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The Common Security and Defence Policy in flux

During recent months, several innovating documents have been published regarding the Common Security and Defence Policy (Global Strategy, Implementation plan, EU NATO Road Map, Commission Action Plan), leading to important decisions, which refer to a progress report in March and new strategic orientations in June 2017.

A Policy momentum has thus been established, which deserves to be encouraged and energized. It is our intention to support this momentum and to offer assistance to the policy makers. From the policy aspect we are offering some thoughts in relation to these aspects:

A Youth oriented European White Book,

A strategic autonomy for first entry operations,

The consideration of the Security and Defence continuum,

The strengthening of the European industrial network,

EuroDéfense France welcomes recent important publications and decisions by EU Members States. The heads of States and Governments have decided that the High Representative will present proposals in the coming months regarding:

- the development of civilian capabilities,
- the parameters of a Member State-driven Coordinated Annual Review on Defence,
- the process of developing military capabilities taking into account Research and Technology (R&T) and industrial aspects,
- the establishment of a permanent planning and conduct capability at the strategic level,
- the strengthening of the relevance, usability and deployability of the EU's rapid response toolbox, elements and options for an inclusive Permanent Structured Cooperation based on a modular approach and outlining possible projects,
- as well as the covering of all requirements to reinforce the Capacity Building in Security and Development (CBSD).

In support of the work done by the EU and Member States official services, EuroDéfense France offers conclusions in five key areas :

- European cooperation,

- Command and Control structures,
- Rapid response toolbox,
- Training of military and civilian forces,
- Capability development within the industrial and technology defence base.

Our proposals are more directed towards the Member States than reported to the European institutions (Commission, EEAS, EDA), for effective adoption of the recommended measures. The issues are both political and military, for example the deployment of a robust joint force able to consolidate peace, to facilitate the reconstruction of failed States and to ensure the transition to a United Nations force, as soon as the conditions are met, in the Middle East (Syria, Iraq) or in Africa (Libya).

The EU would thus be able to show its ability to translate its foreign, security and defence policies into concrete, immediate and useful actions.

1. European cooperation

Implementation of a Member State-driven Coordinated Annual Review on Defence is being developed by the European Defence Agency and will be submitted to the Member States. This initiative must change ingrained sovereign habits and guarantee increased cooperation and synergies, with some elements carried out within NATO.

The EDA will presumably propose a pragmatic and incremental approach, which will likely get the agreement of Heads of States and Governments. We hope this will profoundly improve the interactions between Member States. This should be better shared with citizens and in particular with youth. In response to the rise of nationalism, the EU must promote the perception of and belief in a common destiny.

Therefore EuroDéfense France calls for a European White Book.

A European White Book involving the youth of each of the EU countries should aim to better share and generate understanding of the opportunities, risks and threats of the twenty-first century, as well as the strengths of European nations working together. The geostrategic situation supports the necessity for this. We should be ready to launch such an initiative before the end of 2017.

This White Book should take as examples successes like the ERASMUS programme, to be applied to a military equivalent.

Meanwhile, it would be of great value to reinforce European cooperation in theatres of operations. That could be achieved by creating, where possible, and building upon, where they exist, "European entities", in charge of, for example, logistics and infrastructures in operations and even exercises. Costs could be thus mutualized and efficiencies maximised.

2. Command and Control Structures

In November 2016, the Council decided upon the creation of a permanent planning and conduct capability at the strategic level for training and advisory missions (so-called "non-executive"). This is an excellent solution for the short-term, likely to promote real synergies between the different and unique actions of the European Union: development aid, civilian Rule of Law missions,

military support missions, humanitarian aid, etc. In addition, the designation in Brussels of a commanding authority in charge of the training and advisory military missions, co-located with the geographic structures of the EEAS, with the Commander of the European Union civilian missions (CPCC commander) and with the directions of the Commission as well as close to NATO HQ, will greatly enhance efficiency and synergies, but also ensure a greater homogeneity between the different actions carried out by the EU (currently in Somalia, Central African Republic and Mali).

But the problem remains of robust missions. Because of persistent instability as well a high number of violent conflicts in certain regions of the world and their immediate effects on EU Member States, there is no choice but to address the issue. The current situation is far from being satisfactory: no communication between security and defence, limited anticipation, a too long time for the production of strategic options, no dedicated command and control structure, and a very slow process of force generation and agreement on rules of engagement.

Even if we stick to the comprehensive approach and the controlled use of violence, as a last resort, the status quo is not an option.

EuroDéfense France thus calls for a comprehensive review of processes and organizations delivering the EU's security and defence policies.

It must amongst other things lead to a significant improvement in intelligence data collection and management capabilities, in order to better inform political decisions, but also to support the implementation of a new strategic planning structure for "Robust missions", which fully integrates the civil-military dimension, with early and permanent stabilization and reconstruction as a primary goal.

That should not lead to two separate structures, one for training and advisory missions, one for coercitive missions. The could be a progressive transfer from the first to the second, by adding competences, in coopeartion with NATO..

3. Rapid Response Toolbox

The December 2016 European Council referred to above called for the strengthening of the relevance, usability and deployability of the EU's rapid response toolbox.

Improving the existing concepts, processes or organizations, for example of the Battlegroups concept, its jointness, its composition flexibility, would bring necessary and real progress but would only partially address current challenges.

An intellectual and more innovative approach has to be undertaken, based on the intended effects, going beyond the framework of military structures.

First of all, it is necessary to improve the ability to anticipate and therefore to obtain a better understanding of situations, issues and risks to Member States. The successes of the EU Torejon Satellite Centre must be duplicated in other areas, including the monitoring of the EU maritime and land borders, as well as Exclusive Economic Zones.

New rapid response tools beyond battlegroups should also be created. Mainly civilian, these must be able to respond to crisis situations such as earthquakes, major health epidemics, consequential management of massive cyber attacks etc

For these situations, automatic engagement processes but also financial burden-sharing tools could be developed by Member States. Beside the "Battlegroups", the EU might thus have "Solidarity Task Forces".

4. Training

There is nothing specific on this topic in recent decisions. Operations are now multinational, and require the commitment of many inter-ministerial services, in order to ensure efficiency in the medium and long terms. Training must be done in this context, offering capability synergies and substantial financial gains.

Without questioning the current approach of the military and civilian exercises led by the European Union, sometimes with NATO,

EuroDéfense France suggests holding a new type of exercises, focused on civil-military cooperation and actions, centered on initial planning.

These exercises could also be of interest to other multinational organizations such as the UN, the African Union and, of course, NATO.

EU centres of expertise should be created. The value of these centres is proven. NATO has numerous centres which cover the whole spectrum of security and defence tasks. Cooperation between EU member states already exists. In order to avoid duplication this cooperation should be enforced. In addition to this there are good national examples, for example the French model of the Military School of Specialization for Overseas and Foreign Countries (EMSOME), preparing military and civilians in the aims of operations, informing them about the history, geography and cultures of the countries in which they might be deployed, but also by taking advantage of the lessons learnt during EU previous commitments. This would greatly improve the overall effectiveness of future operations, but would also be a source of international influence and expertise which may also benefit third States.

5. Capability development

Regarding the development of European military capabilities, in addition to increasing defence budgets, and to increase cooperation within the EU:

- Mrs Mogherini was mandated to present proposals on the capabilities development process, taking into account Research and Technology as well as industrial aspects;
- The European Commission, which has opened the door to funding the development
 of defence capabilities, in parallel to the action plan for financing the Research and
 Technology activities, was invited to clarify its proposals for the creation of a Defence
 European Fund, with a component on capacity development, agreed in common by
 Member States;

• The European investment Bank (EIB) was invited to consider measures to support investment in Defence Research and Development.

EuroDéfense France welcomes the possibility of EU investment in defence and security and urges rapid decisions and concrete measures, in particular:

- Improvement of the capability requirements identification process, an essential pre-condition for a proper functioning of the capability chain within the EU.
- The funding and launching of new cooperation programmes for already identified requirements, on bilateral, multilateral or even Europe-wide bases (like Galileo).
- An EU funding capacity within its own budget to support collaborative capability-enhancing programmes for which Member States lack sufficient self-funding (examples include the MALE drone programme contemplated by Germany, France, Italy and Spain); or for financing a capacity requirement of interest to all the Member States (communications satellites, border surveillance); this European budget could be supplemented by a Fund, the functioning of which has to be defined, depending on the funding requirements; in all cases, these new measures aim at promoting cooperation
- Support for cooperation programmes which could stimulate industry-led consolidation within the EU, in order to strengthen the competitiveness of the European defence industrial base and avoid inefficient duplications

CONCLUSION

Given emerging profound changes in the geostrategic landscape, there is no other choice than firm and strong commitment to solidarity from the EU Member States. This requires political leadership leading to the study and implementation of ambitious but realistic projects. EuroDéfense France hopes to continue to contribute to this vital goal.