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978-0-521-76094-2 - The Transformation of Europe's Armed Forces: From the Rhine to Afghanistan

Anthony King

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The Transformation of Europe's Armed Forces

As a result of new strategic threats, Europe's land forces are currently undergoing a historic transformation which may reflect wider processes of European integration. Europe's mass, mainly conscript armies are being replaced by smaller, more capable, professionalised militaries concentrated into new operational headquarters and rapid reaction brigades, able to plan, command, and execute global military interventions. At the same time, these headquarters and brigades are co-operating with each other across national borders at a level which would have been inconceivable in the twentieth century. As a result, a transnational military network is appearing in Europe, the forces in which are converging on common forms of military expertise. This is a groundbreaking study of the military dimensions of European integration, which have been largely ignored until now. The book will appeal to scholars across the social sciences interested in the progress of the European project, and the nature of the military today.

Anthony King is Professor of Sociology at the University of Exeter. He has written extensively on social theory, football and the armed forces. Since 2003 he has been conducting intensive research on the armed forces, observing military training, exercises and operations as a result of which he has developed close relations with the armed forces at the highest levels. He has co-written parts of Britain's new stabilisation doctrine and has recently worked for NATO's Regional Command South Headquarters in Kandahar, Afghanistan. On the basis of this work, he has contributed to public debates about security and defence policy, appearing on the BBC and writing for *The Guardian*, *Prospect* and the Royal United Services Institute publications. In September 2010, he gave the Chatham House Annual Defence Lecture, 'Military Command in the Next Decade'.

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Abbreviations

ACCHAN	Allied Command Channel (NATO, Northwood)
ACE	Allied Command Europe (NATO, Mons)
ACLANT	Allied Command Atlantic (NATO, Norfolk, Virginia)
ACO	Allied Command Operations (NATO, Mons)
ACT	Allied Command Transformation (NATO, Norfolk, Virginia)
ADZ	Afghan Development Zone
AFCENT	Armed Forces Central Europe (NATO, Brunssum)
AFNORTH	Armed Forces Northern Europe (NATO, Kolsas)
AFSOUTH	Armed Forces Southern Europe (NATO, Naples)
AJP	Allied Joint Publication (NATO doctrine)
ANT	actor network theory
ARRC	Allied Rapid Reaction Corps (NATO, Rheindalen); originally Allied Command Europe Rapid Reaction Corps
C ⁴ I	command, control, communication, computers and interoperability
CAOC	Combined Air Operations Centre
Centag	Army Group Central (NATO, Heidelberg)
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIFS	close in fire support (team)
CIMIC	civil–military co-operation
CO	Commanding officer
COG	centre of gravity
Conops	concept of operations
CSG	Command Support Group
DCOS	Deputy Chief of Staff
DSACEUR	Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Europe (NATO)
EBAO/EBO	effects-based approach to operations/effects-based operations
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
EUFOR	EU FORCE (Bosnia)

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FM 100-5	Field Manual 100-5 <i>Operations</i> (US doctrine)
FOFA	follow-on forces attack
FOO	Forward Observation Officer
FST	fire support team
GOC	General Officer Commanding
GOP	Guidelines for Operational Planning
HRF HQ	Higher Readiness Force Headquarters (the Rapid Reaction Corps)
IDF	Israeli Defence Force
IED	improvised explosive device
IFOR	(NATO) Intervention Force (Bosnia), to implement Dayton
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force (successive rotations of the headquarters are designated by Roman numerals)
ISR	intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance technology
ISTAR	intelligence, surveillance, target acquisition, reconnaissance
JFCB	Joint Force Command Headquarters Brunssum (NATO)
JFCN	Joint Force Command Headquarters Naples (NATO)
JFHQ/JHL	Joint Force Headquarters Lisbon (NATO)
JIB	Joint Influence Branch
JRDF	Joint Rapid Deployment Force
JRRF	Joint Rapid Reaction Force
JWP	Joint Warfare Publication
KFOR	Kosovo Force (NATO)
LCC	Land Component Command/Commander
LOT	liaison and observation team
NGO	non-governmental organisation
Northag	Army Group North (Rheindalen)
NRF	NATO Response Force
OPP	operational planning process
PGMs	precision-guided munitions
PJHQ	Permanent Joint Headquarters
REME	Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers
RMA	'revolution in military affairs'
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander Europe
SACLANT	Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic
SAS	22 Special Air Service Regiment

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SBS	Special Boat Service
SFOR	Stabilisation Force (NATO, Bosnia)
SHAPE	Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe
SOF	Special Operations Forces
TACP	Tactical Air Control Party
TLAM	Tomahawk Land Attack Missiles
TRADOC	Training and Doctrine Center (US Army)
UAV	unmanned aerial vehicle (a drone)
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
WMD	weapons of mass destruction

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Preface

I was born too late to remember where I was on the day JFK was killed in Dealey Plaza. Of course, there are other random more or less historic moments which remain unforgettable: the shooting of John Lennon; the Argentine invasion of the Falklands; Thatcher's resignation; the start of the Gulf War; Eric Cantona's kung-fu kick; Princess Diana's death. Yet none remotely approaches the intensity of 11 September 2001. I was working in my office at Exeter and, since it was a warm, late summer afternoon, I rang a friend to ask whether he wanted to come out climbing on Dartmoor that evening. He was incredulous that I had not heard the news, 'It's all going off; you need to get yourself to a television set now.' I checked the Internet and was startled by the images of the Twin Towers. Later that evening I did go out to Dartmoor, bouldering on the harsh granite of Saddle Tor. The evening was limpid with long views over the moor to the west and out east over the shining sea; sky larks sang above. There I met some other friends who were also out climbing. 'It is a beautiful evening,' I said as we talked in the car park. 'Except if you are in New York,' replied one of the climbers. In that tranquillity, the turmoil in Manhattan was quite unimaginable. It was inconceivable to think that 3,000 people had just died in a deliberate attack.

This book is ultimately a response to that day, now nearly nine years ago. In 2001, I had just finished a project on European football and was about to start writing a book on social theory. Yet it was clearly necessary that as a sociologist, I had to make some sense of that September day and how it would impact on our lives as Europeans. Although personal memory is a dangerously mutable archive, I believe I made a resolution soon after 9/11 that my next project would be on war. As the so-called 'War on Terror' unfolded with attacks on Afghanistan, it soon became clear which route this research should follow. I had long been interested in military history but, as first Britain and then other European forces committed themselves to Afghanistan, a clear fusion of past and future research horizons appeared. One of the questions which the 9/11 attacks raised was how Europe's armed forces would transform in the face of new

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strategic imperatives. However, for at least a year, between the start of the project in October 2003 and the summer of 2004, I had no clear concept of what it was I wanted to say about Europe's armed forces or the wars they were fighting. At this time, the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) was beginning to be activated and I planned merely to look at the military dimension of this policy, an area on which I presumed not much was being done. A little research proved otherwise. However, during that first year, as I spent days and nights freezing with Royal Marines sergeants as they trained young officers on Woodbury Common, Salisbury Plain and Sennybridge, a more coherent research concept crystallised. By the summer of 2004, it became apparent that Europe's armed forces, and especially their reaction forces, were undergoing a revolution which was compatible with globalising changes which had been noted widely across a diversity of institutions by sociologists, including sport. The dynamic of localisation and globalisation or concentration and transnationalisation was evident among the armed forces, as it was in the commercial and industrial sectors. It has taken me nearly five years to produce a piece of work which tries to support that research thesis.

The research findings are self-evidently my responsibility and many with whom I talked will not agree with my analysis. However, the armed forces were overwhelmingly supportive and helpful throughout the project and I am deeply grateful to them and, particularly, to all the individuals who assisted in this project. It is impossible to name them all. However, there are a number of military personnel who were particularly important to the research in terms of the insights or access they provided: Colonel Bill Aldridge, Sergeant Peter Baldwin, Brigadier Eric Bonnemaison, Sergeant Andy Bridson, Brigadier Ed Butler, Sergeant John Byrne, Lieutenant Colonel Peter Cameron, Major Richard Cantrill, Major Alex Case, Colour Sergeant Kevin Cheeseman, General de Division Gael Flichy, Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Gent, Brigadier Tim Gregson, Lieutenant Colonel Carl Harris, Major Chris Haw, Sergeant Robbie Hawkens, Brigadier Carl Hewitt, Lieutenant Colonel Matt Holmes, Lieutenant Colonel Justin Holt, Colonel Richard Iron, Major Alex Janzen, Lieutenant Colonel Jörg Keller, General de Corps Yves Kermabon, Colonel David King, Lieutenant Colonel Richard King, Major Peter Little, Major-General W-D. Löser, Brian Lovatt, Major Duncan Manning, Sergeant Peter McGinlay, Colonel Ewen McLay, Brigadier Richard Nugee, Lieutenant Colonel Joe O'Sullivan, Major General Nick Parker, Major Richard Parvin, Brigadier Nick Pounds, General de Corps Jean-François Py, General Egon Ramms, General Sir John Reith, General Sir David Richards, Major General Andrew Ritchie, Lieutenant Colonel Johnny Rollins, Brigadier John Rose, Colonel Eric

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ANTHONY KING
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