

UACES Scholarship 2007

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Outline of the Project

The thesis addresses the governance of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) analysing the performance of the relevant institutions in the planning and implementation of EU-led military operations. It explains the institutionalisation of ESDP from a historical institutionalist perspective and makes a step further assessing the practical workings of the ESDP institutional machinery from a public policy perspective. In doing so it draws upon concepts offered by studies on policy implementation and governance capabilities. The thesis focuses on the military ESDP operations because these represent the strongest form of intergovernmentalism where the participation of communitarian institutions is entirely excluded (European Court of Justice), considerably limited (European Parliament and to an extent the European Commission) and ultimately confined to the will of member states. Thus, by placing the analysis in the realm of a highly intergovernmental setting the study puts the new institutionalist claim that 'institutions matter' on the hardest possible test. Two particular case studies are explored – operation 'Concordia' in FYROM and operation 'Artemis' in DR Congo. Organised and implemented in 2003 these were the first EU-led military operations which tested not only the workings of the newly established structures and crisis management procedures but also two different operational scenarios – 'Berlin Plus' and 'Framework Nation' – each involving distinctive politico-military and inter-institutional dynamics. Overall the study aims at explaining the *early* development of the ESDP *regime of governance* and the respective *early governance capabilities* – aspects in the study of ESDP that have not been extensively addressed in the existing literature yet.

Academic achievements during the research trip

The field research aimed at obtaining primary data on the ways in which the ESDP institutions started functioning just two years after the formal institutionalisation of ESDP with the treaty of Nice. The research activity included conduct of number of interviews and extensive research of related operational documents. Being based for two months in Brussels I managed to collect valuable primary data regarding both the factual narrative of operations Concordia and Artemis and the related inter- and intra pillar institutional activity. I managed to conduct 35 interviews meeting experts and officials in the European Commission, General Secretariat of the Council of Ministers, Cabinet of the High Representative for CFSP/Secretary General of the General Secretariat, NATO Headquarters at SHAPE (Mons, Belgium), European Parliament, National Representations, and various think-tanks based in Brussels. The most valuable information was obtained namely through conversations with representatives of the above mentioned institutions. I also managed to extensively use primary and secondary sources of information utilizing the access I had to both the European Commission library and the one in my host institution – EGMONT Institute for International Relations. While still in Brussels I managed to complete chapter 4 of my PhD thesis and started working on a conference paper which is going to be developed for a future publication. I managed to attend two public hearings of the Subcommittee on Security and Defence in the European Parliament and participate in several workshops and conferences (organised by EGMONT Institute). Last but not least, I had the chance to act as a discussant of two papers at the final conference of the 'EU Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management' Study Group (5-6 July 2007, Brussels) where I could exchange opinions and participate in discussions testing new ideas and utilizing the knowledge obtained through interviews and documentary research.

Use of resources

The resources were used to cover transport; accommodation; subsistence and research related costs (please see details in the attached 'outline of expenses').

Positive and negative aspects

Overall my research trip was successful and very rewarding mainly thanks to the kind responsiveness of all my interviewees. In this respect I would like to express my gratitude to all the experts and officials in the EU institutions who shared their time, knowledge and experience with me. Another extremely useful aspect was the fact that I was permanently based in EGMONT Institute which made possible to interact with senior researchers from the 'Security and Global Governance' and 'Africa' Programs and exchange ideas and knowledge on an almost daily basis with them. I would like to specifically thank to Sven Biscop, Hans Hoebeke, Tomas Stevens and Sofie Rafrafi for their kindness and generosity to include me in many of the Institute's activities and share their expertise on the development of ESDP more generally and the EU policies in DR Congo in particular.

I am also grateful to UACES and the European Commission whose financial support was indispensable for the realisation of this research trip which ultimately moved me a step closer to the successful completion of my PhD thesis and the accomplishment of future publications.