

The European Intervention Initiative

Developing a shared strategic culture for European defence

Clingendael Report

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Contents

1	Introduction	1
2	EI2 – Background	2
3	EI2 – The record	4
4	What is ‘strategic culture’?	6
5	Comparing the ten	9
6	Deploying armed forces: the record	18
7	Strategic culture convergence/divergence	20
7.1	Aims of the use of force + the use of coercive means	20
7.2	Threat perception	21
7.3	Decision-making model	21
7.4	Historical practices	22
8	Conclusions and recommendations	23
	Annex	26

1 Introduction

In September 2017 President Emmanuel Macron suggested a European Intervention Initiative (EI2) as part of his vision of a “sovereign, united and democratic Europe”¹. Some commentators labelled his proposal, which stands outside of existing structures (e.g. the European Union), as the launching of a European intervention force. In reality, EI2 is aimed at bringing able and willing European countries together to prepare themselves better for future crises – not by creating a new standby force but by ultimately creating a shared strategic culture. At the invitation of France, ten European countries² have joined the initiative.

The key challenge is how a shared strategic culture can best be achieved. In order to answer that question, this Report will start with a short background description of EI2 and what has been achieved so far. This is followed by an analysis of what constitutes a ‘strategic culture’. Based on that analysis the ten EI2 countries will be assessed according to several criteria related to their current national strategic cultures. The comparison is based on the national security and defence strategies of the EI2 countries – as far as they were available – as well as on other sources and literature. Insights deduced from interviews with national experts in the ten EI2 capitals have been incorporated in the comparison. Furthermore, the contributions of the ten countries to military operations have been assessed.³ In the following section the authors analyse where the EI2 countries align in terms of the criteria, thus providing opportunities for a shared strategic culture, but also where they conflict and provide obstacles. Strategic cultures are notoriously resilient to change, but can particular entry points for strategic cultural convergence be identified that make the most impact? To conclude the Report the authors will provide recommendations on these entry points in order to best achieve a shared strategic culture.

1 *President Macron’s Initiative for Europe: A sovereign, united, democratic Europe*, 26.09.17, <https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/french-foreign-policy/european-union/events/article/president-macron-s-initiative-for-europe-a-sovereign-united-democratic-europe>.

2 Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, France, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom.

3 Crisis management operations: all military missions or operations other than (collective) territorial defence, led by the UN, the EU, NATO or in Coalitions of the Willing. In the case of the UN (military) monitoring missions have been included in the assessment.

2 EI2 – Background

President Macron's speech at the Sorbonne University in Paris in September 2017 marked the starting point of EI2. To many it came as a surprise. Several new initiatives to strengthen European defence had already been taken after the EU Global Strategy was launched in June 2016. Why another proposal? For France there were at least three reasons. First, the Mali crisis in 2013 showed that France and its European partners did not share the same understanding of the security environment. One of the lessons learned was that better intelligence sharing and common contingency planning was needed.⁴ Secondly, Paris was disappointed in the outcome of the initiative to launch Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) in the EU. Instead of a core group of member states willing to realise a more ambitious European defence cooperation, PESCO became inclusive due to the German position with almost all EU countries on board.⁵ Thirdly, an exercise by the French Ministry of the Armed Forces of mapping European countries in terms of their capabilities, budget and actual contributions to operations had resulted in a more limited group of able and willing partners.⁶ This enabled the choice of countries to be invited for participation in EI2.

Immediately after the Sorbonne speech many commentators interpreted EI2 as the creation of a new European intervention force. This is not the case. EI2's ultimate aim is to develop a common strategic culture. In essence, it is about the enhancement of the ability of the participating European states to respond to future threats and crises so that, whenever necessary, European security interests can be better and faster protected within the chosen institutional frameworks. Developing common doctrine and further enhancing interoperability between the armed forces are important ways to realise this aim. The EI2 arrangement is supposed to be flexible, pragmatic and non-binding, and without prejudice to any particular institutional framework. EI2 can thus assist the institutional frameworks: the EU, NATO, the UN, and Coalitions of the Willing.⁷

4 Alice Billon-Galland, *A Military Workshop*, Berlin Policy Journal. November-December 2018; Sebastiaan Rietjens & Floribert Baudet, 'Stovepiping Within Multinational Military Operations: The Case of Mali', in: Irina Goldenberg & Joseph Soeters (Eds.), *Information Sharing in Military Operations*, Springer, 2017.

5 Only Denmark (having an EU defence opt-out), Malta (having no armed forces) and the United Kingdom (about to leave the EU) did not join PESCO.

6 Alice Billon-Galland, *A Military Workshop*.

7 Letter of Intent between the Defence Ministers of Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom concerning the development of the European Intervention Initiative (EI2), signed 25 June 2018.

EI2 has been launched deliberately outside the EU context, marking the French preference for flexible and non-institutionalised formats of cooperation. Its focus is on direct defence-to-defence contacts between capitals, thus avoiding EU bureaucracy.⁸

8 Alice Billon-Galland, A Military Workshop.

3 EI2 – The record

Shortly before the Foreign Affairs Council on 25 June 2018, the Defence Ministers of nine EU member states (Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom) signed the EI2 Letter of Intent (LoI).⁹

The selection of the invited countries might seem to be at random, but different underlying reasons can explain the choices that have been made. Denmark (which has an EU defence opt-out) and the UK (which is about to leave the EU) have track records on crisis management deployments and thus provide added value to EI2 in comparison to PESCO. For France the inclusion of Germany is crucial for the success and legitimacy of EI2. Germany's participation also offers France (and other EI2 countries) an opportunity to influence German strategic culture.¹⁰ Italy is absent in EI2, but had been invited. However, after the new Italian government was installed in 2018, Italy decided not to join EI2 although Rome has kept the option open for later.¹¹ Although EI2 countries might not share the same strategic culture, all of them belong to the group of 'the able and willing' to join crisis management operations.¹²

Besides the strategic context, which includes the criteria for the participating member states, the LoI describes the objectives of the initiative. EI2 aims to enhance the ability of the participating European states to respond to future threats and crises.¹³ Specifically, it wants to foster better links and closer cooperation between the respective armed forces. Enhanced interaction will focus on four main fields: 1) strategic foresight and intelligence sharing, 2) scenario development and planning, 3) support to operations, and 4) lessons learned and doctrine. Also, the LoI clearly states that EI2 is not a new rapid reaction force nor that it will earmark national forces for its own response purposes. EI2 will remain open to other European states, of which Finland becoming the 10th member on 7 November 2018 is proof of this.¹⁴ Whether more member states will follow might become clear after the next ministerial meeting, which will be hosted by the Netherlands on 20 September 2019. Norway and Sweden are the most likely candidates and Italy can join "whenever ready" according to the website of the

9 Letter of Intent, 25 June 2018.

10 Information from interviews.

11 *Nine EU states sign off on joint military intervention force*, The Guardian, 25 June 2018.

12 Information from interviews.

13 Letter of Intent, 25 June 2018.

14 Clément Nicolas, *Finland becomes tenth participant country in European Intervention Initiative*, EURACTIV, 9 November 2018.

French Ministry of the Armed Forces.¹⁵ Although formally other European countries could join EI2 later on, it seems contrary to the selection criterion ('the able and willing') and to the idea of efficiency to enlarge the group of participating countries much further. In any case, new candidates will have to accept the Lol and they should bring added value. The decision to accept a new participating state will be based on consensus.¹⁶

France has deliberately aimed for shared ownership in EI2. Thus, it very much welcomed the Dutch initiative to lead a working group on the Caribbean for discussing humanitarian aid and disaster relief. Two other working groups focus on the Baltic Sea area (led by Estonia) and the Sahel (led by France) respectively. EI2 countries will share information, intelligence, and lessons learned on their experiences in these regions and identify potential areas for cooperation. Additionally, by using 'horizon scanning', the international security environment will be analysed. Areas for cooperation will be deduced from the scanning.¹⁷ A link with PESCO has been established by including the 'co-basing' project in the second batch of PESCO projects, launched on 20 November 2018. The project's aim is to improve the use and sharing of European military bases outside Europe.¹⁸ However, France will continue to resist institutional links between EI2 and PESCO due to its inclusive nature and the different aim of PESCO, that is dealing with capabilities.¹⁹ Finally, on the record so far, it could be stated that EI2 is relatively unknown. Except for the experts directly involved in the initiative and the security and defence communities in European countries, there is little awareness of the EI2 activities.²⁰

15 www.defense.gouv.fr/english/dgris/international-action/l-iei/l-initiative-europeenne-d-intervention

16 Information from interviews.

17 *Verslag van de ministeriële bijeenkomst van het 'European Intervention Initiative' in Parijs op 7 November*, Brief van de Minister van Defensie, Drs. A.Th.B. Bijleveld-Schouten, aan de Voorzitter van de Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal (Letter of the Dutch Minister of Defence to Parliament on the Ministerial EI2 Meeting, 7 November 2018 in Paris).

18 PESCO is also referred to in the Lol.

19 Alice Billon-Galland, A Military Workshop.

20 Confirmed in by most interviewees.

4 What is 'strategic culture'?

The EI2 Lol provides no definition of what constitutes strategic culture. It rather describes *how* and on *what* fields the EI2 countries should focus in order to enhance their ability to carry out military missions and operations under the framework of the EU, NATO, the UN and/or ad hoc coalitions.²¹ Although “a shared strategic culture” is “the ultimate objective of EI2” (according to para 6 of the Lol), elsewhere the text refers to “further steps need to be taken (...) to develop together the European Intervention Initiative (EI2) in order to enhance our collective strategic response”.²² In other words, it seems that the Lol has the focus of strengthening strategic culture on developing more commonality in how to respond to crises and not to other aspects which constitute strategic culture. Perhaps there have been specific reasons to refrain from defining strategic culture in the Lol – e.g. it might have exposed how different the approaches are in the EI2 countries.²³ The question remains: what is strategic culture?

The term ‘strategic culture’ was first coined by Jack Snyder²⁴, whereby it was conceptualised as a specific national security and military vision of elites and decision-makers placed in the context of global nuclear rivalry. Strategic culture was moreover shaped by the understanding that security involved state sovereignty and territorial integrity through the use of military instruments. The so-called ‘Johnston-Gray debate’ followed twenty years later: Alastair Iain Johnston argued that strategic culture determines strategic behaviour, while Colin Gray stated that strategic culture merely shapes strategic decision-making.²⁵ In essence, Gray argued that strategic culture provides a useful context for understanding decision-making, while Johnston sees a more indirect influence on strategic behaviour. Since then the term has been defined in multiple ways, whereby the use of military force remains central to its understanding. It revolves around norms, ideas and practices that influence decision-making and

21 Letter of Intent, 25 June 2018, para’s 5-15.

22 Letter of Intent, 25 June 201, para 4.

23 Interviews showed a wide variety of views in the ten EI2 countries as to what constitutes strategic culture. Some interviewees referred mainly to the operational aspects of deploying forces, others to the political approach of their country to crises, while value and norms were also mentioned.

24 J.L. Snyder, *The Soviet Strategic Culture: Implications for Limited Nuclear Options*, Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1977.

25 C.S. Gray, ‘Strategic culture as context: the first generation of theory strikes back’, in: *Review of International Studies*, 25(1), 1999, pp. 49-69; A. I. Johnston, ‘Thinking about Strategic Culture’, in: *International Security*, 19(4), 1995, pp. 32-64.

ultimately the creation of a grand strategy to achieve strategic political objectives.²⁶ Strategic culture can generally be delineated as having three interrelated levels: political-strategic, doctrinal and military-behavioural.

The overarching political-strategic level incorporates three main elements. The first includes the aim for which states want to apply force, ranging from territorial defence to high-end military crisis management interventions. The intent behind the use of force is closely linked to varying threat perceptions. The element of threat perceptions is a vital part of national policies, because it influences the approach of countries in prioritising the deployment of their armed forces. Besides, how these perceptions are translated in national security and defence strategies is determined by the decision-making processes and the level of parliamentary involvement of a country. Military doctrines consolidate the way in which armed forces are directed and operate, including the use of coercive means. Finally, the military-behavioural level is shaped by historical experiences and practices. This includes questions such as: how does a country's history affect its willingness to deploy military forces? Can a country's military behaviour be described as pacifist or interventionist or – perhaps better phrased – is a country and is its society open to armed intervention when needed, or rather favouring restraint and being reluctant to military engagement in crises? Although strategic culture is here analysed on the national level, it should be mentioned that it does not exist in a vacuum of a nation-state context. It is influenced by the outside world through, amongst others things, international security and defence agreements (e.g. NATO) and several material factors such as geography (e.g. neighbouring countries). Of course, member states themselves, including their respective strategic cultures, influence the same international strategies and agreements.

In order for a 'European strategic culture' to emerge, thus to be able to set common strategic goals and to operate together, some degree of the convergence of the different strategic cultures is necessary. Generally, it is assumed that culture, and thus national strategic culture, changes slowly because its main characteristics are the product of ingrained beliefs and attitudes. Nevertheless, culture change is possible. Apart from abrupt changes due to external shocks, including warfare, a gradual change can be generated by certain factors. First, a change in threat perceptions can influence public policy preferences. The difficulty in the current European context is exactly the issue of varying threat perceptions, in particular the East-South divide, which hampers strategic culture convergence. Second, long-term socialisation processes, involving public as well as private organisations, create the persistence of national strategic norms on the willingness to use force. When different national political and military decision-makers enter an international network, such as EI2, countries can overcome gaps between

26 A. Biava, M. Drent & G.P. Herd, 'Characterizing the European Union's Strategic Culture: An Analytical Framework', in: *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49(6), 2011, p. 1227.

their national worldviews through the same socialisation processes whereby strategic convergence might occur. Alternative socialisation processes by such a multinational cooperation format can accelerate changes to strategic norms, which might prove to be essential for the convergence of European strategic cultures.²⁷

27 Meyer, C.O., *The Quest for a European Strategic Culture: Changing Norms on Security and Defence in the European Union*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

5 Comparing the ten

In order to assess the potential for the convergence of strategic culture, the ten EI2 countries have to be analysed and compared according to five key elements along the political-strategic, doctrinal and military-behavioural level: (1) the aims of the use of force; (2) threat perceptions; (3) the decision-making model; (4) the use of coercive means; (5) historical practices. The EI2 countries are listed below in alphabetical order. The EI2 countries' record in the deployment of their armed forces in crisis management operations will be provided in a separate, next section.

Belgium²⁸

- (1) *Aims of the use of force*: in recent years the fight against terrorism has been an important priority, but territorial defence remains the first mission of the armed forces. However, in reality, the perception of the absence of any direct military threat has led to an emphasis on crisis management and peace support operations. A mandate by an international security organisation is preferred to participate in such operations, but is not required. The country also does not perform legal inquiries concerning an international legal mandate before it chooses to participate in crisis management operations.
- (2) *Threat perceptions*: in general, there is a low level of awareness of classical military threats, but a high level of awareness of new challenges, in particular posed by terrorism.
- (3) *Decision-making model*: the government has the authority to deploy forces. Parliament is informed, but the government does not have to seek the approval of Parliament to deploy forces.
- (4) *The use of coercive means*: willing to use force in coalitions, in particular by participation in air campaigns. The deployment of ground forces is limited due to their small size and national security tasks (in recent years mainly the air force and the navy have been participating in deployments).
- (5) *Historical practices*: although sometimes labelled as 'structural pacifism', resulting from the country's past experiences (WW I & II), Belgium is not a pacifist country. Rather, there is a lack of interest and support for the armed forces as well as an attitude of 'anti-militarism' in certain parts of Belgian society. However, the country

28 Amongst others: S. Biscop, 'Belgium', in: H. Biehl, et al., (Eds.) *Strategic Cultures in Europe: Security and Defence Policies Across the Continent*, (Springer, 2013); Ministry of Defence, *The Strategic Vision for Defence 2016-2030*, June 2016; Willem Staes & Lene Jacobs, *Parlement Buitenspel? – Democratische controle op militaire operaties*, PAX Christi, 2018.

has a proven record in participation in crisis management operations, in particular in Africa. Belgium has also participated in air campaigns at the high-end of the spectrum.

NB: Existing national security strategy: absent. The Strategic Vision for Defence 2016-2030 refers to European 'strategic autonomy'.

Denmark²⁹

- (1) *Aims of the use of force*: territorial defence and for other missions the comprehensive approach, combining the deployment of armed forces with promoting democracy, human rights and development. Participation in crisis management operations must be done on the basis of international law, which includes four options:
 - (1) an invitation or another form of consent from the territorial state, (2) a legal mandate from the UN Security Council, (3) an act of individual or collective self-defence, or (4) when the basis for humanitarian intervention has been fulfilled.
- (2) *Threat perceptions*: focus on the East (the Russian threat), but it also considers terrorism to be a main threat to its security.
- (3) *Decision-making model*: a strong tradition of parliamentarism. The government must seek parliamentary approval in territorial matters, the entry to and abrogation of treaties and any matter of 'major importance'. Even in the case of an emergency decision, Parliament will still have to approve Danish military participation (when it entails the potential use of force) but this can be done within two days.
- (4) *The use of coercive means*: willing to use force in coalitions/international missions. In recent years the country has been actively engaged in using coercive means (the Libya air campaign, Afghanistan, etc.). However, political change (other government composition) can affect the willingness to be engaged with armed forces in crisis management.
- (5) *Historical practices*: activism has become part and parcel of Danish policy and (strategic) culture. It is nourished by widespread support for liberal values and the absence of major ideological divides that cut through the political spectrum.

NB: Existing national security strategy: Foreign and Security Policy Strategy 2019-2020 & Defence Agreement 2018-2023.

29 Amongst others: S. Rynning, 'Denmark', in: H. Biehl, et al., (Eds.) *Strategic Cultures in Europe: Security and Defence Policies Across the Continent*, (Springer, 2013); P. Szymanski, *Overstretched? Denmark's security policy and armed forces in light of the new Defence Agreement*, April 2018, accessed through: <https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/osw-commentary/2018-04-27/overstretched-denmarks-security-policy-and-armed-forces-light>; The Danish Government, *Foreign and Security Policy Strategy 2019-2020*, November 2018; The Danish Government, *Defence Agreement 2018-2023*, n.d.; Danish Ministry of Defence, *Military Manual on international law relevant to Danish armed forces in international operations*, September 2016.

Estonia³⁰

- (1) *Aims of the use of force*: territorial 'total' defence, but active participation in crisis management operations. Participation in such operations has to be under the provisions of either collective defence based on Article 51 of the UN Charter or of the preservation or restoration of peace and security based on chapters VI or VII of the UN charter. Other military operations need to be in line with international law.
- (2) *Threat perceptions*: focus on the East (the Russian threat), but a full recognition of the security challenges to Europe's south.
- (3) *Decision-making model*: in cases of territorial (collective) defence, the President has decision-making power. In other cases, Parliamentary approval is needed.
- (4) *The use of coercive means*: willing to use force, but its scale is limited due to the priority given to territorial defence.
- (5) *Historical practices*: the short period of independence between WW I and II and the Soviet occupation determines its security and defence policy to a large extent. The overall aim is to integrate in Western structures, including by enhancing military cooperation with other European countries (while NATO is the cornerstone of the country's security).

NB: Existing national security strategy: National Security Concept of Estonia, National Defence Strategy & National Defence Development Plan 2017-2026.

Finland³¹

- (1) *Aims of the use of force*: emphasis on territorial defence; participation in international operations is a second priority. A comprehensive concept of security (involving new security challenges such as terrorism, environmental threats, cyber warfare). Participation in crisis management operations are preferably authorised by the UN Security Council, but can exceptionally also occur without such a mandate, with for example the purpose of supporting humanitarian assistance operations. However, the UN Charter and international law are always taken into account.

30 Amongst others: K. Salu, & E. Männik, 'Estonia', in: H. Biehl, et al., (Eds.) *Strategic Cultures in Europe: Security and Defence Policies Across the Continent*, (Springer, 2013); Republic of Estonia, Ministry of Defence, *National Defence Development Plan 2017-2026*, n.d.; Estonian Ministry of Defence, *National Defence Strategy Estonia*, 2011; The Riigikogu (Parliament), *National Security Concept of Estonia*, May 2010; Riigi Teataja, *National Defence Act*, 11 February 2015.

31 Amongst others: F. Doeser, 'Strategic Culture, Domestic Politics, and Foreign Policy: Finland's Decision to Refrain from Operation Unified Protector', in: *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Vol. 13, 2017, pp. 741-759; A. Seppo & T. Forsberg, 'Finland', in: H. Biehl, et al., (Eds.) *Strategic Cultures in Europe: Security and Defence Policies Across the Continent*, (Springer, 2013); Government of Finland, Ministry of Defence. *The Security Strategy for Society*, 2010; Ministry of Defence, *Finland Act on Military Crisis Management (211/2006)*.

- (2) *Threat perceptions*: focus on the East (the Russian threat). A high level of awareness concerning new challenges, especially in the hybrid and cyber domains, but also in the field of CBRN.³²
- (3) *Decision-making model*: based on consensus, but moving towards decision-making that is more centred on the President. The role of Parliament in the decision-making process concerning crisis management is rather limited. Parliament is informed, prior to the decision on participation.
- (4) *The use of coercive means*: willingness to use force is limited. Finland emphasises the comprehensive approach to crisis management, whereby the focus is on the complementarity of military, civilian, development and humanitarian aspects. Finland primarily participates in civilian and low-end peacekeeping operations.
- (5) *Historical practices*: a legacy of WW II (territorial defence), the Cold War era (military non-alignment) and membership of the EU (international crisis management). Defensive strategic culture is based on 'small state realism' or *realpolitik*, hence downplaying value-based considerations.

NB: Existing national security strategy: 'Security Strategy for Society', 2010.

France³³

- (1) *Aims of the use of force*: the country wants to retain 'national strategic autonomy'. The focus on territorial defence as well as on interventions/crisis management. As a permanent member of the UN Security Council France has specific responsibilities for maintaining global peace and security. France's prerequisites for participating in crisis management operations have not been clearly defined, and the country will act unilaterally if this is perceived to be required. This is always done on a legal basis. In practice, France seeks legitimacy in for example the form of a UN mandate. However, a UN mandate is not required per se, as e.g. operations Serval, Barkhane and Chammal have shown.
- (2) *Threat perceptions*: focus on Africa. Identified risk areas: the Mediterranean and its southern region, the Balkans, sub-Saharan Africa, Asia/Middle East. General recognition of key threats such as terrorism, cyber, etc. A clear recognition of the external-internal security nexus.
- (3) *Decision-making model*: the French President is the key player with a high level of executive authority in security and defence matters. The decision-making process is highly centralised – deployment decisions taken by the National Defence and Security Council (headed by the President). The French system of parliamentary

32 Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear.

33 Amongst others: B. Irodelle & B. Schmitt, 'France', in: H. Biehl, et al., (Eds.) *Strategic Cultures in Europe: Security and Defence Policies Across the Continent*, (Springer, 2013); The Republic of France, *Defence and National Security Strategic Review*, 2017; M. Houben 'French security policy' in: *International Crisis Management – the Approach of European States*, 2005.

control is probably the weakest (compared to those of the other EI2 countries) with almost no influence on defence issues, especially concerning the deployment of armed forces.

- (4) *The use of coercive means*: France is clearly one of the European countries that is most likely to consider options for military intervention and to give priority to military force rather than to non-military tools in crisis management.
- (5) *Historical practices*: French strategic culture draws on two traditions: a self-understanding as the 'country of human rights', which is translated into diplomatic attitudes on multilateralism and democracy, and an established tradition of self-reliance and independence. Its long colonial experience strongly influences the country's willingness and readiness to engage itself militarily in Africa or elsewhere. In terms of strategic culture the UK is considered to be the only comparable partner in Europe (both are nuclear powers, permanent members of the UNSC and have an expeditionary attitude).

NB: Existing national security strategy: 'Defence and National Security: Strategic Review 2017'. 'Strategic culture' is only mentioned with reference to the necessity of the emergence of a common strategic culture among European states.

Strategic autonomy is underlined; cooperation with European partners is placed in that context. EI2 is a logical next step for strengthening a shared strategic culture.

Germany³⁴

- (1) *Aims of the use of force*: focus on the use of force in terms of territorial defence and deterrence on the strategic and political level. Participation in crisis management operations requires (1) a UN mandate, (2) a multilateral action framework for the deployment, and (3) a mandate from the German Federal Parliament.
- (2) *Threat perceptions*: in the 2016 White Book there is no focus on a particular region; risks to German security have become broader, more diverse, and increasingly unpredictable. These risks include the challenge from Russia (including hybrid threats), but also the instability to the South of Europe, terrorism, climate change, cyber and others.
- (3) *Decision-making model*: a very strict parliamentary prerogative on all armed military deployments outside the NATO area (therefore some use the label of a

34 Amongst others: J. Junk & C. Daase, 'Germany', in: H. Biehl, et al., (Eds.) *Strategic Cultures in Europe: Security and Defence Policies Across the Continent*, (Springer, 2013); The Federal Government of Germany, *The White Paper 2016: On German Security and the Future of the Bundeswehr*, 2016; Walter Haynes, *Explaining the Poverty of Germany's Strategic Debate*, War of the Rocks Commentary, 18 June 2019; [Rainer Glatz, Wibke Hansen, Markus Kaim, Judith Vorrath, Missions in a Changing World - The Bundeswehr and Its Operations Abroad. SWP Research Paper 2018/RP; Deutscher Bundestag, Das Parlamentsbeteiligungsgesetz, accessed through: https://www.bundestag.de/ausschuesse/a12_Verteidigung/auslandseinsaetze/parlamentsbeteiligungsgesetz-542628](https://www.bundestag.de/ausschuesse/a12_Verteidigung/auslandseinsaetze/parlamentsbeteiligungsgesetz-542628), on 22 August 2019.

‘parliamentary army’). No crisis management operational participation without the approval of the *Bundestag* (Parliament). However, the German Federal Government is the most important player in German foreign and security policy.

- (4) *The use of coercive means*: will only act in coalitions. A strong inclination to avoid armed intervention as a post-WW II legacy (Germany as a ‘civilian power’) unless it is justified by strong humanitarian reasons (e.g. Kosovo). A reluctance among the public and the government to engage in crisis management operations of a solely military nature; the emphasis is on the comprehensive approach.
- (5) *Historical practices*: the WW II legacy is still mirrored in German society’s reluctance with regard to military engagement outside the NATO area. A culture of military restraint exists with scepticism about using force and a dislike for assuming a leadership role in international security and defence matters. A strong preference for operating in the EU, NATO or UN context.

NB: Existing national security strategy: ‘White Paper 2016: on German Security Policy and the Future of the Bundeswehr’.

Netherlands³⁵

- (1) *Aims of the use of force*: the armed forces have three main tasks: (i) territorial defence; (ii) protecting and promoting the international order (in crisis management operations) and (iii) national tasks, including in support of civilian security actors (counter-terrorism, civil emergency etc.). Dutch participation in crisis management operations has to be on the basis of either (1) an invitation by the territorial state, or (2) a clear mandate of the UN, or in the context of chapter VI of the UN Charter, or (3) by a regional organisation such as NATO, the EU or the OSCE based on a UN mandate.
- (2) *Threat perceptions*: focus on ‘the arc of instability’ around Europe, but also on the challenges posed by terrorism, cyber and other hybrid threats. However, in recent years there has been increased attention to the threat emanating from the East (Russia).
- (3) *Decision-making model*: for crisis management operations, the government has to send an ‘Article-100 Letter’ to Parliament, in which it outlines the reasons for

35 Amongst others: J. Noll & R. Moelker, ‘Netherlands’, in: H. Biehl, et al., (Eds.) *Strategic Cultures in Europe: Security and Defence Policies Across the Continent*, (Springer, 2013); Ministry of Foreign Affairs (the Netherlands), *Working Worldwide for the Security of the Netherlands: An Integrated International Security Strategy 2018-2022*, May 2018; Ministry of Defence, *2018 Defence White Paper: Investing in our people, capabilities and visibility*, March 2018; Nederlandse Defensie Doctrine (The Dutch Defence Doctrine, released in June 2019); *Nederlandse deelname aan vredesmissies*, Brief van de Ministers van Buitenlandse Zaken en Defensie, M.J.M. Verhagen en E. van Middelkoop, aan de Voorzitter van de Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal (Letter of the Dutch Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Defence to Parliament on the legal mandate to participate in missions with the Dutch armed forces), 22 June 2007.

participation, the risks and the feasibility thereof, and the duration of the Dutch participation. Parliamentary approval is formally not required, but the government will seek the largest majority support in the Second Chamber of Parliament.

- (4) *The use of coercive means*: in crisis management operations the comprehensive approach occupies a central place, but the country is willing to participate in military interventions when the situation requires high-end operations. However, participation in crisis management operations is also depending on the composition of the coalition government at the moment of decision-making.
- (5) *Historical practices*: after the end of the Cold War, the country has actively participated in crisis management operations, but always in international coalitions. Overseas experience and existing responsibilities for the Dutch Antilles as well as its commercial tradition - the Netherlands as a trading nation - continue to positively impact its willingness to deploy forces.

NB: Existing national security strategy: the Integrated International Security Strategy (2018); the Defence White Paper (*Defensienota* 2018).

Portugal³⁶

- (1) *Aims of the use of force*: the armed forces are primarily tasked with three main tasks (territorial defence, cooperative security and collective security). An international legal mandate for participation in crisis management operations is politically preferred, but exceptions, for example on humanitarian grounds, can be granted.
- (2) *Threat perceptions*: the geographic location in Europe's southwestern corner is a factor explaining the low threat awareness in Portuguese society about Russia and the primary focus on Africa. Perceived threats include population growth, climate change and terrorism.
- (3) *Decision-making model*: decision-making on overseas military missions is a co-decision-making process in which the key factor is agreement between the Prime Minister and the President. Parliament has no decision-making authority.
- (4) *The use of coercive means*: the use of force is allowed if two important conditions are met: a peaceful solution to the conflict is not possible and interventions should take place multilaterally. Participation in air campaigns has been limited. The importance of the comprehensive approach in crisis management operations is underlined.
- (5) *Historical practices*: a pioneer of globalisation, overseas engagement (special attention given to African countries with which it has a traditional historical connection), a bridge over the Atlantic (an Atlantic-oriented attitude).

36 Amongst others: B. Cardoso Reis, 'Portugal', in: H. Biehl, et al., (Eds.) *Strategic Cultures in Europe: Security and Defence Policies Across the Continent*, (Springer, 2013).

Spain³⁷

- (1) *Aims of the use of force*: the use of force is related to the country's interests (independence, territorial integrity, constitutional order, economic security, the pursuit of a peaceful and safe international order, the need to preserve freedom of exchange and communication). Participation in crisis management operations requires either a specific request by the territorial state or a mandate authorised by the UN or agreed by international organisations of which Spain is a member.
- (2) *Threat perceptions*: focus on Africa, in particular areas such as the Sahel, Western Africa and the Horn due to the geographical location. Morocco has special attention due to the Spanish autonomous cities Ceuta and Melilla. Principal threats to national security: armed conflicts, (jihadist) terrorism, organised crime, the proliferation of WMD, espionage.
- (3) *Decision-making model*: the decision to deploy military forces abroad is the responsibility of the Prime Minister based on the assessment of the Ministers of Defence and Foreign Affairs. The government backs such a decision in a Joint Resolution and then they request the mandatory authorisation of Parliament for the deployment of armed forces abroad when military operations are not linked to the defence of the nation or its vital interests. In the case of an emergency parliamentary post-control (approval) is possible.
- (4) *The use of coercive means*: general societal unwillingness to use force. The government's willingness to use coercive means depends on the political situation. Limited participation in air campaigns.
- (5) *Historical practices*: Spanish strategic culture has evolved from a tradition of neutrality in WW I and II and isolation throughout most of the Cold War era towards a new role as an international security actor with emphasis on Africa, considerable contributions to capacity-building missions and a civilian-military approach.

NB: Existing national security strategy: National Security Strategy 2017. The document states that the country has to develop a culture of national security, in order to strengthen awareness of the prevailing threats and challenges.

37 Amongst others: F. Arteaga, 'Spain', in: H. Biehl, et al., (Eds.) *Strategic Cultures in Europe: Security and Defence Policies Across the Continent*, (Springer, 2013); Government of Spain, *National Security Strategy 2017: A Shared Project, By All and For All*, 2017.

United Kingdom³⁸

- (1) *Aims of the use of force*: a pro-active attitude towards international security (and being a relevant actor in the international security field), both focussed on territorial defence and defence engagement to promote UK interests and enhance national security by preventing and ending instability and conflict overseas. Participation in crisis management operations has to be based on international law: (1) an invitation from the territorial state, (2) a UN mandate, (3) self-defence under the UN Charter, or (4) humanitarian grounds if no other option is viable.
- (2) *Threat perceptions*: very wide array of threats and challenges, ranging from Russia to Africa as well as other regions in the world and from purely military to terrorism, climate change and others.
- (3) *Decision-making model*: although the support of Parliament is desired, the British government can declare war and deploy forces to armed conflicts abroad without the backing or consent of Parliament.
- (4) *The use of coercive means*: willingness to use force if required, but embedded in a wider approach using diplomatic, military and security tools including deterrence. The UK has a track record of participation in crisis management operations or interventions at all levels of the spectrum.
- (5) *Historical practices*: shares a strategic culture with France, such as an expeditionary orientation. A war fighting mentality with wide public support when national interests are considered to be at stake (e.g. the Falklands War, 1982). Since WW II Britain's armed forces have been deployed in significant numbers of operations, including as a partner to the US (e.g. Iraq intervention, 2003), although in recent years contributions with land forces have been limited.

NB: Existing national security strategy: 'National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review 2015'.

38 Amongst others: P. Cornish, 'United Kingdom', in: H. Biehl, et al., (Eds.) *Strategic Cultures in Europe: Security and Defence Policies Across the Continent*, (Springer, 2013); Government of the United Kingdom, *National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review 2015*, November 2015; Government of the United Kingdom, *National Security Risk Assessment*, 2015; Institut Montaigne, *What Future for Franco-British on Security and Defence Cooperation?*, July, 13, 2017, accessed through: <https://www.institutmontaigne.org/en/blog/2017/07/13/What-future-for-Franco-British-on-security-and-defence-cooperation>; *Conditions for using force in humanitarian intervention*, House of Commons Library (2013); *Legal basis for UK military action in Syria*, House of Commons Library (2015).

6 Deploying armed forces: the record

Participation in crisis management operations provides another indicator of the strategic culture of the ten EI2 countries. Their 'deployment records' give an insight into the willingness of each country to join such operations and, more specifically, what sort of operations or missions. For such an assessment it is necessary to look at the participation of the EI2 countries in missions or operations led by the UN, the EU and NATO, as well as in Coalitions of the Willing (CoW). The Annex contains the data on the participation of the EI2 countries in crisis management operations as of 2010, listing both concluded and ongoing missions.

The overall figures (Annex, Table 1) show that the larger EI2 countries (France, Spain, the UK) have participated in the highest numbers of crisis management operations – from 23 to 25 in total.³⁹ This can be seen as a logical result related to their status as large European countries and the overall size of their armed forces. Germany's total number, however, is lower (19), while the Netherlands scores 22. The latter might reflect the country's willingness to contribute to overseas deployments. In the same Table the breakdown of the missions shows the highest number of participations (6) in UN-led missions for Finland, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Spain, with the UK closely following with participation in 5 UN missions. Finland's high score (6) expresses the impact of the country's long tradition of neutrality and steady contributions to UN peacekeeping missions. In the category "other" – i.e. CoW – the high figures of French (7) and British (6) participation are striking as is the relatively high number for Belgium (5), reflecting the country's participation in many air campaign interventions.

A further look at the category of CoW operations – which encompasses most of the crisis management missions at the high-end of the use of force spectrum – reveals a considerable divergence within the group of ten EI2 countries. The data in Table 2 of the Annex show that Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands and the UK have participated with combat aircraft in the air campaign interventions in Libya and against Islamic State (ISIS).⁴⁰ Spain has only contributed to the Libya air campaign. Germany participates in the anti-ISIS air campaign, but only with non-combat aircraft

39 It should be noted that these data do not distinguish between the size, duration and concurrency of mission participation. Detailed data about national participation in crisis management operations are not always publicly available. Nevertheless, some conclusions can be drawn from these data.

40 The Netherlands only flew monitoring missions in the Libya air campaign.

(reconnaissance and air-to-air refuelling). France has been the main 'interventionist' E12 country in Mali, in the Central African Republic and throughout the Sahel area with Operation Barkhane. Other E12 countries originally provided solely indirect support (transport, etc.) to the Mali intervention operation by France (Operation Serval). The UK has delivered (limited amounts of) soldiers on the ground for Operation Barkhane. Estonia is still contributing to Operation Barkhane with a small contribution, while Denmark is likely to contribute in the near future. Finland and Portugal are absent when it comes to high-end interventions, both in terms of non-participation in air campaigns as well as on the ground.

7 Strategic culture convergence/divergence

The previous two sections provided a comparison of the ten E12 countries in terms of key elements of determining strategic culture and their participation in crisis management operations. Based on these comparisons, an assessment can be made of the alignment, partial alignment and a lack of alignment of the strategic cultures of the E12 countries. Convergence/divergence in strategic culture will be assessed on the basis of the five criteria, taking into account the records of the E12 countries with regard to deploying their armed forces in crisis management.

7.1 Aims of the use of force + the use of coercive means⁴¹

Territorial defence (including collective defence for NATO member states) is considered by all E12 countries as a key task for their armed forces. However, divergence comes to the fore with regard to the deployment of armed forces in crisis management operations. On the one hand, France and the UK have an expeditionary attitude and are willing to use force when needed. On the other hand, the UK and other E12 countries underline the comprehensive approach needed for long-term solutions. Belgium, Denmark, Estonia and the Netherlands – with varying degrees and conditions – can be grouped together with France and the UK in terms of their willingness to deploy forces in military crisis management operations, including at the high-end of the spectrum. Other countries also contribute to crisis management operations, but rarely participate in high-end operations. This applies to Portugal, Spain and Finland. Germany is also willing to deploy forces to crisis management operations, but is reluctant to do so when it comes to the use of force high in the spectrum. If Berlin decides to do so – as in the case of the anti-ISIS air campaign – Germany contributes with non-combat assets.

All E12 countries participate in crisis management operations on the basis of international law. However, it differs per country which specific requirement is emphasised in legal documents and/or is adhered to in practice. Four subgroups can be categorised. Germany not only employs the strict prerequisite of a UN mandate, but also requires a multilateral action framework and a mandate from the German Federal Parliament. Estonia, the Netherlands and Spain can participate in crisis management operations on the basis of either a UN mandate, an invitation from the government of

41 The two elements have here been put together in the analysis as they are closely interrelated.

the state on whose territory their armed forces are to be deployed (the Netherlands and Spain), or collective self-defence (Estonia). Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Portugal and the UK generally prefer a UN mandate or a clear request from the territorial state, but can also participate in the case of self-defence or on humanitarian grounds. Lastly, even though France seeks legitimisation for its operations, it can deploy its armed forces in crisis management when the President perceives this to be necessary – as its recent Operations Serval and Barkhane have demonstrated.

7.2 Threat perception

Predictably, EI2 countries in the eastern part of Europe (Estonia, Finland) focus on Russia as the main threat to their security. EI2 countries bordering the Mediterranean (France, Spain) or close to Africa (Portugal) place more emphasis on the threats and challenges emanating from the instability and conflicts to the South of Europe. The deployment record of countries such as France, Portugal and Spain in Africa underlines the primary security concern of these countries. A third group consists of the remaining EI2 countries (Belgium, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, the UK), all of whom underline the wide range of security threats in geographic terms (East/South) and/or stress the variety of the challenges (from classical military threats to new threats, such as posed by terrorism and in the cyber realm).⁴² It should be noted that in Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands and the UK the focus on the threat from the East is increasingly taking a dominant position. Belgium, due to its traditional links with several African countries, remains mainly oriented on Africa.

7.3 Decision-making model

In France and the UK the governments – with the central role of the President respectively the Prime Minister – can take decisions on the deployment of armed forces in crisis management operations without the consent of Parliament. Belgium, Finland and Portugal can be considered to belong to the same group. In varying degrees parliamentary support or approval for the crisis management deployment of their armed forces is required (or deemed to be highly desirable) in Denmark, Estonia, Germany, the Netherlands, and Spain. Of this group Germany, Denmark and Spain have the most far-reaching model: i.e. the approval of Parliament is required for any overseas crisis management deployment.

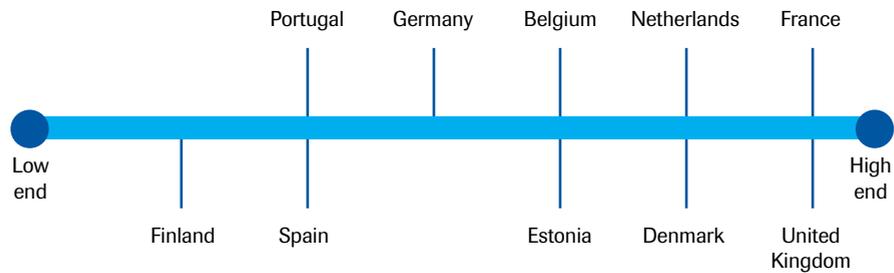
⁴² Other countries recognise the threats of terrorism and cyber-attacks as well, but connect these more strongly to their primary regional focus.

7.4 Historical practices

EI2 countries with a strong overseas tradition (France, the Netherlands, Portugal, the UK) but also Denmark by its ‘activism’ consider crisis management operations to be a key task for their armed forces. Logically, Spain would also belong to this group. However, the country’s history of isolation and internal orientation still has an impact on its approach to crisis management (focus on capacity-building missions). Belgium plays its role in crisis management, including by participating in air campaigns, but has to cope with a lack of interest, support and understanding for military engagement within its society. Estonia’s willingness to contribute to crisis management has a specific national interest, namely to embed the country in international coalitions in order to generate support for ensuring Estonia’s national security.⁴³ Finland’s historic experience and geographical location, sharing a long border with Russia, determine to a large extent the country’s security and defence strategy and strategic culture. In the German case the WW II legacy is still a major factor of influence on the country’s strategic culture, leading to a reluctant attitude with regard to the use of force – except for territorial defence.

Based on this analysis the EI2 countries can be placed on a scale of their willingness to contribute to crisis management operations from the low-end to the high-end of the spectrum (see Figure 1). Note that willingness does not automatically lead to relevant decision-making. It will always depend on circumstances and the prevailing political situation.

Figure 1 The willingness of EI2 countries to participate in crisis management operations from low to high in the spectrum of use of force



⁴³ The Estonian decision to contribute a small infantry contingent to the counter-terrorist Operation Barkhane has been mirrored by the French deployment of troops to this Baltic State in the context of NATO’s forward Enhanced Presence. See: *Estonian government approves sending 50 troops to French-led Mali mission*, ERR News, 22.03.2018.

8 Conclusions and recommendations

Although France has invited its partners for the E12 initiative based on an assessment of their capabilities, and their actual contributions to operations, it is clear that the ten participating countries do not constitute a homogeneous group in terms of sharing the same strategic culture if the five key elements analysed in this Report are taken as measurement tool. There are divergences in the following elements constituting strategic culture:

- *The willingness to participate in operations from low to high in the spectrum of the use of force:* on the one hand, France and the UK plus (with varying degrees and conditions) Belgium, Denmark, Estonia and the Netherlands constitute the subgroup of the countries willing to participate in high-end crisis management operations; on the other hand, Finland, Germany, Spain and Portugal have a preference for low-end crisis management operations.
- *Threat perception:* Estonia and Finland put most emphasis on the threat from the East, while France, Portugal and Spain perceive the threats and challenges stemming from instability and conflict in Africa as being the most important for their national security. All other E12 countries are somewhere in the middle with Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands and the UK increasingly underlining the threat from the East.
- *Decision-making model:* France and the UK plus Belgium, Finland and Portugal have a model with limited or almost no influence by their parliaments in decision-making on participation in crisis management operations. Denmark, Germany and Spain are on the opposite side: no participation in crisis management operations without the approval of Parliament. However, in the Danish and Spanish situation a rapid decision-making procedure is available. In Estonia and the Netherlands Parliament plays a prominent role as well, but also in these cases the fast-track option is possible.

Historical practices explain the divergence among the ten E12 countries to a large extent. Former colonial countries have a tradition and a long-lasting experience of overseas deployment of their armed forces. The willingness to contribute to crisis management operations might stem from this past orientation. The exception is Estonia. The country actively contributes to crisis management operations in order to reinforce the ties with other European partners for locking in their contributions to Estonia's national territorial integrity. The unwillingness to use force in crisis management operations in the cases of Finland and Germany has historic roots which are difficult to overcome. Spain and Portugal are slightly different cases – former colonial powers but not or only in limited

terms contributing to high-end crisis management operations. Decision-making models, naturally, are also a product of a country's past. The strong role of the German *Bundestag* is deeply embedded in German political culture, stemming from its WW II history. But it should also be noted that a pronounced role of parliament in decision-making on participation in crisis management operations is not automatic in countries with a long-standing parliamentary tradition. For example, the House of Commons in the UK has a very limited influence on such decisions.

The EI2 Letter of Intent defines four areas by which strategic culture can be aligned: strategic foresight and intelligence; scenario development and planning; support for operations; lessons learned and doctrine. In essence, this Report has concluded that key elements of developing a shared strategic culture – such as the willingness to use force, threat perceptions and the decision-making model – are not primarily and only of a military nature. Strategic culture is a reflection of broader historical, societal and cultural characteristics of a country. Therefore, approaching the key question (how to achieve strategic cultural convergence) strictly through a defence-to-defence set of contacts will only have a limited effect. It might certainly lead to a better common understanding of crises and conflicts, to better preparations and readiness by aligning military doctrine and increasing interoperability between the armed forces, and to shortening decision-making cycles. But converging strategic culture will require a wider effort, which goes beyond the Ministries of Defence and the armed forces. Moreover, it requires time. Only by participating in EI2 for the long haul can its socialisation processes create a sustainable effect for the new national strategic norms. It is against the background of this conclusion that the following recommendations are made, taking into account the convergence and divergence patterns among the ten EI2 countries.

Recommendation 1: the EI2 countries aim to enhance their ability to respond to future threats and crises, and there is much potential for convergence through sharing early warning, crisis analysis and shared intelligence. However, when it comes to military operations commonality will be difficult to realise due to the differences in the willingness to participate in crisis management operations across the full spectrum. Thus, it is preferable to align doctrine and other aspects relevant to deploying armed forces for crisis management in subgroups rather than 'at ten'. That does not mean that other EI2 countries should be excluded from such subgroups. On the contrary, they could learn from others with specific experience in operations at all levels of the spectrum. However, the essential point is that convergence can only be realised when a willingness to carry out specific types of operations exists. Thus, those countries should be primarily involved in the aligning process, which is already ongoing.

Recommendation 2: there are different threat perceptions among the EI2 countries with (north)eastern European countries prioritising the challenges posed by Russia and the southern participating members looking primarily at the security threats stemming from Africa and the Middle East. In order to develop more common awareness and

understanding of the threats that Europe is facing, both from the East and the South, the ten E12 countries should together further develop and test strategic foresight analyses in order to harmonise threat perceptions. Think tanks in the E12 countries with strategic foresight analysis capacities could contribute to the alignment process.

Recommendation 3: a change in strategic culture might occur more quickly when actors other than the Defence ministries are involved in the matter. To constitute more coherence among ‘the able and willing’ broader support will be required. In due course, civilian security actors could be involved in what could be called E12-Plus activities, for example with regard to humanitarian operations or for stability operations of a longer duration which require a comprehensive approach. The public relations side of E12 is underdeveloped and needs more attention. Think tanks can also play a role by conducting research for E12 and organising public events.

Recommendation 4: in particular for the urgent deployment of armed forces in a crisis situation political decision-making needs to be quick. Some E12 countries have time-consuming procedures for parliamentary decision-making which are contrary to this objective. These countries should consider how this can be speeded up, without reducing the role of their parliaments, which is unlikely to happen. Parliamentary post-hoc control does not take away authority of parliaments, it simply rearranges the procedures in order to allow for quick decision-making by governments. The E12 countries should start by informing each other of their decision-making models. As far as the parliamentary involvement is concerned, representatives of Foreign Affairs and Defence Committees of the relevant countries could meet, preferably on (already existing) bilateral levels to discuss options and national experiences.

Recommendation 5: the Estonian case proves that strategic culture can be rapidly influenced, although its long-term effect is questionable. The country has received a concrete French contribution to the defence of its vulnerable territory by offering itself concrete contributions to crisis management operations in Africa. This approach might be considered by other E12 countries that are reluctant to engage in crisis management operations, in particular by Finland as the country is a non-NATO member (thus lacking practical security guarantees by European partners).

Recommendation 6: there is a wide range of capabilities that are relevant for crisis management operations, from the low- to the high-end of the spectrum. It could be useful to investigate how already existing cooperation models between E12 countries – for example Franco-British air forces cooperation and the Belgian-Danish-Netherlands Composite Special Operations Component Command (C-SOCC) – can be shared and broadened step-by-step to other E12 countries. Capacity-building is an area with high demand, but is often limited. For all these areas, scenario development and planning, lessons learned and doctrine are important categories for seeking further convergence with E12 partners.

Annex

Table 1 Overview of (military) operations (per country)⁴⁴

Country	Total number of operations	Participation in NATO operations	Participation in EU operations	Participation in UN missions	Others
Belgium	17	5	4	3	5
Denmark	16	7	0	5	4
Estonia	14	5	4	3	2
Finland	14	3	5	6	0
France	23	4	6	6	7
Germany	19	6	4	6	3
Netherlands	22	7	5	6	4
Portugal	18	6	7	4	1
Spain	25	8	7	6	4
United Kingdom	23	7	5	5	6

44 Data on the participation of the E12 countries in crisis management operations as of 2010, listing both concluded and ongoing missions:

NATO operations: International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), Kosovo Force (KFOR), Operation Ocean Shield, Operation Unified Protector, Operation Active Fence, Operation Active Endeavour, NATO Training Mission in Iraq, Resolute Support.

EU operations: EUFOR Althea, EU NAVFOR Atalanta, EU NAVFOR MED (Operation Sophia), EUTM Somalia, EUTM Mali, EUTM Central African Republic, EU Military Operation in the Central African Republic.

UN missions: UNAMID, MONUSCO, UNISFA, UNMISS, MINUSMA, MINUSCA, UNMOGIP, UNFICYP, UNTSO, UNDOF, UNIFIL, UNMIS, UNMIL, MINUSTAH, UNMIT.

Others: International air campaign against ISIS, Operation Enduring Freedom, Operation Serval, Military Intervention in Libya, Operation Barkhane, Operation Boali, Operation Sangaris.

Table 2 Overview of participation in Coalitions of the Willing (per country)

Country	<i>International coalition against ISIS (air campaign)</i> ⁴⁵	<i>Operation Barkhane (Sahel)</i> ⁴⁶	<i>Operation Boali (CAR)</i> ⁴⁷	<i>Operation Sangaris (CAR)</i> ⁴⁸	<i>Operation Enduring Freedom (Afghanistan)</i> ⁴⁹
Belgium	Yes: 6 F-16, 120 troops, 35 military advisors	No	No	Yes: 2 aircraft	Yes: 550 troops, C-130 Hercules and 4 F-16 fighter jets.
Denmark	Yes: 7 F-16 fighters, 1 C-130 transport aircraft, 400 troops, 1 mobile radar station	No	No	No	Yes: 750 troops, 3 tanks, 6 F-16 aircraft.
Estonia	No	Yes: 50 troops	No	No	Yes: 250 troops, logistical support.
Finland	No	No	No	No	No
France	Yes: 36 Dassault Rafale fighters strike aircraft, 2 E-2C Hawkeye AEW&C aircraft, 1 maritime patrol aircraft, 1 Boeing E-3 AEW&C aircraft, 1 aerial refuel tanker, 5 vessels, task force 473 (12,000 man)	Yes: 3000 troops, 20 helicopters, 200 armoured vehicles, 10 transport aircraft, 6 fighter planes, 3 drones.	Yes: peak at 500	Yes: 1600 soldiers and multiple aircraft and marine infantry regiments	Yes: 3200 ground troops, 350 air force personnel (in total: 4000), one carrier battle group (incl. 7 vessels), and 15 aircraft (12 Mirage 2000, Mirage F1 and Mirage IV ground-attack and reconnaissance aircraft).

45 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_military_intervention_against_ISIL#Involvement_by_country: Voortgangsrapportage over de Nederlandse bijdrage aan de anti-ISIS coalitie en de brede veiligheidsinzet in Irak in 2019, Brief van de Ministers van Buitenlandse Zaken, Defensie, Buitenlandse Handel en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, en Justitie en Veiligheid, S. Blok, A. Bijleveld-Schouten, S.A.M. Kaag en F. Grapperhaus, aan de Voorzitter van de Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal (Letter of the Dutch Ministers of Foreign Affairs, of Defence, of Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation and of Justice and Security to Parliament on the progress of the Dutch contribution to the anti-ISIS coalition and the broader security deployment in Iraq in 2019), 18 April 2019.

46 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Barkhane#Forces_committed

47 https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Op%C3%A9ration_Boali

48 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Sangaris#French_order_of_battle

49 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Participants_in_Operation_Enduring_Freedom. Note that Wikipedia has most probably included data on participation in NATO's ISAF mission for some countries.

Germany	Yes: 1200 troops, 6 Panavia Tornado ECR, 1 Airbus A310 MRTT for in-flight refuelling, 1 vessel	No	No	No (only medical support plan)	Yes: German-led contingent of 1,300 soldiers (including 200 Dutch personnel) commands Multi-National Brigade with responsibility for Kabul ⁵⁰
Netherlands	Yes: 4 F-16 fighters, 150 trainers, 2 Patriot Missile batteries.	No	No	No	Yes: 2 frigates; 1 KDC-10 (tanker aircraft), 1 P-3C Orion patrol aircraft, 1 C-130H-30 Hercules (tactical air transport), 6 F-16; from 2005 onwards, special forces and 4 Ch-47 Chinook transports helicopters. ⁵¹
Portugal	No (only trainers)	No	No	No	
Spain	Yes: Patriot missile battery, 130 troops, 300 instructors	No	No	No	
United Kingdom	Yes: 375 trainers, special forces, 10 MQ-9 Reaper unmanned combat aerial vehicles, 10 Panavia Tornado strike aircraft, 9 Eurofighter Typhoon multirole fighters, 2 Raytheon Sentinel ISTAR aircraft, 2 Boeing E-3 Sentry AEW&C aircraft, 2 Airbus Voyager aerial refuelling tanker, 2 reconnaissance aircraft, Airbus A400M Atlas, C-130J, C-17 and Chinook aircraft, 2 vessels				

50 <https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/eur/rls/fs/14627.htm>

51 <https://english.defensie.nl/topics/historical-missions/mission-overview/2001/operation-enduring-freedom/dutch-contribution>

Country	<i>Operation Serval</i> (Mali) ⁵²	<i>Military Intervention Libya</i> ⁵³
Belgium	Yes: 2 C-130H Hercules transport planes and 2 medical evacuation helicopters; 80 support personnel	6 F-16 fighter jets (monitor no-fly zone and attack ground targets); 1 minehunter (as part of Standing NATO Mine Counter-measures Group 1)
Denmark	Yes: 1 C-130J-30 Super Hercules; 40 support personnel	6 F-16 fighter jets (4 used for offensive purposes – 12 sorties until 31 st of March under Odyssey Dawn); 1 C-130J-30 Super Hercules military transport plane.
Estonia	No	No
Finland	No	No
France	Yes: 4000 troops deployed (5100 involved in total), particular number of vessels and aircraft deployed is unclear (but <i>many</i>).	18 Mirage, 19 Rafale, 6 Mirage F1, 6 Super Etendard, 2 E-2 Hawkeye, 2 C-2 Greyhound, 3 Eurocopter Tiger, 16 Aérospatiale Gazelle aircraft; 1 anti-air destroyer, 1 aircraft carrier (Charles de Gaulle), 3 frigates, 1 fleet replenishment tanker, 1 nuclear attack submarine, 1 amphibious assault helicopter carrier.
Germany	Yes: 3 Transall C-160, 1 air-to-air refuelling plane, 330 soldiers (engineer mentoring, logistical and medical service)	No
Netherlands	Yes: 2 KDC-10 tanker/transport planes, 4 C-130 Hercules transport planes, 3 CH-47 Chinook transport/Medevac helicopters and 1 DC-10 passenger plane.	6 F-16 fighter jets (flying patrols over Libya – 2 reserves), 1 KDC-10 refuelling plane; 1 minehunter (enforcing weapons embargo).
Portugal	No	No
Spain	Yes: 1 C-130 Hercules, 1 C-295 plane (troop movements), 80 support personnel	6 F-18 fighter jets, 2 Boeing 707-331B(KC) tanker aircraft, 1 frigate, 1 submarine and 2 CN-235 MPA maritime surveillance planes.
United Kingdom	Yes: 2 C-17 Globemaster III strategic transport planes, 1 surveillance aircraft, 350 support personnel (not involved in combat)	16 Tornado, 10 Typhoon fighters, 2 surveillance aircraft; number of support aircraft; 4 apache helicopters; 2 frigates, 2 nuclear attack submarines, 1 destroyer, 1 mine countermeasure vessel.

52 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Serval

53 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011_military_intervention_in_Libya