external nexus' is a pretty elastic concept, but it does at least impose some discipline on the EU, creating a yardstick for deploying its resources. If the security of the Schengen Area is not directly affected by the crisis, the EU really has no grounds to dispatch its AFSJ agencies there; but, when breached, this yardstick would oblige the EU to send AFSJ assets to difficult and distant crises rather than clustering them defensively inside the EU.

One can think of several theoretical reasons why that threshold could still be considered breached in a case like Yemen where the crisis has not leaked out to touch Schengen. One reason might be that the EU would be acting pre-emptively. It is quite obvious that problems

in certain crisis-hit countries will spill into Schengen in future if left to fester. So this might justify dispatching the AFSJ agencies. Another could be that the EU's internal security is in fact already being affected but in scarcely visible ways: a foreign crisis will not always divert irregular migrants, drugs or stolen antiquities directly into Schengen; it might involve terrorist fighters moving *from* Schengen to Yemen, and then – say - on to Chechnya, before eventually returning home. The early involvement of Eurojust would nevertheless make sense in helping to establish chains of evidence as well as standards for their admissibility.

Happily, a third, more concrete interpretation of this threshold does exist: the sequential format would be used if a crisis occurs in a part of the world where the AFSJ agencies already have a strong presence. The pre-existing presence of the agencies would be a sign that the EU has internal security stakes there, and that a joint AFSJ-CSDP deployment would make sense. This threshold also has the merit of reflecting current organisational realities. The agencies already have wide global coverage. Eurojust, for instance, has contact points with 42 third countries and houses liaison prosecutors from six. In fact, the EU needs to hold back its AFSJ agencies and give space to its CSDP missions. This would be the real value of the sequential deployment: stopping the agencies from acting when an initial CSDP deployment would be better suited to the situation.

The EU has shown an unfortunate tendency to deploy its AFSJ assets reactively, and to use its CSDP missions for lengthy deployments. This sequence is the exact opposite of what they were designed for. CSDP missions are built for acute and unexpected crises,[6] and AFSJ agencies are built for long-term engagement, for building up sustainable law-enforcement processes. But, for that reason, AFSJ agencies are generally well-stocked with personnel and maintain a permanent international presence. And that

5   Samuel Perlo-Freeman, "Who is Arming the Yemen War? (And Is Anyone Planning to Stop?)," *World Peace Foundation*, February 28, 2018, https://tinyurl.com/y276hl66

6   A large CSDP mission like EULEX Kosovo might generate shared annual costs of more than €100 million; for a military mission like EUNAVFOR Med, the figure might amount to more than €10 million.

means the EU often reaches for the agencies in a crisis, even if they are not built for conflict zones. By contrast, CSDP missions are deployed following an *ad hoc* process of resource generation. As a result, missions often arrive late to the crisis. And they stay longer too, the EU reasoning that if it has done the hard work of resource generation, then it makes sense to keep the mission in place.

In this sequential AFSJ–CSDP format, AFSJ agencies would help ensure that CSDP missions once again become a short-term, high-intensity presence: AFSJ agencies, by taking over tasks from a CSDP mission, would give it a polite excuse to leave. CSDP missions famously struggle with their exit strategies, and can become bogged down. Some CSDP missions are prevented from winding up their work because the host government fears the withdrawal of EU engagement. Other CSDP missions unwittingly create dependency on the part of the host government, meaning that they cannot leave without triggering a relapse.[7] Almost all missions suffer from the expectation in Brussels that a short, 'light footprint' intervention is possible.[8] In reality, almost all interventions require long-term engagement. And AFSJ agencies are best placed to take over this long-term dimension.

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[7] This has probably been the case of EULEX Kosovo, where the CSDP mission has taken on governing functions.

[8] CSDP missions often get stuck because of the fallacy that their interventions can be quick and 'light footprint'. Western governments have fallen for this fallacy because of the fear of getting sucked into the quicksands of Afghanistan or Iraq, but also because the UN raises money for interventions by presenting them as a cheap alternative to long-term engagement. See Benjamin Valentino, "The True Costs of Humanitarian Intervention: the Hard Truth about a Noble Notion," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December Issue, 2011, pp.60–73.

FORMULA 3: DEPLOYMENTS WHICH ARE MODULAR

modular

AFSJ AGENCIES

CSDP MISSION

AFSJ agency
liaison officer
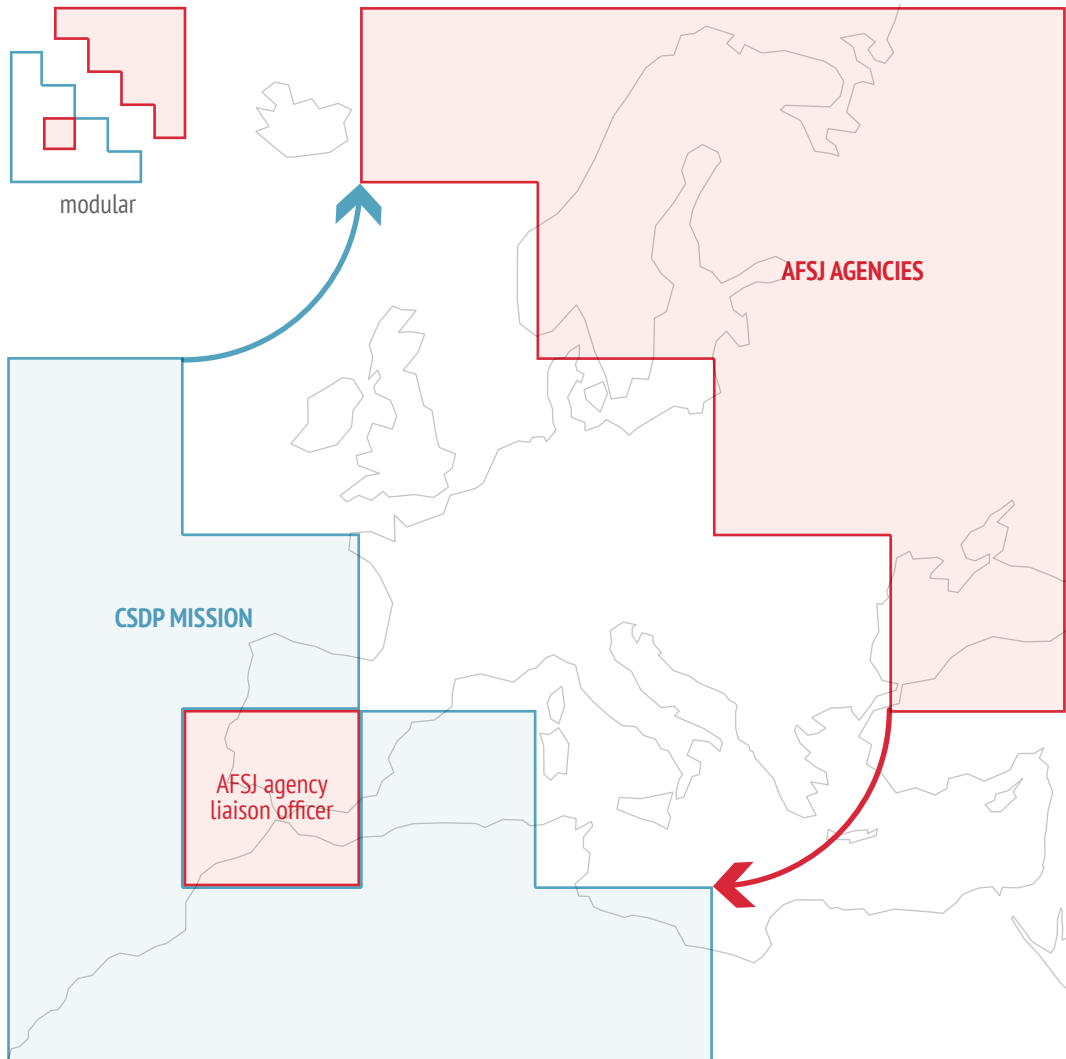
In a nutshell

› Faced with an international crisis which is not developing in a predictable linear way, CSDP planners in Brussels would be able to 'plug in' AFSJ assets to a CSDP mission as it develops its work.

› The AFSJ agencies would themselves gain from their collaboration with the CSDP mission in the form of early awareness of security trends in the crisis zone, study visits and on-the-spot secondments.

› Common training, inter-operability, secure communications channels and common funding would be required to make this 'plug-in' format workable.

This third AFSJ-CSDP template would deal with protracted and volatile international crises, most likely in regions like the Sahel where CSDP missions are already a semi-permanent fixture. Rather than a sequential deployment with a hand-over from CSDP to AFSJ, this would see CSDP planners embellish an existing mission with AFSJ capabilities as and when these were needed. This approach reflects an understanding that the classic conflict cycle, if it ever existed, is no longer the norm. Conflicts do not move neatly from war to peace. And even when they do, unexpected problems flare up. In Colombia, a recent peace agreement signalled the end of conflict, but the immediate outcome was an increase in cocaine smuggling, due to the suspension of crop eradication schemes and the end of development aid for alternative livelihoods.[9] A CSDP mission should be able to react and improvise accordingly.

The sequential format relied on the idea that the ideal CSDP mission takes the form of a short, sharp intervention in a crisis zone. In this third format, however, CSDP missions would be recognised as a more permanent undertaking. In many ways, this would merely formalise the existing state of affairs. In 2008, the EU acknowledged the need to sustain a scattering of small CSDP missions concurrently, alongside at least one large 'substitution mission' which replaces state functions. Today, across the Sahel, the EU runs just such a web of small concurrent missions. They are linked up to each other regionally, and this mutual reliance cements their semi-permanent character. As CSDP missions adapt to shifts on the ground, they will want to plug in to AFSJ expertise on law enforcement or border protection, either by hosting agency personnel *in situ* or linking back to AFSJ headquarters in the EU.

CSDP planners are already fully converted to the idea of making CSDP missions 'modular' and 'scalable'. Foreign ministers recently agreed to stock a European larder with useful civilian CSDP capabilities in order to achieve this.[10] EU governments will orient their own civilian capability-development plans around generic CSDP tasks, and will fill up a 'Strategic Warehouse' with relevant assets. But they have imposed a proviso: each new CSDP mission's mandate must be clearly defined in advance of deployment. Governments do not want CSDP missions to exploit the Warehouse. There can be no 'mission creep' or muddling through. The priority, rather, is speed of deployment: the Warehouse should help new missions deploy within a 30-day period. That means it would fall to AFSJ assets to plug gaps when the inevitable muddling-through and mission creep begin.

As for AFSJ agencies, they also have reason to plug themselves in to CSDP missions. Europol likes to build up impressive repositories of information in The Hague so that foreign partners come to it rather than it having to go to them.[11] That gives it an incentive to send staff to CSDP missions which gather first-hand information. After all, host states restrict the activities of CSDP missions and their right to share personalised information with European law-enforcement bodies; these restrictions could be overcome somewhat if Europol had a physical presence in the mission. Eurojust is likewise keen to improve its access to missions' front-line situational assessments. As for Frontex, it has historically operated a system of 'remote control', using foreign officials in Africa and Eastern Europe as proxies for its activities abroad while its own staff sit in distant command and control centres. The borders agency might like to wire CSDP missions up to this system.

But this joint format could go beyond capitalising on AFSJ-CSDP interests. These plug-in missions would be able to export AFSJ products direct from Europe. In Greece and Italy, for instance, AFSJ agencies created border hubs

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9 "Recent Changes in Europe's Cocaine Market", EMCDDA Rapid Communication, December 2018, p.5. An additional factor has been the way the ELN, the National Liberation Army, has taken over the narco-business.

10 Already in place is a 'Core Responsiveness Capacity', consisting of a reinforced 'Mission Support Platform'.

11 Suzi Ring and Franz Wild, "Inside the Google of Counter-Terrorism. Once Snubbed by the FBI, Europol Emerges as a Force," *Bloomberg* (online), April 5, 2018, https://tinyurl.com/y7tuo3sa.

which combine immigration, asylum and police services to manage migration pressures. A CSDP-AFSJ mission could deploy this 'border hotspot' model abroad, helping countries in Africa or Eastern Europe replicate the EU's 'integrated border arrangement'. Furthermore, by changing a CSDP mission at the 'molecular' level, it might be possible to entirely change its character. Plug a Europol 'atom' into a military CSDP mission and you have a proto-gendarmerie; plug OLAF, the EU anti-fraud office (and not strictly speaking an AFSJ agency) into a CSDP civilian advisory mission and you have a governance support project.

This kind of multi-combination deployment would turn the EU's usual weakness into a strength. The EU is a complicated and ill-defined presence in many countries. A 'modular' deployment would make a virtue of this, giving a name and structure to the EU's usual shape-shifting and variety. But that, of course, would require the EU to overcome its perennial problem of internal coordination, and that is where discussion currently focuses. A properly modular approach needs AFSJ-CSDP inter-operability – of standards, equipment and personnel. CSDP missions do not have a strong track record of operational standardisation.[12] And some basic problems have already become clear with the first tentative approaches to plug in AFSJ agencies. Frontex has despatched liaison officers abroad, and they are trying to sign cooperation agreements with local CSDP missions, while also haggling with the EU delegation which houses them about their consumption of electricity and paper.

FORMULA 4: DEPLOYMENTS WHICH ARE FULLY INTEGRATED

In a nutshell

› In an intense and sustained crisis in a third country, the EU would deploy a fully-integrated EU response, with CSDP mission and AFSJ agencies using their joint capabilities to create a common EU toolbox for crisis management.

› To this end, the EU would nominate a representative in a crisis-hit third country to manage the EU's response.

› CSDP and AFSJ assets on the ground submit to this single coordinator, moving from basic stabilisation tasks through to long-term governance reforms.

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12 When civilian CSDP staff were posted to Afghanistan in 2007, for instance, they lacked the equipment to deal with the local environment. Whereas the military tends to bring its own equipment, civilians need to be kitted out, and EU civilian procurement rules were too unwieldy to support a tailor-made mission. So the civilians, lacking protection and tools, sat in camp. Sebastian Bloching, "Security Sector Reform Missions under CSDP: Addressing Current Needs", DCAF EU Crisis Management Papers Series, 2012, p.19.
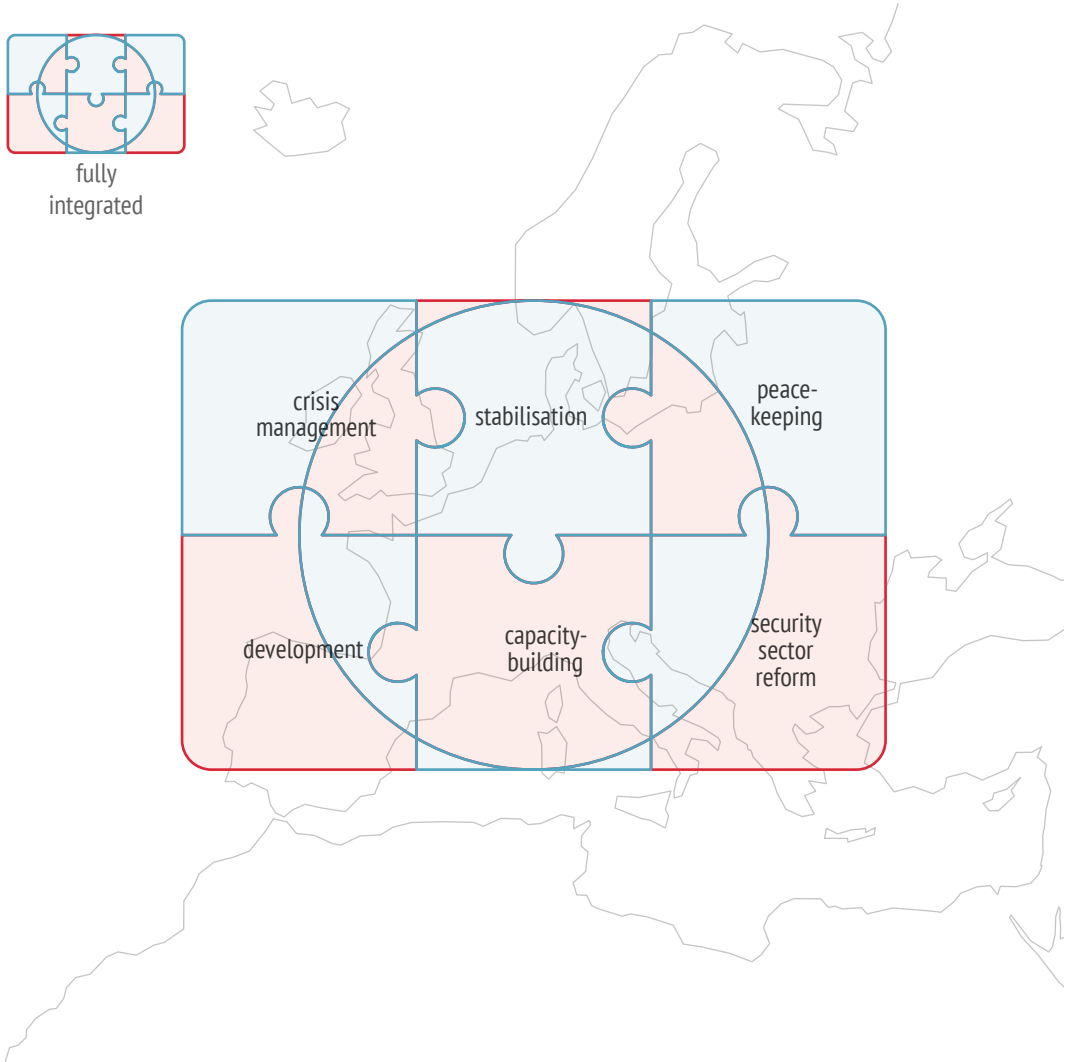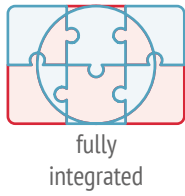
fully
integrated

This fourth format would be easily the most complicated for the EU – precisely because it would also be the most straightforward in design. The fully-integrated mission would involve streamlining the EU's crisis response on the ground, breaking down silos between its various policy tools – all in pursuit of a strong centre of gravity for EU actions. A single EU representative would be nominated to pull together multiple EU programmes in the host country. Acting rather like a UN head of mission, she or he would roll out EU programmes, moving from initial stabilisation and humanitarian tasks,

right through to laying the building blocks for long-term security sector reform. Since CSDP and AFSJ personnel do, or theoretically could, cover a large range of these tasks between them, the key would be for them to submit to a single master. And that is the sticking point.

This idea of coherence on the ground has always been a pipedream for the EU. In 1996, for instance, the EU created Special Representatives (SRs) for certain regions of the world and, in 2004, allowed these SRs to make use of local CSDP missions.[13] In 2009, SRs were largely

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13 A border mission to Georgia was immediately deployed in support of the Special Representative for the Caucasus.

replaced by the diplomatic delegations which the EEAS was setting up world-wide. These EU Delegations were additionally given a role monitoring local EU development programmes. As a result, the head of a Delegation can work closely not just with CSDP missions but also with AFSJ agencies when these are acting as aid implementers. And yet, such reforms have merely deposited new layers of diplomatic representation and hierarchy rather than simplifying them. They have made coordination on the ground harder.

Coordination problems are not only down to turf wars.[14] The EU has a good justification for keeping certain policies apart from each other. For obvious reasons it has carefully quarantined humanitarian support from all other fields of activity, especially military CSDP missions. It has kept CSDP missions away from the implementation of development aid, too; this is to prevent aid support becoming contaminated by the political interests of the mission. The EU has always refused to spend aid money on anything related to deadly force, leaving any tricky military-military cooperation to CSDP missions. And it has kept civil and military CSDP missions apart. Or rather, it has always told itself that it maintained such distinctions. The reality today, however, is of growing coordination between military-development-humanitarian tools in fragile zones.

European planners have conceived at least two military CSDP missions with a humanitarian role, the stillborn EUFOR Libya which did not achieve a UN mandate as hoped, and EUNAVFOR Med.[15] Furthermore, planners now routinely entrust development projects to CSDP missions, with EUCAP Sahel Mali and Niger

establishing dedicated administrative cells. The EU is also keen to have its military support to African countries officially classified as development aid. As for the supposed distinctions between civilian and military missions: in Somalia, the EU has set up a military and a civilian CSDP mission; and in Darfur it established a mixed mission. As a result, it has become impossible to distinguish the kinds of international work performed by AFSJ agencies from that of CSDP missions.[16] All this makes it very hard for policymakers in Brussels to justify old silos.

It has become impossible to distinguish the kinds of international work performed by AFSJ agencies from that of CSDP missions.

The EU originally built these silos for good reason, because it feared abusing its own power. If Europeans pooled their international programmes under an EU flag, the thinking went, they would have the power to bend third countries to their will. The EU therefore created checks, and the price it paid has been a certain lack of coordination on the ground. Now, third countries are taking advantage. Niger, for instance, does not have much capacity to absorb international programmes, sitting as it does at the bottom of the Human Development Index. Nigeriens, faced with an invasion of EU project managers, logically pick those who suit best. Perhaps this is good for local 'ownership' of international projects. More likely, it only benefits local powerbrokers. There is recognition among EU planners that a little more coherence would be good.

Other international organisations are also taking advantage of the EU's disjointedness on the ground, exploiting in particular the EU's lack of a clear profile. There is no EU development implementation agency akin to Germany's GIZ or France's Expertise France and, over the years, UN agencies and other implementers have

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14 The Lisbon Treaty revamped the EU's foreign policy structures, establishing the new External Action Service. But the then Commission President responded by moving large chunks of the EU's foreign policy largely beyond the ambit of the External Action Service – notably climate talks and energy, as well as neighbourhood policy.

15 Marianne Riddervold, "A Humanitarian Mission in Line with Human Rights? Assessing Sophia, the EU's Naval Response to the Migration Crisis," *European Security*, vol.27, no.2 (2018), pp.158–74.

16 Of the civilian missions, only EULEX Kosovo has the once typical executive role, and many civilian missions have a 'EUCAP' moniker, performing capacity-building (in Mali, Niger and Somalia).

carried out hundreds of projects for the EU, usually forgetting to advertise the EU logo. The EU's response – forcing them to dedicate time to photo-ops with local EU representatives and 'flag-raising exercises' for the EU – is not much of an improvement. Yet the EU's visibility in crisis zones matters. The EU can only free up resources for use abroad if it can show citizens where their money is going. A more concerted EU presence would actually prevent it behaving in an insular and self-interested manner.

CHAPTER 2

THE PROPOSALS, REVIEWED

The previous chapter...

...outlined four deployment formats which were each defined by a *modus operandi* to link up AFSJ and CSDP capabilities. The question for this chapter is whether the EU would actually be capable of 'demarcating', 'sequencing' and 'plugging in' let alone 'integrating' its operational arms, as foreseen. This chapter explains briefly why the EU cleaves to these rather mechanical ideals, before detailing the practical problems facing each of the four formats in turn. The chapter thus serves as a case-study for how the EU, a norm-setting power, exerts operational capabilities, and how it will have to adapt to its own limitations.

The four formats outlined in the previous chapter look good on paper, but that is no guarantee the EU could live up to them. *Demarcating*, *sequencing*, *plugging in*, *integrating* – each would unfold almost mechanically, according to a bureaucratic trope. And the trouble with bureaucratic tropes – the buzzwords like 'comprehensive', 'streamlined' or 'coordinated' which proliferate in EU strategy documents – is that they seldom survive first contact with the real world. The same will almost certainly be true of these deployment models. One EU analyst, when thinking about coordinating AFSJ-CSDP, said she envisaged a giant robot, one whose two

arms work neatly and mechanically. The first task is to take the edge off this robotic logic – to check that the four formats actually reflect the EU's real capabilities and practices.

THE TASK: REALITY-CHECKING THE FOUR PROPOSALS

Our four security formats would constitute the EU's response to the growing incidence of conflict, state collapse and criminality – in short, to an increasingly abnormal and unpredictable world. Viewed in this light, they are incongruously mechanical. One obvious reason for their neatness might be that their designers are in fact honing their response to the last crisis, atoning for their confused reaction by creating robotic new formats.[1] But there is something else at play: bureaucratic power. Crisis or no, drafting an EU policy proposal has always been a kind of genre writing. Drafters are expected to compartmentalise the world, neatly categorising geographies, capabilities and conceptual approaches. Then, when they have done carving up the world, they dissolve these categories again in pursuit of a response which is 'integrated', 'comprehensive', and 'joined-up'.

Sure enough, the core CSDP doctrine is the 'Integrated' Approach to Crises, and it is

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1 The 2016 EU-Turkey deal showed that borders can be controlled, and this at once turned everyone into an armchair strategist. Those flows of people seemed to cry out for neat deployments of border guards and the military. Our instinct to re-run the 2015 crisis, if that is what it is, is understandable – planners have always tended to 'spend the peace time studying how to fight the last war'. See: J. L. Schley, "Some Notes on the World War," *The Military Engineer*, January edition, (1929), p.55.

mainly concerned with overcoming silos in Brussels between the EU's geographic and thematic departments. The core AFSJ doctrine is 'Integrated' Border Management, about reconciling immigration, customs and phytosanitary rules. Critics say the EU has an IKEA mindset: it mechanically disassembles and reconstructs real-world problems and places.[2] But Brussels has its reasons. Planners are simply following bureaucratic convention – and bureaucratic convention has been an effective way of marshalling international power.[3] The EU's power lies in its repository of technical norms, which it has harvested by framing problems in clever ways. And the EU leverages this repository by dividing the world up (into 'enlargement candidates', the 'neighbourhood', 'development partners' in Africa) and offering a version of its standards to each. It is a rather robotic approach, but a successful one.

The goal of all this norm-setting was to avoid operational action – to spread good policies and prevent crisis situations from arising. Big bureaucracies are not built to be responsive to the unexpected.[4] But the EU's secretary generals and policy officers have occasionally taken action. They have sent CSDP missions and AFSJ agencies to intervene in warzones and disaster zones, and all the other tricky places the EU blandly classifies as 'non-benign environments'. This operational response has been achieved as an extension of the EU's usual norm-setting. When the EU spread its technical standards, it 'encoded' international affairs. A broken norm meant quite literally that the EU's normality had been transgressed. So when norms collapsed, and crises broke out, the EU faced stark binary choices. The EU had prepared its security arms for just such abnormal situations, and was able to deploy them quite automatically.

Tellingly, however, the EU had never really prepared to deploy its two operational arms jointly. CSDP planners were prepped for distant hotspots – Mali, DRC – where intermittent crises might flare up; AFSJ planners focused on norms and standards in the EU. Neither of the EU's security arms was really prepared for a crisis like that which happened in 2015, when crisis hotspots linked directly to the Schengen Area. The reason the two arms had not prepared for such an eventuality was because this would mean that every layer of EU 'normative power' and standard-setting had collapsed -– that people were leaving development zones in Africa, crossing the EU neighbourhood and enlargement candidate countries, and evading AFSJ border standards. In 2015, that is precisely what occurred, and it is unlikely to be the last time either.

The international environment is no longer conducive to big bureaucracy. The EU model survived the 1980s and the Reaganite attacks on the organisation's excessive red tape. It survived the 1990s when tech firms started harvesting knowledge on a scale of which bureaucracies could only dream. And it survived the 2000s and a financial crash which decimated staff numbers in many other bureaucracies. But now China is spreading its own norms and standards.[5] Russia stirs up mistrust about the EU administration. And criminals carefully study the EU's norm-setting processes in order to stay ahead of the market.[6] In this hostile environment, the task is to subject the four formats to a reality check, and to see whether the EU is capable of 'demarcating', 'sequencing', 'plugging in' or 'integrating' its operational capabilities.

2   Simone Tholens, "Border Management in an Era of 'State-building Lite': Security Assistance and Lebanon's Hybrid Sovereignty," *International Affairs*, vol.93, no.4 (2017), pp.865–82.

3   Hanna Ojanen, *The EU's Power in Inter-organisational Relations* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2018).

4   Mark Rhinard, "The Crisisification of Policy-making in the European Union," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2019, pp. 1–18, (early view), doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.12838.

5   Bjorn Fagersten and Tim Ruehlig, "China's Standard Power and its Geopolitical Implications for Europe", *UI Brief*, no.2/2019, Utrikespolitiska Institutet, Stockholm, 2019.

6   Europol, "Serious and Organised Crime Threat Assessment", SOCTA, Europol, The Hague, 2013, p.16.

1 There is in fact no obvious demarcation for 'demarcated missions'

AFSJ agencies and CSDP planners still hold to the myth that the EU neatly demarcates between its internal and external spheres, allowing both to lay claim to various bits of the world. This sense that they have a prior claim to certain countries stands in the way of the first joint format. Its successful deployment will require AFSJ agencies and CSDP missions to draw up an entirely new and shared approach to non-members.

Format 1 rests on the understandable expectation that the EU actually differentiates between its internal and external spheres. It takes for granted some kind of prior division of geography – that home affairs agencies will focus on the EU's home affairs; CSDP missions on international crisis spots; and that the pair would develop a shared new approach to transit countries. But the idea of AFSJ and CSDP sharing geography between them would not survive the initial phase of mission planning. Frontex and CSDP missions both lay claim to the same zones. They treat the Southern Mediterranean, Western Balkans, and the eastern and southern neighbourhood, as 'their' terrain and are not ready to share. It is a recipe for messy turf wars between them. The demarcation between internal and external zones is nothing more than a bureaucratic myth.

Article 42(1) of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) stipulates that CSDP missions are to be deployed outside the EU, and this logically leads to the assumption that a clear internal-external demarcation exists. Certainly it emboldens CSDP planners to regard a problem occurring anywhere outside the EU-28 as automatically falling under their remit. CSDP planners can

legitimately lay claim to crisis spots outside the EU, in distant locations like Africa, but also the Balkans and Eastern Europe. In their own way, AFSJ agencies also rely on this demarcation. Frontex, for instance, is the agency for managing the EU's border, the demarcation line between the EU's internal and external zones. As for Europol, Eurojust and the other AFSJ agencies, they duly focus on illicit cross-border networks in the EU, that is: within the border guarded by Frontex.

But talk to the staff of an AFSJ agency like Frontex and they will say that areas outside the territory of the EU-28 also belong to the EU's 'internal sphere'. Western Balkan states have signed up to joining Schengen and they already form an integral part of Frontex's border model. Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova also use Schengen border norms; and they are party to Local Border Traffic Agreements. The whole Mediterranean is also 'Frontex territory', a pre-frontier zone and territorial no-man's land where Frontex maintains surveillance and coordinates rescue operations. Frontex staff simply cannot fathom why CSDP planners might offer training courses on border management to officials in Western Ukraine, or why CSDP missions are still active in the countries of the Western Balkans when these are on course for EU membership.

The Central Mediterranean became the theatre of these tensions in 2015, when a CSDP naval mission was tasked with countering smuggling from Libya. Frontex staff believed EUNAVFOR Med was on their turf. They understood why an EU borders operation in the Central Mediterranean might have to rely on naval vessels (small coastguard vessels struggle in adverse conditions); but they believed these naval vessels should be under Frontex's command. Europol was perhaps more pragmatic in its effort to accommodate EUNAVFOR Med. But that does not provide much guidance about the boundaries of its activities: Europol is itself meant to operate largely within the borders of Schengen, but here it was in the

Mediterranean.[7] As for Eurojust, which also struck up a relationship with EUNAVFOR Med, it cooperates closely with the authorities of eleven foreign countries.[8]

The EU does have a borderline of course – in fact, it has at least three. One borderline rings its passport-free travel regime, Schengen; another its Customs Union; and another its regime for territorial defence. Each is the result of a group of European states banding together to open its internal borders to the passage of people or goods or military assets, and to harden its outer border against interlopers.[9] The Schengen border is managed by Frontex; OLAF deals with the smuggling of goods; and the military border has been parcelled out to NATO, with CSDP focusing on the mobility of military assets inside it.[10] Each of these three border regimes also covers a slightly different group of states.[11] These overlapping border regimes are further proof that the EU needs to get away from questions of which operational arm has precedence where, and instead focus on the demands of transit routes themselves and the question of how best to combine AFSJ and CDSP assets along them.

A single criminal network of the kind which make up the 'internal-external nexus' may involve various actors, ranging from high-level politicians, who circulate between their war-torn country and the EU, right down to low-level couriers criss-crossing the EU border. Any one of these individuals might be apprehended at any point, inside or outside the EU. And Frontex, Europol, Eurojust and a CSDP mission might all claim the right to do so – on the basis that they are enforcing border controls, or the global struggle against crime, or the rule of law.[12] AFSJ agencies like Frontex, Europol or Eurojust could choose to handle the phenomenon abroad. And a CSDP mission might exceptionally deploy inside the EU itself, for instance using military or civilian means to respond to a terrorist attack.[13] Each has something useful to offer, but each looks at only one aspect of the problem.

2 'Sequential deployments' will struggle to deploy fast enough
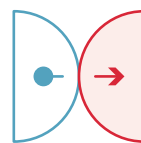
The second format rests on the trope of speedy deployment: if there is to be a meaningful handover of tasks from a CSDP mission to AFSJ agencies, the CSDP mission must logically get on the ground quickly. Experience shows, however, that speed is not always conducive to well-run missions. Indeed, the desire for speed is more about bureaucratic competition between CSDP missions and AFSJ agencies than about the careful handover of tasks.

Even if the EU's security planners do succeed in demarcating the world according to their own

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7 Europol, of course, knows that cross-border crime inside Schengen is inextricably linked to the outside world and that these links will not be cleanly severed by Frontex at the border.

8 Eurojust has in place agreements with eleven countries for the exchange of judicial information and personal data. These are: Albania, Georgia, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Moldova, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Norway, Switzerland, Ukraine and the US.

9 James Hollifield, "The Emerging Migration State," *International Migration Review*, vol. 38, no. 3 (2004), pp. 885-912.

10 Daniel Fiott, "Towards Military Mobility," *EUISS Brief*, no. 31, EUISS, Paris, November 2017, http://tinyurl.com/yxvfznwq.

11 So, for instance, Romania is in the Customs Union and NATO, but not yet in Schengen. Turkey is in NATO and is part of a customs union with the EU, but is also outside Schengen.

12 Frontex increasingly poses as the 'Europol of the European border', and has gained law-enforcement powers, access to criminal databases and the right to handle personal information. Europol would counter by saying that the 'Europol of the border' is Europol itself, and should get to choose where and when cross-border networks are cracked. OLAF and national customs authorities might also say they should have a role not just in policing the border but also in immigration control. After all, people are being smuggled into Europe just like any other commodity, and quite often alongside counterfeit goods.

13 Under Article 222, a member state can demand solidarity from the EU, and the EU is obliged to respond with all available means – including exceptionally a CSDP crisis-management deployment. Imagine, perhaps that those networks of criminals or terrorists trigger a disaster on member state territory. In such circumstances Article 42(1) might be superseded and a CSDP mission inside the EU is feasible.

convenience, they can no longer expect the rest of the world to accept this. The EU's Treaty of Lisbon (2009) is not the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494): Europeans can only put boots, and shoes, on the ground with the blessing of host countries and, more often than not, with a mandate from the UN too. Building up the necessary acceptance takes time; and it increasingly involves a diplomatic dance with other international organisations and local governments, which are themselves keen to deploy their technical experts to a crisis. The second AFSJ-CSDP format, the 'sequential' model of deployment, will be worst hit by these delays. This format requires a speedy CSDP intervention in order to permit a meaningful handover of tasks to AFSJ agencies.

Of course fans of this second format claim the EU already has several successful sequential deployments under its belt, the latest being EUNAVFOR Med. This naval operation proved that the EU is still capable of securing an international mandate in good time. EUNAVFOR Med took just two months to set up, evidence that the EU can still navigate a world where its activities and normative power are contested.[14] The EU also managed to secure EUNAVFOR Med a mandate which permitted it to work closely with the AFSJ agencies. This in turn permitted AFSJ agencies to take over certain tasks from the CSDP mission, including the training of Libyan coastguards and the handling of criminal intelligence. EUNAVFOR's advocates suggest that this has established a positive precedent for future sequential missions – that the EU could dust the EUNAVFOR template off and use it for sequential deployments in, say, Mali or Niger.

But if the EU actually does ever suggest EUNAVFOR's sequential model as a template

for a new border-related CSDP mission in West Africa, African governments will probably demur. EUNAVFOR Med's mandate sets an impossible precedent. The operation was established in international waters, under the jurisdiction of an Italian flagship vessel, so the EU did not have to go through the usual process of engaging with a host state. This meant that the operation developed without the discipline this process usually imposes. EUNAVFOR Med and AFSJ agencies veered almost accidentally into 'military-humanitarian' tasks – rescuing migrants and destroying smugglers' vessels, enforcing an arms embargo around Libya and supporting the work of the UN. This odd mix invited comparisons with the US's heavy-handed 'war on drugs', and may well have alienated future partners.[15]

This would not be the first time the EU has later regretted its success in deploying quickly. In 2004, the EU established a CSDP mission, EUJUST Themis, in Georgia. But the speed of deployment meant that the operational phase, rather than the mandating phase, was where diplomatic tensions were dealt with. The mission got on the ground quickly, but it focused its work on cosmetic issues for fear of giving political ammunition to Russia; as such it also fell short of expectations in pro-European Tbilisi.[16] Later, the EU did create a border support team for Georgia, which would deal more centrally with the region's geopolitical tensions. But the team was not considered big enough to fill the boots of the OSCE border mission it replaced.[17] It was a similar picture in Central Asia, where another EU borders project was criticised for deploying too quickly.[18]

CSDP planners know from long experience that hasty deployments backfire, yet they still promote the need for speed. Why? Perhaps because

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14 Steven Blockmans, "New Thrust for the CSDP from the Refugee and Migrant Crisis", *Special Report*, no. 142, CEPS, Brussels, 2016, p.4.

15 Ibid.

16 Xymena Kurowska, "More than a Balkan Crisis Manager: The EUJUST Themis in Georgia," in *European Security and Defence Policy: An Implementation Perspective,* ed. Michael Merlingen and Rasa Ostrauskaite (London: Routledge, 2008), pp.97-110.

**17** Rory McCorley, "The 1992-2004 Georgia Border Monitoring Operation and the 2005-2009 Follow-up Projects - Lessons Learned and Potential Offerings for Future Engagement," in: *OSCE Yearbook 2016* (Hamburg: IFSH 2017), pp.343-57.

18 George Gavrilis, "Beyond the Border Management Programme for Central Asia (BOMCA)", *EUCAM Policy Brief*, no. 11, CESS, Groningen, 2009, p.2.

they can feel AFSJ agencies breathing down their neck. This is typical bureaucratic politics. When Frontex took over the task of training Libyan coastguards from EUNAVFOR Med, for instance, this was not as a result of orderly sequencing. It was a *fait accompli.* Frontex had simply been quicker to secure the necessary funding. Such bitter experiences pile the pressure on CSDP planners to abolish the requirement for governments to agree on mission mandates by unanimity, thus bringing CSDP in line with AFSJ-style voting procedures. And yet, there are other ways to speed up CSDP deployment without bypassing the rules. Just store up some expertise on the drafting of CSDP mandates and use it next time round.

The sense of competition may also be overdone. For the past two years, the EU has been negotiating agreements with Western Balkan countries. These agreements would allow Frontex to set up operations at speed and with executive functions, meaning they would always beat a CSDP mission to it. Despite early hopes, however, only one agreement has been sealed, with Tirana. Balkan governments are reluctant to sign this kind of 'blank cheque' to the EU. All eyes are now on how Frontex deploys to Albania. Frontex must meet not only Tirana's desire to be a special frontrunner in the region, but also the concerns of all its other potential Western Balkan hosts. If Frontex does successfully achieve the diplomatic high-wire act, it may well be because its new Head of Operational Planning and Evaluation has learned lessons from his previous job as an CSDP planner.

3 Modular deployments will find EU silos more complicated than expected
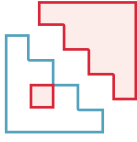
The EU categorises its assets according to its own convention – most notably differentiating military capabilities from civilian. These neat silos allow planners to identify which capabilities can be matched, and which not, and should make a 'modular' AFSJ-CSDP deployment easy to construct. In reality, these categories are more ambiguous than they first appear, and AFSJ agencies and CSDP missions already encounter unexpected compatibilities and incompatibilities.

How to build a 'plug-in' EU mission? EU planners believe that this particular CSDP-AFSJ amalgam will be brought to life by the laws of bureaucratic alchemy. When AFSJ-CSDP planners envisage their new creation, they have a kind of Periodic Table in their heads. This table tells them that some of the EU's security elements can be plugged in to each other, others not. Some capabilities attract, some repel. Most notably 'civ-civ' works, but 'civ-mil' is unstable (in other words, civilian assets work well together thanks to shared working practices, but civilian and military assets repel). Given that the AFSJ agencies are all classified as 'civilian', planners should be able to plug them quite neatly into the CSDP civilian missions; but they should probably steer clear of military missions. EUNAVFOR Med immediately broke this law when it hosted a 'Crime Information Cell'.

The Crime Information Cell (CIC) was a team of five on EUNAVFOR Med's flagship vessel, who collected and transmitted information on 'human smuggling and trafficking, the implementation of the UN arms embargo on Libya, illegal trafficking of oil exports from Libya in accordance with UNSCR 2146 (2014) and 2362 (2017), as well as criminal activity relevant to the

security of the operation itself.'[19] It was constructed on modular lines. Intelligence officers (military) teamed up with Europol personnel (civilian) to glean information from migrants and smugglers, with help from Frontex's mobile debriefing team (also civilian). Against the odds, the Cell's civ-mil combination worked well. Even if Frontex was reportedly a little sceptical about committing resources to it, the cooperation between the naval mission and Europol was particularly fruitful.

It is just the latest sign that EU planners need to rethink their laws of AFSJ-CSDP attraction. One policing expert with many years' experience argues that the CIC confirms his personal experience: in practice, civ-mil cooperation works well, and it is civ-civ that usually proves incompatible. He recounts how difficult it has been to get AFSJ agencies to nominate liaison officers to civilian CSDP missions. This shows, he says, how the agencies typically weigh up civilian CSDP missions: agencies reason that, if it is worth expending resources on a particular crisis zone, they would already be doing the work there themselves. By contrast, they do seem to appreciate military CSDP missions because these can do things that agencies simply cannot. Agencies have even been known to propose to third countries the establishment of military CSDP missions, keen to establish stepping stones for themselves.

The reason may be that not all AFSJ agencies fit into the usual civilian/military CSDP dichotomy. And it turns out the EU is indeed unusual in classifying the police as a civilian body. The UN gives police missions their own distinct third category, neither 'civilian' nor 'military', on the grounds that the police are an armed and uniformed service.[20] Europol itself grew out of the work of gendarmeries and armed police divisions in the earlier Police Working Group on Terrorism. Sure enough Europol was quite keen to cooperate with EUNAVFOR. Frontex was reportedly more sceptical, perhaps because it has spent the last 15 years demilitarising European borders. Frontex also knows that CIC-style debriefing works better in a civilian atmosphere than on a naval vessel, perhaps over a shared cigarette or coffee when migrants are at ease.[21]

Or perhaps the love-in between Europol and EUNAVFOR was just circumstantial, a reflection of that mission's specific mandate, which involved data-gathering. Europol is struggling to build information-exchange links to key target states in the MENA.[22] So it was expedient when, in 2017, EUNAVFOR Med was permitted to begin information-sharing with Libyan authorities and with AFSJ agencies. Frontex, by contrast, probably had less need of this information. Unlike Europol, it puts boots on the ground abroad, and collects information for itself.[23] Frontex does not need personal data about smuggling kingpins in Libya to gather the raw indicators necessary to assess migration drivers or identify migrants about to embark on the journey to Europe. And, for the same reason, its intelligence-sharing standards are not always high enough to cooperate with a military mission anyway. But Frontex might gladly plug into a CSDP military mission if that mission's tasks were different.[24]

The truth, most likely, is that both of the above propositions are true. And add to this mix a third factor − that CSDP itself is losing

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19 "The Crime Information Cell − 'Pilot Project' Bridging internal and external security of EU," *Europol Press Release*, July 5, 2018.

20 The EU's decision to label police missions as a sub-category of its usual civilian CSDP missions has been a problem for other reasons. Member states are expected to meet ambitious secondment quotas for EU civilian missions. A small group of member states can simply dip into a large stock of gendarmes.

21 Frontex relies for information on the simultaneous translators at work in Greek reception centres and the inter-cultural migration officers provided by the International Organisation for Migration in Italy.

22 Its target states are Jordan, Turkey, Israel, Tunisia, Morocco, Lebanon, Egypt and Algeria.

23 Europol's preference has always been to try to attract third countries to The Hague itself, where it becomes possible to exchange information in a more informal manner and under European jurisdiction. Europol hosts 12 foreign liaison officers and officials from 11 US departments and agencies.
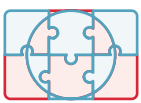
24 Frontex would be ready to plug in to a military mission if it were, say, undertaking operational tasks in a hostile environment and needed protection.

its own careful civ/mil distinctions. In the old days, civilian CSDP missions were big bold efforts, and the member states which staffed them could justifiably pose as 'civilian superpowers'. Governments invested in the format, and trained experts specifically to match CSDP templates. These days, it is often easier to just deploy AFSJ agencies, meaning civilian CSDP is losing its distinctive markers. CSDP's original civ/mil distinction is getting lost, as is the methodology to bridge the civ/mil gap. And AFSJ agencies, which themselves are neither wholly civilian nor military when operating abroad, are finding their own ways to plug in to military CSDP missions. So there is no alchemy for modular missions, and methods will be built up by trial and error.

4 Integrated deployments would use capabilities which exist on paper only

A common bureaucratic mistake is to believe that something which exists on paper exists in real life. In reality, the EU's AFSJ and CSDP capabilities are smaller than their titles suggest, and do not always deliver what they promise. This poses a particular problem for the fourth format, which seeks to create a big impact by integrating capabilities. If the EU wishes to integrate capabilities, it must build them first.

Not all AFSJ planners have a clear idea about what CSDP is, and vice versa – they have often spent so long specialising in their own field of technical cooperation they have little idea about their counterpart. So when AFSJ planners envision their work with CSDP missions, they often imagine cooperation with a big operation like 2003's Artemis DR Congo, 1,800-strong. They

think about the useful support one of these big CSDP deployments might give them – physical protection, logistical infrastructure and transportation, surveillance and office space. But AFSJ planners are envisioning CSDP missions in the mould of the sizeable EU deployments to Africa of the mid-2000s, and these are no longer the norm. This distortion is particularly prevalent for the fourth of our formats, the 'integrated' deployment, which is all about the EU combining its capabilities in pursuit of a powerful impact on the ground. Bigger is better in this format.

AFSJ agencies can be forgiven for their mistake. Those early CSDP deployments specifically set out to make a splash. They were designed to establish CSDP (or the European Security and Defence Policy, as it was back then) as a serious proposition. In 2006, the EU deployed as many as 2,400 troops to the DRC, and in 2008 3,700 to Chad. These operations stick in the mind as archetypal CSDP deployments, but they were not in fact true to their name. They were not truly 'Common' or 'European', in the sense that they usually drew their staff from a single state – 90% of the personnel sent to Artemis came from just one EU member. Over time, CSDP missions have indeed become more properly 'Common', comprising a broader range of contributing nations. But they have also shrunk; a typical mission now comprises just 20-200 people. Big member states no longer see CSDP deployments as a prestige affair.

As CSDP missions have become more properly 'Common', they have also moved away somewhat from the really tough tasks they undertook when they still relied heavily on the capabilities of a single ambitious member state. Missions have embraced a broad and 'fluid' understanding of security and, in keeping with that theme, have moved their deployment zones from land to the sea.[25] Since CSDP missions began focusing on long-term capacity-building tasks, moreover, they have found it harder to know when to wind up. And if they are

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25 Thierry Tardy, "Operation Sophia's World: Changes and Challenges," *EUISS Brief* no. 32, EUISS, Paris, November 2017, https://tinyurl.com/y6ohersd.

no longer as short as typically assumed, they are not as sharp as they used to be either. The EEAS recently created a new non-CSDP format precisely in order to take on high-intensity tasks: 'EUSTAMS' (the EU stability and monitoring missions).[26] And even these EUSTAMS tend to involve the deployment of a small number of experts – no different than most CSDP missions, and certainly too small and aloof to stabilise crises.

So when CSDP planners envision AFSJ operations, they fear eclipse. Frontex is able to deploy large numbers of personnel like the old CSDP missions. And it copies the style of those early missions too. CSDP missions aimed, for instance, to be attentive to the interests of their hosts, and to act as repositories of EU know-how. Frontex has recently set itself the goal of being more responsive to local needs, recognising that it cannot be a Trojan Horse for the EU's migration interests in spots like Senegal. By contrast, it is not unknown for CSDP missions to be led by a national of an EU member state with a particular geostrategic interest in the country. And the personnel of CSDP missions do not always know much about the EU and are often rotated back home too quickly to learn.

This suggests the EU could best achieve a weighty fully-integrated response to a crisis not with a new AFSJ-CSDP format, but rather by helping AFSJ agencies replace CSDP missions. The European Commission and Frontex already have experience of putting together a CSDP-style mission.[27] Their EUBAM deployment along the Moldova-Ukraine border is widely referred to as a CSDP mission, but it is outside the purview of the EEAS's Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability (CPCC) and relies in no small part on Commission funding and Frontex know-how. Depending on who you

ask, this odd 'non-CSDP CSDP mission' came about either because member states had used up their budget for the year on a CSDP mission in far-off Aceh or because they felt it would be provocative to create a 'classic' CSDP mission in Russia's backyard in 2005, in the wake of the Orange Revolution.[28] Either way, this mission, with its heavy involvement of Frontex, sets a precedent.

But Frontex is itself an anomaly, bigger and with more operational powers than most other agencies. CSDP planners may assume the AFSJ has a 'Frontex' for criminal justice, for policing, human rights, refugee reception, and so on. But the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice is far less integrated and homogeneous than it sounds. Some AFSJ agencies are as big as Frontex (Europol), but spend their time competing with it; some play a support role to it (eu-LISA); but most just operate in their own little sphere, supporting member states in a small set of tasks.[29] What this all means is that there is plenty of scope for the EU to develop its two security arms together and without too much fear of duplication or competition; what it also means, however, is that common European capabilities are currently characterised by being small and disjointed.

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26   Tobias Pietz, "Flexibility and 'Stabilization Actions': EU Crisis Management One Year After the Global Strategy," *Zif Policy Briefing*, Berlin, Zif, 2017, http://tinyurl.com/yyg3m4cn

27   The aim was to counter corruption and smuggling, and to link breakaway Transnistria to the West through a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement with Moldova.

28   Nicu Popescu, *EU Foreign Policy and Post-Soviet Conflicts: Stealth Intervention* (Oxford: Routledge, 2011).

29   Add to this that some of the most useful repositories of technical expertise on the AFSJ side are not agencies at all – the Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) of terrorism experts being a case in point. The European Commission has taken care to ensure that RAN is not involved in the work of CSDP, although it has permitted its network of practitioners, bloggers, and social workers to organise meetings in the Western Balkans, Turkey and the MENA.

CHAPTER 3

THE POLITICAL WILL, CEMENTED

The previous chapter...

...explained one element of EU power, namely: the way the EU converts its bureaucratic know-how into real-world capabilities – capabilities which are potentially more potent than those of states. The present chapter is again about how the EU reinvents a classic attribute of state power, namely the alignment of interests with capabilities. This is key if those capabilities are ever to be deployed. But in Brussels, there are no clear lines of political hierarchy as there are in member states: Brussels is a mass of committees, all with partial competencies. This chapter details how a bureaucracy like the EU builds up political interests at the supranational level, then analyses the novel demands placed on this system by each of the four formats.

If our four formats are to be deployed, they also need a dedicated group of decision-makers in Brussels who can pull political levers. The task of jointly operationalising AFSJ and CSDP capabilities has traditionally fallen to the EU's two most important security committees, CSDP's Political and Security Committee (PSC) and AFSJ's Standing Committee on Internal Security (COSI). Planners describe the task ahead as fusing these two committees into a single EU 'security brain'. But even that is only half the task. Inevitably, certain stakeholders are missing from PSC-COSI, notably ministries for development, defence and finance as well as voices from the ground. These players would all be expected to play a vital role in the joint deployments. The task facing Brussels is nothing short of rewiring and expanding the EU's security brain.

THE TASK: TO ALIGN THE EU'S CAPABILITIES WITH ITS INTERESTS

Security is a matter of life and death, and is not readily entrusted to aloof bureaucracies. If the EU has a security policy at all, it is largely thanks to two sets of players. One is the European Commission, which accepted that the EU should not become a classic security actor, but has used its usual market integration logic to annex certain issues with security implications, highlighting alternative ways to boost security: it used market integration to lighten customs controls in the 1950s and passport controls in the 1990s and, much more recently, to support the competitiveness of Europe's defence industry. The other is foreign ministries. They were more open to the idea of the EU developing classic security capabilities, and took advantage of initiatives like Schengen to force interior ministries to replicate their capabilities on a

European level.[1] They have had less luck in pushing defence ministries to Europeanise, at least until now.[2]

This odd path to development leaves the EU's security competencies disjointed both 'vertically' (in terms of the share of powers between the EU and national level) and 'horizontally' (in terms of how the EU links together its scattered policy competencies). The task of turning these disparate competencies into an operational whole is currently centred on two Brussels committees. COSI brings together interior ministry officials, who fly in for the day from the member states. PSC comprises foreign ministry officials who are based permanently in Brussels. The two committees sit together regularly, if not frequently, and can be considered to form the core of the EU security brain, the connective tissue for good AFSJ-CSDP relations. COSI manages EU operational coordination against criminals and terrorists using an intelligence-led model,[3] while the PSC manages the mandates of CSDP missions and supervises their implementation.

The two hemispheres of this brain are still quite distinct, and not just because their powers are slightly different. COSI gathers ministerial officials and senior law-enforcement officers who are accustomed to exercising executive functions with the full force of the law behind them. They feel acutely the responsibility they bear to national citizens, and they are not always good at sharing power with other players, even when managing operations at the invitation of a third

The task facing Brussels is nothing short of rewiring and expanding the EU's security brain.

country. COSI is said to display all the typical 'left-brain' functions: it is instrumental, calculating, controlling. By contrast the diplomats who sit in the PSC have all the 'right-brain' functions: they are creative, empathetic and holistic. Diplomats typically seek out 'win-win' approaches to security with third countries, try to encourage 'local ownership' and aim for long-term improvements in the global environment, even if that means a short-term rise in migration levels.[4]

The PSC-COSI mismatch is, however, not the biggest barrier to effective EU security decision-making – or rather it is the kind of barrier which the EU has most experience resolving. Every Brussels committee inevitably incubates a distinct ethos of the kind found in COSI or PSC. Indeed, that is the aim. When national officials come together in committees in Brussels, they meet like-minded counterparts and form a new sense of shared political interests. Officials in COSI enjoy the intimacy of discussing their fears about terrorism or crime with each other; and they often find more in common with their policy counterparts from other member states than with colleagues from other ministries in their capitals.[5] So we can be sure that PSC and COSI will be able (more or less) to bridge the gap between them – not least by sharing information and assessments.[6]

The bigger problem in fact comes when PSC and COSI actually agree. The more that PSC-COSI come up with joint actions, the more they

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1　Virginie Guiraudon, "European Integration and Migration Policy: Vertical Policy-making as Venue Shopping," in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol.38, no. 2 (June 2000), p.265.

2　The EU has held a number of summits to drive forwards defence policy. But this has been the work of foreign ministries rather than defence ministries. That means EU defence initiatives are reliant on a handful of member states which are pro-European but do not necessarily possess large military capabilities. See: Anand Menon, "Empowering Paradise? The ESDP at Ten," *International Affairs*, vol.85, no. 2 (2009), p.241. The Commission's recent idea for a common defence market may change that, using a market logic to annex yet another sphere of security policy.

3　Artur Gruszczak, *Intelligence Security in the European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp.232-35.

4　See: Christina Boswell, "The 'External Dimension' of EU Immigration and Asylum Policy," *International Affairs*, vol. 79, no. 3 (2003), pp.619–38.

5　Didier Bigo, *Polices en réseaux. L'experience européenne* (Paris : Presses de Sciences Politiques, 1996).

6　Filip Tereszkiewicz, "The Role of COSI in the European Union's Internal Security Area: the Initial Years of Activity," *Miscellanea Oeconomicae,* vol.20, no. 4 (2016), pp. 258-59.

shut out other stakeholders – stakeholders who might be expected to mobilise assets. PSC-COSI may sound like it covers the full gamut of European security issues, from core 'internal' problems to core 'external' problems. But both committees bear the legacy of the odd way in which the EU has developed a security role, and they cover only parts of the puzzle. PSC deals narrowly with international crisis management rather than core security tasks like military defence. COSI deals with internal security threats arising specifically from the lightening of passport controls; it does not really stretch to issues like customs checks which remain the preserve of finance ministries.[7] Defence and finance ministries remain largely outside the scope of PSC-COSI discussions.

The EU usually overcomes such problems by invoking a 'jumbo ministerial meeting', a kind of political 'super-ego' to bring higher, fuller oversight to scattered Brussels committees. In 2001, for instance, a jumbo meeting of interior, finance and justice ministers agreed policies against money-laundering and terrorist-financing and provided direction to the relevant committees.[8] But since then, the EU has almost doubled in membership. A three-way jumbo meeting like that which took place in 2001 would today involve more than 80 ministers. This means that the onus for cross-cutting policies has shifted both up and down – up to the European Council, the EU's very highest political body and the only one with a really cross-cutting purview,[9] and down to the ground, where missions and operations are being given space to muddle along. This creates problems of vertical and horizontal coordination for our four formats, and this section deals with each in turn.

1 Don't use intelligence, be intelligent: the role of development ministries in transit zones
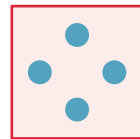
> The 'demarcated' AFSJ-CSDP deployment format would focus on transit countries. Most major transit countries are recipients of EU development support; and development ministries also happen to be adept at conceptualising problems such as migrant and criminal flows as shared international challenges. In short, development ministers have useful leverage in these countries, but the way they frame the EU interest is also helpful. PSC-COSI would thus need to coordinate closely with development ministries in deploying this format.

PSC and COSI increasingly share intelligence streams as well as the space to reach a common analysis. But all the intelligence in the world cannot prevent the two committees from taking partial decisions if they exclude relevant stakeholders. In 1998, the EU set up a first committee on the international dimension of immigration after receiving reliable information about impending migrant flows from such spots as Iraq, Morocco and Albania.[10] Interior and foreign ministry officials met in this committee and others and agreed on a 'root causes' approach to the migration flows which funnelled European development cash into job creation. They later added a policy of 'circular migration', which foresaw the EU cautiously opening itself up to short-stay migrants, in a bid to turn irregular migration into beneficial 'brain circulation'. Both approaches failed, not

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7   It was also formed as much to protect national autonomy from the EU's centralising tendencies (Article 276 TFEU) as to ensure the coherent application of AFSJ rules.

8   European Commission, "Results of the Council of Economics and Finance Ministers and Jumbo Council of Finance, Interior and Justice Ministers, Luxembourg, 16th October 2001,"*MEMO/01/330*, Brussels, October 17, 2001.

9   Judy Dempsey, "Macron's Bid to Wake Up Europe," *Strategic Europe*, Carnegie Europe, March 5, 2019, https://carnegieeurope.eu/strategiceurope/78500

10 "Asylum and Migration Task Force – Conclusions," General Affairs Council, December 6, 1998.

least because representatives of development ministries were not at the table.

The 'root causes' approach diverted development spending away from the world's poorest countries and refocused it on mid-income states with mobile populations. This risked destabilising both, and may well have led to a rise in migration. When officials were forced to acknowledge that they could not 'cure' migration in this way, they cautiously embraced 'circular migration' instead. Development ministries had originally designed the notion of 'circular migration' to benefit both sending and receiving countries. But the concept appealed to EU foreign ministries because it would turn immigration into a diplomatic tool, allowing them to capitalise on the opening of EU borders when talking to, say, Morocco or Jordan; and interior ministries liked it for the opposite reason – because it allowed them to classify all migrants as temporary and pursue aggressive expulsion measures towards their countries of origin. They stretched the concept too thin.

The point is that, throughout all these discussions, development ministries were largely absent; but their budget and policies were very much on the menu. This trend has continued. During the 2015 migration crisis, interior and foreign ministries teamed up again, this time to use the EU's development spending as leverage *vis-à-vis* African countries of transit, pressing them to harden their borders. And, today, there is a risk that they will use development cash to sharpen the pressure on transit countries like Niger: their joint AFSJ-CSDP deployments could well fund themselves with EU development cash; but they would serve as a 'corrective' to development policies, which are deemed too slow-moving and abstruse. This would disrupt the efforts of development specialists to promote legitimate cross-border flows: the staff of an AFSJ-CSDP deployment might hold back migrants at the border in Niger or hold the pen in restrictive border reforms in Mali.

The 'demarcated' AFSJ-CSDP format, in particular, would concentrate on transit flows. It thus requires real intelligence from the Brussels brain – real hand-eye coordination. It would require the EU not only to coordinate AFSJ and CSDP capabilities across large geographies; but also to modulate the pressure exerted on these fragile transit zones. To this end, PSC and COSI can make use of multiple European intelligence systems to understand the international environment.[11] But most of these are inherently Eurocentric, and frame problems like international migration and crime as a threat to the EU rather than a shared global challenge.[12] The EU really needs the empathetic intelligence of development ministries. These gauge the harm an EU intervention is doing ('conflict sensitivity') and whether this still justifies the ends ('theory of change'); and they safeguard not just the AFSJ but also global freedom, security and justice.

The EU is admired for its cerebral development approach to international terrorism, crime and migration: the EU promotes global development *per se*, with the beneficial side-effect that phenomena like violent extremism and irregular migration will eventually disappear. But this approach often enjoys greater appreciation abroad than in Brussels itself. In Brussels, development ministries struggle to prove that improvements to security really can be traced to their policies.[13] Critics, by contrast, only have to point to a terrorist attack or spike in migration to show where the approach has failed. In this context, the EU will be sorely tempted to turn to more operational policies because these boast clear 'deliverables'. An AFSJ-CSDP deployment could press an African government to crack down on violent extremism or to close off

11 Arjen Boin et al. "Making Sense of Sense-Making," Report presented to the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency, 2014, http://tinyurl.com/y4a20avx.

12 Louise Bengtsson and Mark Rhinard, "Securitisation across Borders: the Case of 'Health Security' Cooperation in the European Union," *West European Politics*, vol. 42, no. 2 (2019), pp.346–68.

13 Georgia Holmer et al. "Measuring Up: Evaluating the Impact of P/CVE Programs", *USIP Report*, Washington, US Institute for Peace, 2018, p.8, http://tinyurl.com/y3jap6nr.

their borders to through-flows of migrants. But such blunt successes come at a long-term cost.

Interior and foreign ministries will also have another, more self-interested reason to embrace development-style principles. As the agencies and missions adopt a more instrumental approach, they may circumvent PSC-COSI. PSC-COSI was created to prevent interior and foreign ministries pitching ideas over the heads of the other. In the 1990s, interior ministers had developed an unfortunate habit of 'externalising' the onus for EU internal security, using diplomatic tools to turn the EU's neighbours into buffers; foreign ministries returned the favour and used visa and border facilitation as diplomatic tools. Joint bodies like PSC-COSI forced them to coordinate their work. But AFSJ agencies and CSDP missions are now pitching more or less directly to European leaders; and they are using their own data and intelligence to build their case and their political autonomy.

2 Arm the mind: looping in EU defence ministries and militaries

> The 'sequential' CSDP-AFSJ format foresees a handover from military EU capabilities to civilian. But this sequencing is not what most host countries need or necessarily want, nor is it necessarily in the EU security interest. Rather, this civilian approach universalises the EU's own peculiar evolution and its limited military capabilities. To properly align EU interests and capabilities, PSC-COSI would need to keep defence ministries and militaries involved throughout the duration of this form of deployment.

Many people in Europe treat military capabilities as a remnant of our bloody past, and one which may still trigger displays of aggression – in short, as part of an early reptilian security brain. This bias is not necessarily counteracted in Brussels, where defence ministries remain somewhat peripheral to PSC-COSI. And it is certainly reflected in the sequential AFSJ-CSDP format outlined in earlier chapters: in this second format, troops would be used only to prepare the ground for a civilian deployment. The military would be useful only for basic stabilisation, whereas it is civilians who would perform the delicate reform work. Past CSDP deployments have tended to conform to this pattern: the military Operation CONCORDIA in North Macedonia, for instance, prepared the way for the PROXIMA police mission.[14] Only on a few rare occasions, for instance when the EU took over from an earlier NATO mission, did European troops stay on to perform filigree tasks such as policing.

The desire for speed has driven a decade of military CSDP reforms. In the mid-2000s, the EU had been forced to delay military missions by a lack of capabilities. It often lacked helicopters and transport planes, and those it could muster operated on incompatible systems. Moreover, when troops eventually reached the ground, commanders required multiple systems to communicate with national troop contingents.[15] Perversely, however, this only had the effect of reinforcing the cliché that the military ought to be quick and blunt. In reality, the EU's military planners have often chosen to make military CSDP deployments gradual and careful. Speed, after all, is not the only thing military CDSP missions might have to offer; they can do delicate work, such as helping build border or police forces, not least because border and police forces across Africa and Eurasia are often under military command themselves.

If we conceive the sequential format only in terms of a military-to-civilian handover, we

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14 Catriona Mace, "Operation Concordia: Developing a 'European' Approach to Crisis Management?", *International Peacekeeping*, vol.11, no.3 (2004), pp.474–90.

15 Anand Menon, "La politique de défense européenne après le traité de Lisbonne: Beaucoup de bruit pour rien," *Politique étrangère* 2011/2, pp. 375-87.

risk universalising the EU's own peculiar evolution. The EU is the product of a deceptively neat handover of security tasks from the military to the civilian. From the late 1940s, West European states began demilitarising the borders between them under the aegis of NATO. This smoothed the way for greater flows of tradeable goods and so to the European customs union. The lifting of customs checks in turn increased the flow of travellers and commuters, and led to Schengen and the AFSJ. Looking back, we are strongly tempted to depict this as an inevitable transition.[16] And we assume that other countries want to emulate the same sequence as the EU – to progressively demilitarise their borders and open up to the flow of goods and investors. There are at least two major problems with this assumption.

The first is that few other countries avail of the luxurious geopolitical circumstances that the EU has the privilege of enjoying. Not every country can be party to an organisation like NATO and shelter under a friendly security umbrella. Many governments simply have no option but to give a strong role in their border and internal affairs to the military. Those countries such as Georgia or Ukraine which have acted as if they too enjoyed a NATO-style security guarantee have come to regret it. In the mid-2000s, Tbilisi's pro-European government was in thrall to the EU's civilian border standards. It 'civilianised' its border guard almost overnight (in effect relabelling conscripted military border guards as full-time professionals). But this left Georgia vulnerable. Demilitarising its borders and dismantling their old military risk-analysis systems left Tbilisi – and more recently Kyiv – unprepared for Russian troops and unable to repel them.

The second problem is that, in the EU itself, the military still provides internal security – albeit often indirectly. It is the military which

has given law enforcement authorities their cutting edge. This is because, at the end of the Cold War, civilian authorities were able to avail themselves of military techniques and technologies. Thus Frontex copies military command-and-control structures when it deploys its multipurpose surveillance operations; and the team in charge of developing Frontex's capabilities uses defence expertise – and indeed experts - from the European Defence Agency (EDA). And yet, in many cases, national border authorities prefer old civilian technologies, and Frontex operations in the Aegean are obliged to use civilian communications networks or indeed mobile phones if the signal on their civilian system is blocked by mountainous islands. Turkish smugglers, possibly helped by friendly governments, have the technology to listen in.

Civilisation famously shrunk brain sizes by exposing humans to food insecurity and marauding warriors.[17] Today it probably falls to the eastern and southern members to expand the EU's brain by bringing back military expertise in border management tasks. These EU states are the most exposed to geopolitical tensions in Africa and Eastern Europe. They include states which still rely on their military to manage their borders like Malta, or which have a semi-military border tradition like many of the eastern member states. Until now they were expected to take lessons from the EU's founder states in Europe's northwest, and now can redress the balance. The risk, if they fail, is that external exigencies would encourage Frontex to develop military-style capabilities for itself, rather than hand-in-hand with defence ministries. Frontex still struggles to assess the strengths of national border systems which do use the military.[18] And it has a tendency to push its own particular model.

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[16] There is a neat narrative about how EU members underwent a transformation from heavily militarised 'garrison states' to globalised 'trading states' to post-modern 'migration states'. See: James Hollifield, "The Emerging Migration State," *International Migration Review*, vol. 38, no. 3 (2004), pp. 885-912.

[17] John Hawks, "How has the Human Brain Evolved Over the Years?" *Scientific American Mind*, vol.24, no. 3, 2013, p.76, doi:10.1038/scientificamericanmind0713-76b

[18] Member state defence ministries tend to be reluctant to share their border contingency plans with Frontex.

3 More money, more sense: plugging in EU customs authorities and finance ministries

CSDP missions typically have empathy with host countries but lack relevant technical expertise to support them; AFSJ agencies have relevant technical expertise, but often lack empathy. European customs authorities have both technical expertise and empathy with shared interests, but they are not well linked to AFSJ or CSDP frameworks. Their absence prevents the EU matching interests and capabilities. In a 'plug-in' deployment, finance ministries and customs experts should really be the glue between AFSJ, CSDP and the host country.

Customs officials should logically provide the real connective node in any modular AFSJ-CSDP format. Speak to customs officials and this is just how they picture themselves – as part of any government's central nervous system. Custom authorities cooperate along international trade routes; they sit at the intersection between hard coercive and softer developmental approaches to security; and their techniques run the gamut from high-tech surveillance right down to rudimentary human intelligence on the ground. So they are linked up internationally, between policy communities and between levels of authority. Not surprisingly, customs officials have inspired many of the big international innovations in law enforcement techniques since 2001, from the use of Passenger Names Records to SWIFT banking records. And yet it was American customs experts, not European, who made these breakthroughs.

Customs authorities have never found their rightful place in the EU security setup.[19] The reason, ironically, is that they were among the earliest to Europeanise their work. The EU created its Customs Union in the 1950s, and national customs authorities performed two vital roles – collecting import tax for the EU budget and fighting tax fraud. But they did so via decentralised intergovernmental structures, and both of these roles were largely swept aside in the 2000s. OECD countries began to focus on trade facilitation, meaning customs revenue became less important for the EU budget; and the task of cracking down on border crime shifted to the newly-created Frontex and Europol. No EU customs agency has been created to match the Schengen AFSJ agencies. The closest counterpart we have is OLAF, the European office against fraud, which plays a limited international role for instance in negotiations on cigarette smuggling.

The EU's standout expertise is nevertheless meant to be in border management – the EU leads the world in getting travellers across borders, and it has developed a whole law-enforcement model to support this task. But if the EU deploys Frontex, its border agency, to most of the world's borders, it can be positively unhelpful. In, say, Ghana, as much as 25% of government revenue comes from customs and the focus there is on securing financial and trade flows rather than managing migration. A Frontex presence would disrupt the political economy: in Africa, border authorities typically broker between mobile borderland communities; they may be linked to political elites, who often like to have family members in revenue-collection roles; and they juggle tasks with the military, trying to secure trade flows from terrorist groups.[20] Frontex, with its focus on irregular migration, has limited relevant expertise.

European customs authorities have recently gained greater recognition among security

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19 Peter Hobbing, "Customs Cooperation in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice", *CEPS Working Paper*, no. 39, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels, 2011, p.18.

20 Thomas Cantens, "Is it Possible to Reform a Customs Administration? The Role of the Customs Elite in the Reform Process in Cameroon," *WIDER Working Paper*, no. 118, Helsinki, United Nations University WIDER, 2010, http://tinyurl.com/y52rp9ev.

planners in Brussels, reflected in their increased share of the EU budget; but the new funds allotted to customs authorities are designed to help them carry out Integrated Border Management, the Frontex border model. In practice, Frontex itself is performing customs-related roles in the seas around Europe, and Europol and Frontex cooperate to crack smuggling at the land border. And yet, national customs authorities are increasingly vital to the AFSJ, covering angles which the AFSJ agencies do not. Migrants are now being smuggled into the EU like any other commodity, and refugees may try to enter with cash or smuggled goods. Frontex will tackle the migrants in the back of a van, and Europol the driver of the van; but customs authorities focus on the vehicle itself, watching it as it crosses in and out of the EU, and gaining a more rounded picture of the business model.

Customs authorities should really be a kind of connective 'brainstem' for the officials sitting in PSC and COSI. In reality, they remain a mere accessory nerve in the EU's security brain. Their style of work is just too distinct from AFSJ and CSDP practices. Only in the past five years have customs authorities clubbed together to set up the usual law-enforcement Joint Actions familiar from AFSJ, for instance with the Customs Eastern and South-Eastern Land Border Expert Team (CELBET) project along the eastern flank of the Customs Union. And their cooperation with third countries does not fit the mould because they refuse to cooperate on a common threat analysis: whereas Frontex builds risk-analysis networks with African and Balkan governments, customs authorities demur, and for good reason. Many third countries are involved in smuggling, and European customs officers have no desire to share their risk methodology for fear of revealing EU vulnerabilities.

But this raises the question: what good is an AFSJ-CSDP 'plug-in' format which itself cannot plug in to African or Asian border systems? Money makes the world go round, and it is Europe's customs authorities which best

understand the value of trade and financial flows. EU customs officials are sympathetic to the needs of traders and pastoralists in Libya or Mali and have, for the most part, successfully combined heavy border security with light-touch controls. The same cannot always be said of members of the AFSJ-CSDP family like Frontex. Frontex has the luxury of guarding the border to a big wealthy internal market. Only now is it waking up to the fact that its model is costly to maintain and can have a negative economic impact on countries neighbouring the EU. This model will need to be reinvented if it is to be applied in fragile economies, and that is where European customs experts could play a key role.

4 Build muscle memory up: harnessing the autonomy of staff on the ground
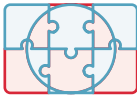
Brussels recognises the importance of giving EU missions and agencies the scope to muddle through on the ground, working out ways to collaborate. But this has proved easier said than done. Nevertheless, all those years of trial and error may now have an upside, in the form of the large numbers of EU officials with experience of both CSDP and AFSJ. Exploiting this shared 'muscle memory' will be key to linking political will in Brussels with the impact on the ground of fully-integrated deployments.

CSDP missions look set to gain greater autonomy, even if the numbers of planners overseeing them in Brussels are swelling. Many PSC ambassadors warn against 'helicopter parenting' and seem ready to lighten reporting conditions, at least during the start-up phase of missions. The focus seems to be on improving each

mission's capacity to govern its own actions well.[21] As mentioned above, AFSJ agencies are also becoming more autonomous. This trend may seem uncharacteristic of interior ministers, who dislike giving up control; but it turns out they dislike the European Parliament's attempts to control the agencies even more. Frontex can now initiate operations on the basis of its assessment of national vulnerabilities, and appears to be moving in the same direction as Europol – making its work dependent on its own intelligence assessments rather than member states' say-so.

But if agencies and missions do become more autonomous, this makes the task of coordinating their joint activities on the ground even harder. This task would fall in no small measure to PSC-COSI, the closest thing the EU's security brain has to a cerebellum, coordinating the body's overall motor skills. PSC and COSI help ensure that political impulses from the highest levels translate into action on the ground, and that operations on the ground can connect back up to the highest political echelons. The last of our four formats would pose a particular challenge, since AFSJ agencies and CSDP missions would be expected to more or less integrate their work. The task of getting the two arms working in tandem would fall in large part to PSC-COSI, especially if the EU fails to nominate some kind of strong single coordinator on the ground.

No international organisation has fully mastered the act of coordinating its own activities on the ground. In fact, few have ambitions to go beyond 'clearing houses' to flag up potential overlaps at the deployment stage.[22] The UN has multiple agencies and is notorious for its internecine tensions. When the UN does create neat

arrangements for its agencies, the agencies find it hard to comply.[23] CSDP planners in Brussels have only a loose arrangement for coordinating civilian and military missions operating in the same region, as is the case in Somalia. And, although it is often said that EU entities find it easier to cooperate with third parties than with each other, the EU has struggled to tango with even a close partner like NATO over Afghanistan, BiH and the Horn of Africa. There is a common problem: arrangements made at a political level are often about defusing political level rivalries, not about boosting operational efficiency on the ground.

By contrast, staff on the ground often do manage to achieve good working relations. NATO commanders and EU heads of operations have rubbed along, for instance, even if their pragmatism seldom filtered back up to Brussels.[24] The same often seems true of AFSJ-CSDP cooperation. When putting together the Crime Information Cell, EU planners capitalised on this. The approach they chose was partly inspired by the decentralised model of a 'fusion centre', bringing together personnel from different authorities to sit and share information by semi-formal means. Planners had presumably recognised that completely regulating relations between AFSJ agencies and the CSDP mission would be too tricky, so chose to place staff on a vessel together, allowing them to build up professional relations with each other and find means of sharing information without breaking their own rules.[25]

But the need remains nonetheless for the EU to establish vertical lines of coordination and accountability. So it helps that there is now a large group of professionals across Europe who have experience of both AFSJ and CSDP operations

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21 On recent concerns see: Annalisa Creta et al. "Civilian and Military Personnel in CSDP Missions and Operations," Report for the Policy Department of the European Parliament, EP/EXPO/B/SEDE/2016/02, 2017, p.12.

22 Markus Derblom et al. "UN-EU-AU Coordination in Peace Operations in Africa," Report for the Swedish Defence Research Agency, FOI-2602-SE, 2008.

23 Steffen Bauer and Frank Biermann, "Partners or Competitors? Policy Integration for Sustainable Development between United Nations Agencies," Paper presented at Berlin Conference on the Human Dimensions of Global Environmental Change, December 3, 2004, http://tinyurl.com/y6c26pka.

24 Simon John Smith, "EU–NATO Cooperation: a Case of Institutional Fatigue?" *European Security*, vol. 20, no. 2 (2011), pp.243–64.

25 Even the idea of creating a 'Cell' went too far for some. They argued that a Cell would require legal personality, whereas it would have been possible simply to create an informal hub housing personnel from different agencies.

(a 'community of practice', in the jargon), and that some are finally reaching the top of the ladder in Brussels. Frontex has recently hired former CSDP planners alongside staff from other AFSJ agencies.[26] And some member states actively reward police or border guards who choose to go abroad to EU deployments. Gone are the days when Europe's interior ministries would stock up CSDP missions and AFSJ operations with 'surplus' gendarmes or with border guards who survived on *per diems* and the buzz of foreign adventure. This group of AFSJ-CSDP professionals are developing a kind of shared 'muscle memory' from their activities together.

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26 Notable among them are Frontex's acting Director of Operations, from the EEAS, its Director for Capacity Building, from Cepol, and its Director for Situational Awareness, from Europol.

CHAPTER 4

THE PROBLEM, RETHOUGHT

The previous chapter...

...looked at how the EU is linking its capabilities with its interests as it tries to behave as a purposive strategic player. But a muscled-up EU, with strong capabilities and political will, is a dangerous thing if it misunderstands the security problems it is actually trying to address. Unlike traditional state actors, the EU's bureaucratic power lies in framing problems in a shared way and coming up with intelligent solutions, rather than exerting coercive power. This chapter details how the EU has framed international security challenges in the wake of the 2015 migration crisis, as the Union comes to see not only dangers but also opportunities in the world around it. It looks at the implications for each of the four operational formats in turn.

In the early days of the 2015 migration crisis, the EU self-diagnosed a new disorder – 'globalisation gone wrong'. To get itself back on its feet, and respond to the flows of migrants, criminals and terrorists, it made an effort to build the EU's 'strategic autonomy'. It would clarify fuzzy 'win-wins' between international partners; disentangle 'hybrid' threats, and 'protect Europe' – in short, it would end the blurring associated with global interdependence, of which the security 'nexus' was the clearest symptom. The EU was in the mood for

a more controlled, hands-on and potentially unilateral approach to the problems of globalisation, and the initial sketches for AFSJ-CDSP deployments reflect this. This desire to protect itself from the world in this way has a long pathology in the EU.[1] But is globalisation really so threatening, and the EU so bereft of international partners?

THE TASK: TO PROPERLY UNDERSTAND THE SECURITY SITUATION

Over breakfast during the 2015 crisis, the citizens of Europe could open a newspaper and fret about conflicts in Ukraine, Syria and Libya. All arrows on the maps pointed towards the EU; migrants and terrorists were cutting a path to a town near you. And they were coming from difficult countries like Eritrea, and via Sudan and Libya - countries with which we anyway had only limited cooperation. The diagnosis was clear: this was 'globalisation gone wrong'. Everything seemed threatening. To the south of the EU, said the newspapers, Africa was disgorging large volumes of its 1.2 billion population onto Europe. To the east, parasite-states like Russia and China were feeding on the EU's weaknesses, and to the south-east, threats were becoming 'hybrid', with countries like

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1 "Sarkozy: 'Europe Needs Protection,'" *Euractiv*, November 13, 2006, https://tinyurl.com/y2tdb9uj.

Sudan and Turkey instrumentalising flows of people for diplomatic leverage.[2]

In the decade to 2001, it was the Americans who had been complacent, trusting global markets to sustain their alpha-status; but then the 'dark side of globalisation' shattered their complacency. It is not unusual to hear European officials describe the 2015 crisis as "the EU's September 11". Up until 2015, Brussels had embraced global economic interdependence with the vague conviction that this was a force for progress. True, the EU had taken a more cautious approach than the US - 'Managed Globalisation'[3] – but this had proved largely successful. We liked to think that the US had won the Cold War but the EU had won the peace. Until, that is, the EU was laid low by an influx of foreign bodies, spawning a far more defensive mindset. 'Protecting Europe' may sound like a fairly banal goal for a security policy, but for the EU it signalled a more defensive posture.

The EU's vulnerability was, however, at least partly imagined. The newspaper maps depicted the EU at the centre of world events, and utterly helpless. But that was only because, before the crisis, Europeans had pictured themselves at the centre of the world with all the answers. Over the previous two decades, the EU had become a repository of norms and standards for managing transboundary problems. In the 1990s the EU had been exposed to weapons, migrants and gangs seeping from the USSR. The EU's cure of 'Managed Globalisation' saw it guiding reforms in its near neighbours before cautiously opening and expanding its own borders. Emboldened by its success, it started spreading its policies globally. The EU was used to thinking of itself as the centre of world

> ‘**P**rotecting Europe’ may sound like a fairly banal goal for a security policy, but for the EU it signalled a more defensive posture.

affairs and with all the answers, now it saw itself at the centre, and without any.

Crucially, the EU had failed to notice the growth of new power centres in other parts of the world. That is now changing. Open a newspaper these days, and it is less likely to trigger panic. The conflict spots are just where they were before, an angry rash around Europe, in Libya, Syria and Ukraine, but the arrows now point in other directions, away from the EU. So there are still concentrations of refugees and IDPs all along the EU's flanks, but the arrows now show African migrants circulating within their own regional economies, and Middle Eastern refugees sticking close to home. Terrorist attacks still occur in the broad swathe of countries around the EU, but the arrows now show illicit finances flowing out of the EU into these unstable zones and young European fighters stuck in camps. This is a far more nuanced picture of Europe's 'security nexus'.

In many ways, though, the new picture is more worrying. It shows just how marginal the EU might become from a global norm-setting perspective – not only how small its AFSJ and CSDP security capabilities are, but also how other countries now view it as an irritation rather than a source of solutions. Russia views the EU as a kind of petri dish which unleashes new strains of political instability on the world, a multipart virus of novel capabilities and retrograde tendencies. China positions itself as a 'normative power', taking on the EU's old mantle; it is creating its own, hands-on, methodology of building economic connectivity and spreading norms.[4] In short, the EU cannot put up border defences and shut itself off from this new situation. When it comes to international

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2 As late as 2018, immigration remained *the* leading concern among surveyed EU citizens, with 38-39% of mentions. At 29%, terrorism remained in second position, although fading somewhat compared to 2017. Crime came in at 10%, just behind the EU's place in the world (11%). Eurostat, "Standard Eurobarometer 89", Eurostat Report, 2018.

3 Rawi Abdelal and Sophie Meunier, "Managed Globalization: Doctrine, Practice and Promise," *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 17, no. 3 (2010), pp. 350-67.

4 Emilian Kavalski, "The Struggle for Recognition of Normative Powers: Normative Power Europe and Normative Power China in Context," *Cooperation and Conflict*, vol. 48, no. 2 (2013), pp.247-67.

policy on issues such as counter-terrorism and border control, the EU faces the choice: to norm or be normed.

The EU first diagnosed its 'internal-external nexus' 20 years ago, but it was not overly afraid of this condition. Back then, the EU reconciled itself to the 'nexus' as an unavoidable part of everyday life – it viewed migration flows and smuggling as a by-product of living in the world. The EU sweetened the pill by framing this almost as an opportunity. Sure, we said, our internal security may be adversely affected by external conflicts, but, on the positive side, this creates opportunities to export our internal policies abroad. Today's world is not short of opportunities for cooperation and burden-sharing either; other countries are terrorist targets, migrant destinations and potential partners. Diagnose the problem of conflict, migration and criminal flows in the right way, and there is a good chance the EU can deploy AFSJ-CSDP formats to maximum effect.

When it comes to international policy on issues such as counter-terrorism and border control, the EU faces the choice: to norm or be normed.

1 The European crisis is global in scale
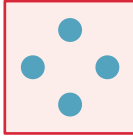
What should be the geographic reach of that first CSDP-AFSJ format? At present AFSJ-CSDP activities focus on transit routes crossing a narrow rim around the EU. This narrow range of deployment probably reflects a pursuit of EU 'strategic autonomy', interpreted as the exercise of its capabilities free from outside interference. But this narrow interpretation of autonomy will only restrict the EU's room for manoeuvre. There is much to be gained instead from deploying AFSJ-CSDP capabilities along global transit routes, rather than those narrowly cutting into the EU itself.

In recent years, the EU has curled itself up in a protective blanket, clustering its operational activities around it. It has thickly coated its southern rump with Frontex Operations – Themis, Indalo, Minerva – and it has wound various CSDP missions around itself, in the Western Balkans, Eastern Europe, Iraq and the Horn of Africa, before ending in a smattering of deployments in the Sahel and North Africa.[5] One major reason for this narrow range of deployment was that the EU's environment looked increasingly hostile to European personnel. There were precious few places in the world where the EU enjoyed conditions to operate autonomously. In the Mediterranean, smugglers shot at Frontex personnel, and Turkish coastguards harried its vessels; terrorists stormed CSDP compounds in West Africa and laid ambushes for staff in the Balkans.

The choice to deploy within a narrow geography has also been driven by the EU's sense that it is behaving strategically when it makes efficient

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5   This charts a narrowing range, both of tasks and geographic reach. Previous missions have stretched south to DRC, west to Guinea Bissau and east to Indonesia.

use of its assets. CSDP missions and AFSJ operations, when they deploy, still fish from the same small pool of European border guards, judges and police. Europe's interior and justice ministries therefore demand an efficient 'return on investment' when choosing which operations to support. The inevitable result of which is that AFSJ agencies and CSDP missions lay claim to the same small geographical zone where they can best highlight the results of their work. It is a false efficiency.[6] Sometimes two deployments are doing much the same thing; on occasion the wrong one is chosen for a new task.[7] In consequence, the EU finds itself permanently dealing with the effects of security problems whose roots may lie thousands of kilometres away.[8]

It is also a false notion of autonomy. This begins with EU member states themselves, which wish to protect their own autonomy from Brussels and the powerful AFSJ agencies. Critics now say that AFSJ agencies are 'externalising' policies to the near abroad which should really be carried out inside the EU. The agencies stand accused of building buffers out of Eastern European countries. There, they apparently rely on repressive law-enforcement structures which Soviet occupiers previously built up. As for the south. CSDP missions, particularly military ones, are deploying to Africa because they

are better suited to a tricky environment. But these are precisely the former colonies where European states first developed semi-militarised forms of law-enforcement to control local populations.[9] If the EU takes a narrow interpretation of 'Strategic Autonomy' it will alienate partners with historical sensitivities and limit its zones of deployment.

The EU's narrow band of deployment is also at odds with the global situation. There are plenty of countries that would gladly welcome EU personnel and assets. Of course some governments, such as Eritrea's or the former regime in Sudan, have used EU engagement instrumentally, seeing it as a means to raise their international standing. Nonetheless, there is scope for positive impact elsewhere, and for the EU to achieve genuine efficiencies by partnering with local players. During their recent review of civilian CSDP, diplomats did call for the EU to respond to global 'demand' for its missions, rather than the more limited political 'supply' in the EU. There is a growing understanding among CSDP planners that 'Strategic Autonomy' can be ensured by broadening the range of deployment and joining forces with partners. This is a lesson which AFSJ agencies are also learning, as they perceive the high international demand for their services.[10]

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6   Where member states do put national assets fully at the disposal of the EU, it is quite often driven by a narrow cost-benefit calculation rather than strategic good sense. One loophole which has recently been fixed: say that member state A and member state B both host a Frontex maritime operation in their waters. Neither were eligible to receive support from the EU budget if they put vessels or helicopters at the disposal of the local Frontex operation – after all, this operation had been deployed as a show of solidarity with them. But they could get cash if they deployed assets to each other's operations. So governments A and B typically made a deal to swap assets, and then claim a reimbursement from the EU budget. Following recent reforms, host member states can now claim money from the EU budget when Frontex makes use of their resources, and the tactical swapping has ended.

7   One CSDP mission, for instance, was recently required to make regular visits to Libya to follow up on EU trainings and investments. This is good practice – checking that EU money is well spent. The trouble is that its staff are largely precluded from travelling there under the terms of the mandate until the security situation improves. But instead of passing the task to another nearby CSDP mission which faces no such restrictions, it has spent thousands of euros each time to carry out inspections of its own.

8   No CSDP operation has ever enjoyed as much 'strategic autonomy' as EUNAVFOR Med. After all, it is not operating on foreign territory but rather in the Mediterranean. Yet it is riven by disagreements inside the EU, and could hardly be said to prove that a narrow interpretation of 'autonomy' lends itself to strategic behaviour. Critics argue that the EU can succeed only if it meets the demand for EU engagement on the other side of the Mediterranean. EUNAVFOR Med can succeed in stemming migration only with the help of African partners. Without support from African governments in repatriating their expats directly from Libya, for example, EU members are faced with a steady stream of migrants crossing the Mediterranean. It is the question of what to do with the new arrivals which has split the EU.

9   EU governments have given the AFSJ agencies new powers to build up Europe's law-enforcement and border standards, but they dislike the idea of these powers being exercised on their territory. Hosting an AFSJ operation might mean giving up their sovereign prerogatives. So they would rather see the agencies exercise those powers outside the EU. This leaves the EU open to accusations of 'externalising' its policies to Eastern Europe, to spots like North Macedonia or Moldova, where the AFSJ agencies can readily plug into local law-enforcement structures which have remained strong since Cold War times.

10 Frontex is the most well-known of the agencies, and its name is still bigger than its actual powers. In consequence, it has always struggled to meet expectations within the EU. Now it is experiencing the same problem abroad. On Frontex's 'capability-expectations gap' see: Jorrit Rijpma, "Frontex: Successful Blame Shifting of the Member States?" *ARI Paper*, no. 69, Elcano Royal Institute, Madrid, 2010.

In early 2018, Brazil was briefly put forward as a potential recipient for EU security expertise. The case is instructive. Brazil has been a major transit country for Venezuelan refugees heading for Chile and Argentina, as well as itself playing host to 100,000 Venezuelan migrants, residue of the largest human displacement in South American history. Brasilia was also floundering, relying on its border-states to handle the problem, and might have welcomed an EU deployment. In the event, the discussion in Brussels never got off the ground. Planners deemed the effect of the crisis on the EU's internal security too small (Brazil shares a border with French Guyana) and the task of turning its engagement into an external security alliance too big (there was a vague notion in Brussels that Donald Trump's election allowed the EU to reach out to Latin America). It was felt that the 'internal-external nexus' had not been breached.

And yet, it has since become clear that engagement with Brazil could counter smuggling routes to Europe as well as supporting the EU's calls for international burden-sharing. Brazil took in Syrian refugees in 2015 – part of a long history of differentiating itself from the US, but also evidence of the sizeable historic Middle Eastern diaspora across Latin America.[11] It also seems that criminals have been helping smuggle migrants from the Middle East into Brazil; and, once there, have given them fake identity documents and used Brazil's visa-free access to help them enter the EU. Perhaps most importantly, however, Brazil would have used a European deployment not only to learn from the EU, but also to teach it something. Brazil has its own long history of border management and wants to influence European norm-setters.[12] Grasping this new reality will be key to future EU deployments.

2 The global crisis will be slow-onset
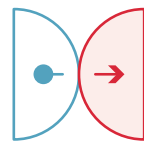
If the first AFSJ-CSDP format – the demarcated format - would benefit from a wider zone of deployment, the second – the sequential missions – would benefit from a wider timeframe. As illustrated by recent EU border missions, a quick deployment is not the same as a timely one, and many missions get on the ground long after the scope for a positive effect has passed. A conceptual approach focusing on early-stage problems would help.

Speed of deployment has also become key to the EU's concept of strategic autonomy, and headline targets now apply to the timeframe for CSDP missions and Frontex operations. Yet speed is not always synonymous with timeliness. The EU may well mobilise resources quickly, but the resulting mission will still hit the ground long after the window of opportunity for effective intervention has closed. Recent EU border-related missions like EUCAP Sahel Niger (2012) or EUBAM Libya (2013) were, for instance, quite speedy, the EU's goal being to confine the crisis to a single region, then intervene surgically and cut out the problem before it spread. But other CDSP missions have been both speedy *and* timely. EUBAM Rafah and EUBAM Moldova, both launched in 2005, were nimble responses to a political opening in the host country, with the aim of eradicating the crisis before it even came to a head.

EUBAMs Moldova and Rafah are a good reminder that the EU's focus on borders is not new, but that the migration crisis has changed its

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11 There are around 8 million people of Lebanese descent in Latin America, for instance, clustered in Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Venezuela and Colombia. They are the product of migrations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

12 Brazilian diplomacy traces its tradition to José Paranhos, whose focus was settling border disputes with Brazil's neighbours, including imperial France. The government in Brasilia is keen to promote its heritage in this field. The EU needs to be more awake to this motivation: many third countries are keen to call in EU experts as much to influence them as learn from them. They want to sensitise the EU to the conditions they face. And if the EU wishes to retain its role as an international standard-setter, it should welcome the opportunity.

flavour, making its activities more reactive and defensive. The two recent EU missions, EUCAP Sahel and EUBAM Libya, focus on defensive border *protection* rather than proactive border management, which was the focus of the two 2005 missions. The EU's goal in 2005 was not so much containment as to actively unblock flows of people, goods and money in order to prevent crises from coming to a head. Planners foresaw the risk that communities in the Gaza Strip and along the Dniester River might put their faith in non-state groups and secessionist administrations if borders were mismanaged. By contrast, EUCAP Sahel and EUBAM Libya are merely containing the after-effects of previous crises.

Tellingly, when migrants did finally start crossing the Mediterranean in large numbers in 2015, the EU had already been predicting the influx for at least four years: back in 2011 in the immediate aftermath of the Arab Spring, the EU braced for a surge of millions. Tunisia's border service had collapsed, leaving few barriers to hold people back. But that year, only around 30,000 people arrived in Italy. The most important flows of people were in fact away from the EU, from north to south. These involved young emigrants returning home from the EU and the expulsion of militias from North Africa to Mali.[13] These flows were deeply destabilising, and many of the people who did finally cross into the EU in 2015 were themselves fleeing the resulting instability. In the years 2011-2015, the EU missed dozens of opportunities for timely border interventions in the Sahel because the migration flows at the time went north to south.

Of course, it is not as easy for the EU to intervene proactively today as it was in 2005. Back then, there was a widespread demand for intelligent

EU norms; moreover almost all international organisations were stable and powerful, and the US was showing strong leadership. This helped enormously when it came to the EUBAM Rafah deployment. The EU's foreign policy chief at the time was a former Secretary General of NATO with strong contacts in the US administration. When he received the phone call from Washington encouraging the EU to set up the Rafah mission he was able to draw on a small planning staff in Brussels, one of whom happened to know an Italian official with the expertise to lead the mission. The US volunteered to pay for the necessary border scanning equipment in Rafah and to otherwise remain in the background.

The international constellation today is less conducive to taking early action. Indeed, some international organisations actively encourage the EU to think in reactive terms, playing up threats in order to raise funds for their work. In 2014, the World Food Programme warned Europeans about the large numbers of refugees stranded in Jordan and Lebanon in precarious situations; if the WFP was not given the money to feed them, it was said, then these refugees could well move on to Europe. In actual fact, the refugees who did begin pouring into Turkey in 2015 do not seem to have come from the camps in Jordan or Lebanon, but rather directly from northern Syria as the fighting moved northwards. The refugees in Jordan and Lebanon were poor and vulnerable and increasingly *trapped* – not least thanks to WFP policies that employed them in low-wage positions producing their own food.[14]

An awareness of concepts such as 'trapped populations' points the way forward in redefining security issues both temporally and

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13   In the immediate aftermath of the Arab Spring, the most important migration flows were not into Europe from North Africa, but to North Africa from Europe: young workers in the EU were returning home, hopeful of a better future. This influx of young expats back into North Africa from Europe fed into a febrile political environment. Across the region, youth unemployment ran at nearly 25% – and more than 30% for women. More destabilising still was the loss of control across North Africa's *southern* borders, in particular as Tuareg members of Qaddafi's Islamic Legion seeped southwards into Mali. The subsequent breakdown of order in particular in Libya robbed the region of one of its major employers of immigrants, causing havoc in neighbours like Niger. Only much later did large flows of people start coming north across the Mediterranean to Europe.

14   The international community had ushered in two policies in Jordan: one was to subsidise refugees' housing and the other was to boost Jordanian agricultural production so that locals would also benefit from hosting refugees. In fact, the low-paid agricultural jobs could only be filled by refugees, precisely thanks to their subsidised living costs. The result was a ticking time bomb, of locals and refugees stuck in a country with a growing agricultural sector that sapped water resources. It has been calculated that 54% of Jordanian water supplies go on agriculture, a sector contributing just 2.5% of GDP. On the issue of water scarcity and refugees, see: "Tapped Out: Water Scarcity and Refugee Pressures in Jordan", Mercy Corps Brief, March 2014, p.33, http://tinyurl.com/y2sw783y..

spatially. The concept came about in 2011, when the UK government commissioned a report on the effects of climate change on migration. Researchers came back with the usual apocalyptic vision of people flooding into Europe, but when they were sent away to think again, they hit upon the counter-intuitive notion of 'trapped populations'. This is the idea that most people impacted by climate change would in fact get stuck.[15] If these populations did eventually flood into Europe, it would only be as a result of fourth- or fifth-order effects. Reframed in these terms, the slow-onset nature of a 'migrant' crisis becomes clear. Preventing this kind of crisis requires helping African cities cope with urbanisation or helping pastoralist communities to move freely.

3 The EU risks becoming a hybrid menace

In the 'modular' format, planners would treat an EU deployment like one of those demonstration molecules, sticking on extra atoms as they go along. They are keen to make the most of the EU's ability to mix and match different capabilities. But they would benefit from an awareness of how this is perceived. Other powers like Turkey and Russia are unlikely to view the format so benignly. They believe the EU is breeding a hybrid virus, and such misperceptions prevent the EU from addressing security problems.

In a confusing world in which international crises no longer unfurl in a neat linear way, the EU should logically be ready to deploy a mission which plugs in relevant tools as it goes along.

The ability to mix military and civilian, diplomatic and technical means would bring the EU one step closer to realising its ambition to become a comprehensive security actor. The EU's potential to pick and mix capabilities was always its added value compared to a more classic international security provider like NATO. The EU affirmed this in 2016: the EU Global Strategy (EUGS) earned its name – *global* – less for its geographic range than its desire to combine policy tools in a properly comprehensive way. And the EUGS had some clear threats in mind when it underlined the importance of this comprehensive approach, notably 'hybrid warfare'.[16]

Hybrid warriors combine with non-state actors in order to unsettle the civilian populations of their enemies and further their strategic interests. In 2016, Russia's Federal Security Service (allegedly) did just that when it colluded with criminals to help irregular migrants cross the EU's eastern flank in a bid to destabilise the region. And Daesh had a similar aim when it claimed to be infiltrating migration flows to Europe from the south. Attacks such as these seemed designed to highlight the EU's unwieldiness, cutting as they did across administrative silos (external, internal, military and humanitarian). Incidentally Russia (which is blamed for first inventing the bacillus of hybrid warfare) prefers terms such as 'full spectrum' to describe this approach. If the EU speaks instead of 'hybrid' threats, it is in large part because it feels the impact in terms of interdepartmental overlaps and tensions.

It was the EU's south-eastern flank which suffered the most sustained 'hybrid' onslaught in 2015, feeling the effects not only of Russia and Daesh's actions, but also of Turkey's instrumentalisation of migration flows. Ankara extracted humanitarian aid from the EU in return for living up to its refugee obligations, and it used the crisis to raise its diplomatic standing

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15 Most of the world's big new cities are in coastal areas and are prone to flooding. These cities in developing countries have typically undergone heavy immigration from the local countryside. The newcomers have sold up and used their savings to get a toehold in the city. Already in a precarious position, they will have no scope to move even in the event of severe weather events.

16 HR/VP Federica Mogherini, "A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy," June 29, 2016, p.9, http://tinyurl.com/yy5eu7wo.

at the EU's expense.[17] It also proposed creating a series of refugee safe-zones in Syria, which neatly tallied with its geostrategic ambitions; and it used the displacement of people to rebalance its domestic ethnic makeup.[18] It exploited the instability in order to erode Greece's administration of the Aegean islands. This all highlighted the need for a joined-up EU response, which would attach diplomatic and military elements to refugee and border policies.

And yet, there is a chicken-or-egg question here: which came first, the hybrid threat or the EU's supposed response? When Russians coined terms like 'full-spectrum' warfare, they were not prescribing a new doctrine for attacking the West. Rather, they were describing the threat posed to Russia by the West, as they saw it. In the 2000s, Moscow had been shaken by the 'colour revolutions' in Eastern Europe and North Africa, and saw these as evidence of the way the West broke the conventions of international relations and deployed comprehensive means to spread instability.[19] Since then, the EU has been in a highly experimental phase of foreign policy, throwing new combinations of policy tools at problems like migration and terrorism. Russia and the West have lost any sense of convergence around a common model of governance, and they have dismantled their Cold War confidence-building mechanisms, too.

Sure enough, Turkish diplomats mutter that it is the EU that is in fact guilty of 'weaponising' migration. They complain that Europeans for years pressed Ankara to demilitarise border controls, only to deploy two naval border missions of their own, one closing off the Central Mediterranean and the other, the Aegean. The launch of the first, EUNAVFOR Med, coincided with an influx of Syrians into Turkey, and these flows were prevented from leaving Turkey by the second, NATO's Aegean operation. Perhaps most worryingly for the EU, there is some truth to this accusation, even if it is more accidental

than Turkey believes. People-smugglers in Libya responded to EUNAVFOR Med by attracting poor African clients with cheap prices and the promise of rescue; the Syrian middle-classes who had dominated the Mediterranean route now turned towards Turkey; and Turkey's border controls were too soft to manage the pressures.

Some hawks in Brussels nevertheless welcome the EU's recent moves to combine its military-civilian capabilities as a small step towards preparing for the return of great power competition. They would like the EU to acknowledge once and for all that cross-border flows can pose a hard security threat and to leverage its aid as it did in Turkey. But the EU's long-standing refusal to leverage its technical cooperation for political reasons has important benefits: the more these policy tools become politicised, the more likely crises are to unfold in unpredictable and unmanageable ways. This dynamic has played out in Turkey, where diplomats accuse the EU of destabilising their country, rendering developments there distinctly 'un-linear'. For small crisis-hit countries across the world, the EU is a benign and predictable ally precisely because it curbs its coercive power.

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17 Turkey pressed the EU to recognise it as a safe reception country for Syrian refugees but also as a 'safe third country', that is: one that treats its citizens well and does not produce refugees.

18 Syrian Kurds were reportedly pushed across the border to Bulgaria, Alawites were kept out of Alevi areas, and Sunnis were sent to Kurdish strongholds, with the government eyeing them as a future voter clientele.

19 Mark Galeotti, "I'm Sorry for Creating the 'Gerasimov Doctrine'," *Foreign Policy*, March 5, 2018, http://tinyurl.com/yc49vnb7.
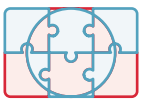
4 Don't forget 'globalisation-gone-right'

> The EU has always based its power upon political, market and technical integration. This is a cooperative form of power, which reframes crises as shared problems. But other players are taking on its model of integration, in pursuit of a blunter power politics. Brussels faces the temptation of joining in, using its bureaucratic power to create buffers and bend others to its interests. But this would squander opportunities for a softer approach.

If the EU aspires to a fully-integrated crisis response – the idea behind our fourth format, and the inspiration for recent administrative reforms in the CSDP structures of the EEAS - this is again because it promises to boost the EU's autonomy in the face of 'globalisation-gone-wrong'. The concerted use of CSDP and AFSJ resources would increase the EU's laser-like focus on problem zones, boosting its ability to stand on its own two feet. But, in fact, the EU may need to break down its internal silos for a rather different reason: Europe needs to make its activities accessible to new international partners with their own traditions, sensibilities and command-and-control structures. Ignore this potential to tackle international problems cooperatively, and minor crises will take on the profile of inevitable disasters.[20]

Before the crisis, the EU had signed up to an optimistic 'Agenda for Change', buying into the palliative effects of global interdependence. The EU believed that rising global prosperity would cap demographic growth, boost the world's middle classes and spur liberal political reforms. This vision was marred somewhat by two unsightly 'humps', a 'migration hump' and a 'terrorism hump'. These, growths in irregular migration and violent extremism, were diagnosed as side-effects of economic globalisation, caused by economic growth but also resolved by it. By 2015, however, the diagnosis became more drastic. The birth rate in many developing countries was still on the up, and many were showing signs of a youth bulge. Violent extremism continued to rise as the young middle-classes demanded a say in the running of their countries and were rebuffed by elites. And irregular migration surged as people saved up the means to cross continents, having lost any incentive to stay at home.

Economic development went from being long-term remedy to cause, and it seemed the best thing the EU could do was to close the door to the rest of the world and quarantine itself. Some in the EU therefore argued for a blunt response. If economic development created problems, and if globalisation went on spawning 'humps', the logical cure was to stymie developing economies by withholding aid and trade. Slightly more sophisticated minds suggested redirecting EU trade and aid policies so that they primarily benefited elites in Africa and Asia: this would give the EU leverage over elites to control their populations. Both groups interpreted the EU's new buzzwords of 'Strategic Autonomy' and 'European sovereignty' to mean that the EU was dropping its old understanding of normative power in favour of a blunter defence of its unique interests.

Such responses may seem hard-headed, but they are driven by false fears and they frequently backfire. As part of its hard-headed new approach to the migration crisis, for example, the EU focused development spending on potential buffer countries like Niger rather than funding distant spots like South Africa. This did little to attract migrants away from Europe. The EU also

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20 Even examples of land stress show political roots and levers. Researchers who have looked into the links between the drought in Syria and subsequent exodus also show that it was politics not climate which caused the problem and causal link, highlighting scope for early engagement. Lina Eklund and Darcy Thompson, "Differences in Resource Management Affects Drought Vulnerability across the Borders between Iraq, Syria, and Turkey," *Ecology and Society*, vol. 22, no. 4 (2017), https://doi.org/10.5751/ES-09179-220409.

cooperated with West African governments to help them harvest migrant remittances from their citizens in Europe. This again seemed a hard-headed choice to increase Europe's political leverage, but it only sharpened West Africa's appetite to get workers into the EU. The smarter choice for Brussels would have been to help reduce the cost of remitting cash across West Africa itself, and to capitalise on the growing numbers of Africans seeking work near to their home countries.

A rise in terrorism and migration cannot, moreover, completely obscure the signs of 'globalisation-gone-unexpectedly-right'. The world has grown richer, as illustrated by South Africa's economy or the emergence of a West African labour market. It has done so, however, without converging around the EU model. True, globalisation has spurred urbanisation – but not along the European model of shrinking birth rates and liberal politics. In Europe, generations were split up as the elderly were left in the countryside, thereby prompting the creation of a welfare system and social rights; city-dwelling families were small and nuclear, leading to a demand for civil rights such as privacy; and governments offered political rights to an emergent urban middle class. None of these things has happened elsewhere in quite the same way. People have got rich, just not in the same way we got rich – or, more precisely perhaps, in the way we like to believe we got rich.[21] But there is still huge scope for cooperation.

Perhaps more worryingly, other countries are deploying EU-style cooperation, but with a muscular edge. In Central Asia, China trumped India in a bid for a gas concession in Central Asia by offering to allow tens of thousands of young people from the region to move to China and study. This was an EU-style 'mobility partnership', but on a grand scale and for geo-economic purposes. Regional hegemons see the benefits in creating regional free movement zones around themselves – in Africa (ECOWAS and COMESA) and Latin America (SICA and MERCOSUR). And a host of international powers, including Russia and China, are ready to cooperate on home affairs issues. These are countries which would never usually deviate from the principles of sovereignty and non-intervention. They are asserting EU-style areas of security, justice and sometimes even freedom – and it reinforces the need for the EU to stay true to its own underlying values.

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21 Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990–1990* (Cambridge MA: Blackwell, 1990.)

CONCLUSION: A LONG FUTURE FOR EU SECURITY POLICY?

This *Chaillot Paper...*

has asked the question whether the EU is capable of strategic behaviour – whether it can develop meaningful security capabilities and deploy them effectively. And the answer is: we do not yet know. Big bureaucracies like the EU are much too sophisticated to be predictable. The EU's strategy-making process is highly rational in its constituent parts, but how those parts are strung together remains a matter of chance. This final chapter looks at how Europe's leaders may link up the disparate lessons of the previous chapters. It explains, first, why EU strategy-making sometimes 'misaligns'. It then envisages two alternative outcomes – one an inward-looking and reactive use of EU capabilities, the other more enlightened and purposive.

When states act strategically, it is usually the result of a classic sequential thought-process. In a strategic review, governments will define a problem; then gather relevant stakeholders; then come up with solutions. But in big international bureaucracies, with compartmentalised structures, these steps tend to happen separately and concurrently. One group of officials will have the job of analysing international problems (Chapter 4); another of building political will (Chapter 3); and another of inventing solutions (Chapter 2). Hence metaphors like the 'one-armed bandit' to describe EU policy-making, where each of these processes is represented as a wheel spinning independently of the others.[1] Once in a while, leaders will pull the 'lever' and the 'wheels' may line up nicely: the suite of policy solutions will match both the interests of stakeholders and real-world security problems. Oftentimes, however, the wheels will not align.

STRATEGY AS A GAME OF CHANCE

The EUISS's first paper on CSDP-AFSJ coordination was called *The Prince's Two Arms*.[2] The title was meant to flatter the EU's political leadership. An allusion to Machiavelli's *The Prince*, it inferred that EU leaders gathering in the European Council could show the same finesse as the leader of a small city state; that they could coordinate the EU's internal and external security arms with clear strategic purpose. Reality is different. The EU is big, and its leaders are busy. In consequence, the EU's border guards and military staff do not behave like the perfect courtier in Castiglione's sixteenth century *Book of the Courtier*.[3] AFSJ agencies and CSDP missions do not pivot at the whim of their prince, they muddle through. One security planner interviewed by the author says they are currently doing the 'hokey cokey': they are

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1   This has also been called the 'multiple streams' or 'garbage can' model of decision-making. Alessandro Lomi and J. Richard Harrison, *The Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice: Looking Forward at Forty* (Bingley: Emerald, 2012).

2   Ferruccio Pastore, "Reconciling the Prince's Two Arms", *Occasional Paper* no. 30, EUISS, Paris, October 2001.

3   Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* (1528).

working out rudimentary routines for their collaboration inside the EU and out.[4]

The myth of *The Prince* persists, however, because some small EU member states have succeeded in devising their own joined-up approaches to security, which get strong buy-in across their domestic constituencies. Yet their experience is not transferrable to the EU, and the difference from Brussels bureaucracy is instructive. These states often face a single clear security threat (of flooding, snow, mischief-making by a foreign power) and their seats of government are in the capital where stakeholders meet regularly. They thus have the luxury of performing a classic ends-means assessment: start out with an analysis of the security situation; gauge domestic interests; and decide on an effective approach. The EU, by contrast, is an assemblage of different bodies and committees, each with their own routines and focus. Its thinking-processes are more disjointed.

It is planners in the AFSJ agencies and CSDP structures who dream up solutions; but it is committees like the PSC and COSI which build a sense of common interests; meanwhile, knowledge hubs in the European Commission analyse real-world problems. This kind of disjointedness is not unusual among international bureaucracies; nor does it necessarily produce bad policy. Indeed, bodies like the EU and NATO often construct policy 'backwards' – they dream up a good solution first, and then retrofit it to

Bodies like the EU and NATO often construct policy 'backwards' – they dream up a good solution first, and then retrofit it to their members' interests and to real-world problems.

their members' interests and to real-world problems.[5] Starting with the solution is often the easiest way of approaching a complicated problem. In the case that concerns us here, there are only a few ways to combine AFSJ agencies and CSDP missions, so it may be simplest to start with possible deployment formats and then check if they pass muster with the EU, let alone address its vulnerabilities.

The trouble starts when bureaucracies adopt a solution but forget to align it with demand and supply – when they adopt a strategy and never check to see whether it matches real-world security problems or their own political interests. This happens because bureaucracies draw their legitimacy from their rational decision-making; this means that, when they do adopt a policy or strategy, they feel obliged to pretend they have arrived at it following a deliberative step-by-step process, even if they have not. The classic example is the EU's 'Battlegroup' format which boasted a new sense of strategic purpose, but was never able to match both real-world demand and political supply.[6] The Battlegroup has never been deployed – and any new AFSJ-CSDP formats may well suffer the same fate. When a crisis next hits the EU, governments may reach for alternative, more flexible, formats.[7]

It is no surprise that commentators compare bureaucratic strategy-making to pulling the lever on a 'one-armed bandit': there is always an element of chance in the result. One pitfall

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4　The Hokey Cokey is a children's dance. It is a good metaphor for the experimental approach of the EU's two security arms to managing the internal-external nexus: "Put your right arm in/ Put your right arm out/ In out, in out/ Shake it all about." On this metaphor for EU politics, see: 'Charlemagne', "The Euro Hokey Cokey," *The Economist*, December 8, 2012.

5　Security cooperation often involves large-scale R&D, and officials may identify a technological breakthrough before identifying the problem it is meant to solve. They may also start with a good strong solution because it provides a 'signal effect', like deterrence. See: Jonathan Aus, "Eurodac: A Solution Looking for a Problem?" *European Integration online Papers*, vol. 10, no. 6 (2006), http://eiop.or.at/eiop/pdf/2006-006.pdf. On this style of decision-making more generally: Adele Peters, "Tesla has installed a truly huge amount of energy storage," *Fast Company*, June 5, 2018, https://tinyurl.com/y76nqcct.

6　Yf Reykers, "No Supply without Demand: Explaining the Absence of the EU Battlegroups in Libya, Mali and the Central African Republic," *European Security*, vol.25, no.3, 2016, pp.346-65.

7　The Commission's DG NEAR, for instance, funds 'special measures' in the Western Balkans. This reimburses member states who send either a fixed contingent of border guards (in the case of the Czech Republic) or fluctuating numbers (in the case of Poland).

involves ending up with yesterday's solutions to tomorrow's problems. At the national level, strategists start by framing the problem. The EU, by contrast, does not always have the luxury of starting from a settled understanding of the problem.[8] The effects can be seen in the current case. CSDP and AFSJ planners – old rivals – may selectively appeal to the problem of 'nexus' to gain an advantage. And the EU has not tailored a new body of stakeholders to discuss the 'internal-external nexus', instead relying on long-established committees which exclude relevant players like defence or development ministers. Meanwhile, analysts in the EU's various knowledge hubs are discovering that the 'internal-external nexus' is not what they initially thought.

When Europe's leaders do pull the policy 'lever' they will nevertheless expect policies to line up with their collective interests and the current international constellation. In the case of the 'nexus', this will happen by 2020 at the latest. Migration and terrorism will be high on the agenda during this year's European elections, and efficiency and effectiveness will be the key factors guiding the EU's spending priorities after Brexit. Leaders in the European Council will demand an operational response to international crime, terrorism and migration. They will want to know the most effective way of using the EU's home affairs agencies and international security missions. Here, then, are two visions for how the discussion on AFSJ-CSDP deployments might end – the first likely to materialise if discussions are left to chance; the second if they are properly engineered.

2020: DOUBLE VISION

By 2020, EU security planners will be in a position to say that they are implementing the four options for joint deployment – 'demarcated', 'sequential', 'modular' and 'integrated'. But, in fact, they will just be giving labels to the way that their rival operations overlap and nudge each other aside. Their guiding principle will actually be 'bureaucratic competition'. AFSJ agencies and CSDP missions will compete to provide a protective rim around the EU, drumming up political support by appealing to Europe's fears of immigration, terrorism and crime. Their rivalry will be sharpened by events like Britain's exit from the EU, as CSDP missions are hit by the loss of UK contributions and Frontex gains more resources to regulate British citizens travelling into the EU. If the EU does expand the geographic range of its deployments beyond the rim, this will be to places like Anglophone West Africa – because Britain's exit removes barriers to its agencies and missions throwing their weight around there.

> **AFSJ agencies and CSDP missions will compete to provide a protective rim around the EU.**

This pattern of AFSJ-CSDP deployments will in turn sharpen the EU's sense of its security interests. Defensive, unilateral deployments by the EU will give shape to a concept of 'protective Europe', with its emphasis on safeguarding EU interests from a hostile world. Brussels, thanks to the growing power of its purse, will become able to enforce this as a coherent security concept. The EU budget will expand across refugee reception and border protection, territorial defence and expeditionary crisis missions, energy and transport connectivity, opening the way for a few core security stakeholders in Brussels to link up very different policies in pursuit of homeland security.[9] Some

8 One common pitfall is to end up with yesterday's solution to tomorrow's problems. It is notable that today's recipe for AFSJ-CSDP coordination was more or less set out in *The Prince's Two Arms* two decades ago. See: Pastore, "Reconciling the Prince's Two Arms", p.3.

9 Jim Brunsden and Mehreen Khan, "Germany Wants EU to Reward States for Taking Migrants," *Financial Times*, February 20, 2018.

non-EU states might be found deserving of protection within a hard new EU border – Switzerland, Norway, the Western Balkans – whereas others might be left out – Turkey, the UK.

This defensive posture by the EU will alienate potential partners in Africa and Eastern Europe. As a result, problems of crime and migration will press right up to the borders of the EU, confirming the diagnosis of 'globalisation-gone-wrong'. In this context, the EU will increase its leverage over its neighbours by bringing development spending within the EU budget and expanding it to cover Africa as a whole. This will only sharpen the dividing line between the European Union and the African Union, between global North and South. To the east, Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia will find themselves locked beyond the EU's border but tied into its ambit by market forces. The result of these shifts will be to incentivise African governments to leverage south-to-north migration flows, and to encourage Russia to destabilise the EU's eastern 'sphere of influence' using criminal networks.

That, at least, is what happens in an unstructured strategy process, where policy solutions are allowed to find their own connections to political interests and security problems. By contrast, a more structured strategic process would start with a diagnosis of the new security environment. This would treat problems of migration, crime and violent extremism as symptoms of a new global politics, birth pangs of a new post-Western order. The clearest evidence of this is the way international migration flows are now heading in all directions – oftentimes, away from the West. They reflect the emergence of new poles of attraction like

China. As for criminals, and even terrorist organisations, they currently fill in for the state in weaker economies which are asserting their own developmental paths; these groups will soon recede. The EU was built to be a pole in just such an 'interpolar' world.[10]

The EU was built to be a pole in just such an 'interpolar' world.

The EU's security interest lies in seeing this emergent order becoming cooperative and multilateral – a world in which different poles work to influence and learn from each other.[11] This requires the EU to make use of its traditionally broad understanding of security, but in new ways. Wave goodbye, then, to the old mental map which pictures the EU at the centre of the world, surrounded by concentric circles of countries waiting to adopt its policies. In comes a world of economic flows, pools and bridges.[12] The pools are EU-style regional free movement regimes, such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) or MERCOSUR. And the bridges are the states which link these regional regimes to each other – Morocco as the bridge between the EU and ECOWAS. In this world, the EU functions both as a big power and as the counterfoil to such a power – it speaks with Beijing, Moscow, Delhi but it also helps fragile Asian and African regions cohere.

In this world, the AFSJ-CSDP operations are just a minor focus. The EU prepares its 'demarcated' CSDP-AFSJ format to deal with the new pattern of global migration – with flows that move away from the EU, from west to east and north to south. It loads up its 'modular' format with expertise on managing licit cross-border flows, reflecting its own efforts to modernise Europe's border crossings and setting up border hotspots as its contribution to Chinese cross-border infrastructure support in Africa and Eurasia.[13] The EU calibrates its 'sequential'

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10 Giovanni Grevi, "The Interpolar World: A New Scenario," *Occasional Paper*, no. 79, EUISS, Paris, June 2009, https://tinyurl.com/y332ol7l

11 Florence Gaub, "Global Trends to 2030: Challenges and Choices for Europe," *ESPAS Report*, European Strategy and Policy Analysis System, Brussels, 2019, https://tinyurl.com/yynm2mml.

12 Roderick Parkes, "Out Of (And Inside) Africa: Migration Routes and Their Impacts," Brief no. 12, EUISS, Paris, April 2017, https://tinyurl.com/yxfbrdno.

13 Maegan Hendow, "Crossing Borders in the Next 15 years: How Should and Will Border Management Develop?" *Policy Brief*, ICMPD, Vienna, 2018, https://tinyurl.com/yxz39nbh.

format not to graduate from crisis response to long-term development tasks, but rather to prepare for when development backfires and leads to crisis. And the EU develops an 'integrated' AFSJ-CSDP format not so much to increase its power on the ground in crisis spots, but rather to dismantle its complicated internal silos so as to make its assets more available to the host country or regional organisation.

ANNEX

ABBREVIATIONS

AFSJ
Area of Freedom, Security and Justice

AU
African Union

BiH
Bosnia and Herzegovina

CELBET
Customs Eastern and South–Eastern Land Border Expert Team

Cepol
European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Training

CIC
Crime Information Cell

COMESA
Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

COSI
Standing Committee on Internal Security

CPCC
Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability

CSDP
Common Security and Defence Policy

DRC
Democratic Republic of Congo

EASO
European Asylum Support Office

ECOWAS
Economic Community of West African States

EDA
European Defence Agency

EEAS
European External Action Service

EIGE
European Institute for Gender Equality

EMCDDA
European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction

ENISA
European Agency for Network and Information Security

ESS
European Security Strategy

EUBAM
European Union Border Assistance Mission

EUFOR
European Union Force

EUGS
EU Global Strategy

eu-LISA
European Agency for the Operational Management of Large–Scale IT Systems in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice

EUNAVFOR
European Union Naval Force

EUROGENDFOR
European Gendarmerie Force

Europol
European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation.

EUSTAM
EU stability and monitoring mission

FRA
European Agency for Fundamental Rights

GIZ
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH (*German Agency for International Cooperation*)

IDP
Internally Displaced Person

IOM
International Organisation for Migration

ISS
Internal Security Strategy

MENA
Middle East and North Africa

MERCOSUR
South American Common Market (*Mercado Común del Sur*)

NATO
North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

OECD
Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

OLAF

European Anti–Fraud Office
(*Office européen de lutte antifraude*)

OSCE

Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe

PESCO

Permanent Structured Cooperation

PSC

Political and Security Committee

R&D

Research and Development

RAN

Radicalisation Awareness Network

SICA

Central American Integration System (*Sistema de la Integracíon Centroamericana*)

SR

Special Representative

TEU

Treaty on European Union

UN

United Nations

UNSCR

UN Security Council Resolution

USSR

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

WFP

World Food Programme

The migration crisis that engulfed Europe in 2015 high-lighted the EU's vulnerability when faced with major insta-bility and disruption at its borders. Although the Union has internal and external security arms – comprising the ten home affairs agencies that underpin its Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ), on the one hand, and the inter-national missions undertaken under the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) on the other – it still struggles to deploy these instruments effectively.

This *Chaillot Paper* examines how the EU, bearing in mind its evolution as a multinational bureaucratic organisation rather than a traditional state actor, can successfully de-velop meaningful security capabilities. It explores possible new formats for AFSJ–CSDP cooperation, outlining four options for joint deployment: 'demarcated', 'sequential', 'modular' and 'integrated'. Stressing the importance of a clear-eyed diagnosis of the changes underway in the global security environment, the paper explores how these four joint security formats might be adapted to address crises with maximum effect.