

The European Union and Security Sector Reform

edited by

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and

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Franco Frattini, European Commissioner for Justice, Freedom and Security

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1. The Evolution of the Concepts of Security Sector Reform and Security Sector Governance: the EU perspective

David Law and Oksana Myshlovska

Introduction: Sources and Content of the EU's Approach to SSR

The idea of security sector reform (SSR) originated in the 1990s from donors' concerns that many developing countries were failing to achieve sustainable development because of conflict and insecurity. The Minister for Development Cooperation of the Netherlands, Agnes van Ardenne, captured this connection between security and development when she observed that: '...There is no point investing in roads, schools and hospitals if they can be destroyed by war the next day'.¹ A similar preoccupation put SSR on the agenda of countries in transition in Central and Eastern Europe, which as a rule had inherited weak, corrupt, and unaccountable security sectors from the previous communist regimes. More recently, as the international community has intensified its support for peacebuilding in conflict and post-conflict settings, SSR has also become a central feature of crisis management and reconstruction strategies.

The EU has a great deal to offer in the area of SSR. Since its inception, the EU has been a significant player in the field of international development and is now the world's largest contributor of development aid. With the development of its Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) and in view of its growing experience in civilian and military crisis management operations, the EU has also emerged as a major security player on the international stage. To guide its many foreign, security and development policy activities – what the EU calls its 'external action' – it has also been a major innovator of programmes and methodologies, including SSR, arguably one of the most promising policy instruments that the EU has adopted to date. The EU boasts an immense cooperation network spanning national governments, intergovernmental and nongovernmental organisations. This is of particular importance for SSR, which more often than not is implemented by a consortium of different actors. In sum, the EU calls on considerable expertise in

a broad range of development and governance programmes in various socio-economic contexts.

The EU has been involved in a number of SSR areas, including police and military operations, efforts aimed at strengthening the rule of law and reinforcing judicial and penitentiary systems, the civilian aspects of crisis management and civil emergency protection. It has, however, until very recently lacked a coherent approach towards the security sector. This began to change very rapidly as of 2003 when the EU adopted its first ever European Security Strategy (see Annex 1). The strategy provided a new framework for the EU's ambition to become a global security player. It also featured SSR as one of the EU's key external policy instruments. In 2005, the EU adopted its Strategy for Africa, and the Democratic Republic of Congo became the first recipient of an EU SSR mission. This was followed in November 2005, by agreement of the European Council of a *Concept for European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) support to SSR* (Annex 3), outlining the EU role in civilian and military crisis management missions in the framework of the ESDP. This concept paper described SSR activities as a central feature of these missions, all of which have been undertaken under the EU's CFSP. In May 2006, the European Commission complemented the Council's SSR concept by developing a (first pillar) *Concept for European Community Support for SSR*. The Commission's document identified seven SSR-relevant policy areas, which fall under first pillar competence: Development Cooperation, Enlargement, the Stabilisation and Association Process, the European Neighbourhood Policy, Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management, Democracy and Human Rights and the External Dimension of the area of Freedom, Security and Justice. An overarching EU framework for SSR was then adopted in June 2006, defining the spheres of competence for EU institutions and spelling out the modalities for their common action.

The EU's approach to security issues has been influenced by a variety of sources: it has been shaped by the activities of its member states, the EU's participation in the work of other international organisations active in the security field and its own experience in implementing internal and external policies related to SSR. This chapter analyses these three strands of the EU's contribution to SSR. First, it sets out a conceptual framework for understanding the EU's engagement in SSR. The next section discusses how some EU member states, namely the UK and the Netherlands, have played a key role in shaping EU thinking about SSR. The chapter then looks at how the EU has drawn upon the work of other international organisations, namely, the OECD, the OSCE, NATO and the Council of Europe, and the nature of the SSR-related cooperation arrangements that have been established among these organisations. Following a review of the SSR activities managed and carried out respectively by the EU Council and Commission, the concluding section suggests how future EU presidencies might further develop the SSR agenda.

EU and SSR: Conceptual Considerations

The role and scope of the EU have grown substantially during the last decade. The EU has taken on twelve new member states and is set to take on several more as the Balkan states reach eligibility for membership. At the

same time, the EU has become active in an increasing number of policy areas, both externally and internally. Notwithstanding the resistance of certain capitals, the supranational level has gained responsibility for more functions from member states than it has relinquished to them, though it has done so in a shared multi-pillar structure incorporating areas remaining under intergovernmental control. The structure is characterised by complex inter-relationships and an arguably untidy division of competences between the Council, the Commission, the European Parliament, and member states. As a result, there is frequently considerable overlap in the programme activities carried out by various EU actors in different country contexts. Not only is there consequent turf fighting between the rival bureaucracies involved, but decision-making mechanisms and budgeting timeframes vary across EU actors, often resulting in poor coordination.

The nature of the EU SSR concepts and activities reflects the nature of the EU itself. The Council and the Commission have developed their own SSR concepts to match their policy and operational needs. CFSP/ESDP activities fall under the second pillar, the reserve of intergovernmental action, while other external actions fall under the first pillar, or community action. These are managed in the supranational framework by the Commission. Responsibility for third pillar activities is divided between the Council and the Commission. Security issues have tended mainly to be a Council prerogative. However, with the emergence of the SSR policy framework and its broad approach to security, involving inter alia development, human rights, human security and good governance dimensions, security has become a cross-cutting issue for all EU institutions. SSR provides a unique opportunity to develop a unified EU approach to security across the various mandates and activities of its diverse decision makers and policy contexts. Table 1 provides an overview of what and who is at stake.

Table 1. *The EU involvement in SSR*

Actor	Commission	Council	EU and other international organisations (IOs)
Framework	supranational	intergovernmental	cooperation
Main areas of SSR and SSR-related activities	First pillar activities: Development cooperation, Enlargement, the Stabilisation and Association Process, the European Neighbourhood Policy, Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management, Democracy and Human Rights, and the External Dimension of the area of Freedom, Security and Justice	Second pillar activities: European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), EU battle groups, European Rapid Reaction Force, PSOs	SSR guidelines, SSR Implementation Framework (OECD) Peacekeeping, human rights, development (UN) PSOs (NATO) Democratic control of armed forces (OSCE) Human rights (CoE)
	Third pillar activities (divided responsibility between the Council and the Commission): Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters (PJCC): trafficking (drugs, weapons and human beings), terrorism, organised crime, border control, police cooperation		

<i>continued:</i>			
Actor	Commission	Council	EU and other international organisations (IOs)
Framework	supranational	intergovernmental	cooperation
SSR-related decision-making bodies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Vice-President of the Commission for Justice, Freedom & Security - EU Commissioners for: Development and Humanitarian Aid, Enlargement, External Relations & European Neighbourhood Policy - Policy Directorate General (DG) for Justice, Freedom and Security - External Relations DGs for: Development, Enlargement, EuropeAid Co-Operation Office, External Relations, Humanitarian Aid 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - European Council - Council of the EU - Presidency of the Council - High Representative for CFSP - General Affairs and External Relations Council - Justice and Home Affairs Council - Political and Security Committee (PSC) - European Union Military Committee (EUMC) - European Union Military Staff (EUMS) - Politico-Military Group - The Civilian Crisis Management Committee (CIVICOM) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> OECD: OECD DAC UN: DPKO, Peacebuilding Commission UNDP: Bureau for Crisis Prevention & Recovery NATO: North Atlantic Council and partnership bodies OSCE: Forum for Security Cooperation, Conflict Prevention Center, Strategic Police Matters Unit, Action Against Terrorism Unit CoE: Committee of Ministers, Parliamentary Assembly
Cooperation patterns/mechanisms	<p>Article 3 of the Treaty on the European Union requires EU institutions to co-ordinate their actions closely</p> <p>Common actions of the Commission and the Council (and other EU institutions) in the CFSP framework are carried out through the following mechanisms:</p> <p>General guidelines Common strategies Joint actions Common positions</p>		<p>The EU plays the following roles vis-à-vis other IOs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Complementing the lead organisations (UN, NATO) - Burden-sharing (UN, OSCE, NATO, CoE) - Provision of financial and political support for the UN and regional organisations (OSCE, ECOWAS, AU) - Creation of regional organisations (Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe) <p>The EU has concluded cooperation agreements with the following IOs: NATO-EU Berlin Plus arrangements, Joint Declaration on EU-UN Co-operation in Crisis Management, EU-OSCE Cooperation in Conflict Prevention, Crisis Management and Post-Conflict Rehabilitation</p>
Budget	<p>Various thematic and geographic budgets, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance, European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument, European Development Fund (EDF), European Investment Bank (EIB) 	<p>CFSP budget (general budget of the European Community for operations other than having military or defence implications)</p> <p>ATHENA mechanism (financing of the common costs of EU operations having military or defence implications)</p>	<p>EU member states contribute over two thirds of the NATO and OSCE budgets, over four fifths of the Council of Europe budget, about two fifths of the UN regular and peacekeeping operations budget and around half of the contributions to UN funds and programmes</p>

<i>continued:</i>			
Actor	Commission	Council	EU and other international organisations (IOs)
Framework	supranational	intergovernmental	cooperation
SSR-related decision-making bodies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Vice-President of the Commission for Justice, Freedom & Security - EU Commissioners for: Development and Humanitarian Aid, Enlargement, External Relations & European Neighbourhood Policy - Policy Directorate General (DG) for Justice, Freedom and Security - External Relations DGs for: Development, Enlargement, EuropeAid Co-Operation Office, External Relations, Humanitarian Aid 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - European Council - Council of the EU - Presidency of the Council - High Representative for CFSP - General Affairs and External Relations Council - Justice and Home Affairs Council - Political and Security Committee (PSC) - European Union Military Committee (EUMC) - European Union Military Staff (EUMS) - Politico-Military Group - The Civilian Crisis Management Committee (CIVICOM) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> OECD: OECD DAC UN: DPKO, Peacebuilding Commission UNDP: Bureau for Crisis Prevention & Recovery NATO: North Atlantic Council and partnership bodies OSCE: Forum for Security Cooperation, Conflict Prevention Center, Strategic Police Matters Unit, Action Against Terrorism Unit CoE: Committee of Ministers, Parliamentary Assembly
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Budget	<p>Various thematic and geographic budgets, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance, European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument, European Development Fund (EDF), European Investment Bank (EIB) 	<p>CFSP budget (general budget of the European Community for operations other than having military or defence implications)</p> <p>ATHENA mechanism (financing of the common costs of EU operations having military or defence implications)</p>	<p>EU member states contribute over two thirds of the NATO and OSCE budgets, over four fifths of the Council of Europe budget, about two fifths of the UN regular and peacekeeping operations budget and around half of the contributions to UN funds and programmes</p>

The two SSR concepts developed by the Council and Commission have a number of features in common. Drawing heavily upon the Guidelines developed by the OECD DAC (the Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development), they use the same definitions of SSR and are oriented by the same SSR principles. The EU has adopted the OECD's broad definition of the security sector, which includes all groups in society that are capable of using force as well as the institutions that manage, direct, oversee and monitor them, and otherwise play a role in the development of a country's security policy and the provision of its security.

The main difference between the two concepts is functional. The activities carried out by the Commission are exclusively civilian in nature. Those of the Council, on the other hand, can be either civilian or military, or involve a combination of civilian and military means. The background to the involvement of the Commission and the Council in SSR activities also differs. Many activities that fall under the first pillar date back to the foundation of the European Community. ESDP, on the other hand, is a relatively new sphere of EU activity. ESDP is a post-Amsterdam Treaty (1997) extension to the Common Foreign and Security Policy, which only became part of the *acquis* in 1992. To date, 17 ESDP operations have been carried out, covering a wide range of SSR activities, from police and military missions to rule of law and peace monitoring missions.

The concepts were designed to complement each other. As mentioned in the *Concept for European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) support to SSR*, its purpose is to develop SSR as a policy framework that helps ensure 'more coordinated and strategic approaches to Community activities falling under the different policy instruments'. The European Commission's Communication *A Concept for European Community Support for SSR* insists, as does the *Concept for ESDP Support to SSR*, that EU support to SSR needs to be coherent across the three pillars. The conclusions adopted by the European Council on 12 June 2006 bring the two concepts together under an overall EU policy framework for SSR. Table 2 below compares the Council's and Commission's concepts, looks at what the two documents have in common, how they differ and what the areas of convergence are.

Table 2. Comparison of the Council's and Commission's SSR concepts

	Council <i>Concept for European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) support to SSR</i>	Commission <i>Concept for European Community Support for SSR</i>
General	<p>The document contains a list of general SSR norms, principles and guidelines and enumerates generic SSR-relevant activities.</p> <p>CFSP is a recent area of EU activity, having been agreed in the 1992 Maastricht Treaty. ESDP was institutionalised in the 2000 Nice Treaty. ESDP's first activities were, however, only launched much later with the first police mission, to Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the first military operation, in FYROM, in 2003.</p>	<p>The document provides an overview of SSR-related activities in the following areas: Development Cooperation, Enlargement, the Stabilisation and Association Process, the European Neighbourhood Policy, Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management, Democracy and Human Rights, and the External Dimension of the area of Freedom, Security and Justice.</p> <p>Some Community actions go back to the foundation of the European Community.</p>

<i>continued:</i>		
	Council <i>Concept for European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) support to SSR</i>	Commission <i>Concept for European Community Support for SSR</i>
Similarities	Both concepts: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - relate to the external action of the EU - take the OECD's definition of the security sector, SSR and SSR principles as their basis - take a broad approach to SSR - do not work out EU-specific SSR decision mechanisms and instruments - identify the same country contexts in which SSR can be carried out: relatively stable countries, countries in transition, and post-conflict countries - envision the integration of SSR into national development plans or broader multi-lateral frameworks - have as their objective to make EU support to SSR coherent across the three pillars 	
Differences	<p>The document is broad in nature; it contains only generic SSR principles.</p> <p>The document is not country specific; it refers to SSR for "EU partner countries".</p> <p>In the Council document, the main areas of SSR support cited are the following: reform of security forces, police reform, justice and rule of law enforcement, border and customs sector, financial and budgetary aspects of the security sector, DDR; SSR carried out in the form of advice and assistance to local authorities.</p>	<p>The document is more specific; it reviews various spheres of the EU's involvement in SSR.</p> <p>The document reviews SSR-related activities in over 70 countries in different regions (Eastern Europe, North and South Caucuses and Central Asia, Western Balkans, Africa, Caribbean and the Pacific, South Mediterranean and the Middle East, Latin America and Asia).</p> <p>In the Commission document, the main areas of SSR support cited are the following: reform of civil management bodies, civil oversight mechanisms, justice reform, law enforcement, armed forces, DDR, SALW and regional capacity building.</p>
Convergences	<p>To ensure convergence in their SSR activity, ESDP and Community action are to observe the following principles:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - complementarity of actions, especially in crisis and post-crisis situations - division of responsibility - coherent approach to SSR - case-by-case analysis to define which mechanisms are most appropriate in a given situation (ESDP or Community) 	

The achievement of coherence, harmonization and coordination in EU external action and between the EU internal and external policies has become an important issue on the EU's agenda. The Communication from the Commission to the European Council entitled *Europe in the World – Some Practical Proposals for Greater Coherence, Effectiveness and Visibility* (June 2006) stressed the need to use available internal and external policies more coherently and effectively to strengthen the EU's external action. This involves improving strategic planning, coherence between the Union's various external policy instruments, as well as cooperation between EU institutions and between the latter and the member states.² The Communication also calls for using 'the particular competences and strengths of the Member States and the institutions'.

In addition, action has been taken to simplify the EU's financial instru-

ments. The new 'financial perspectives' for the period of 2007 to 2013³, approved in 2005, had 'the aim of rationalising and simplifying the current legislative framework governing external actions of the Community'. Six new consolidated financial instruments are now operational: three thematic instruments – humanitarian aid, stability, and macro-financial assistance – and three geographical instruments – the instrument for pre-accession assistance (IPA), the European neighbourhood and partnership instrument (ENPI) and the development cooperation and economic cooperation instrument (DCECI). The previous fifteen thematic programmes have been consolidated into eight: democracy and human rights, human and social development, environment and sustainable management of natural resources, civil society and decentralised cooperation, food security, cooperation with industrialized countries, programmes transferred to geographic programmes (regional programmes) as well as migration and asylum.

As Table 1 suggests, achieving coherence in the SSR policy area can be a daunting task. At the moment, the Council and Commission concepts demonstrate that the EU commitment to SSR issues is more political than practical. Further progress will require top-down streamlining of the SSR approach across EU institutions and field missions, development of EU-specific SSR implementation guidelines and other SSR mechanisms. All this represents a tall order. Yet, progress in developing its SSR policy instruments will doubtless facilitate the EU's efforts to introduce greater coherence in its security activities.

Shaping the EU's SSR Agenda: the Role of EU Member States at the National Level and in other International Organisations (IOs)

EU member states not only set the SSR agenda in the EU Council, but pursue their own SSR policies and programmes in third countries. The idea of SSR was pioneered by an EU country almost a decade ago, the UK.⁴ Furthermore, EU member states have played a central role in developing a coherent SSR methodology and they were among the first implementers of the concept on the ground. This section first looks at the activities of two countries that have been particularly active in the area of SSR, the UK and the Netherlands. It then examines the EU's contribution to the realisation of various SSR goals through its members' participation in the leading IOs involved in SSR: the OSCE, NATO, the OECD DAC, the Council of Europe and the UN.

SSR and EU Member States

Many EU member states have long been active in the areas of conflict management, post-conflict peacebuilding and development cooperation in developing countries. During the 1990s, a surge in intrastate conflicts and the phenomenon of 'failed' or 'collapsed' states made it clear that new policy frameworks and approaches would be needed to succeed in these areas. The UK and the Netherlands are particularly interesting examples of how EU members came to adopt a national SSR agenda in response to these new challenges.

The UK's work on the development of the SSR concept, its principles and

practices has had a substantial impact on the emerging international consensus on SSR. In 1998, the UK government was the first to articulate the notion of an integral connection between security and development. It was also an early champion of the concept of defence diplomacy, which combines diplomatic and military tools with a view to preventing conflicts or managing crises. In 2000, in order to make its conflict prevention policies more effective, the UK integrated SSR into its International Development Strategies.⁵ In 2002⁶ it developed an interdepartmental strategy⁷ on SSR. The UK's SSR Strategy relies on three areas of action: policy development and analysis, technical assistance, and capacity building. In 2002-03, the SSR strategy was funded for the first time with £2.8 million.⁸ In 2003-04, funding increased to £5.05 million.⁹ The funds supported the development of defence diplomacy education and other military training courses, as well as the establishment of two institutions that have come to play a leading role in UK SSR activities: the Defence Advisory Team (DAT) and the Global Facilitation Network for Security Sector Reform (GFN-SSR).

Recognizing the importance of SSR and defence diplomacy, in 2001 the United Kingdom established the Defence Advisory Team (DAT). It was renamed the Security Sector Development Advisory Team (SSDAT) in March 2005. The SSDAT currently consists of 15 experts. It provides in-country advice and assistance on security sector governance, security sector and defence reviews, effective planning of security forces, financial and human resource management, and development. GFN-SSR provides resources in the field of conflict prevention and security sector reform. Its main activities include information sharing, training and capacity-building, and networking and policy development.

The UK Government also set up a Global Conflict Prevention Pool and an Africa Conflict Prevention Pool.¹⁰ These were interdepartmental funding tools designed to coordinate the use of resources as well as to provide policy advice and information on SSR. Much of the UK's security sector reform work is financed through these two pools, which receive both overseas development assistance (ODA) and non-ODA funds for programmes based on strategies agreed by the Ministry of Defence (MOD), the Department for International Development (DFID) and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO). In 2006, the UK was part of the European Commission's team contributing to the OECD DAC's work on the development of the *Implementation Framework for SSR (IF-SSR)*. The Framework is intended to be a guide for governments and their partners in conducting SSR assessments and designing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating SSR programmes.

The Netherlands has also been an active player in advancing the SSR agenda. The Foreign Policy Agenda, an annual statement of foreign policy goals, reflects the Netherlands' approach of mainstreaming conflict issues in development cooperation. The Policy Agenda emphasises that peace, security, and stability are prerequisites for poverty reduction. The Netherlands calls for an integrated approach in pre-conflict and post-conflict zones and in failing states 'to prevent conflict, create the right conditions for reconstruction, carry out reconstruction activities, set up operational administrative and security structures, promote sustainable development, and eliminate breeding grounds for radicalisation'.¹¹ In 2003, the government tasked the Clingendael Institute, a Dutch non-profit foundation partly

funded by the government, to develop the SSR policy framework for its development work.¹² To help implement its SSR activities, the Dutch government also established a Stability Fund¹³, which seeks to ensure greater programme coherence through pooled funding.

The EU has also paid increasing attention to the need to seek symmetries in the activities of member states and the EU institutions. The European Council decisions at Feira (June 2000) and Göteborg (June 2001) emphasised the need to deploy the member states' resources in the fields of police reform, rule of law, civil protection, and public administration. The Commission has recognised that in some instances member states can play an important role in facilitating SSR activities, for example in the reform of armed forces in transition or developing countries.¹⁴ The EU SSR concepts also call for the EU to use member states' expertise in the field of SSR more effectively. In practice, however, the EU does not take full advantage of its member states' expertise. In many instances, coordination of SSR activities in the field is weak because mechanisms governing cooperation between EU institutions and member states remain underdeveloped.

The EU and IOs

Effective multilateral engagement in the area of SSR was first referred to as a strategic objective of the EU in the European Security Strategy (ESS) published in 2003.¹⁵ Long before this, however, the EU and its member states had been exposed to various SSR activities through their membership in several international organisations active in the area of SSR.¹⁶ Involvement in various SSR initiatives of IOs has been instrumental in the maturing of the EU's own SSR agenda.

The EU is represented in all key international institutions and fora by both member states and the European Community, represented by the European Commission. In addition to its involvement in the norm-setting activities of the OECD DAC, the EU has played a leading role in the efforts of the OSCE, NATO and the Council of Europe to develop norms and best practices for democratic security sector governance. The EU has also led the effort to introduce elements of SSR policy in the post-communist countries of Eastern Europe. Moreover, the EU member states and the Commission are the biggest contributors to the core budgets of these international organisations, as well as contributing additional funding to special projects initiated by them (see column 3 in table 1).

The EU has actively participated in shaping the post-Cold War security architecture on the European continent by supporting the work of the OSCE. The OSCE has developed a comprehensive security concept, which combines political, military, economic, environmental and human dimensions. The EU played a key role in the adoption of the OSCE Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Relations, agreed by the OSCE participating states in 1994. This calls for the democratic control of all security forces, not just the military, and establishes a number of other groundbreaking principles that are crucial for democratic governance of the security sector. The document sets benchmarks not only for countries in transition, but also for EU member states. The European Commission was among the signatories of

the document agreed at the OSCE Istanbul Summit in November 1999 entitled *A Charter for European Security*.

The Charter set out a number of goals for the OSCE's involvement in field operations, including increased involvement in police-related activities. It committed the organisation's member states to the Platform for Co-operative Security in order 'to strengthen co-operation between the OSCE and other international organisations and institutions, thereby making better use of the resources of the international community'.¹⁷ Over the last few years, the OSCE has also stepped up its involvement in dealing with new security challenges such as combating international terrorism, violent extremism, organised crime and drug trafficking. The EU and the OSCE meet regularly at ministerial level to discuss the areas of action and policies that intersect, namely the European Neighbourhood Policy, ESDP, and other activities in the Western Balkans, South Caucasus, Ukraine, Moldova, etc.

The EU has also supported SSR-related activities in the context of NATO, such as the development of democratic civil-military relations for post-Communist countries. *Berlin Plus* security agreements agreed between NATO and the EU between 2002 and 2003, based on the conclusions of the NATO Washington Summit, include three main elements: EU access to NATO planning capabilities, NATO European command options, and EU use of NATO assets and capabilities. *Berlin Plus* agreements have been put into practice on a number of occasions, for example, in the EU-led military operation Concordia in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in 2003, and in the military operation Althea in Bosnia-Herzegovina that was launched in 2004. Regular EU-NATO consultations and exchanges of information also take place concerning the ESDP operations conducted autonomously by the EU.

Fifteen EU member states and the European Commission sitting on the OECD DAC helped develop the latter's *Guidelines on Security Sector Reform and Governance: Policy and Good Practice*, adopted in 2004. This document became the basis for the EU's own SSR concepts and now serves as a key point of reference for all SSR practitioners. In 2006, the OECD DAC led a team of experts working on the development of the *Implementation Framework for SSR* mentioned above. The EU, which has not yet developed guidelines for SSR implementation in the field, may well end up using the Framework for designing its own field activities.

The resolutions of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) have established important norms for the democratic control of armed forces in Council of Europe (CoE) member states. PACE also adopted in 2005 a Recommendation on the *Democratic Oversight of the Security Sector in Member states*, an important norm-setting document of the CoE in the field of SSR.¹⁸ The Third Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Council of Europe, which took place in Warsaw in May 2005, adopted a political declaration and an Action Plan¹⁹ that included a statement on the need to create a new framework of enhanced cooperation and political dialogue between the CoE and the EU.

The EU has also provided substantial support to UN agencies, funds and programmes. Areas of collaboration between the two organisations include such SSR-relevant subjects as human rights, crisis management, post-crisis reconstruction and rehabilitation, conflict prevention and governance. In

2003, the UN and the EU signed a Co-operation Agreement in Crisis Management.²⁰ This agreement in the area of civilian and military crisis management established a 'joint consultative mechanism at the working level to examine ways and means to enhance mutual co-ordination and compatibility' in such areas as planning, training, communication and best practices. More recently, the EU has been very supportive of the newly-created UN Peacebuilding Commission.

In sum, to address the key issue of coordination and cooperation in the field, the EU has concluded different types of cooperation agreements with a range of international organisations and, as the EU gradually develops its expertise in SSR, it has substantial potential to play an increasingly important role in coordinating SSR programmes in the field.

The EU Council of Ministers and SSR

This section looks briefly at the accomplishments in the area of SSR, first, under the recent British, Austrian and Finnish Presidencies and, second, as a result of the Council's support to SSR in the CFSP/ESDP framework.

EU Presidencies and SSR

The Presidency plays a key role in setting the Union's agenda and priorities, and reviewing progress in various areas of external and internal action. It chairs EU meetings, represents the EU abroad, and speaks on its behalf at summit meetings and international conferences. The effectiveness of the Presidency depends on the commitment, experience and resources of the member state holding it. To ensure policy continuity between the Presidencies, a first Multiannual Strategic Programme of the Council, developed for 6 consecutive presidencies, was adopted in 2003.²¹ The programme did not yet mention SSR among the Council's strategic goals. But, considerable progress in SSR was achieved under the British (second half of 2005), Austrian (first half of 2006) and Finnish (second half of 2006) Presidencies. The *Concept for ESDP support to SSR* was launched under the UK Presidency. *Community Support for SSR* was adopted under the Austrian Presidency. The Finnish Presidency furthered the operationalisation of the EU's approach to SSR in the Western Balkans, and worked on the elaboration of an EU approach to DDR. The three Presidencies' Programmes of Action²², reports on ESDP²³, and annual reports on EU conflict prevention activities²⁴ all included references to SSR and reviewed progress in this area.

In addition, all the Presidencies took action to disseminate and deepen knowledge of SSR by organising seminars and training. The UK Presidency co-organised, in conjunction with the European Commission and the non-governmental organisations Saferworld and International Alert, a seminar on 'Developing a Security Sector Reform Concept/Strategy for the EU' in November 2005. The objective was to develop a shared understanding of security sector reform and review the EU's role in it. The Austrian Presidency organised and funded, in cooperation with the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), a Swiss-based foundation, and the EU Institute for Security Studies, an autonomous EU agency providing a think tank function for the Council, a seminar on 'Security

Sector Reform in the Western Balkans'. It took place in Vienna in February 2006.²⁵ Its aim was to build on the progress made under the British Presidency, in particular the ongoing work on an overarching EU approach to SSR, and to focus attention on the SSR needs of the Western Balkans. The Finnish Presidency and DCAF co-organised a conference on 'Enhancing security sector governance through security sector reform in the Western Balkans – the role of the European Union', which was held in Zagreb in December 2006.²⁶ This was designed as a contribution to the work underway at the EU to translate the policy framework agreed in 2006 '... into operational actions by the European Community and in the framework of ESDP', as decided by the General Affairs Council held in Luxembourg in June 2006.²⁷

SSR and CFSP/ESDP: Crisis Management and Conflict Prevention

CFSP and ESDP have rapidly evolved. The 1997 Amsterdam Treaty's aim to 'strengthen the security of the Union in all ways' set the stage for greater EU involvement in the security field in third countries, and this had important implications for the way that EU member states' own approach to SSR at home has developed.

Although there is no agreement on their geographic scope and priority, the agreement on the so-called Petersberg tasks²⁸ in 1992 set the stage for a progressively growing EU role in civilian and military missions. Following the guidelines set out by the Cologne European Council (June 1999), the Helsinki European Council (December 1999) decided to create a civilian management mechanism²⁹ to coordinate and put to more effective use the various civilian means and resources at the disposal of the EU. At subsequent Council meetings, the targets for the civilian dimensions of crisis management were set. The Feira Council (June 2000) identified four priority areas in the development of civilian capabilities: police capabilities, the rule of law, civilian administration, and civil protection. The Civilian Headline Goal 2008 adopted by the Brussels European Council in December 2004 added monitoring missions, SSR and DDR programmes to the goals established at Feira. The Ministerial Civilian Crisis Management Capability conferences now regularly discuss ways of improving civilian capabilities.³⁰

The European Council of Göteborg stated in its conclusions that 'conflict prevention is one of the main objectives of the Union's external relations and should be integrated in all its relevant aspects, including ESDP, development cooperation, and trade'.³¹ The *Communication on Conflict Prevention*, adopted by the European Commission in April 2001, made a series of proposals on how to improve the integration of conflict prevention objectives into the EU's external action. The 2001 *EU Programme for the Prevention of Violent Conflict* identified 'administration of justice, improving police services, and human rights training for the whole security sector, as a means of contributing to conflict prevention'.³²

In parallel to the development of its civilian capabilities, the EU also took steps to build a military capability. In 1999, it adopted the Helsinki Headline Goal, which set the target of deploying up to 60,000 troops (to carry out the Petersberg tasks), and decided on the creation of a European Rapid Reaction Force. In 2004, it adopted the Headline Goal 2010, which complemented the

Helsinki Headline Goal and envisaged the creation by 2007 of rapidly deployable battle groups that could be swiftly deployed anywhere in the world. It also decided to create a European Gendarmerie.

Since 2003, the EU has launched more than a dozen missions. There were military operations in FYROM, DRC and Bosnia-Herzegovina, a civilian-military supporting action in the Darfur region of Sudan, an SSR mission in the DRC, a monitoring mission in Aceh, rule of law missions in Georgia and Iraq, border assistance missions to Ukraine, Moldova and Rafah (Gaza Strip), police missions in Bosnia-Herzegovina, FYROM, the Palestinian Territories and the DRC. These missions have included the reform of various components of the security sector.

Table 3. ESDP Operations³³

Country/ Mission	Dates	Description	Main SSR Focus	Number of personnel (approx)	Budget (in euros)
Bosnia and Herzegovina / European Union Police Mission (EUPM)	Jan 03 – present	1st ESDP mission, successor to the United Nations International Police Task Force (IPTF) in BiH Peace implementation	Police reform Fight against organised crime	530 police officers	38 million (2005) 12 million (2006)
FYROM / EU Military Operation (EUFOR Concordia)	March – Dec 03	1st military mission, successor to the NATO's operation Allied Harmony (implementation of the 2001 Ohrid Agreement)	Creation of an enabling environment for the local security forces	350 military personnel	6.2 million (2003)
Democratic Republic of the Congo / EU Military Operation (Artemis)	June–Sept 03	Improvement of the security situation and of humanitarian conditions, protection of IDPs	Creation of an enabling environment for the local security forces	1800 troops	7 million (2003)
FYROM / EU Police Mission (EUPOL Proxima)	Dec 03 – Dec 05	Training, advising local police Local policing and confidence building within the population	Fight against organised crime; enforcement of the rule of law; reform of the Ministry of Interior (including the police); creation of a border police	200 international personnel	15 million (2004)
Georgia / EU Rule of Law Mission (EUJUST-Themis)	July 04 – July 05	Assistance in development of a coordinated approach to the reform process in the rule of law field	Judicial system (in particular the criminal justice system)	10 international experts	2.3 million (2004-05)
Bosnia and Herzegovina / EU Military Operation (EUFOR Althea)	Dec 04 – present	Enforcement of the Dayton/Paris agreement; contribution to a safe and secure environment in BiH Successor to NATO's SFOR (carried out with recourse to NATO assets and capabilities); the largest EU-led military operation	Creation of an enabling environment for the local security forces	7000 EUFOR troops 500 personnel of the Integrated Police Unit (IPU)	71.7 million (2004-2007)

Country/ Mission	Dates	Description	Main SSR Focus	Number of personnel (approx)	Budget (in euros)
Kinshasa, DRC / EU Police Mission (EUPOL Kinshasa)	April 05 – present	Establishment of an inte- grated police unit (IPU) to protect state institutions and reinforce local security forces	Police reform	30 personnel	4.3 million (2005) 3.5 million (2006)
Democratic Republic of the Congo / EU Security Sector Reform Mission (EUSEC DR Congo)	June 05 – present	Advisory and assistance mission in SSR	Advice on a comprehensive SSR approach	8 experts	1.6 million (2005) 4.75 million (2006)
Iraq / EU Integrated Rule of Law Mission (Eujust Lex)	July 05 – present	Training of judges, magis- trates, senior police and penitentiary officers	Support for the rule of law	20 interna- tional person- nel	10.9 million (2005)
Darfur, Sudan / EU Support to the African Union Mission (AMIS II)	July 05 – present	Political, logistical and financial support to the African Union monitoring mission in Darfur	Advice on police reform	60 interna- tional person- nel	1.1 million (2006)
Aceh, Indonesia/ EU Monitoring Mission (AMM)	Sept 05 – Dec 06	Monitoring peace agree- ment implementation	DDR	130 personnel (from the EU member states)	15 million (2005-06)
The Palestinian Territories / EU Police Mission (EUPOL COPPS)	Nov 05 – present	Implementation of the Palestinian Civil Police Development Plan; training of police and criminal jus- tice officials	Police reform, criminal justice	30 personnel	6.1 million (2005)
Rafah Crossing Point in the Pales- tinian Territories / EU Border Assistance Mission (EU BAM Rafah)	Nov 05 – present	Compliance with the princi- ples agreed for the Rafah crossing point between Israel and the Palestinian Authority	Training in border and customs con- trols	80 personnel	7.6 million (2005)
FYROM / EU Police Advisory Team (EUPAT)	Dec 05 – May 06	Training and advising local police	Police reform, training of bor- der police, fight against corrup- tion and organ- ized crime	30 police advisors	1.5 million (2005)
Moldova-Ukraine / EU Border Assistance Mission (EUBAM)	Dec 05 - present	Training and advising border guards and customs officers	Border guard and customs reform, border surveillance	7 field offices 101 interna- tional staff	20.2 mil- lion (2006- 07)
Kosovo / The EU Planning Team (EUPAT Kosovo)	Apr 06 – present	Transition between selected tasks of the UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and a pos- sible EU crisis management operation in the field of rule of law and other areas	Planning for police and jus- tice system reforms	25 staff mem- bers	3 million (2006) 10 million (2007)
Democratic Republic of the Congo / EU mili- tary mission (EUFOR Congo)	Aug – Nov 06	Military operation in sup- port of the UN Mission in the DRC (MONUC) for the election process	Provision of security Protection of civilians	2000 person- nel	16.7 million (2006)

Efforts have been made to improve dialogue between the security and development communities within the context of the Civilian Crisis Management Committee (CivCom), created by the Council in May 2000. The Committee provides information, recommendations and opinions on civilian aspects of crisis management. A police unit, attached to the Council Secretariat, was created by the Nice European Council in December 2000 to enable the EU to plan and carry out policing operations. As a follow up to the Police Action Plan, adopted at the EU Council in Göteborg, efforts have been made to improve the management and coordination of the policing capacity within the ESDP framework. Two conferences for EU Chiefs of Police were organised on the initiative of EU Presidencies in 2001 and in 2004.³⁴

EU Community Action

This section reviews the most important EU policy areas, managed by the European Commission, that have an SSR dimension, i.e. development, democratisation, human rights, enlargement and justice and home affairs (JHA).³⁵ All of these areas involve cross-cutting policies requiring coordination between the EU institutions and member states. The EU Commission makes an important contribution to crisis management through a wide range of policies such as humanitarian assistance, civil protection and reconstruction. These instruments complement ESDP operations in the overall crisis response of the EU. Development aid merits special attention since it is one of the most important sources of financial assistance to developing countries and provides an important framework for programmes designed to reform their security sectors.

Development Cooperation

From \$24 billion in 1970, the overseas development assistance (ODA) provided by contributing countries rose to \$54 billion in 1990, more than doubling in 20 years. By 2004, it had increased again by 33%, to \$72 billion. Both the Community and EU member states have been active in external assistance for many years. The EU has become the most important actor in the field of development, with activities in developing and transition countries around the world. The EU is the world's largest ODA contributor, having increased its share of ODA from 44.1% in 1970 and 46.6% in 1990, to 55% in 2005.³⁶ EU member states also regularly rank among the leading bilateral donors.

Notwithstanding the ever greater availability of development aid, indicators for developing states, especially those in Sub-Saharan Africa, have remained weak.³⁷ Policy-makers and researchers started questioning the effectiveness of development aid decades ago.³⁸ A great deal of work has been done by governments³⁹ and international organisations⁴⁰ dealing with development of ways to make assistance more effective. Since 2003, the Center for Global Development has compiled the Commitment to Development Index (CDI), which measures the extent to which aid from rich to poor countries has had a positive impact on development.⁴¹ Security is one of seven policy areas that are measured to obtain an overall score of

development, since conflict has been shown to be one of the most important checks on development. According to the data provided by the UK's Department for International Development in its 2000 White Paper on International Development: 'Of the 40 poorest countries in the world, 24 are either in the midst of armed conflict or have only recently emerged from it. This problem is particularly acute in Africa where twenty per cent of the population lives in countries affected by armed conflict. Armed conflict also leads to population displacement. It is estimated that 10.6 million people in Africa are internally displaced – the majority of them uprooted by war'.⁴²

Until 2004, the main categories of development assistance were education, health and population, production, debt relief, other social infrastructure, emergency aid, economic infrastructure, and programme assistance. Almost half of EU ODA spending was allocated to social programmes⁴³, which included education, health, population and reproductive health, water supply and sanitation, government and civil society, and other social infrastructure and services. In 2004, reflecting the emergence of the SSR concept, the OECD DAC decided to add to the list of ODA eligible actions such SSR-related activities as peacebuilding and conflict prevention, management of security expenditures, enhancing civil society's role in the security system, issues related to child soldiers, and controlling, preventing and reducing the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW).⁴⁴ The new financial instruments (2007-2013) will make more funds available for SSR missions or missions with SSR elements.

The Cotonou Agreement, signed in June 2000 for a 20-year period, is the latest in a series of agreements between the EU and the countries of the African, Caribbean and Pacific region (ACP group). The agreement introduced new conditionalities for the ACP countries, namely, respect for human rights, democracy and the rule of law, which became 'essential elements' whose violation can lead to partial or total suspension of development aid. Although the agreement does not mention SSR directly, a number of SSR-related cooperation areas were mentioned and a comprehensive approach to programming was introduced. For example, the political dimension of cooperation identifies excessive military expenditure, drugs, and organised crime as areas for EU development action and stipulates that: 'Broadly based policies to promote peace and to prevent, manage and resolve violent conflicts shall play a prominent role in [the ACP] ... dialogue, as shall the need to take full account of the objective of peace and democratic stability in the definition of priority areas of cooperation'.⁴⁵

The Commission's Communication on *Governance and Development* of 2003 argues that 'security is key to regional stability, poverty reduction and conflict prevention'.⁴⁶ It holds that SSR efforts aimed at the provision of effective management, transparency and accountability of the security sector make it an integral component of good governance. The new Financial Perspectives and the 10th European Development Fund⁴⁷ offer a range of financial instruments with specific provisions for governance, human rights, election observation missions, peacekeeping, and regional integration.

In the *EU Strategy for Africa* (December 2005), the first integrated European political framework to improve coordination as well as the coherence of EU and member states' policies and instruments in support of

Africa, SSR is mentioned among the tools used in post-conflict reconstruction efforts to 'secure lasting peace and development'.⁴⁸ The document states that: 'The EU should also develop a strategy and capacity to foster security sector reform (SSR) in Africa that will take into account the related institutions and capacity building programmes of the EC and Member states, whilst identifying the scope of action to be pursued within the European security and defence policy (ESDP) framework'.⁴⁹

The European Consensus on Development, signed on 20 December 2005⁵⁰, provided a common framework of objectives, values and principles that the EU supports and promotes as a global player. This is a good example of a coordinated approach that provides for cooperation among various EU agencies, information sharing and cross-pillar activities. Although the *Consensus* does not make direct reference to SSR, the connection between security and development is at the heart of the document. It defines insecurity and violent conflict amongst 'the biggest obstacles to achieving the MDGs' (the UN Millennium Development Goals).⁵¹

Democratisation and Human Rights

The 1992 Treaty on European Union states that one of the main objectives of the CFSP is to develop and consolidate democracy and the rule of law, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The EU has done a great deal to advance these objectives in its external policies by including⁵² democratisation and human rights considerations in its conflict prevention strategies and development cooperation policies, as well as in association, partnership and other types of agreements governing the EU's relationships with third countries and potential members.

The 2001 Commission Communication on *The European Union's Role in Promoting Human Rights and Democratisation in Third Countries*⁵³ established targets focused on improving the EU's approach to human rights and democratisation. The document proposed to achieve coherence and consistency between various EU policies and mainstream human rights and democratisation policy into other EU policies and actions. The *Communication on Conflict Prevention* also mentions a possible Commission role in supporting human rights training for the entire security sector.⁵⁴ More recently, the 2006 *EU Annual Report on Human Rights* has highlighted the interdependencies between human rights, democracy, security and development: 'The EU regards human rights and democracy as fundamental pillars of enhancing peace and security as well as promoting development objectives'.⁵⁵ Integration of human rights considerations into crisis management activities has thus resulted in greater EU involvement in addressing issues such as women's rights and the security of children affected by armed conflict. The *Report on Human Rights* also welcomes the adoption of the OECD Risk Awareness Tool for Multinational Enterprises in Weak Governance Zones, which addresses, inter alia, the need to observe human rights related to the management of security forces.⁵⁶

The European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR)⁵⁷ was created by an initiative of the European Parliament in 1994. Projects funded by virtue of this initiative in the field of democratisation, governance and rule of law have supported some SSR-related projects, for example,

strengthening of civil society, rule of law and governance, as well as conflict presentation and resolution. In 2007, the EIDHR was succeeded by a new thematic programme on democracy and human rights in accordance with the EU's Financial Perspectives for 2007-2013. Programmes in these areas will continue to be financed from the external assistance budgets and from the European Development Fund.

Enlargement, Stabilisation and Association Process, ENP

The Commission's SSR concept states that 'security sector reform is an integral part of EU enlargement, as regards pre-accession countries, and is an important part of development cooperation and external assistance to third countries'.⁵⁸ Some SSR elements were originally included in agreements with candidate and potential candidate countries (agreements on stabilisation and association) and were later regularly reviewed in country progress reports. These elements fall under the political Copenhagen criteria for membership (guaranteeing democracy, rule of law, human rights, respect and protection of minorities) and the third Copenhagen criteria (adoption and implementation of the *acquis communautaire*). Improvement of border control, accountability of police services, civilian oversight of the military, and parliamentary oversight of defence and security structures occupy a central place in both enlargement strategy and progress reports.⁵⁹

A recent *EU Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2006-2007*⁶⁰ emphasises the importance of implementing a number of SSR principles in candidate countries. For example, it makes the following assessment of Turkey under the political Copenhagen criterion: 'Civilian democratic control over the military needs to be asserted, and law enforcement and judicial practice further aligned with the spirit of the reforms.'⁶¹ A similar assessment is made about Serbia: 'The reform of the *military* has continued but with difficulties and resistance from some elements within the army. Civilian oversight of the military, which is a key European Partnership priority, is still insufficient. The new Constitution and the revised parliamentary rules of procedures set out the bases for a more effective civilian oversight'.⁶² The need for police reform is mentioned for Bosnia-Herzegovina and judicial reform for almost all candidate countries.

The EU encourages good governance of the security sector in its near abroad through the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), launched in May 2004. The European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument⁶³, which replaced MEDA (the principal financial instrument for the implementation of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership) and TACIS (Technical Aid to the Commonwealth of Independent States) on 1 January 2007, takes a new approach to cross-border cooperation and can put more resources at the disposal of SSR programmes. The following SSR activities are mentioned under the Instrument: ensuring efficient and secure border management; promoting cooperation in the field of justice and home affairs; and the fight against, and prevention of, terrorism and organised crime. Thus, SSR is referred to in many agreements with candidate and partner countries and in reports on their progress in meeting EU conditionality, yet the EU still needs to develop a cohesive approach and devise a rigorous system of benchmarks for guiding and measuring implementation.

The EU Area of Freedom, Security and Justice

With changes in the nature of the strategic environment, coherence between internal and external dimensions of security and the coordination of the activities of key actors operating at home and abroad has grown in importance for the EU. This relatively new consensus has been particularly manifest in EU efforts to elaborate a more effective, joint approach to such transnational and cross-border challenges as illegal migration, trafficking and smuggling of human beings, terrorism and organised crime.

The progressive establishment of 'the area of freedom, security and justice' was a new objective set by the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997. The Tampere Programme, adopted by the European Council in October 1999⁶⁴, and the Hague Programme for Freedom, Security and Justice agreed in November 2004⁶⁵ address the fight against terrorism and organised crime; civil and criminal justice; fundamental rights; information sharing; migration management; and a common asylum, border management and visa policy. A progress report on the implementation of the programmes is prepared by the Commission and submitted to the Council and Parliament every six months. In order to achieve the goals of the Tampere and Hague Programmes, comprehensive instruments have been adopted that address civil liberties, human rights and development issues in countries and regions of origin and transit. The Hague Programme underlines that freedom, justice, control at external borders, internal security and the prevention of terrorism should henceforth be considered indivisible within the Union as a whole: 'an optimal level of protection of the area of freedom, security and justice requires multidisciplinary and concerted action both at EU level and at national level between the competent law enforcement authorities, especially police, customs and border guards'.⁶⁶ *A Strategy for the External Dimension of JHA: Global Freedom, Security and Justice*,⁶⁷ adopted by the Council in November 2005, underlined the connection existing between JHA (Justice and Home Affairs), the CFSP, ESDP and development policies of the EU.

These efforts to develop a comprehensive approach to asylum, immigration and external border issues, in addition to strengthening cooperation among police, customs and judicial authorities, illustrate how the EU is applying SSR methodology in the JHA area.

Future Action

The recently elaborated Council and Commission SSR concepts provide highly useful statements of definitions, principles, and orientations for SSR-relevant EU actions. Yet, while the EU is now clearly committed to the SSR policy approach, the operationalisation of SSR in the EU's various policy areas is in its infancy. Mechanisms for mainstreaming SSR into the EU's development, human rights and democracy, conflict prevention and crisis management, and enlargement policies all need to be further developed. Furthermore, SSR needs to be better integrated into the Stabilisation and Association Process, European Neighbourhood Policy, and its programmes for establishing an area of freedom, security and justice. It will be incumbent

on future EU Presidencies as well as the various Directorates General involved in SSR issues within the Commission to take this process forward.

The EU SSR concepts have borrowed a great deal from the thinking that has evolved in other international organisations. They therefore do not always reflect accurately the EU's specificities. As the concepts are integrated into the practical work of the Council and the Commission, EU objectives and policy instruments need to be given greater consideration. This can be facilitated by the organisation of intra-institutional training and seminars on SSR as well as mapping exercises to scan the range of EU activities and concerns in the area of SSR. Such efforts would doubtless help integrate SSR into the EU's broader policy framework.

The EU's SSR concepts acknowledge that the development of joint actions with other international organisations is necessary and that empowerment of regional organisations and actors is required if sustainable reform is to be achieved. Yet, how the EU is to manage efficiently this cooperation with international organisations and donors in the SSR field clearly needs further research and pragmatic policy-making.

In the EU context, SSR has been conceived as a concept running across three pillars. It is thus consistent with the 'whole-of-government' approach promoted by the OECD DAC. Yet, even the EU's overarching SSR framework is not very explicit on how the cooperation mechanisms are to operate between the Commission, the Council, and the member states. The SSR framework stipulates that SSR activities can be either carried out by the Council, the Commission or by both. But it is short on guidance about which EU institution takes the lead in which circumstances and how it may have to work with other parts of the EU in the process. It may be that this will have to be decided on a case-by-case basis, but it would surely be preferable for the EU to do some advance thinking on how it might proceed in different situations. This would certainly help the EU make more effective decisions in the inevitable ambiguity and confusion of future crisis situations.

There are signs that the EU is in the process of enhancing the coherence of its external activities and improving coordination across its three pillars. Inter-agency working groups and closer cooperation with the member states, both mentioned in the *Europe in the World* document cited above, will play a key role here. In addition, there is growing recognition that ESDP civilian and military missions need to be better integrated with Community programmes, and that the SSR expertise of such lead member states as the UK and the Netherlands needs to be leveraged more effectively.

Effective action on SSR will require that EU institutions and member states invest in training activities for civilian and military staff in SSR programme design and delivery, both at headquarters and in the field. Effective SSR action will also require appropriate and timely financing. The new Financial Instruments and the new ODA regulations show great promise, but again there is a divide between theory and practice that needs to be closed.

The *EU Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2006–2007*, shows that the EU needs to develop a comprehensive and coherent approach to SSR for the candidate countries. On the one hand, the EU can argue that SSR, while a new approach, is consistent with the Copenhagen *acquis*. Yet, on the other,

it needs to develop methodologies for achieving three key SSR-related tasks: first, to analyse the current state of national security sectors; second, to measure progress in making security sectors more professional and responsive to the needs of the population; and third to be able to compare EU assessments of progress and backsliding across countries. The EU has announced plans to devise benchmarks for candidate countries in its *EU Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2006–2007*⁶⁸, which could be extremely helpful in enhancing SSR implementation. The EU will also need to customise its SSR involvement for each country and region in its respective country strategy papers. In doing so, the EU can use the methodology developed by the OECD's *Implementation Framework for SSR* or, for example, take as a model the Internal Security Sector Review recently carried out in Kosovo.

Last but certainly not least, the EU needs to foster a culture of security sector reform among its own members. It is well placed to do so. Its ranks include several countries that have carried out SSR programmes as part of their democratisation process and their quest for integration into European and Euro-Atlantic institutions. The EU also counts, as discussed above, several members that have played a leading role in the development of the SSR approach. Ultimately, the success of the EU's efforts in the area of SSR may well depend on how its own members cope with the process of rethinking and reorganising their security resources and relationships, and whether it can, therefore, convincingly lead others by example.

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