

EUROPEAN DEFENCE:

FROM COOPERATION TO INTEGRATION ?



FREDERIC
MAURO

1. Cooperation





2. Integration

3. How to go from cooperation to integration?

1

COOPERATION

The landmarks of cooperation

-  **Pragmatism:** it is done case by case – no plan
-  **Reversibility:** you can stop the cooperation at anytime
-  **No heavy institutional set up needed:** e.g. the ‘high level working group’ in Lancaster house
-  **Freedom of decision** : decisions are taken unanimously (intergovernmentalism)

The different forms of cooperation



Operational e.g. “CJEF” (FR, UK) or “JEF” (UK, NL, Nordics, Balts)



Industrial (between companies) / **capability** (programmes)
e.g. Airbus (at its inception) / A400M, Tiger, FREMM etc.



Political e.g. the European Council

Some successes of cooperation in the field of defence



Operational / capabilities

EATC (European Air Transport Command)

A400M, Eurofighter

Satcent ; Intcent

Egnos, Galileo, Copernicus,

Some successes in the field of CSDP : e.g. Artemis, Atalanta



Political / Institutional

ESA (European Space Agency)

The limits of cooperation



You are never sure of what your partner will do in the case of war e.g. Syria (2014 – red line on chemicals)



Industrial cooperation is often (but not always) longer and more expensive than normal production under one leadership

‘work-share equals cost share’, or ‘Juste Retour’ approach

Difficulties to convince competitors to work together (e.g. NH 90)

Some States play “industry” instead of “defence” and ask to duplicate competences in their own country that already exist (e.g. A400M)



States always champion their own defence industry - when they have one - and competition - when they don't

2

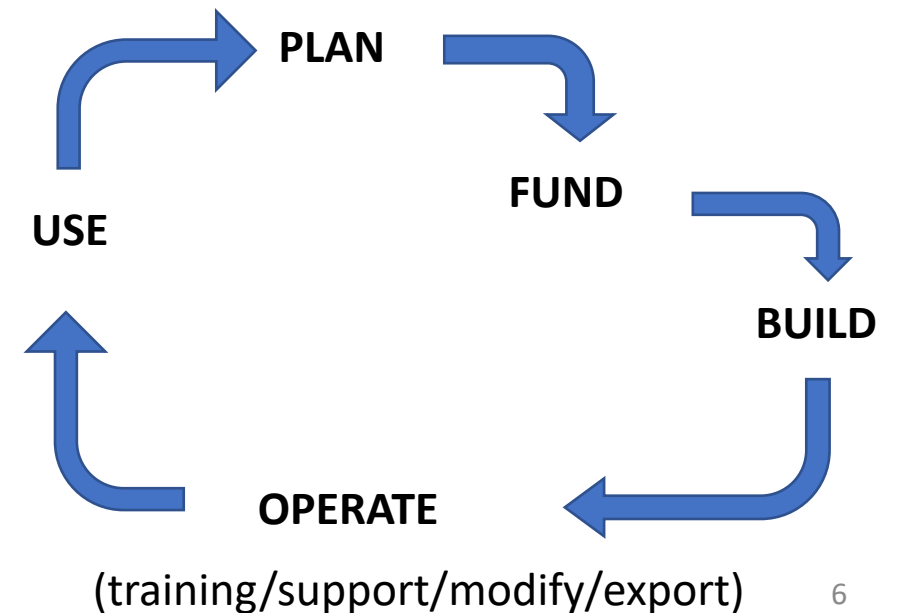
INTEGRATION

The landmarks of integration

➔ **Specialisation** : both operational and industrial

➔ **Modification of the decision process** eg. QMV

➔ **It is a global process that affects all the aspects of defence**



The different forms of integration?



Operational / capabilities e.g. BENASAM (NL-BEL), FNC (D-NL), CAMO (FR-BEL)



Industrial (“one MBDA”) / **programmes** (METEOR)

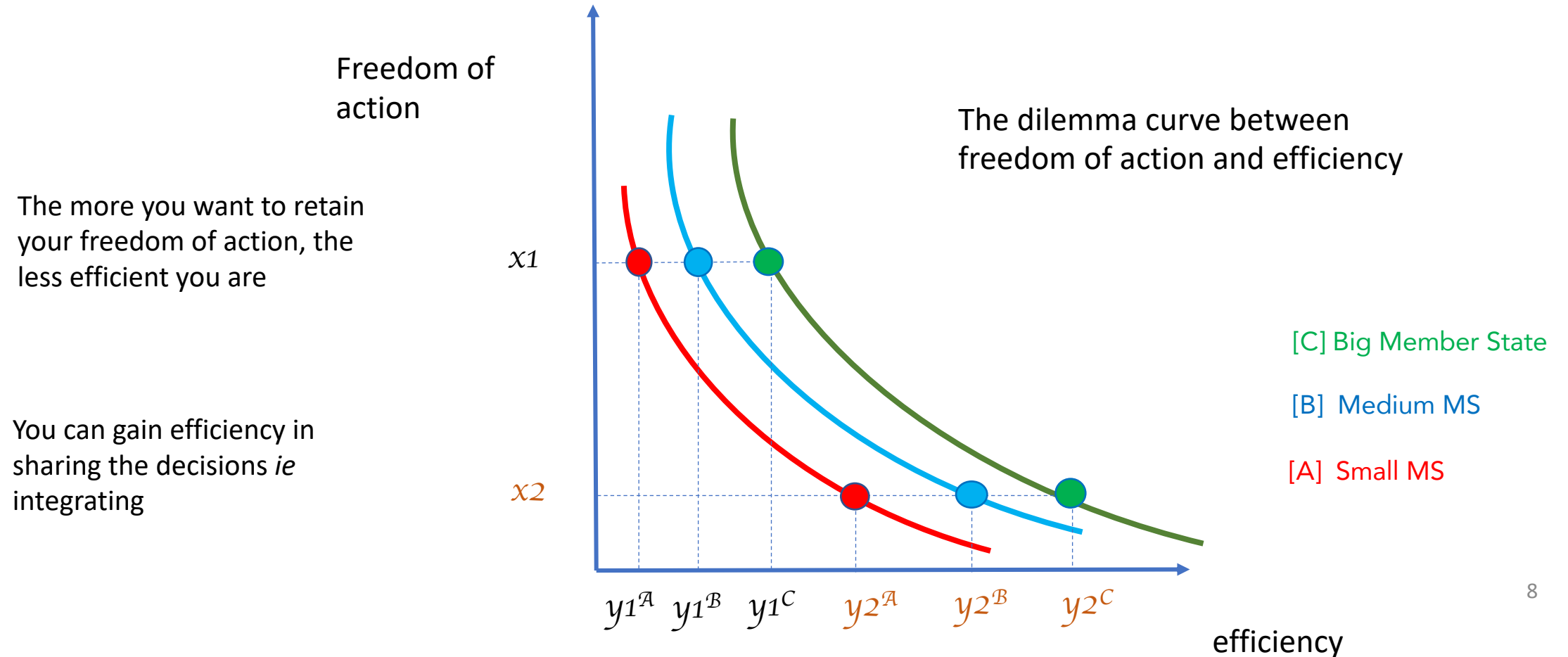


Political e.g. ‘NATO integrated military command structure’

Advantages and disadvantages of integration

Main advantage: you maximise your efficiency

Main disadvantage: you lose your freedom of action



3

How to go from cooperation to integration ?

The small steps method

«Europe will not happen all at once, nor in an overall construction: it will be done by concrete achievements first creating de facto solidarity. » *Schumann Declaration 9 May 1950*

1992
Maastricht Treaty

Article J. 4. 1. The common foreign and security policy shall include all questions related to the security of the Union, including **the eventual framing of a common defence policy**, which might in time lead to a **common defence**.

1998
St Malo declaration

1. The European Union needs to be in a position to play its full role on the international stage. (...) 2. To this end, the Union must have the **capacity for autonomous action**, backed up by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and a readiness to do so, in order to respond to **international crises**.

1999
Cologne Summit

In pursuit of our Common Foreign and Security Policy objectives and the progressive framing of a common defence policy, we are convinced that the Council should have the ability to take decisions on the full range of conflict prevention and crisis management tasks defined in the Treaty on European Union, the "Petersberg tasks". To this end, the Union must have the **capacity for autonomous action**, backed up by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and a readiness to do so, in order to respond to **international crises** without prejudice to actions by NATO. The EU will thereby increase its ability to contribute to international peace and security in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter.

2004 European
Defence Agency

Member States shall undertake progressively to improve their military capabilities. **The Agency in the field of defence capabilities development, research, acquisition and armaments** (hereinafter referred to as 'the European Defence Agency') shall identify operational requirements, shall promote measures to satisfy those requirements, shall contribute to identifying and, where appropriate, implementing any measure needed to strengthen the industrial and technological base of the defence sector, shall participate in defining a European capabilities and armaments policy, and shall assist the Council in evaluating the improvement of military capabilities


2009 Lisbon Treaty	Article 42. 1. (T.E.U). - The common security and defence policy shall be an integral part of the common foreign and security policy. It shall provide the Union with an operational capacity drawing on civilian and military assets . The Union may use them on missions outside the Union for peace-keeping, conflict prevention and strengthening international security in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter. The performance of these tasks shall be undertaken using capabilities provided by the Member States .
2009 The “defence package”	DSPD (Defence and Security Procurement directive) and ICT (Intra-European Union Transfer of Defence related products)
2016 The Global Strategy	Implementation Plan on Security and Defence – STRATEGIC AUTONOMY as an objective ; relaunch of the Capability Development Mechanism : High Impact Capabilities Goals (EUMS) Capability Development Plan (EDA) ; Coordinated Annual Review on Defence (EDA) and finally the SCC (EDA) Strategic Context Cases
2015-2019 Defence Research	Pilot Project (Michael Gahler) 2 M€ ; Preparatory Action on Defence Research R&T (90 M€) ; European Defence Industry Development Programme (EDIDP) R&D (500 M€) - European Defence Fund R&T+R&D 6 bn€ < < 13 Bn€
2017 MPCC	Military Planning and Conduct Capability (OHQ embryo)
2017 PESCO	Permanent Structured Cooperation (“The sleeping beauty of European Defence”)
2017 E2I	Macron’s Sorbonne speech “ European Intervention Initiative ” – Strategic culture
2018 Call for a “European Army”	Juncker 2015 ; Orban 2016 ; Macron 6 November 2018 ; Merkel 12 November 2018 ; Sanchez January 2019

Did all those little steps produce an autonomous capacity for Europe to defend itself or at least project power for crisis management purposes?

Clearly the answer is **NO** - for crisis that impact Europe directly

-  Not in Libya 2011
-  Not in Syria 2011
-  Not in Mali 2011
-  Not in Ukraine 2014
-  Not in Syria 2019

And a lot of people assume that **Europe would not be able to defend itself** in case of a limited Russian attack in Lithuania/Poland

-  [Defending Europe scenario based capability requirements for NATO's European members](#) **IISS/DGAP April 2019**

To soon to tell?

May be – wait and see in 20 years

Another explanation?

Cooperation might never produce an autonomous capacity

2018	M €
EU 27 (without UK)	187 464
EU 28 (with UK)	236 526
RUSSIA + BELARUS	40 184
CHINA	147 087
U.S.	562 464



= * 4,7

It is not the money, it is the way you spend it stupid

27 Governments = 27 Pentagons = 27 duplications

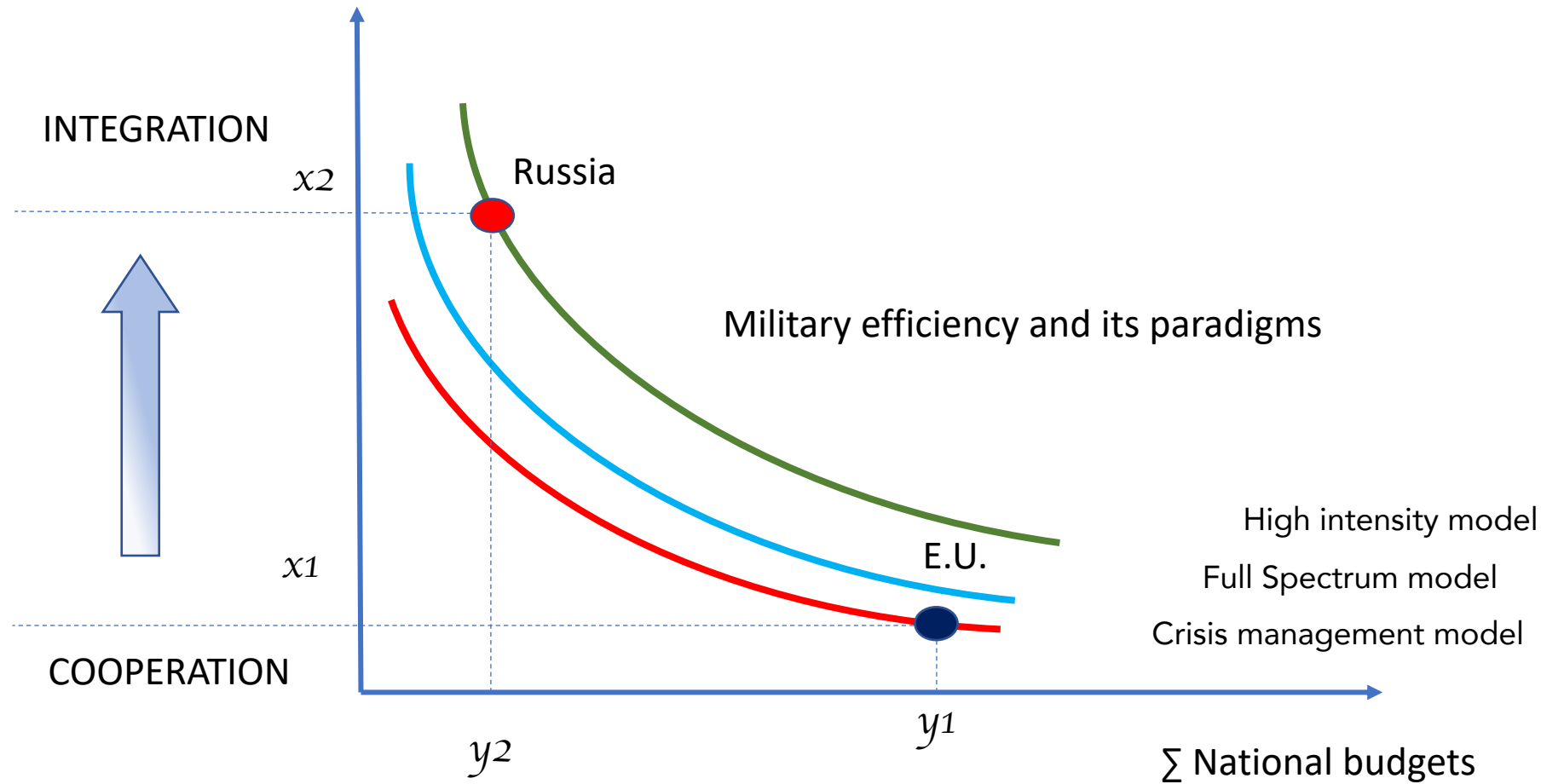
Source IISS

Integration is the obvious solution

For the same level of military efficiency

The more integrated countries are, the less they need to spend

The less integrated they are, the more they need to spend



Problem : European countries do not want to integrate between themselves

Why ?

It has to do with



- European peoples **about themselves** : Identity, “Sovereignty”, “Freedom” e.g. Brexit/and all other populisms that glorify national identities and vilify Europe
- European Peoples **between themselves** : they distrust each other
- **Other non Europeans** peoples want to divide the Europeans : Russia, China and the U.S. (Donald Trump at least is the Union’s best enemy)

And on the top of that NATO

Why should we have a European defence, as long as we have an American protection? It is a “distraction” “Leave the the job to the professionals”

European countries refuse to integrate between themselves but accept a conscious or unconscious integration with the US?



With the huge difference that they don't send Senators to the US Senate, nor representatives, and they don't vote for the US President election



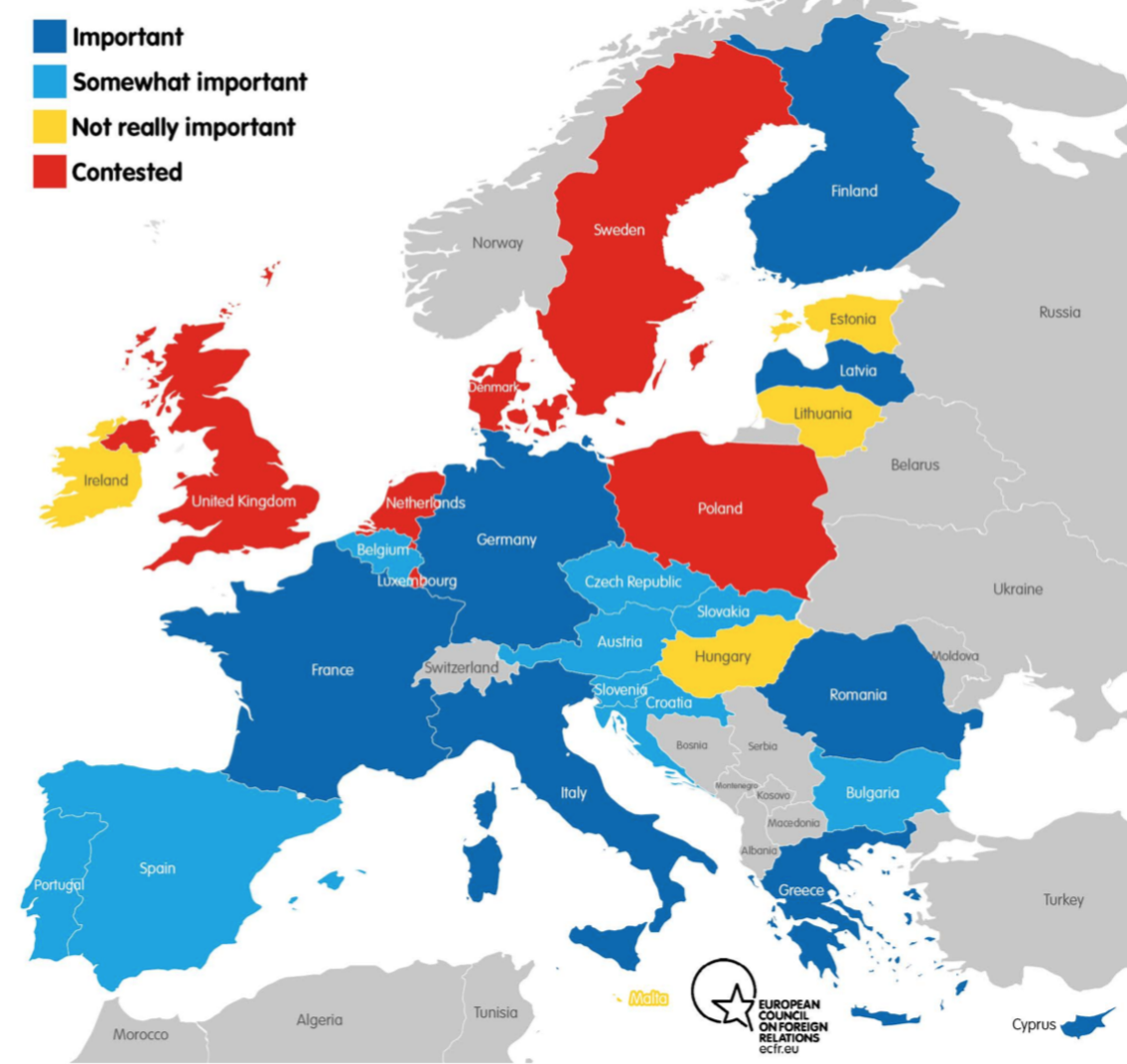
They feel sovereign (as the Prince of Monaco) but are no longer independent

They hunt the shadow (sovereignty), not the prey (independence)

INDEPENDENCE PLAY: EUROPE'S PURSUIT OF STRATEGIC AUTONOMY

How important is the goal of European strategic autonomy to your country's foreign and defence policy?

- Important
- Somewhat important
- Not really important
- Contested



www.ecfr.eu

© Independence play: Europe's pursuit of strategic autonomy European Council on Foreign Relations – July 2019 Ulrike Franke and Tara Varma
https://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR_Independence_play_Europe_pursuit_strategic_autonomy.pdf

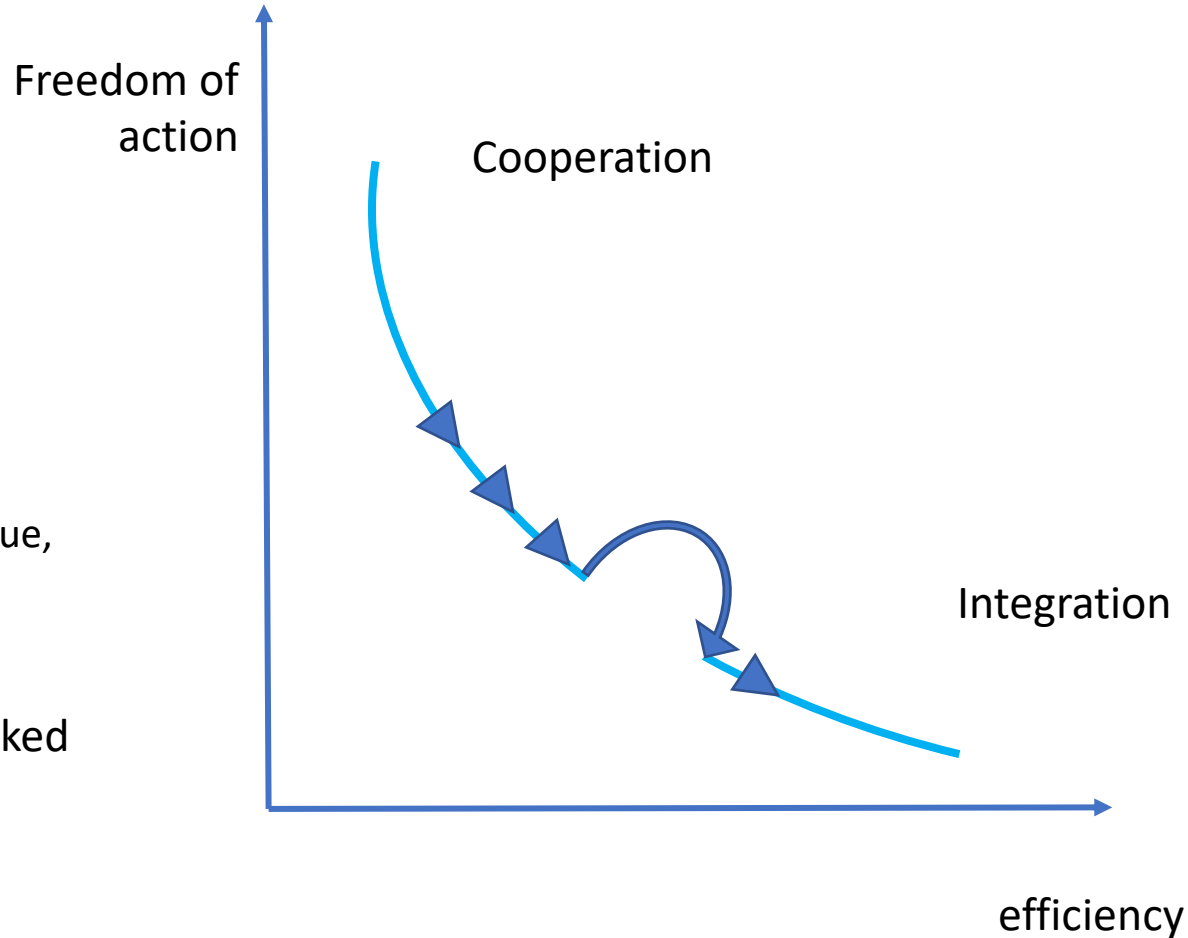
So what do we do?

The leapfrog method

The "littlestepism" relies on the assumption that there is a continuum from cooperation to integration

But that doesn't seem to be true, there is a gap between them

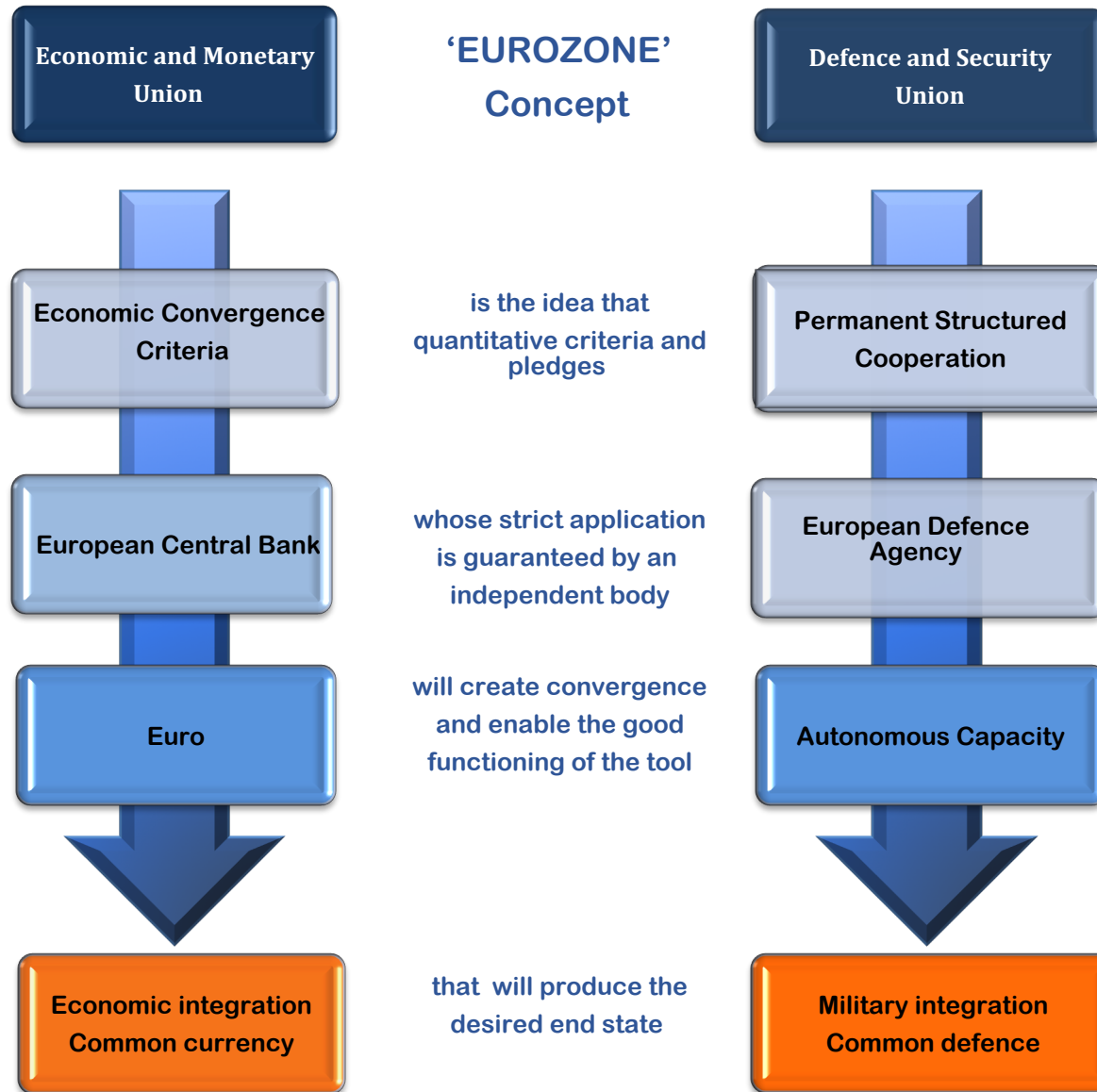
and this gap cannot be walked but needs to be jumped



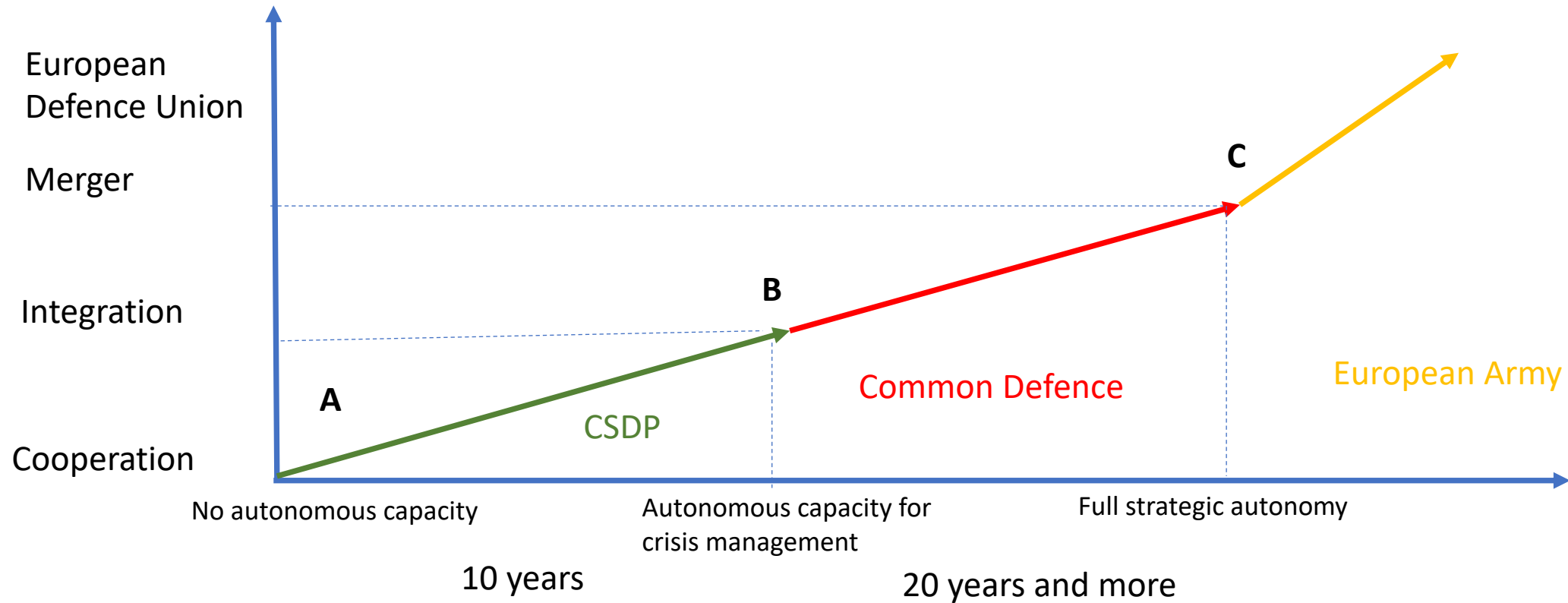
Brexit invites us to reflect at the whole efficiency of the 'little steps' method

PESCO is the proof that we are blocked

It was the carbon copy of the Eurozone method built on the idea of a progressive convergence



PESCO = capability process supposed to lead to the “autonomous capacity”



Cooperation
 + Structured
 + Permanent
 = Integration

“specialising their defence means and capabilities” Pt 10 art 2 c)

“reviewing their national decision-making procedures” Pt 10 art 2 d)

As it stands now, PESCO is **more of a framework** for cooperation, **than a capability process**. It is not connected to a meaningful defence planning : every country does what it wants, with whom it wants, whenever it wants. The goal of building a autonomous capacity has been lost from sight.

	IT	FR	EL	ES	DE	RO	BE	NL	CZ	PT	CY	FI	SK	HR	AT	HU	BG	PL	LT	SE	LV	SI	LU	IE	EE	participations	
1 Military Mobility																										24	
2 Log Hub (Network of logistics hubs in Europe and support to Operations)																											13
3 EUTMCC (EU Training Mission Competence Center)																											13
4 UGS (Integrated Unmanned Ground System)																											10
5 EMC (European Medical Command)																											9
6 ESSOR (European Secure Software defined Radio)																											8
7 Up grade of Maritime Surveillance																											7
8 Cyber Threats and Incident Response Information Sharing Platform																											7
9 Cyber Rapid Response Teams and Mutual Assistance in Cyber Security																											7
10 Co-basing																											6
11 MAS MCM Maritime Autonomous Systems for Mine Countermeasures																											6
46 EU Collaborative Warfare Capabilities (ECoWAR)																											6
12 European MALE RPAS (Eurodrone)																											5
13 EURAS EU Radio Navigation Solution																											5
14 CBRN SaaS (CBRN Surveillance as a Service)																											5
15 EUFOR CROC Crisis Response Operation Core																											5
16 Deployable Military Disaster Relief Capability Package																											5
43 Cyber and Information Domain Coordination Centre (CIDCC)																											5
44 Timely Warning and Interception with Space-based ThreatER surveillance (TWISTER)																											5
35 EUROSIM Integrated E joint training and simulation Center																											5
17 EOF Energy Operational Function																											4
18 C2PSC Strategic Command & Control System for CSDP Missions and Operations																											4
19 HARMSPRO (Harbour & Maritime Surveillance and Protection)																											4
20 GeoMETOC (Geo-meteorological and Oceanographic Support Coordination Element)																											4
21 EU Test and Evaluation Centres																											4
40 Maritime Unmanned Anti-Submarine System MUSAS																											4
45 Materials and components for technological EU competitiveness (MAC-EU)																											4
22 Armoured Infantry Fighting Vehicle																											3
23 EU BLOS Land Battlefield Missile System																											3
24 H3 training (Helicopter Hot and High training)																											3
25 European Attack Helicopter Mark III																											3
26 DIVEPACK (Deployable Modular Underwater Intervention Capability Package)																											3
38 CBRN Defence Training Range																											3
39 EU Network of Diving Centre EUNDC																											3
42 Airborne Electronic Attack AEA																											3
47 European Global RPAS Insertion Architecture System																											3
27 European Training Certification Center for European Armies																											2
28 Indirect Fire Support																											2
29 C-UAS Counter Unmanned Aerial System																											2
30 EHAAP-ISR European High Atmosphere Airship Platform Persistent Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance																											2
31 EU-SSA-N (European Military Space Surveillance Awareness Network)																											2
32 Joint EU Intelligence School																											2
33 Electronic Warfare Capability and Interoperability Programme for Future Joint ISR																											2
34 SOF C2 One Deployable Special Operations Forces Tactical Command and Control Command Post																											2
36 EU Cyber Academia and Innovation Hub																											2
37 SOF Medical Training Centre																											2
41 European Patrol Corvet EPC																											2
Total participations:	31	24	21	20	13	12	11	10	10	10	9	7	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	47
Positions as lead country	10	9	6	2	6	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3							1	47

Source: Frédéric Mauro



Freedom of action

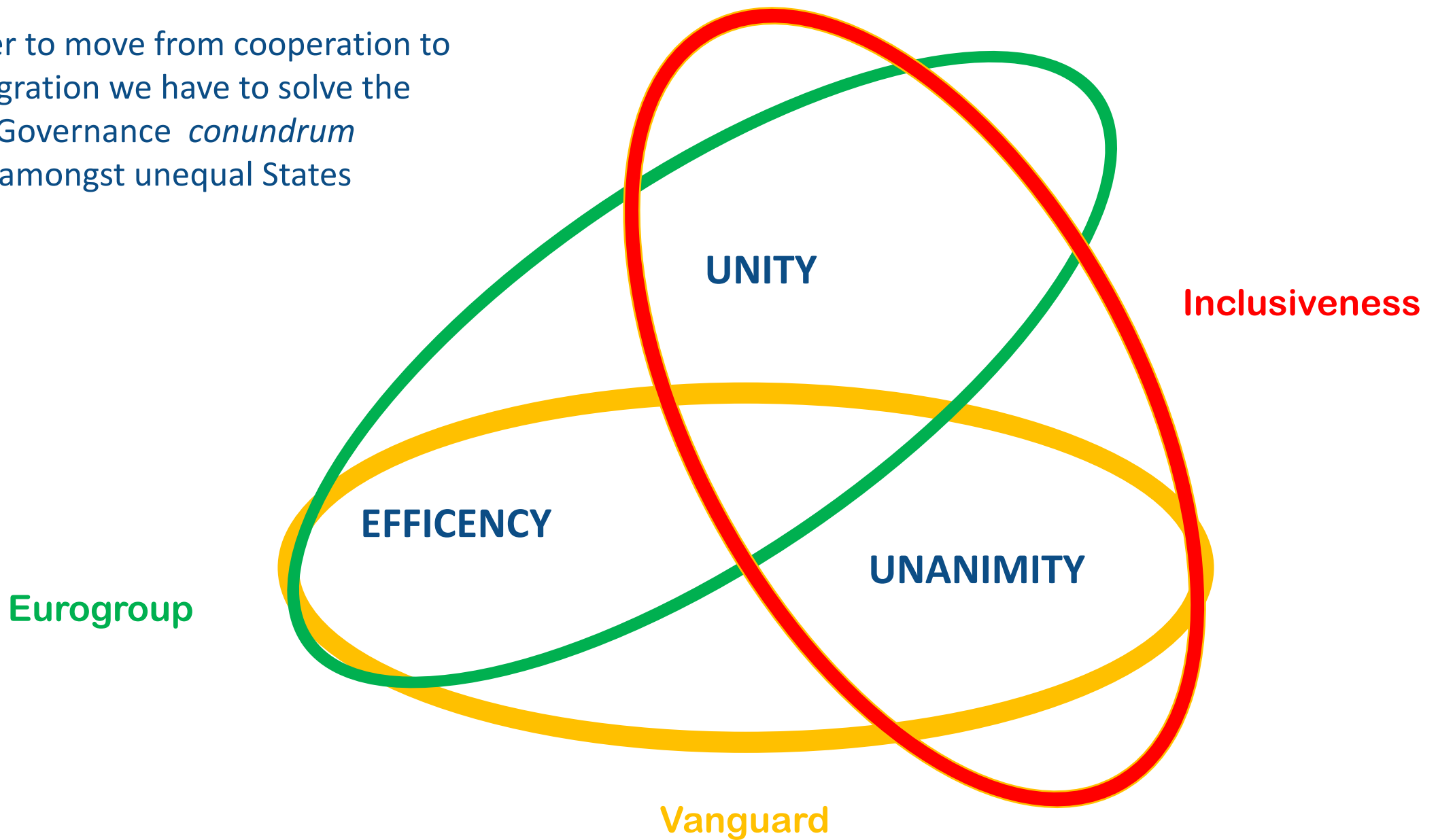
Cooperation

We are in the midstream of cooperation-integration and we're treading water

Integration

efficiency

In order to move from cooperation to integration we have to solve the Governance *conundrum* amongst unequal States



That could take the form of a renewed “**European Defence Union**” gathering not all MS but the ones really ‘willing’ to further integrate their armed forces in order to protect themselves

For that we need a political body capable of making decisions regarding “operations having military or defence implications”: a **European Security Council**

An authentic European **military Command and Control structure**, capable of defence planning as well as operational planning

A **common defence budget** independent from the national budgets, allowing the EDU to acquire European capabilities

That is European defence last frontier,
and your generation challenge

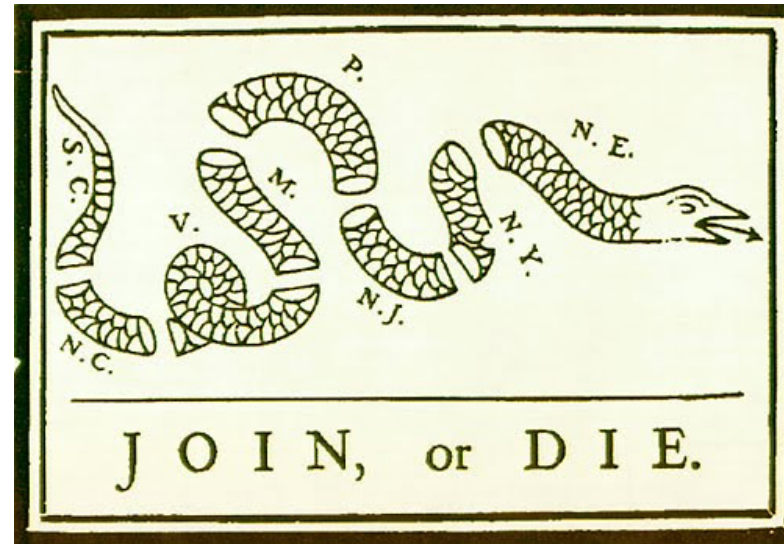
So why do we need to move on from Cooperation to Integration?

In six words:

'United we stand, divided we fall'

Patrick Henry
last speech March 1799

In three words:



Benjamin Franklin
Pennsylvania Gazette
9 May 1754

Thank you for your attention

FREDERIC
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